Career Education

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The National Career Development Association (NCDA) posits that career development is and should be a lifelong task, beginning at the preschool level and continuing through retirement. While the need for early career development exists, experts have found that a majority of students do not receive adequate career education from their families and/or schools for several reasons: family members' lack of technical information and skills; high ratios between the number of counselors and students; counselors saddled with administrative vs. career development tasks; and high stakes testing being emphasized over high quality teaching and career development and education. Many experts suggest that these challenges are related to the larger challenge of improving student academic achievement and social competence and the challenge to connect school and classroom curricula to systematic career development and education.

Career development experts assert that it is important to define some terms related to career development because education and related programming are shaped by how terms are used in creating, implementing, and evaluating career development interventions. Several terms relating to career education are defined here in greater specificity: (a) *career*: a lifestyle—more than just work or a set tasks, where it is broadly the course of events constituting a life or the total set of roles played over a lifetime; (b) *career development*: lifelong psychological and behavioral processes and contextual influences shaping one's careers over the life span with career patterns, decision-making style, life-role self concepts, and life-role integration; (c) *career development interventions*: activities that empower people to cope effectively with career development tasks such as developing self-awareness, occupational awareness, decision-making skills, job-search skills, coping with job stress via individual and group career counseling, career development programs, career education, computer-assisted career development programs, computer information delivery systems, and other forms of client career information delivery systems; (d) *career counseling* or *career guidance*: a formal relationship in which a professional counselor assists a client or group of clients with career concerns such as career goal setting, coping more effectively with career concerns, and evaluating clients' career progress; (e) *career development programs*: systematic programs of counselor-coordinated information and experiences designed to assist clients with career goals, objectives, activities, and methods for evaluating the effectives if activities; and (f) *career education*: systematic teaching that seeks to influence the career development of persons through using various types of strategies (e.g., providing occupational information, infusing career-related concepts into the academic curriculum, providing career planning courses, and offering worksite-based experiences).

Career development theory, research, and practice should be inclusive for diverse student groups. Unfortunately, this has not been the case largely because career development and education historically focused on the career development and life experiences of middle-class, European American males. Issues of occupational stereotyping, discrimination, environmental barriers, and other forms of bias may impede the career development of diverse populations. Many experts have found that the fields of career development and career education have an impact on social change as they seek to meet the career needs of increasingly diverse populations. Career education has many applications and will be described, focusing generally on school-aged students, in several areas: (a) historical notes; (b) career education with diverse populations; (c) career education for students in schools with connections to community settings; and (d) future trends in career education.

Historical Notes

Career development interventions have been influenced by political, social, educational, and cultural forces nationally and globally. Experts have identified six stages in the growth of career development and education: (a) Stage One (1850–1919): Growth of industrialization and fall of agricultural jobs, beginning of career and vocational educational movement in schools and at college level, and growth of mental measurement movement; (b) Stage Two (1920–1939): Growth of career education and guidance in elementary and secondary schools; (c) Stage Three (1940–1959): Growth of career education and guidance in colleges and universities and counselor training in higher education institutions;

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(d) Stage Four (1960–1979): Growth of career development professional organizations; (e) Stage Five (1980–1989): Growth of information technology, career counseling private practice, and career outplacement services; and (f) Stage Six (1990-Present): Growth of changing demographics; continued emphasis on multicultural counseling; continued development of technology; and focus on school-to-work transitions.

In the early 1900s, there was controversy related to an unwelcome influx of ethnic groups and growth of industrial urban areas with accompanying widespread poverty and exploitation. Experts believed that youth should have knowledge of their needs and future career options and thus have greater career satisfaction and face less exploitation if occupational information could be given to students, teachers, and parents. While these beliefs were well founded, practices indicated another reality where many educators and career practitioners reinforced the social status of discriminated groups. Similar economic, social, and demographic conditions exist today much like those that fueled the development of career development interventions at the turn of the last century with the suggestion that educators and counselors have unique opportunities to avoid the biases of the profession's early efforts through career education and related interventions.

Career Education with Diverse Populations: Economically Disadvantaged Persons

Economically disadvantaged groups are generally comprised of three groups: (a) chronically poor persons who are born into poverty and raised in families without economic resources for their basic needs; (b) unemployed or newly disadvantaged persons who are unemployed and can bridge brief periods of unemployment by using available resources or persons who have no resources or employment to return; and (c) underemployed poor persons who are mainly in low-wage, marginal jobs that involve little skill and wages that are insufficient to exceed poverty standards. Career development challenges faced by these groups may include the lack of basic educational skills, inability to obtain vocational training, and incongruence between self-concept and low-level jobs. Persons with limited educational background are generally relegated to the most marginal work opportunities. Literacy, basic mathematics, and language proficiency are the minimal requirements for almost every occupation and many poor youth drop out of school before they reach the grade level where career education and skills may be most helpful. Many career-related challenges of these groups need career education and interventions in four areas: access to basic adult education, personal and/or career counseling, information about career and work opportunities, and vocational training and placement. Access to career education and career-related opportunities resources may be thwarted by a lack of services such as transportation or childcare.

Ethnic Minority Group Members

Ethnic minority groups comprise at least one third of persons in the workforce with the largest numbers being African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, and Asian Americans. The numbers of ethnic minorities are rapidly increasing and represent the majority of persons in some states or states' regions. These individuals are disproportionately low-income and face challenges described earlier. Career experts must be prepared to understand the worldviews, values, languages, religion and spirituality, customs, traditions, and histories of hardship of ethnic minority groups as well as the within-group diversity among them (e.g., Socio-economic status (SES), race, immigration regency). Ethnic minority group members may face limited educational opportunities and discrimination, which can result in high unemployment, underemployment, low-paying jobs, and family instability due to economic instability. Some recent immigrants may also experience limited English proficiency, cultural shock, alienation, and new cultural adaptations. Diverse cultures may also have different conceptions of the family, gender roles, and work-family roles. In some ethnic minority groups, *career* may have a collective, not an individual meaning where it may be viewed as an outcome for the betterment of the group and not just the individual. Career education for these groups should focus on the need for quality schooling (e.g., high school graduation and further technical training, college graduation), the ways that culture influences career development, and culturally responsive career education materials and strategies (e.g., involvement of ethnic group communities, use of group counseling strategies).

Girls and Women

Girls and women experience special problems in career development which have not been adequately addressed in career development theories and interventions. The sex-role stereotyping of occupations begins at an early age and may remain a lifelong concern. Girls and women face two challenges that must be considered in career education and counseling—the socialization of and impact gender roles have on career development and the biological fact that women can bear children. Despite the feminist movement, women typically remain the primary person responsible for the home and family and are generally concentrated in poorly paid occupations. Realities regarding career choice, role participation, and discrimination in the workplace must be addressed when providing career education and counseling to girls and women. Career intervention strategies should seek to broaden the kinds of careers female students are exposed to, help them access school and community connected career development programs, and prepare females for stereotypes and discrimination that they may face in their career development.

Persons with Disabilities

Individuals with disabilities represent another group that generally experiences discrimination in career development programming. Several changes have been made to describe individuals with disabilities to negate stereotypes and false information. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) identifies a person with a disability as one who has a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more major life activities. These disabilities may or may not be a vocational hindrance. The ADA prohibits discrimination in all employment practices including job application, hiring, firing, advancement, compensation, training, and other employment conditions. The career development needs of persons with disabilities may include several areas such as difficulty adjusting to and accepting physical disabilities, attitudinal barriers, being stereotyped or labeled "disabled," lack of individuals with disabilities who serve as role models, self-concept and social/interpersonal skills, independent living skills, and architectural barriers. Career practitioners should view a disability as multifaceted and employ diverse strategies to address the persons' self concept, social status, life roles, work roles, the severity of functional limitations, and the person's adjustment to limitations including feelings of inferiority and negative stereotypes. Both state and private rehabilitation agencies provide numerous career-related services such as psychological assessment, skills assessment, special education and skills training, job placement, and post-employment services.

Some laws and policies (e.g., Education for All Handicapped Children Act, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, Individualized Education Program) include provisions to meet children's educational goals, objectives, evaluation, and transition services for school-to-work or continuing education, usually by the ages of 14 to 16. Career practitioners can use a number of interventions with students with disabilities such as developing student career plans, providing career information on work roles, responsibilities, discussion about workplace realities (e.g., discrimination and stress), providing pre-vocational skill training (e.g., care of work materials, learning to be punctual), providing life skills training, and other career education skills (e.g., interviewing skills, social skills, interpersonal employee–employer skills, and workplace change).

Sexual Minority Groups

Individuals who are gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgendered (GLBT), also called sexual minorities, represent a group that is discriminated against in schools and other institutions. Homosexuality and bisexuality are not types of physical or mental disabilities according to the ADA. Experts suggest that there appears to be a growing trend for more open discussion about the effects of sexual orientation on career development given the number of GLBT persons who openly discuss the kinds of challenges they face, especially in the workplace. There is a growing number of companies that support their own GLBT employee organizations and support networks. However, despite the increased acknowledgement of GLBT issues, there is little research on the career development of GLBT persons. Literature on the career needs and status of GLBT youth is generally focused on adolescence—a time period that is heightened in sexual identity development. Socially, GLBT youth may be rejected by their

families and friends and may face health risks of drug abuse, suicide, and HIV/AIDS. GLBT persons continue to be stereotyped in terms of the kinds of jobs they should hold, based on traditional male or female jobs for members of a given sex. They are often threatened by psychological or physical violence engendered by homophobia, and may form a dislike of themselves through their own internalized homophobia. They face discrimination in the workplace such as threats, lack of advancement, ostracism, sexual harassment, termination, or the "lavender ceiling." Career practitioners should be aware that there is diversity among GLBT persons including diversity within and across ethnic groups of African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans. It should be noted that ethnic minority GLBT persons report that they are only marginally accepted in their respective communities and struggle with parallel psychological processes of identity: ethnic identity and sexual orientation identity. Career education should prepare GLBT individuals for the kinds of stereotypes and discrimination that they may face in their career development. Career intervention strategies, including career education, should aim to help GLBT persons find acceptance in the workplace.

Career Education for Students in Schools with Connections to Community Settings

Over the past 30 years numerous educational initiatives have focused on promoting career education in kindergarten through grade 12 schools. The most ambitious programs were developed during the 1970s and focused on helping children and adolescents broaden their career aspirations, learn decision-making skills, acquire vocational skills, and develop an appreciation of students themselves. The career education thrust of the 1970s, by the mid-1980s, had been swept from schools by several events: (a) the "back-to-education basics" educational movement the criticized career education at the elementary school level because certain activities (e.g., field trips to worksites, attention on employees) reduced time spent on core subjects; (b) career education programs were built on external funds with few if any plans from school district funding for program sustainability; (c) overloading teachers with additional career education programs; (d) the negative association of the term "career education" with "vocational education" where many middle-class parents were concerned that their children would be diverted from college preparatory curricula; and (e) underdeveloped local political support among educators, parents, and the business community. However, career education, along with the corresponding notion that general education and career education should be linked, within schools and connected to communities within the world of work, was more resilient than many people believed.

Although high school has traditionally been viewed as a time when most students begin to prepare for college or a career, many experts believe that students should be exposed to continuous and comprehensive career development experiences starting early in the elementary school years. Students are expected to meet numerous developmental academic, social, and benchmarks as they face key transitions from elementary to middle school, middle to high school, and high school to postsecondary career preparation in college, technical training institutions and the workplace which includes military and entrepreneurship opportunities. Yet, many students do not graduate from high school because they drop out physically or psychologically.

The National Occupational Information Coordinating Committee (NOICC) issued several reports on career education programs in schools including one report identifying seven processes that under gird career education in schools: classroom instruction; counseling, assessment, career information, placement, consultation, and referral and provided competencies and indicators based on students' developmental and academic levels within three areas—*Self-knowledge* (Competencies I through III), *Educational and Occupational Exploration* (Competencies IV through VIII), and *Career Planning* (Competencies IX though XII).

Elementary School

NOICC has provided the competencies and indicators for elementary school students: (a) Competency I: Knowledge of the Importance of Self-concept; (b) Competency II: Skills to Interact with Others; (c) Competency III: Awareness of the Importance of Growth and Change; (d) Competency IV: Awareness of the Benefits of Educational Achievement; (e) Competency V: Awareness of the Relationship Between Work and Learning; (f) Competency VI: Skills to Understand and Use Career Information; (g) Competency VII: Awareness of the Importance of Personal Responsibility and

Good Work Habits; (h) Competency VIII: Awareness of How Work Habits Relate to the Needs and Functions of Society (i) Competency IX: Understanding How to Make Decisions; (j) Competency X: Awareness of the Interrelationship of Life Roles; (k) Competency XI: Awareness of Different Occupations and Changing Male/Female Roles; and (l) Competency XII: Awareness of the Career Planning Process.

For many decades elementary school teachers have been aware of the need for students to cultivate an awareness of themselves and community opportunities. Career education at the elementary level should involve systematically providing knowledge and skills throughout the curriculum and the ongoing collaboration of teachers and counselors. These activities are generally conducted by one or more teachers rather than related systematically to other career education in a given school. Experts suggest that elementary school children have impressions of the work world, sex-typing of occupations, roles that parents and others play in different work settings, and the formation of their personal abilities, even before entering school. While some impressions are often overgeneralized, inaccurate, and restricted, children generally embrace some occupations as possibilities and remove others from their consideration in the present or future. Career education at this level seeks to help children avoid premature closure of future career options—not to force children into making premature career choices.

Junior High School or Middle School

At the middle or junior high school level, NOICC has described the following competencies and indicators: (a) Competency I: Knowledge of the Influence of a Positive Self-concept; (b) Competency II: Skills to Interact with Others; (c) Competency III: Knowledge of the Importance of Growth and Change; (d) Competency IV: Knowledge of the Benefits of Educational Achievement to Career Opportunities; (e) Competency V: Awareness of the Relationship Between Work and Learning; (f) Competency VI: Skills to Locate, Understand, and Use Career Information; (g) Competency VII: Knowledge of Skills Necessary to Seek and Obtain Jobs; (h) Competency VIII: Understanding of How Work Relates to the Needs and Functions of the Economy and Society; (i) Competency IX: Skills to Make Decisions; (j) Competency X: Knowledge of the Interrelationship of Life Roles; (k) Competency XI: Knowledge of Different Occupations and Changing Male/Female Roles; and (l) Competency XII: Understanding the Process of Career Planning.

Students at the junior high/middle school level make major developmental and school transitions, namely between childhood and adolescence, and between general and specialized education, respectively. Students in this age group have needs for diversity in experiences, self-exploration, meaningful participation, positive peer and adult interaction, physical activity, and competence and achievement. It is should also be recognized that there are a wide range of maturity levels in the student population in areas of: pubertal changes, rates of male and female growth, and general unevenness of physical, emotional, social, and intellectual development within and between the population of boys and girls. Thus, career education programs must recognize the important transitions and diverse maturity levels among students at this level.

It is important that both teachers and career counselors provide career education to students and parents about the consequences of curricular and course choices made now and planned for senior high school so that later options will not be temporarily delayed or permanently closed. Students cannot explore or choose educational or occupational goals if they do not know about them. Quality career development and education programs should be relevant, accurate, and timely. Research suggests that cultural differences, namely ethnic/racial and gender, in career information, availability of role models, self-efficacy, and bias towards or away from particular choices become major factors in planning and implementing career education programs at the junior high/middle school level. Career education at this level emphasizes exploration and planning while not implying that the earlier emphasis on self-awareness and career awareness have been completed, but rather as children grow, there are new demands and tasks that they should also complete. For most students, self-awareness and career awareness will be refined as self-exploration, career exploration.

High Schools

NOICC has provided the competencies and indicators for high school students in the following areas: (a) Competency I: Understanding the Influence of a Positive Self-concept; (b) Competency II: Skills to Interact

Positively with Others; (c) Competency III: Understanding the Importance of Growth and Change; (d) Competency IV: Understanding the Relationship between of Educational Achievement and Career Planning; (e) Competency V: Understanding the Need for Positive Attitudes Toward Work and Learning; (f) Competency VI: Skills to Locate, Evaluate, and Interpret Career Information; (g) Competency VII: Skills to Prepare, Seek, Obtain, Maintain, and Change Jobs; (h) Competency VIII: Understanding How Societal Needs and Functions Influence the Nature and Structure of Work; (i) Competency IX: Skills to Make Decisions; (j) Competency X: Understanding the Interrelationship of Life Roles; (k) Competency XI: Understanding the Continuous Changes of Male/Female Roles; and (l) Competency XII: Skills in Career Planning.

High school students, like students at the younger grade levels, also undergo a number of transitions including preparing for the transition from high school to work. As many as 25%t leave school before graduating from high school and the rates may be 40–60% in high schools with low-income ethnic minority group students. Because many students complete their formal schooling with high school, there is a need to assist all students to develop and implement career plans. As mentioned, career development and career education have not been implemented in a systematic way across all grade levels so that during the high school years, there are individual differences in the degree to which previous career interventions have been effective. Thus, career education programs should address the heterogeneity in career development among adolescents and facilitate students' understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of various postsecondary options under students' consideration.

Many high schools across the nation have implemented career education programs, with promising evaluation outcomes, in an effort to reach all students and extend classroom to learning to the world of work: (a) career academies (or schools within schools) where schools are organized into broad-based academic/career-based programs (e.g., mathematics/science, communications, business, teaching) where students can complete college preparation work in addition to hands on, work-related knowledge; (b) cooperation education that structures students' in school learning with experiences in paid jobs; (c) required community service programs where students can explore possible careers as well as learn knowledge and skills; (d) tech-prep programs (or 2 + 2 programs) in which a combined secondary/postsecondary program that leads to an associate degree or 2-year certificate, provides technical preparation in at least one occupational field (e.g., applied science or practical art), builds on students' competence through a sequential course of study, and leads to a placement of study; and (e) apprenticeship programs to provide skill development opportunities.

Future Trends in Career Education

The rapidly changing world of work will continue to be influenced by many forces such as technological developments, an interdependent global economy, an increasingly diverse workforce, a changing or disappearing social contract between employer and employee (e.g., corporate downsizing, jobless economic recovery), and the intertwining increases of work and family roles (e.g., companies with parental leave and child care; increases in the number of persons working at home). Experts suggest that career education and development interventions need to be revised to meet the career tasks confronting people in the twenty-first century.

First, in the area of *career information*, there will be continuing efforts to improve the delivery of occupational information provided by federal and state governments, nonprofit organizations such as colleges and universities via the Internet (e.g., Occupational Outlook Handbook), and from businesses with and without fees. Both career counselors and the public will have increasing access to career information through various systems such as computer assisted career guidance systems (CACFS) in public agencies and in persons' homes. In the area of job searches, job openings will increasingly be made online. This has implications for certain diverse groups who may not have viable access to online resources.

Second, *career counseling* will be increasingly recognized as a specialty that requires expertise in three areas: personal counseling, career counseling, and career assessment. Career decisions should be viewed as value-based decisions where clients are empowered to clarify and articulate their declared values that can be implemented as career professionals. Career professionals can move to counseling-based career assistance because of the considerable overlap between career and general life concerns. The focus can be on multiple life roles where context can be incorporated into career development interventions. Career development

interventions can address the totality of career concerns people experience so that they can be empowered to live a good life as well as make a good living. Moreover, career professionals can function as collaborators in the career counseling process with a focus on the relationship. This role clearly mandates that career professionals have multicultural career education and career development skills. Career practitioners can move beyond objective career assessment. While objective career assessments may be helpful in identifying viable career options, there can also be a focus on the process of making meaning out of life experiences—this can be the backdrop for examining one's values, interests, and skills that can then be connected to career options.

Third, career education and counseling of diverse groups will continue to be a major focus in the field. Career development interventions must address the status and needs of diverse populations where social and economic barriers prevent specific groups from fulfilling their career aspirations, goals, and objectives. These groups described earlier include ethnic minority groups, male and female youth, persons with disabilities, and sexual minority persons. Finally, there will be a greater focus placed on career information for adults who are beyond the basic schooling and college-level years.

Fourth, although career development programming will continue to be important in the future, it will be secondary to the school reform movement, with its emphasis on high stakes testing and core subject outcomes that grip many of the nation's public schools. This means that career development practitioners and advocates have to link career development programming to expected outcomes of school reform such as academic achievement, high school completion, enrollment in college, and graduation from college.

See also: ➲ *Academic achievement in minority children*; ➲ *Community approaches to improving child success*; ➲ *Cultural issues in education*; ➲ *High schools*; ➲ *Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender (GLBT)*; ➲ *Middle school*; ➲ *School counselor*; ➲ *School-to-work*; ➲ *Students with disabilities*

Suggested Reading

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Niles, S. G., & Harris-Bowlsbey, J. (2005). *Career development in the 21st century*. Mahwah, NJ: Upper Saddle River, Erlbaum.

Sue, D. W., & Sue, D. (2003). *Counseling the culturally diverse: Theory and practice*. New York: Wiley.

Suggested Resources

Association of Computer-Based Systems for Career Information—http:www.acsci.org: ACSCI is a professional association, formed in 1978, for the advancement of career information and its delivery. This website offers membership, news, and information about upcoming events.

National Career Development Association: The National Career Development Association (NCDA) is a division of the American Counseling Association (ACA). The mission of NCDA is to promote the career development of all people over the life span. The NCDA provides service to the public and professionals involved with or interested in career development, including professional development activities, publications, research, public information, professional standards, advocacy, and recognition for achievement and service.

CASEL

➲ Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL)

CBT

➲ Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT)

CEMA

➲ American Psychological Association (APA): Office of Ethnic Minority Affairs (OEMA) and Committee on Ethnic Minority Affairs (CEMA)

Center for School Mental Health (CSMH)

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Recent reports have documented an increase in federal, state, and local support for school mental health (SMH) programs. SMH programs are becoming a significant force in addressing the widely agreed upon crisis in youth mental health care in the United States (U.S.), while also improving efforts by schools to reduce barriers to student learning. SMH is a relatively new and tenuously supported field, however, additional efforts are needed to better integrate training, practice, research and policy. The Center for School Mental Health (CSMH) at the University of Maryland School of Medicine seeks to address these needs and assist in advancing successful and innovative policies and programs in SMH. The CSMH was originally funded as the Center for School Mental Health Assistance in 1995 by the Maternal and Child Health Bureau of the Health Resource and Services Administration (HRSA). In 2000, the Center was refunded by HRSA, with co-funding by the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA). In 2005, the Center was funded for another five years, through 2010, by HRSA.

The mission of the CSMH is to *strengthen policies and programs in school mental health to improve learning and promote success for America's youth.* Center staff, an experienced, interdisciplinary and diverse team works closely with federal project officers, Advisory Board members, stakeholders and collaborators throughout the U.S. to further the Center's three overarching goals. The three goals and their associated objectives are directed toward facilitating progress of the Achieving the Promise (2003) initiative, in particular to pursue the initiative's recommendation 4.2 which is to "improve and expand school mental health programs" (see www.mentalhealthcommission.gov). Goals and objectives comprise an interconnected agenda to further build a Community of Practice within SMH and to enhance understanding of successful policies and programs, broadly disseminate policy analyses, and facilitate actions to advance the field through this community.

The first goal of the CSMH is to enhance understanding of successful and innovative school mental health policies and programs across urban, suburban, rural, and frontier settings as well as across local, state, national, and international levels. Pursuing Goal 1, specific objectives focus on the completion of issue briefs and policy analyses on 16 critical themes in SMH and on key federal policy initiatives including *No Child Left Behind*, the current Elementary and Secondary Education Act; the Achieving the Promise Initiative; and the Reauthorized (in 2004, with regulations promulgated in 2006) Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA).

The second goal of the CSMH is to further develop a rapid, innovative, and widespread communications framework to disseminate findings and recommendations on successful and innovative policies and programs in SMH to all interested stakeholders. To achieve this goal, specific objectives relate to the development of a broad communications framework that emphasizes the Internet, including the CSMH website (http://csmha.umaryland.edu) and collaboration with the IDEA Partnership (see www.ideapartnership.org), other national organizations, federal agencies, and state and local agencies and communities. A focus of this communication framework is to broadly disseminate issue and policy briefs and relevant updates and other information to a broad network of over 50,000 diverse individuals. Here, the CSMH also seeks to promote knowledge development in the SMH field through relevant research and interactive meetings and forums, resulting in professional presentations to diverse audiences in SMH, education, family and youth advocacy, children's mental health, and other child serving systems and publications (i.e., research articles, book chapters, and user-friendly and web-focused articles).

The third and final goal of the CSMH is to promote knowledge utilization and action toward the advancement of successful and innovative policies and programs in SMH. To pursue this goal, with the IDEA Partnership and many other collaborators as above, the CSMHA is helping to build a National Community of Practice on School Mental Health. The community seeks to enhance relationships, information sharing, dialog, and collaboration, to promote the "collective intelligence" and mutual support of a rapidly growing SMH field that reflects a "shared agenda"—families, students, schools, mental health and other child and

adolescent system staff working together to advance integrated approaches to reduce academic and nonacademic barriers to learning among youth. With the support of the IDEA Partnership, an annual meeting of the community is held, systematic state initiatives focusing on SMH are moving forward, and ten practice groups are pursuing deeper dialog and collaboration in ten prioritized focus areas in the field (e.g., Youth involvement and leadership, developing a common language, family partnerships, quality and evidence-based practice). In between annual meetings which are held in conjunction with the CSMHA's *Annual Conference on Advancing School Mental Health*, community members share knowledge, provide mutual support, and plan and implement relevant projects through email, conference calls, and active involvement through the Internet.

See also: ➲ *Home-school partnerships*; ➲ *Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA)*; ➲ *School roles in mental health*

Suggested Reading

Weist, M. D. (2005). Fulfilling the promise of school-based mental health: Moving toward a public mental health promotion approach. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 6*, 735–741.

Weist, M. D. et al. (2003). *Handbook of school mental health: Advancing practice and research*. New York, NY: Springer Publishers.

Suggested Resources

The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) Partnership—www.ideapartnership.org: The IDEA Partnership is a coalition of over 50 professional organizations and many U.S. states who seek to advance learning, health and mental health for youth in schools.

Center for School Mental Health (CSMHA)—http://csmha.umaryland.edu: The CSMHA website provides information on training events and resources.

The School Mental Health Connection—www.schoolmental-health.org: This is user-friendly resource that provides practical tools for effective school mental health for families, youth, educators and clinicians.

The National Community of Practice on Collaborative School Behavioral Health—www.sharedwork.org: This website provides a forum for mutual support and multiscale learning among different professional organizations, practice groups, states, and communities.

Center for School-Based Mental Health Programs (CSBMHP)

Carl E Paternite

In existence since 1998, the Center for School-Based Mental Health Programs (CSBMHP) at Miami University operates within the Department of Psychology. Eight university faculty members are affiliated with the Center, along with a 3/4-time Program Assistant. More than a dozen graduate students work with CSBMHP as research assistants and/or in clinical/consultation traineeships. Center activities are funded by a variety local, state, and federal grant and contract funds, by a private foundation grant and by university cost sharing.

An important goal of the Center is to build collaborative relationships with schools and community agencies to address the mental health and school success of children and adolescents through multifaceted programs. The intent is to promote the development and implementation of *effective* programs and practices to enhance healthy psychological development of school-age students and reduce mental health barriers to learning. As a university-based Center, CSBMHP is committed to ongoing applied research, preservice education of future clinicians, in-service training of educators and mental health professionals, and direct clinical and consultative service.

CSBMHP also leads the Ohio Mental Health Network for School Success (OMHNSS), which is funded jointly by the Ohio Department of Mental Health and the Ohio Department of Education. The Network consists of affiliate organizations in six regions of the state, with each affiliate, in turn, creating an action network within their region. The mission of the statewide Network is to help Ohio's school districts, community-based agencies and families work together to achieve improved educational and developmental outcomes for all children—especially those at emotional or behavioral risk and those with mental health problems. CSBMHP and OMHNSS work have garnered statewide and national attention. CSBMHP faculty and OMHNSS affiliates have been involved extensively in state-level and national public policy advocacy and technical assistance related to school mental health services.

Recent efforts in this regard have included leadership for Ohio's Mental Health—Education—Families Shared Agenda Initiative; subcommittee work for Ohio's Access to Better Care Initiative; consultation with the Ohio Department of Education Community Collaboration Model for School Improvement Initiative; consultation with the IDEA Partnership; consultation with the Center for School Mental Health Analysis and Action (University of Maryland); and coleadership of the Mental Health Education—Integration Consortium (MHEDIC).

CSBMHP and OMHNSS embrace and examine service delivery within the framework of the *expanded school mental health* (ESMH) model. ESMH incorporates key elements reflected in the recommendation of the 2003 President's New Freedom Commission to expand and improve school mental health services. These elements include: (1) family–school–community agency partnerships, involving close collaboration between school-employed mental health staff and community-employed mental health professionals working in schools; (2) commitment to a continuum of mental health education, promotion, assessment, problem prevention, early intervention, and treatment; and (3) services for youth in general and special education.

CSBMHP initiatives also prioritize attention to application and examination of the principles of *community science* as a means to bridge the gap between research and practice. In this regard, explicit attention is paid to the mechanisms and processes needed to develop, support, and sustain effective practices in real world settings. The community-centered emphasis of *community science* focuses attention on local needs-within schools, sees "best practice" as process rather than magic bullet programs, and emphasizes control by school-based and school-linked practitioners (educators and "mental health" professionals), parents/families, and community stakeholders. Local participation in school mental health initiatives is promoted and oriented toward accountability in the delivery *process* within schools. Engaging school-based personnel, and their community partners, in planning, implementing, evaluating, sustaining, and continuously improving school mental health practices, based on locally determined needs, builds local capacity to improve the quality of practice and achieve positive mental health and academic outcomes.

See also: ➲ *Center for School Mental Health (CSMH)*; ➲ *Center for the Advancement of Mental Health Practices in Schools*; ➲ *Multicultural issues in special education*

Suggested Reading

Flaspohler, P. D., Anderson-Butcher, D., Paternite, C. E., Weist, M. D., & Wandersman A. (2006). Community science and expanded school mental health: Bridging the research to practice gap to promote child well being and academic success. *Educational and Child Psychology*, *23*(1), 27–41.

Wandersman, A. (2003). Community science: Bridging the gap between science and practice with community-centered models. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *31*, 227–242.

Weist, M. D. (1997). Expanded school mental health services: A national movement in progress. In T. Ollendick & R. J. Prinz (Eds.), *Advances in Clinical Child Psychology*, Vol 19, (pp. 319–352). New York: Plenum Press.

Suggested Resources

Center for School-Based Mental Health Programs (CSBMHP) at Miami University—http://www.units.muohio.edu/csbmhp/: This website describes the regional, state, and national work of CSBMHP.

The IDEA Partnership—http://www.ideapartnership.org/mission.cfm: The IDEA Partnership is "dedicated to improving outcomes for students and youth with disabilities by joining state agencies and stakeholders through shared work and learning."

The Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL)—http://www.casel.org/home/index.php: The CASEL mission is to "enhance children's success in school and life by promoting coordinated, evidence-based social, emotional, and academic learning as an essential part of education from preschool though high school."

Center for the Advancement of Mental Health Practices in Schools

James R Koller · Karen J Weston

Historically, traditional approaches to the identification and treatment of mental illness in children and youth have focused on medical models of pathology, eg., what is wrong with the child. In so doing, client deficits or

functional limitations are identified and compared to a standard rubric like the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: Text Revision* (DSM-IV-TR) to establish eligibility for services. If eligible, the resultant assistance might include the diagnosis of a disability, provision of therapy and/or placement in school services for individuals with special needs.

However, in the fall of 1998 the American Psychiatric Association, in concert with participating state departments of mental health, met with representatives of university based training programs to advocate for more prevention driven efforts toward mental health promotion. As a result of this challenge, in a paradigmatic shift, the Missouri Department of Mental Health made the decision to establish a unique program at the University of Missouri-Columbia. Subsequently, the Center for the Advancement of Mental Health Practices in Schools (Center) was established in the Department of Educational, School and Counseling Psychology. The Center was formed as a direct response to the realization by local, state and federal agencies for the need to increase prevention driven mental health services in the school and related community settings. As a result, the overall goal of the Center is designed to focus on the prevention of mental illness with the corresponding promotion of positive, evidence-based mental health practices for children, youth and the professionals who serve them.

Specifically, the Center's mission is fourfold: first, to *increase awareness* of mental health issues as they have an impact on the school, community, students, teachers, administrators and families; second, to provide *education* through evidence based practices for all school based personnel to improve the knowledge and skill levels in the area of mental health; third, the Center strives to be a valuable *resource* for educators and other community mental health personnel to implement best practice resources for their students; and fourth, the Center serves as an *advocate* for all students, families and school personnel faced with the escalating challenges of dealing with mental health concerns in today's classroom and community.

Currently, the Center is actively involved in a number of activities based on the realization that since the typical student learner spends the majority of his/her day in the classroom, it is imperative that the teacher be a knowledgeable consumer of mental health principles and practices. With such knowledge, a favorable academic learning environment is created while the student's self-concept has the opportunity to flourish. In response, the Center created a unique, nationally recognized online graduate program that leads to the culmination of a graduate degree (either a M.S. or Ed. S.) with a focus in mental health. Located in the College of Education, in an American Psychological Association (APA) approved psychology department, students also have the option of taking selected individual coursework to advance their skill level in specific content areas. Developed from numerous focus group discussions around the State of Missouri comprised of participants from schools, agencies and the larger community, all coursework is designed to meet the mental health needs of *all* children and school personnel by providing individuals with evidence based knowledge and strategies concerning prevention, early identification and intervention. Courses are taught by doctoral level experts from around the United States (U.S.) in fields such as psychology, psychiatry, law and education and are designed to offer practical applications of psychological concepts. As a result, online students worldwide gain competency in a number of skill based content areas not typically available in a face to face graduate curriculum. Examples of online coursework include bullying and violence prevention, anxiety and depression, teacher stress and burnout, building resiliency in children, communicating with angry parents, mental health issues and diversity, building an effective community systems of care model, current legal and ethical issues in mental health, collaborating with families, school-wide Positive Behavior Supports, and a course dealing with psychiatric problems in the classroom. All content is based on current research based evidence, is applicable to all learners regardless of previous school employment, undergraduate or graduate major, gender, social context and/or multicultural variables. One distinct advantage of the online program is that the learner has direct and continuous contact with professors throughout the semester. Moreover, a variety of school-based professionals from around the world can interact and exchange ideas and practices across diverse settings. To date students enrolled represent professions including occupational therapy, speech and language pathology, all levels and types of teachers, school administrators, school social workers, nurses, school psychologists, school counselors and psychiatrists.

At the preservice level, the Center is committed to the preparation of all teachers to be knowledgeable consumers of mental health principles and practices in addition to their preparation of more content driven academic pedagogy. In so doing, the Center,

collaborating with the acclaimed University of Missouri Teacher Development Program, is establishing a unique comprehensive and integrated systems (freshman through senior) curriculum designed to ensure the acquisition of evidence-based mental health knowledge and practices within all teacher preservice development. Relatedly, the Center is also collaborating with the governing State of Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education to advocate for the promotion of state legislation requiring that all newly certified teachers demonstrate minimum competency in school mental health prevention and early intervention practices.

In addition to the training of all preservice level teachers, the Center has been actively involved in revamping presevice training of other school based personnel including school psychology. Although school psychology graduate programs typically provide students with basic training in the prevention and intervention of mental illness, the focus remains on pathology. As a result, the practicing school psychologist typically does not become involved in student issues until significant problems already exist. And, in spite of their training, school psychologists are often underutilized for this role relegated instead to the task of tester or psychometrician. Similarly, the Center acts as a resource for the training of other preservice school based personnel in prevention driven, evidence based practices including counselors, administrators, nurses and social workers all of whom serve as advocates for not only the learner, but also for the classroom teacher. With proliferating mental illness rates occurring among today's youth, there has been a corresponding increase in the school drop out rate. To compound this problem, there has also been a significant increase in teacher drop out rates from the profession. This is due to a number of contributing factors including their own mental health status often exacerbated by school related stress problems.

The Center is actively involved in on site individual and group consultation, intervention, program design and evaluation with numerous Missouri schools and agencies serving the mental health needs of students, staff and families. Examples include developing and delivering numerous conferences and workshops on a variety of issues including classroom management, discipline, recognizing the signs and symptoms of teacher burnout, how to increase effective communication strategies with co-workers and how to identify and intervene with students at risk for negative outcomes (suicide, self-injury, abuse, and dropout).

In its commitment to expand the advocacy of mental health principles and practices throughout the nation, the Center actively participates in a number of collaborative projects that subscribe to the promotion of proactive mental health practices. For example, exemplary school districts in the State of Missouri are members of the MU Partnership for Educational Renewal (MPER). Each year member schools demonstrating progressive school practices are granted small awards to enhance specific school improvement projects. Increasingly, school districts openly solicit assistance from the Center, specifically to help school staff establish a clear link between emotional health and academic achievement.

Another state project the Center is developing is the Mental Health in Rural Schools (MHRS) Network, an online learning community that provides evidence based information and direct, online consultation to rural schools that often lack mental health resources. Four rural school districts pilot tested the site during the 2005-2006 school year with the goal to open the network statewide during the 2006-2007 school-year. Utilizing this technology allows rural, isolated schools the opportunity to establish a community of practice with each other and with the Center.

Nationally, over the last few years the Center has been the fortunate recipient of awards including the National Association of State Directors of Special Education (NASDSE) and the National Association of State Mental Health Program Directors (NASMHPD). The purpose of this award was to establish a shared agenda in Missouri around children's mental health – a mission and vision shared by schools and mental health agencies. Subsequently, the Center conducted a statewide series of focus groups with broad stakeholder representation (i.e., urban and rural, families, school professionals, prevention specialists and mental health providers). The final report provided key insight at the community level regarding commonly held mental health perspectives across groups as well as the perceived barriers to creating a cooperative school, agency and community mental health shared agenda. Fortuitously, the final project report recommendations became a key support for the development of Missouri Senate Bill 1003 (Children's Comprehensive Mental Health Services Initiative) subsequently established as law in December 2004. This law now mandates that, in the State of Missouri, all child serving agencies, including schools, must work together to identify and promote evidence-based practices within school based mental health. The Center will continue to remain an active participant in helping to translate the law into effective school based mental health practices.

Conclusion

Unquestionably, the rate and severity of mental illness continues unabated in society today and specifically in our nation's schools. To proactively combat this alarming increase, it is readily apparent that a paradigmatic shift from an exclusive mental illness paradigm to a more balanced mental health model is mandatory. In this regard, the Center for the Advancement of Mental Health Practices in Schools remains committed to a prevention focused, evidence based practices approach to mental health systems advocacy in today's schools and the expanded community of which it is a part.

Clearly, the responsibility of the development of proactive youth, prosocial mental health rests with all child serving agencies. As the school is the hub of the community, it must start here, in concert with the family. However, the necessary full array of mental health instruction and care must be provided in a coordinated systematic effort across all systems within the community, across the state and nationally.

See also: *Center for School Mental Health (CSMH)*; *Center for School-Based Mental Health Programs (CSBMHP)*; *Mental Health-Education Integration Consortium (MHEDIC)*

Suggested Reading

Koller, J., Osterland, S., Paris, K., & Weston, K. (2004). Differences between novice and expert teachers' undergraduate preparation and ratings of importance in the area of children's mental health. *International Journal of Mental Health Promotion*, *6*, 40–46.

President's New Freedom Commission on Mental Health (2003). *Achieving the promise: Transforming mental health care in America. Final Report for the President's New Freedom Commission on Mental Health (SMA Publication No. 03-3832)*. Rockville, MD: Author.

Weist, M. (1997). Expanding school mental health services: A national movement in progress. In T. Ollendick & R. J. Pring, (Eds.), *Advances in clinical child psychology* (vol. 19, pp. 319–352). New York: Plenum Press.

Suggested Resources

Center for the Advancement of Mental Health Practices in Schools website—http://schoolmentalhealth.missouri.edu: This website offers further information on the programs and resources available from the Center at the University of Missouri-Columbia.

Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies

James Jupp

Australia has developed over the past 50 years from a predominantly British and Irish-derived society to being ethnically and racially very mixed. Having built its population through immigration since 1788, it now numbers nearly one quarter of its 20 million people as overseas-born. While small numbers from outside the British Isles settled over the years, this change is mainly the result of a planned and organized immigration program that began in 1947 and has continued ever since.

Preference for British subjects and the exclusion of non-Europeans had become settled policies long before 1947. As a result, little was known or understood about continental Europeans or Asians. As sources of immigrants were constantly expanded, this lack of knowledge presented a problem for policy makers and often seemed threatening to the general public. The notion that social harmony might be disturbed if society became more multicultural was deeply entrenched in Australian thinking. By the 1970s original favored sources became prosperous and less willing to migrate to the other end of the world.

Australian academics were slow to respond to these changes. Many were still redefining Australian society as distinct from the British original. Governments were anxious to avoid social tensions, especially as these might affect electoral outcomes. They were also aware that settlement for permanent residence and citizenship required public services suitable for new clienteles who did not speak English. The academic pioneer in this area was the Australian National University in Canberra, which launched academic studies in the 1970s concerned with immigrant integration. Public policy shifted away from assimilation towards multiculturalism by the mid-1970s, as in Canada. This meant accepting that there were many different languages, religions, folkways, and practices that needed to be understood rather than simply dismissed as un-Australian.

To meet the intellectual issues involved, a number of academic centers were established. These received little government support, compared with the situation in Canada. However, they were eligible for

publicly funded competitive grants. Among these centers was the Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies set up at the Australian National University in 1988. This grew out of a massive, publicly funded encyclopedia *The Australian People*, which detailed all the major ethnic groups in Australia, as well as a history of immigration and topics related to immigrant settlement, ethnic relations and Aboriginality. A second and revised edition was published, also with public funding, in 2001.

Work published by the Centre has included a study of refugee settlement issues (1994), the translating and interpreting needs of women (1993), evaluation of the official access and equity strategy for non-English-speaking immigrants (1992), urban concentrations (1990), and many papers and reports on multicultural and settlement policy. A change of government in 1996 led to much of this kind of work being defunded, inhibiting the growth of research centers and even their abolition in some cases. The Centre moved its interests towards more general issues, publishing work on immigration policy since the end of White Australia (2002), the English in Australia (2004), and a number of statistical and chronological reports on languages and settlement. The Centre is currently engaged in compiling an encyclopedia of religions in Australia, which will detail the greatly increased variety of religions resulting from the creation of a multicultural society.

See also: *Cultural diversity*; *Prejudice*; *Racism: Individual, Institutional, and Cultural*

Suggested Reading

Jupp, J. (2001). *The Australian people*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Jupp, J. (2004). *From White Australia to Woomera*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Suggested Resources

Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies Page—http://cims.anu.edu.au: This website provides information about the CIMS and related links and lists recent publications.

Certification, Alternate Routes to

Andrea E Antonson

Alternate routes to teacher certification are optional methods for obtaining teacher certification. Traditionally the prospective teacher had to complete a bachelor's degree and an approved teacher training program, as well as supervised student teaching, before applying for standard certification, and pursuing employment. By law, individuals cannot teach in public schools without certification. Therefore, shortages in the supply of teachers led to the demand for rapid certification methods. Alternate routes to certification enable candidates who lack standard certification to enter teaching fields without having to go back to college and major in education.

In some states, a *provisional* certificate may be issued to a teacher with a bachelor's degree in the subject area of interest, authorizing employment on the condition that standard certification requirements will be completed within a set period. In some states, an *emergency* certificate may be issued. This is a substandard, temporary certificate that is granted out of necessity when there is a lack of suitably certified candidates to fill a position. Renewal is contingent upon satisfactory progress toward completion of coursework and certification.

With an increasing demand for teachers and the desire for a better solution than the emergency certificate, New Jersey enacted legislation in 1984 for an alternate route to certifying teachers. Soon after, Texas and California developed alternate route programs to address their growing demand for teachers. In 2006, 47 states, plus the District of Columbia, had alternative teacher certification programs. At the time of writing, North Dakota and Rhode Island have yet to implement alternate route programs, and Alaska has discontinued its program. Just as the traditional teaching certification requirements vary from state to state, and from institution to institution, so do the alternate route possibilities and certification titles. Essentially, teacher certification programs have the following characteristics: they are designed for individuals who have at least a bachelor's degree; coursework and experience is designed specifically for teaching and is field-based;

applicants to the program must pass a screening process including interviews and competency exams; candidates work closely with mentor teachers and candidates must meet high performance standards for completion of the program.

The states that produce the most new teachers through alternate route programs are the states with the oldest and most established programs: California, New Jersey, and Texas. In 2004, the number of teachers certified through alternate route programs from these three states accounted for nearly one-half of the nationwide total of teachers certified through alternate route programs. However, these programs are growing rapidly in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia.

Alternate routes to certification provide teaching opportunities to individuals who previously thought certification was unattainable because of time and financial constraints. In New Jersey, the largest source of qualified minority teachers has been through alternate routes. People coming into alternate route programs tend to be older, are people of color, more men than previously, have academic degrees other than education, and have experiences in other occupations. Many people are career changers, teachers who were trained years ago but they never taught, retirees, and students. They are individuals making a definite decision to enter the field of education at this point in their lives; as a result, early data indicate that rates of teacher retention are higher for individuals certified through alternate programs than through traditional means. Alternate routes to certification have resulted in bringing together a richness of people, academic degrees, talents, and career experiences that enhance the quality of teachers in the profession.

The job outlook for opportunities in the field of teaching looks promising. Many teachers are expected to retire between 2004 and 2014 and will need to be replaced. The increasing representation of youth of color in school enrollment calls for increased recruitment of teachers that reflect this diversity. Shortages in the number of teachers continues to exist in urban areas, where schools tend to be overcrowded and lesser-equipped, and in rural locations owing to lower teacher salaries. There is also a growing need for teachers in specific subject areas, such as mathematics, science, bilingual/bicultural education, and special education. Alternate routes to teacher certification programs provide a solution to today's demand for an array of teachers in these specific subjects and geographic locations.

See also: *Education*; *Substitute teachers*

Suggested Reading

Feistritzer, C. E. (2005). *Profile of alternate route teachers.* Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Information.

Feistritzer, C. E. (2006). Alternative teacher certification: A state-by-state analysis. Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Information.

Suggested Resources

National Center for Alternative Certification—http://www.teach-now.org/: This website is a one-stop source of information about alternate routes to teacher certification, including a state-by-state analysis.

National Center for Education Information—http://www.ncei.com/: This website provides an authoritative source of information about alternate teacher preparation and certification in the U.S.

Character Education

Leslie Ditta

Being an individual of character is valued in society. There are codes of honor and ethics in fields such as medicine, law, and the military, as well as ethical standards in professions like psychology and education. At its core is the idea that to be an individual of character, one must be taught what character is, and how to live out its principles. Consequently, the character education initiative has become an important aspect of United States (U.S.) education. Character education seeks to create school environments where students develop ethics and achieve.

Aspects of character education have always been taught in U.S. schools: treat others kindly, follow the school rules, and be responsible. With events such as the 1999 Columbine school shooting, it has become evident that there are children dangerously lacking

interpersonal values for interacting with others. Since then, along with The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, schools are now required to include character education as part of their curriculum, to develop students' moral attitudes and work to prevent further tragedies such as Columbine.

There are many ways that character education can be implemented in a school's environment and curriculum, at any grade level. Typically it is the responsibility of the school counselor to promote and educate character development among the students of a school. However, the school system itself has to support the notion of character education.

Character education is not a remedial fix after a student has exhibited behaviors, choices, or attitudes that are lacking in moral virtue. Rather, it is a proactive and preventive approach that seeks to change the climate within a school so that students will choose to act with character simply because it is right and expected—not as an apology or consequence.

The implementation of the character education initiative starts by selecting a framework with relevant lessons, activities, and efforts. A primary character education framework used across the U.S. is called Character Counts. Character Counts focuses on what is called the Six Pillars of Character. These six pillars include the following values: caring (being kind to others), fairness (playing by the rules, sharing, and being open-minded), respect (treating others as you would like to be treated), responsibility (doing what you are supposed to), trustworthiness (being honest), and citizenship (be a good member of society, follow rules). Six pillars is a brief number of values to focus on, yet they are broad enough to encompass many traits and behaviors. Character Counts was created in 1992 by the Joseph & Edna Josephson Institute of Ethics, a public, nonprofit organization founded by Michael Josephson in honor of his parents.

Another common framework implemented within schools is that of service learning. Service learning, when paired with character education instruction, enables students to apply what they learn to real life situations. This in turn will benefit the group who receives the service. The scale for service learning can range from providing a service within one's own community such as his or her school, to other schools within the community, or within other public organizations. Service learning can promote academic achievement, social and personal growth, and career and life development. Helping others is a universal theme that can be adapted across cultures.

The nationwide character education movement is being promoted in schools as a primary vehicle to develop ethical values among youth. It cannot be overlooked or forgotten, however, that the responsibility of raising moral individuals does not solely rest on educators; the most influential forces shaping youth are families, primarily parents. Parents and educators serve parallel roles in children's lives. Not only do parents raise their children, but they also serve as teachers, teaching children the values cherished by the family. Teachers, whose primary responsibility is to teach content and skills, along with morals, often serve as "parents away from home" to the students they teach. Teachers often employ parenting techniques as part of their teaching. With such an overlap, it seems impossible to raise ethical individuals without teachers and parents working together as partners, complimenting and supporting the actions of the other. As part of the development of character education programs, an invaluable and essential component must be parent involvement.

See also: *Community approaches to improving child success*; *Conflict resolution*; *Parental involvement in education*; *School counselor*

Suggested Reading

Greer, C., & Kohl, G. (1995). *A call to character*. New York: Harper Collins.

Kilpatrick, W., Wolfe, G., & Wolfe, S. M. (1994). *Books that build character: A guide to teaching your child moral values through stories*. New York: Touchstone.

Suggested Resources

Character Counts—http://www.charactercounts.com: Used within schools and businesses, Character Counts provides the framework of the "Six Pillars of Character": caring, fairness, respect, trustworthiness, citizenship, and responsibility. Adopting these behaviors as a character-promoting program has made this the most widely used approach to character education.

Project Wisdom—http://www.projectwisdom.com: Project Wisdom's history can be traced back to the beginning of the character education movement. By providing positive messages to be used in schools, this program helps to promote a positive, ethical, and caring environment.

Character Education Partnership—http://www.character.org: A national organization that advocates and leads the character education movement. The Character Education Partnership provides definitions, effective practices, and a forum for exchanging ideas about character education.

Charter Schools

Tyondra Jefferson · Mark Kiang

A charter school is a publicly funded primary or secondary school that serves as an alternative to traditional school settings. The two underlying principles of charter schools are autonomy and accountability. Charter schools differ from traditional public schools in that they are not held to the same rules and regulations as public schools. Charter schools have total control of business, finance administration, and curriculum development and implementation. In exchange for this freedom, charter schools must demonstrate an innovative educational philosophy and be held accountable for student outcomes. Charter schools are typically smaller than traditional public schools, with a median enrollment of 242 students compared to 539 students in traditional public schools.

To gain authorization to function in such a manner a sponsor must award the school a charter or a contract that details the performance specifications of the school. A charter is typically granted for 3–5 years and includes the school's mission, educational philosophy, goals, students it aims to serve, assessment techniques, and methods to measure success. Some examples of sponsors are local school boards, universities, state education agencies, and the federal government. Charter schools sponsored by a district have the same powers as other local schools, while charter schools given nonprofit corporation status usually have greater autonomy.

The charter school movement was born out of the need to address the shortcomings of the public school system. Public schools are often overcrowded, underfunded and provide an inadequate curriculum. In 1988, Albert Shanker, the President of the American Federation of Teachers, initiated a reform of the public school system by calling for charter schools or "schools of choice." In theory, Shanker delineated these schools to be free from most of the confinements of both state and district regulations and for accountability measurements to be concerned with student outcomes rather than method or process. The first charter school law was passed in Minnesota in 1991, followed by California in 1992. Currently 40 states have charter school laws.

Of the over 88,000 public schools in the United States (U.S.), there are approximately 4,100 charter schools, which enroll an estimated 1.2 million students. Charter schools most often serve minority and low-income students. For instance, currently the average minority population in charter schools is 60%.

Selection Process

While charter schools provide unique opportunities, hopeful students and their families must undergo an often rigorous selection process to gain admittance. The charter school applicant pool is typically large and frequently charter school evaluation boards are very selective. Charter schools tend to consider potential students based on needs-based requirements such as whether a child receives Title I funding. In addition candidates' academic ability/performance is considered in the acceptance process. Even with these stipulations there often exists a large number of qualified applicants. To address this, most charter schools utilize a lottery system that involves random selection from a pool of students who meet requirements.

Classroom Setting/Teaching Strategies

Charter schools provide smaller class sizes, that provide students increased teacher interaction and guidance. The classroom learning environment in charter schools has been noted to have less disciplinary problems and more positive peer interaction. Classroom teaching involves a variety of instructional strategies including cooperative learning, peer instruction, and learning stations.

One practice that is commonly implemented in charter schools is a system called "looping." Looping is an educational strategy where teachers follow the same group of students for a period of time. If a teacher is given a first grade class, for instance, the teacher will stay with that class for the next 4 years. This allows the teacher to monitor his or her own strengths and weaknesses as well as understand the students' growth. In

some cases, schools encourage looping to build stronger connections between students and teachers. This technique gives the teacher time to understand and address the educational needs of his or her students.

Curriculum

Charter school curricula vary according to the mission of the school. Some demonstrate an evenly divided focus on traditional subjects such as math, reading, writing, science, and social studies. However, because charter schools allow for greater freedom, their curricula often offer unique concentrations and innovative approaches. For example, some charter schools are geared towards music or the arts.

One unique approach utilized by some charter schools is an integrated curriculum that promotes the marriage of two subjects. For example, a charter school that integrates English and social studies may offer a curriculum where the two subjects are concurrently taught in the same classroom setting, with social studies content supporting English vocabulary acquisition, and written composition providing a foundation for social studies comprehension.

Project-based learning is another unique component offered by some charter schools. Project-based learning gives middle and high school students the opportunity to gain real-world professional experience. A charter school may offer research study projects with major companies and universities. Some high school level charter schools offer College Preparatory course work. College Prep prepares students to experience post secondary education by enabling them to enroll in college level courses.

One major initiative offered by some charter schools is the multi-grade classroom. This enables older students to assist younger students through peer group instruction. This strategy has potential benefits for all parties. Teachers can implement a versatile curriculum, younger students receive additional attention and mentoring, and older students may be motivated through increased responsibility.

After school activities are another prominent feature of charter schools. In 2001, nearly eight million children returned to homes with no adult supervision. To provide safe and productive alternatives to returning to empty homes, many charter schools provide after school academic enrichment and recreational activities.

Accountability

Accountability is a crucial aspect to the establishment, operation, and livelihood of a charter school. Those charter schools that do not meet their contracted requirements are placed under scrutiny by state legislatures that hold them accountable for unmet achievement levels.

Charter schools must provide an annual progress report to the board of education that details academic performance. The report also addresses areas of concern, plans for improvement, and efforts to meet the mission of the charter school. If the charter school fails to meet the mission or fails to demonstrate fiscal responsibility the state may deny or revoke the charter.

Community Outreach

Charter schools often foster working relationships with community-based programs. These provide students with the opportunity to participate in community services and activities.

Effectiveness

Studies conducted to assess the effectiveness of charter schools have generally yielded mixed findings. While some studies have shown that charter schools lag behind public schools, these studies compare public schools offered to the general population to all charter schools, the majority of which are aimed towards populations that already exhibit poor academic performance. When charter schools aimed at the general population are compared to similar public schools, studies show that charter schools yield favorable results.

A 2004 analysis of the 2003 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), or “The Nation’s Report Card” by the National Assessment Governing Board (NAGB) showed that, on average, fourth grade charter school students score lower than their peers from traditional public schools on the NAEP. Critics of this report point out that the sample of students studied were only a small percentage of the fourth grade charter school student population.

In addition, most studies that take demographics into consideration find at least comparable and, more often, larger academic gains in charter schools in comparison to public schools. Most studies have found that

charter schools show improved performance over time. Since most charter schools are relatively new, this finding is particularly promising.

Another telling fact is that charter schools tend to receive less funding than traditional public schools. In a 2005 study that examined funding across 16 states and Washington, D.C.—a group that serves 84% of the charter school population—it was found that charter schools receive on average 22% less funding per student than do surrounding district schools. Funding for charter schools is typically worse in urban school settings. Amidst all of the research regarding charter schools that has been done, it should be noted that statistics must be viewed objectively. Just like public schools, charter schools vary considerably and widespread generalizations should not be made.

Outlook

The number of enrollees in charter schools are expected to grow in upcoming years given the implementation of educational laws such as No Child Left Behind that aim to provide equal educational opportunities for all children regardless of economic class or cultural background. As a testament to the optimism that the U.S. as a nation seems to hold in regards to the potential of charter schools, one must look no further than New Orleans. Since the destruction of Hurricane Katrina in 2005, over half of the New Orleans schools that are re-opening are doing so as charter schools.

See also: *Magnet schools*; *Vouchers*

Suggested Reading

Ainsworth, W. J. (2002). Why does it take a village? The mediation of neighborhood effects on educational achievement. *Social Forces, 81*(1), 117–152.

Berends, M., Chun, J., Schuyler, G., Stockly, S., & Briggs R. J. (2002). *Challenges of conflicting school reforms: Effects of new American schools in a high poverty district*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Publications.

Suggested Resources

Innovations in Education: Successful Charter Schools—http://www.ed.gov/admins/comm/choice/charter/index.html: This website provides the public with reports on school performance, accountability, and other topics on the status of education in the U.S.

Delaware State Board of Education—http://www.doe.state.de.us/CharterSchools/expect.html: This website offers important information on the dynamics and expectations of charter schools in Delaware.

Child Abuse

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Child abuse is one problem that is as old as the human race. It is an intentional and vicious act that is driven by power and control over the most vulnerable population: children. Throughout much of ancient history, the intentional killing of children was condoned by society through the practice of infanticide. For example, laws in ancient Greece and Rome prohibited the raising of "defective" or "unfit" children. Infanticide was justified as late as the nineteenth century in parts of Europe, as children were considered to be parental "property" existing in a period (historically between the ages of birth to age seven) not yet vested with the right to live. Child abuse occurs across gender, race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status (SES), geographical location, and cultural background. Children experience abuse at the hands of their close relatives, neighbors, and peers, as well as people outside their homes. Child abusers may be people who are thought to be responsible citizens and are often known and trusted by the victim children. Child abuse is prevalent in all countries, and preventing its occurrence is a goal for national and international communities. The following considers the conceptualization of child abuse, its prevalence, correlates, and prevention in cross-cultural perspective.

Conceptualization of Child Abuse

According to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, child abuse is when a parent, guardian, or caregiver mistreats a child sexually,

physically, or emotionally resulting in injury, emotional or psychological harm, or serious risk of harm to the child. There are three forms of child abuse that are known internationally: sexual, physical, and emotional. Child sexual abuse occurs when a child is used for sexual purposes by an adult. It involves exposing the child to any sexual activity, including sexual intercourse, fondling (making a child touch or be touched sexually; or touching private parts, buttocks), harassment, kissing, hugging, prostitution, and showing pornographic materials to children. Sexual abuse is inherently physical and is often accompanied by emotional abuse. Emotional abuse occurs when a child's needs to be loved, wanted, safe, and worthy are not met by adults or caregivers. A child exposed to sexual abuse also suffers psychologically.

Physical abuse is the deliberate application of force on the child's body, which may result in injury or intentional injuries. It also includes behavior such as kicking, pushing, pinching, beating, hitting, shaking, burning, choking, or dangerous use of force or restraint used on the child. Child labor is a form of abuse that is common in developing countries, whereby children are used as domestic workers, in farms, building construction, and manufacturing. In terms of physical labor, India is known to have the largest number of working children in the world. India is estimated to have 60–100 million children workers under the age of 14 years. Of these, 10 million are known to be slaves, and another 15 million are bonded labor. With a population of 186.8 million children between the ages of 5 and 14 years working as child labor in Sub-Saharan Africa, and an estimated 49.3 million economically active children, it is apparent that child labor is rampant in Africa.

A form of child labor prevalent in school settings in developing countries involves students doing domestic chores for teachers during school hours and at community schools that provide on-site housing for teachers. The domestic chores include cooking and cleaning, making the teacher's bed, buying groceries for teachers, fetching water and firewood. In most cases, the abusing teacher is not aware that he or she is abusing the student, and the victim (the student) does not know that he or she is being abused.

Neglect is another prevalent form of child abuse, and often is both physical and emotional. Emotional (or psychological) abuse occurs when a parent or caregiver does not provide essential requisites to a child's emotional, psychological, and physical development. Physical neglect occurs when a child's needs such as food, clothing, shelter, medical care, and protection are not adequately met. Emotional neglect involves rejecting, degrading, humiliating, or scolding the child in public, in front of peers, or in private. It also involves attacking the child's sense of self in ways that would make the child lose self-confidence.

Children with disabilities are particularly vulnerable to abuse in homes, residential and other facilities that care for them. Having a significant developmental disability (e.g., mental retardation or autistic spectrum disorders, speech and language communication disorder) increases the chances sixfold that the child will experience some form of abuse compared with peers without disabilities. In these settings, the education curricula for the students includes training in self-care, appropriate expression or use of emotions, social skills, and transition to community. Children with assisted self-care may be inappropriately touched by caregivers, fondled, and coerced to engage in sex. They may place their caregivers who are under stress levels over those expected and find themselves at risk of abuse and neglect. They may also be emotionally abused by inappropriate application of behavioral management reinforcers beyond what is required to learn from their educational programs. Similarly, they may be emotionally abused by caregivers with unmet emotional needs who demand it from the children with developmental disabilities in their charge. The children with developmental disabilities may also experience physical abuse and neglect from family or caregivers who perceive the children as less than full humans, undeserving of quality care, or unable to appreciate care. Children with developmental disabilities are particularly vulnerable to abuse as family, caregivers and peers expect that they would not be able to report the abuse.

Children worldwide experience abuse in school settings and from peers. For example, they may experience severe and chronic bullying in the school's classrooms, hallways, and playgrounds. Child victims of peer aggression, rejection, and bullying have suffered in silence, fearing not only a bully's retaliation but the inadequacy of their teacher's ability to recognize and stop the bullying. Children's awareness of high rates of victimization in schools are associated with more negative perceptions of the school's overall climate, decreased levels of engagement in school, and higher rates of daily anxiety and social aversion. These effects occur on children even if they are not direct victims or perpetrators. The experience of bullying

could result in a negative developmental spiral that is activated by the interaction of social skill deficits, behavior problems, and peer rejection. Chronic exposure to hostile overtures and victimization from peers can lead to persistent feelings of resentment, loneliness, anxiety, depression, and alienation. Without intervention, long-standing distress with peers evolves into increasingly chronic and compelling feelings of helplessness, social anxiety, and aggression.

Child trafficking is a form of child abuse that is rampant both in developing and developed countries. It involves the movement or displacement of children under the age of 18 years within or beyond the borders of a country by an intermediary with the intention of abusing and exploiting the children. It is often characterized by coercion, deception, violence, restricted movement, and the abuse of authority, practices that violate children's rights. Within-country trafficking of children is also common; and in developing countries it tends to involve children moved by coercion or deception from rural to urban areas for physical or sexual exploitation. Some delinquent children may run away from home because of ongoing or chronic abuse.

Prevalence of Child Sexual Abuse

Statistics on child abuse from around the globe are difficult to establish for many factors, including poor law enforcement, documentation, and underreporting. We believe that the statistics on the prevalence of child sexual abuse would vary widely by type of abuse and the cultural context in which it occurs. For example, the recent statistics on criminal abuse perpetrated on children in South Africa reveal a total of 53,802 incidents reported to the police in 2002–2003, whereas 56,737 were reported in 2004. Sexual abuse was the most prevalent type of child abuse and accounted for 60% of the cases, followed by physical abuse. About 28 million of the South African population of 46.9 million are children. It is apparent that cases of child abuse in that country are seriously underreported.

Sexual exploitation of children by tourists has been rampant in Asian countries. Sri Lanka, Philippines, and Thailand were considered as the paradise for child sex in the 1980s, and tour operators openly promoted child sex tourism, especially with young boys. Because of these open promotions and lack of enforcement of child abuse laws, pedophiles from around the world enthusiastically flocked to the Asian countries for child sex. Sex tourists abused young children and the children were mostly victims of kidnapping or slavery from having been sold by families in poverty.

In the United States (U.S.), over three million child abuse cases were reported in 1997 alone. Of that number, approximately 13% were sexually abused. According to the U.S. National Center on Child Abuse and Neglect (NCCAN), the number of American children who were seriously injured by all forms of child abuse rose from 141,700 to 565,000 (a 299% increase) between 1986 and 1993. The U.S. Advisory Board on Child Abuse and Neglect declared child maltreatment a "national emergency" as far back as 1990. An estimated 872,000 children were determined to be victims of child abuse or neglect in 2004. Children with reported disabilities account for 7.3% of all child abuse victims in the U.S. Child protective workers in the U.S. are 68% more likely to take initial action on reports where children are identified as possessing a disability than when children possess no disabilities. Most child abuse cases in the U.S. and internationally go unreported. Approximately one in four women and one in ten men in the U.S. were victims of sexual abuse when people were asked to report retrospectively.

Correlates of Child Abuse in Cross-Cultural Perspective

Several factors are associated with the prevalence of child abuse. We consider only a few of the major factors: poor law enforcement, economic deprivation, sociostructural problems, previous experience of abuse, and cultural factors.

Poor law enforcement. Despite the existence of international conventions on children's rights and in-country laws against child abuse (see prevention section below), many law enforcement systems (i.e., federal and state police) have inadequate training or resources to counteract child abuse. Police in some developed countries and many developing countries are reluctant to investigate crimes in low SES neighborhoods or communities they perceive to be prone to violence. For example, some South African police do not aggressively investigate crimes in low SES townships, informal settlements, and other predominantly Black communities, for fear that their cars could be hijacked. Police are rarely seen in those neighborhoods

that also have high risk for child abuse. South African police appear to give higher priority to law enforcement in White communities from the apartheid era while overlooking crimes reported by Blacks, including apparent child abuse crimes. In the absence of law enforcement, perpetrators of child abuse are not reported or convicted and are thus perpetuating the practice. Moreover, perpetrators can threaten and intimidate the victimized child and/or her/his family with impunity to isolate the victims from seeking help from law enforcement.

Economic deprivation. Although child abuse is prevalent across SES, it is more prevalent in impoverished neighborhoods. For example, innumerable young girls in India from poor families are forced to marry elderly men or individuals who seek perverted sexual practices. These girls are often sexually abused and then sold to brothels. Some of the Indian girls are given away in marriage by their families to older boys from well-resourced families to add to the social and economic status of their families of origin. Indian girls in arranged marriages are expected to labor for their in-laws' family while also freeing their biological family from the obligation of parenting. These forms of child marriage have been gaining the attention of many child advocates who have been voicing the harmful effects such as inadequate socialization, deprivation of education, and high rates of enforced widowhood. Nevertheless, these abusive practices are widespread among India's poor, and in many low-resource, developing countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

The impact of poverty on the occurrence of child abuse is also apparent in South Africa. High unemployment and poverty among young South African Blacks emerging from apartheid frustrated many youths who perceived no opportunities to enhance their social advancement. These frustrations may have resulted in the abuse of children. For example, young men in Black townships organized themselves into gangs and engaged in violent behavior toward younger women (12–17 years), contributing to the increase of abuse against girls. Lack of employment opportunities continues to be a serious problem among most Blacks living in historically Black townships, informal settlements, and remote rural areas. Fathers and mothers from the impoverished remote rural areas migrate to the cities for job opportunities, and in the process, may neglect their children in the villages. These labor migrants leave their children on their own or with relatives. Some of the children attempt to follow their parents to the cities, and when they fail to find them, take up life in the streets, including child labor and prostitution. Children who lack healthy custodial care are vulnerable to abuse by relatives and strangers. For example, they could be required to do menial and other tasks not expected for their age, and for the primary benefit of their care providers.

Structural problems. The lack of child protection units, victim friendly courts, shelter homes, and places of safety in many developing countries adds to the vulnerability of children to abuse. Often, the poor national road infrastructure makes traveling a major challenge and discourages abused children and their families or allies in the community to report abuse to law enforcement. A poor road network also reduces the chances that law enforcement agents would visit areas in which there are children at most risk of abuse.

Countries experiencing a fundamental change of their sociopolitical and economic structures often get caught up in bigger political issues rather than social issues such as child abuse. For example, in Bulgaria's transition from communist to a pro-Western form of government, child abuse issues tended to be peripheral to the national rehabilitation agenda. The preoccupation with national socioeconomic transformation may overshadow the safety needs of children in vulnerable communities, such as in the poorer neighborhoods. Children in many countries undergoing major political upheavals such as in Africa, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, the Caribbean, and Latin America are at great risk for abuse.

Previous experience of abuse. Children with a history of abuse are also likely to experience repeated or continued abuse in other contexts/settings. For example, Zimbabwean female children with a history of previous sexual abuse were more likely to be sexually abused by adults and peers. Some of the adults or peers who knew the child's history of sexual abuse perceive them to be vulnerable and actually abuse him or her. The child victims of abuse may believe that accepting the abuse would make them worthy to the perpetrator.

Cultural factors. The cultural norms of a society also place children at risk of child abuse. For example, schools in several developed and developing countries practice corporal punishment and consider it "reasonable spanking" to express disapproval of chronic misbehavior. Children could endure harsh physical abuse both in schools and their homes in societies that endorse corporal punishment. In most societies in

the developing countries, numerous forms of child maltreatment are perceived as private family affairs, so that reporting the abuses by family members is considered a taboo. Some cultures have the expectation for children to be submissive to adult authority. In such circumstances, when confronted by child traffickers, the children may be submissive to the trafficker, whom they perceive to be authoritative. Survivors of trafficking may never report to their parents or guardians for fear of being blamed for the abuse.

Preventing Child Abuse

Many countries across the globe combine a legal approach to preventing child abuse with sociostructural interventions to ameliorate conditions that portend risk for abuse in children, and education to create a wider awareness of child abuse in the general population. Interventions have also been targeted at children and communities with known risk factors.

Legal interventions. It has been almost 15 years since the international community ratified the Convention on the Rights of the child, which gave high priority to the rights of the children, to their survival, and protection. Individual member countries of the United Nations have put in place strong legislation consistent with the Convention, and many countries in the developing and developed world had legal instruments to protect children from abuse before the adoption of the UN Convention. As an example of anti-child-abuse legislation, South Africa's Section 28 of the Bill of Rights states unequivocally that children have the rights to: (a) be protected from maltreatment, abuse, and degradation; (b) be protected from exploitative labor practices; and (c) not be required or permitted to work services that are inappropriate for the person of that child's age, or which place at risk the child's well-being, education, physical or mental health, or spiritual, moral, or social development. The U.S. Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (2003) (CAPTA) identifies a minimum set of acts or behaviors that define child abuse and neglect as any willful recent act or failure to act by a caretaker resulting in death, serious physical or emotional harm, sexual abuse, or exploitation of a child. The CAPTA also considers actions that pose apparent or imminent risk of harm to a child to be abusive. The Japanese judiciary established the Child Abuse Prevention and Child Relief Act in 1933 to engender a safe living environment for children under the age of 14. In addition, Japan has several other laws to ensure the well-being of children.

There are several countries with a reliable legal structure to protect children, and which they follow strictly. For example, in the U.S., children's safety is monitored by the child welfare system, a network of organizations including public agencies, private and community-based organizations, designed to work together in each community. Child welfare systems receive and investigate reports of possible child abuse and neglect, provide services to families who need assistance in the care and protection of their children, arrange for children to live with foster families when they are not safe at home, and arrange permanent adoptive homes or independent living services for children leaving foster care. In 2004, an estimated 3 million referrals involving 5.5 million children were made to child protective agencies in the U.S. Of those reports, 63% provided sufficient information to suggest that a report was warranted. Although the remaining 37% of reports may not have met the legal definition of abuse, the child protection worker may have referred the person reporting the incident to other community services or law enforcement for additional assistance.

All U.S. physicians and human service professionals (such as therapists, social workers, and teachers) are required to report any form of suspected abuse according to law enforcement. Under U.S. law, perpetrators, who may be parents or guardians, are often mandated to receive remedial counseling and education to prevent further abuse. If parents fail to comply with the demands of the court, their parental rights are often terminated. Similarly, the Spanish law system has a high regard for the voice of children. The law requires children up to 12 years of age to give their acceptance for family foster care or adoption. Minors also have the right to be represented by a person of their choice in legal proceedings resulting from the abuse. The opinions of children who have been abused have priority over those of family if the children have been subjected to abusive treatment.

Interventions Targeting Vulnerable Communities and Children. There are three levels of prevention: universal, selective, tertiary. Universal prevention, applied to child abuse, involves educating the general population on child abuse to discourage the onset of new cases of child maltreatment. For example, Canada emphasizes parent education, social support, and community services to educate the general population about child abuse or maltreatment. Selective prevention activities

are aimed at individuals or communities with higher maltreatment risk factors (e.g. poverty, parents of children with disabilities). Family-life education programs for pregnant teenagers, and requisite care for disability classes for families with children with special needs children, are some of the selective prevention activities in the U.S. Tertiary prevention involves the services to individuals or families after abuse has been detected. Australia has the Safety House program, which has clearly identified houses and schools where children can seek help in case of any abuse or maltreatment. The program also focuses on educating children so they can recognize the signs of danger when they find themselves at risk of physical or sexual abuse.

Conclusion

Child abuse is prevalent across societies. Its severity in children is heightened by the fact that one form of abuse is often accompanied by other forms. Understanding interrelationships among specific types of child abuse and their correlates is important in its prevention and treatment. Effective interventions combine legal, sociostructural, and targeted interventions. Preventive efforts that take into account the objective risk for child abuse in family and communities are likely to be successful. Prevention of child abuse is about safeguarding children's rights.

See also: *Adoption/adopted children*; *Bullying*; *School violence*

Suggested Reading

Human Sciences Research Council. (1997). Child abuse in South Africa. *Journal of Marriage and Family Life in South Africa, 4*, 46–81.

Schwartz-Kenney, B. M., McCauley, M., & Epstein, M. A. (Eds.) (2001). *Child abuse: A global view*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Administration on children, youth, and families (2006). *Child maltreatment 2004*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Suggested Resources

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)—Unique. www.unicef.org/crc/index.html

Domestic and International Law Obligations—Children's Rights. www.hrw.org.

Child Traumatic Brain Injury

Rolland S Parker

Brain Trauma

Traumatic brain injury (TBI) is recognized as the "Silent Epidemic" since the actual number of TBIs that occur in the United States (U.S.) is unknown, and individual instances are frequently unidentified. Brain injury causes a disorder of adaptation, i.e., the capacity to integrate one's needs and ability to perform effectively with the environment. Accidents causing brain trauma are caused by physical forces (i.e., impact and acceleration/deceleration caused by falls, vehicular accidents, falling objects, assault, sports injuries, child abuse, neurotoxins, electricity, and loss of oxygen or increased levels of carbon monoxide). Mechanical forces create brain movement and pressure waves that stretch fibers, impact of the brain with the inside of the skull creating contusions (bruising of the surface of the brain), skull fractures that indent the brain, and other microscopic neural effects such as tearing nerve fibers, cellular trauma caused by damage to membranes and the release of toxins. TBI has effects that impair neurobehavioral performance and creates impairing symptoms (see Taxonomy, below).

Brain Development

The outcome of a child's TBI will be significantly determined by the brain's state of development at the time of trauma. Brain injury implies some pattern of disturbed or impaired function, varying with the location and extent of the trauma. Developmental patterns vary over the adult lifespan. A newborn's brain is one fifth of its adult volume. Brain volume is 90% of its final adult volume by age 6. Girls' brains are on the average ~12% smaller than boys, which is explained largely by differences in height and not by gender differences in cognitive performance. The genetic program is modified by negative influences that impair or delay brain development (malnutrition, maternal drug abuse, viral infection). Positive influences are stimulation and experience. There are increases in

white matter (axons or long neuronal connection between brain structures) across ages 4–20, and a pre-adolescent increase of cortical gray matter (masses of neurons) followed by regionally specific post-adolescent decrease. The frontal and parietal lobes peak at about age 12, the temporal lobe at about age 16, and occipital lobe at age 20. The frontal and parietal gray matter peaks ~1 year earlier in females, corresponding with the earlier onset of puberty. The frontal and parietal thinning was associated with higher vocabulary scores, perhaps related to the higher verbal performance often found in females. This may indicate an influence of gonadal hormones. Further implications for neurobehavioral functioning are indicated by the parallel between the developmental pattern and cerebral glucose metabolism and slow-wave sleep amplitude.

The infant's characteristic anatomy renders it vulnerable to TBI. After a blow to the head, or rapid change of speed caused by a car crash, the disproportionately large head is poorly supported by undeveloped neck muscles. This increases brain damage since the head rotates more in uncontrolled directions. These forces cause brain movement creating shearing (separation of brain layers and structures at different distances from the geometric center) and diffuse axonal injury (DAI) such as stretching and tearing of the axons connecting neural centers at different parts of the brain. The brain's smaller size and stiffer tissue contributes to patterns of TBI and behavioral outcome differing from adults. The skull is thin, and the sutures are incompletely solidified, exposing the brain to impact forces and penetration, and inducing excessive brain tearing because it moves past the brain's blood vessels, which are fixed at one end to a position in the skull. The unmyelinated brain (lacking an external layer to the nerve fibers) is softer, permitting excessive stretching of both brain and vessels.

Non-Recognition of Children's TBI

Identification of TBI symptoms is enhanced by considering the expected rate of development and the age of normal expression of a function. Delayed expression causes non-recognition of the actual etiology of symptoms and makes rehabilitation less effective. Some forms of damage are detected when developmentally advanced motor and intellectual demands are first placed upon the injured child. Since academic norms are matched to expected development, the effect of TBI may be unobserved until the child has reached an age to express particular abilities and fails age-expected functions. This contrasts with immediate, but perhaps slow deficits in abilities that formally were performed at a higher level. Early intervention may ameliorate the extent of some disorders.

The existence of concussive head injury in children is frequently unknown. One reason is that after a long interval, disorders may not be associated with the accident. Undocumented injuries as high as 89% have been reported. When there are symptoms of unknown origin it may not be attributed to an accident for many reasons. The child can forget or be too young to remember. The accident may be intentionally concealed by the child, caretaker or parent. Frequently, a possible TBI is not revealed since the child is not brought for medical attention. Even at an emergency room or after admission to a hospital the parent may not be given a diagnosis or told to anticipate later dysfunction. Since loss of consciousness after a head injury is less common in children than in adults after a comparable injury, possible TBI may not be considered by the physician. The child might appear shaken up but not actually unconscious. If there was child abuse it is concealed. Thus there is non-attribution of symptoms to the accident and TBI is unsuspected. Since health care providers usually do not inquire as to prior head injury, late development of symptoms helps to conceal attribution of a disorder to a prior TBI. Moreover, the practitioner has to be alert to the presence of multiple conditions and overlapping symptoms (e.g., TBI, posttraumatic stress disorder, and the depressive reactions) to make an accurate diagnosis.

Non-recognition has unfortunate effects: the educational, social, and medical needs of the child are ignored; reduced public health statistics underestimate the safety and service needs of the community; treatment is inappropriate since dysfunctions are attributed to incorrect causes; and, the child may be rejected or treated as a troublemaker, a faker, or lazy. The social costs are higher in children than with adults because the period of survival is longer than with adults and the adult has better developed coping procedures that remain useful.

Child abuse causing head injury (shaking) is the leading cause of death and morbidity of infants and preschoolers. As noted above, infants' relatively large heads and weak neck muscles enhance head motion during shaking. Abuse is to be suspected when there

is a history of repeated head trauma, especially if accompanied by limb fractures or other injuries. Shaking a child subjects the brain to rotational forces that produce diffuse damage. Suspicious injuries are retinal hemorrhage (broken blood vessels in the neural, receptive area of the eye), subdural hemorrhage (inside the lining of the brain), and intracerebral hematoma (blood clot inside the brain) without external signs of trauma to the head and neck. The consequences include failure to thrive, pallor (paleness of the skin), irritability, jitteriness, hypertonia (loss of muscular tone), hyperreflexia (exaggerated strength of muscular reflexes), pituitary damage, meningoencephalitis (inflammation of the brain and its membranes), permanent brain damage, cerebral palsy, seizures, mental retardation, defects of vision and hearing, microcephaly (abnormal smallness of the head, i.e., capacity less than 1,350 ml.), and death. Half of the survivors are left with permanent neurological handicaps.

Loss of Consciousness

Since it is difficult to assess the consciousness level in infants and older children, mistakes are often made. The severity of a head impact can be overestimated or, more frequently, underestimated. An injured infant cries or whimpers and is thought to be fully "conscious" thus, serious brain damage is overlooked. Pre-verbal infants cannot offer the motor and verbal responses of the Glasgow Coma Scale, a frequently used measurement assessing the intensity of concussive brain trauma. Older children who are frightened but fully conscious may withhold speech or cooperation. Children's brain trauma is less likely to be associated with loss of consciousness (LOC) than adults' posttraumatic amnesia (PTA) is with TBI. However, it is followed by lethargy, irritability, and vomiting. Lethargy may be a sign of altered consciousness (less than normal alertness, confusion, loss of orientation as to surroundings), possible signs of concussive brain injury. A seizure may subsequently follow a trauma experienced without loss of consciousness.

Epidemiology (Causes of Head Injury)

For children age 0–14 years, the proportions of different causes of head injury are as follows: falls 39%; motor vehicle traffic (11%), assault (4%), other (41%), and unknown (5%). The frequency of occurrence of TBI per 100,000 are for age 0–4, 1,121; age 5–9, 659; and age 10–14, 629. The majority of pediatric head injuries are described as "minor," but in fact this refers to the apparent anatomical trauma, insofar as there is no surgical-level injury, e.g., a major brain hemorrhage. In fact, some of these children may ultimately manifest significant cognitive and social problems. The actual incidence of TBI is gravely underestimated for these reasons: Many children are not brought to an emergency department or physician, or require hospital admission; the fact of an accident is deliberately concealed by the child or caretaker, or the injured child is too young or too confused to report the event. Overall, falls are the most common cause of head injury in the age group 0–15 years. For more serious injuries, pedestrian injuries from motor vehicle accidents were most common, followed by falls, pedal cyclists, and then occupants of motor vehicles.

Polytrauma

Usually an accident causing a head injury results in other injuries as well. The neurobehavioral outcome may be an impairment whose severity is influenced by the interaction and cumulative effect of both the brain and body injuries. Thus, assessment and treatment of the child's immediate performance loss and later dysfunction must consider both TBI and injuries to other parts of the body, e.g., bone, soft-tissue (muscles, ligaments, tendons, blood vessels), internal organs, and peripheral nerves. Some somatic and neurological consequences of an accident include limited range of motion, pain, headaches, dizziness, and seizures, among others. Indirect behavioral impairment occurs when the injury is chronic. There are behavioral and health effects, in addition to the actual brain trauma, due to physiological dysregulation of these body systems: circadian (daily rhythms such as sleep/wake; hormonal secretion), immune, inflammatory, and hormonal.

Phases of Traumatic Brain Injury

The brain's condition, and the neurobehavioral consequences of an accident causing TBI, are not static. The immediate brain tissue injury may be made worse because of hemorrhage and brain swelling that kills

tissue through pressure and interference with the blood supply to other parts of the brain, chemicals released inside brain cells that are toxic, and degeneration of neurons long after the initial injury. The chronic unhealed wound and other causes of stress interfere with bodily functions. This creates behavioral disturbance whose cause may not be understood directly or attributed to the accident. This worsens the outcome and makes it more difficult to find treatment for the injured person's problems.

Primary phase-The immediate mechanical damage to brain, blood vessels and other tissues caused by impact to the head, rotation of the head caused by acceleration and deceleration of the body and neck during a mechanical injury causing the brain to move, stretch and shear its inner structure, and strike against the inner structures of the skull.

Secondary phase-Tissue pathology caused by the initial trauma: hemorrhage, ischemia, brain swelling resulting in forced movement of sections of the brain against and past the internal dividers (meninges, or lining of the brain, which extends beyond the surface of the brain into the midline and also dividing the brain into internal compartments while supporting its structure), anoxia (reduced oxygen supply), physiological disturbance of brain function, and necrosis (death of brain cells) caused by neurotoxins and anoxia condary phase-Tissue pathology caused by the initial trauma: hemorrhage, ischemia, brain swelling resulting in forced movement of sections of the brain against and past the internal dividers (meninges), anoxia, physiological disturbance of brain function, and necrosis caused by neurotoxins and anoxia.

Tertiary phase-Late developing physiological disorders: Direct glandular damage; damage to a major physiological control site, i.e., the hypothalamus; disorders of the immune, inflammatory, and circadian systems. Vulnerability to diseases includes: syndrome of inappropriate antidiuretic hormone from head trauma (SIADH), hypothyroidism (reduced secretion of the thyroid gland), hypopituitarism reduced secretion of various pituitary gland hormones), diabetes insipidus (secretion of excessive amounts of urine, sometimes following head injury causing damage to the posterior pituitary gland and reduced secretion of antidiuretic hormone which leads to excessive excretion of water), and developmental disorders of children.

Quaternary phase-Late developing neurological conditions: Stress-related brain damage, premature cerebral atrophy and dementing conditions (e.g., enhanced incidence of Alzheimer's Disease), posttraumatic epilepsy, movement disorders, cochlear dysfunction (hearing loss) and vestibular dysfunctions (balance problems). Hemidystonia (one-sided abnormal twisting movements, and abnormal posturing of the neck, trunk, face, and extremities) associated with brain damage has a longer latency in children injured before age 7 than adults.

Pentary phase-Chronic stress effects upon personality and health: TBI and co-morbid acute and chronic stress have an impact on mood, cognitive efficiency, functioning in the community, stamina, and health. (a) Reactions to continued impairment and social disabilities; (b) Systemic effects of unhealed injuries: chronic reaction of hormonal, inflammatory, immune and circadian systems to persistent damaged tissue, resulting in reduced stamina, vulnerability to infectious disease, tissue exhaustion, fatigue, burnout, organ damage, sexual dysfunction, and stress related health disorders. This condition is known as allostatic overload, "burnout" or "overload." It results in stress-related diseases, e.g., infections, cardiovascular disease, cancer, and "sickness behavior" (malaise, fatigue, loss of appetite, apathy, social withdrawal, inactivity).

The Taxonomy of Neurobehavioral Disorders

The entire range of behavior may become impaired or dysfunctional after TBI. The domains of the following classification become differentiated at different ages. Thus they may not yet be functioning in younger children, and may not develop appropriately when a young child suffers brain injury.

1. Neurological and Sensorimotor: Dysfunctions directly attributable to diffuse brain injury, and to injuries of definable centers and circuits of the central nervous system. Some symptoms: Loss of general intelligence and memory, dizziness, imbalance, seizures, loss of vision, hearing, and coordination.
2. Somatic: Developmental, Performance and Neurobehavioral: Developmental disorders of children associated with hormonal disorders due to injury to the hypothalamic-pituitary axis; performance reduction directly consequent to damaged tissue; systemic dysregulation caused by chronic stress. Some somatic disorders are limited range of motion, pain, and headaches.

3. Cognitive Functioning: Executive Functioning and Mental Control. Disorders of Concentration (continuing performance for a useful interval), Information Processing (converting stimuli into meaningful units), Mental Control, and Executive Functioning (cognitive autoregulation).
4. General Intelligence: Mental Ability Level, Comprehension, and Problem Solving.
5. Learning and Memory.
6. Personality Style, Psychodynamics, and Identity.
7. Empathy and social life.
8. Adaptation: Coping with community requirements and improving current condition, utilizing motivation and pragmatic communications.
9. Stress Reactions: Acute, Chronic, Psychological, Physiological, Dissociative. Stress may be defined as a condition, momentary or extended, psychological or physically injurious, that creates physical and/or mental trauma, which are not self-healing after a brief interval.

Characteristic Developmental Problems of Children

The actual proportion of persons who have lifelong disabilities after TBI described as "minor" is not actually known. The level of disability is not precisely predictable at the time of injury. The number of symptoms is related to the intensity of the head injury. Outcome is also dependent on whether the environment is supportive, indifferent, or hostile; the consequences of bodily accidents also incurred in the accident; developmental factors such as possible disturbances caused by hormonal injury such as is caused by damage to the brain-pituitary gland and target glands controlled by the pituitary; the maturation of the brain at the time of trauma, and the developmental consequence of the brain damage; the location and extent of the brain damage (diffuse, localized, lateralized mostly on one side of the brain, or extensive); the age at injury; the post-injury interval when the child's status is studied; social support such as the parents, availability of rehabilitation services such as special education and psychotherapy for the child and parents; the child's store of information and skills at the time of injury; potential for behavioral compensation by the alternate cerebral hemisphere, among others.

The outcome of children's TBI is affected by poorer coping capacity due to lesser cognitive and social skills at the time of injury. TBI also reduces the child's capacity to reach the potential level of cognitive, physiological and personal development. Here are some examples of TBI induced later problems: Reduced memory and learning ability interfere with cognitive development; Behavioral disorders antagonize peers and teachers, leading to rejection and reduced self-esteem; poorly functional sensorimotor capacities such as balance and coordination makes the child more vulnerable to further injuries, and reduces skill and thus social acceptability in play activities and sports.

Expression of dysfunction may take years until behavior becomes conspicuous because milestones are not reached. Intellectual deficiencies are more apparent in the older child, upon whom more demands are made, although the child's outward appearance may appear "recovered." The child may perform for years in school on the basis of previous knowledge while learning little new information. Only when more difficult problems are to be learned, memory for new information is insufficient, or there is a need to learn new and more difficult cognitive schema, are reduced grades manifested. The frontal lobes are vulnerable to injury, which may create a lack of personality development and maturity usually achieved around the age of puberty. Consequently, immaturity persists, but the developmental deficit that may be diagnostic of brain damage will not be noteworthy until long after the accident. Subsequent developmental disorders (cognitive disorders; persistent immaturity or misbehavior) may not be manifested until years after the accident, when chronic immaturity reveals that the child has not achieved developmental milestones.

Patterns of Outcome

1. Immediate. Significant dysfunction can be detected right after the accident. Frequently the child experiences a permanent deficit without complete recovery. Characteristic disorders are loss of sensation, motor coordination, strength, reduced mental ability, and personality problems such as regression and impulsiveness.
2. Improvement through the use of compensatory mechanisms. If there is a permanent reduction of a function, the child or adult can partially adapt

in several ways, neurologically or behaviorally. For example, if there is damage to structures of the left cerebral hemisphere that support verbal ability, the plasticity of undamaged neural structures in the right hemisphere may take over some activities. However, careful neuropsychological examination may reveal that reduced ability and disordered performance exist since the alternate structures may not be capable of performing both original and added functions. In the case of poor memory, the person can be counseled to keep a notebook or put notes on the wall reminding one of tasks to do or ask the other person to repeat what has been said.

3. Early arrest of development, and/or reduced rate of progress. The uninjured child usually develops at such a rate that the relative position in the age group is maintained. One measure might be the age-normed percentiles in tests of intelligence or academic achievement. Another indicator would be not achieving the expected level of personality development known as maturity. The child remains impulsive, lacking foresight, and unwilling to accept responsibilities and other characteristics of adolescence. This may be described as initial progress leveling off at a low plateau. This kind of outcome may require years to be expressed. Not reaching physical sexual maturity is discussed below.
4. Delayed Onset of a Disorder after Apparent Normal Functioning. See Tertiary and Quaternary phases of TBI. Certain disorders occur years later because they are due to fatigue of bodily systems caused by unhealed or chronic injuries, or because continued neurological degeneration caused by the initial trauma takes a long period for it to be so extensive that a disorder is created or released.

Adaptive Disorders

These neuropsychological functions are often impaired: Perceptual organization; visual-motor constructional tasks; attention deficits that interfere with working or short term memory; long term and academic memory; processing speeds and reaction time, good judgment and reality testing, language, among others. One differentiates between dysfunction of functions that support adaptive tasks (information processing or executive function) and major integrative activities of daily living. Some disorders affect complex integrative (higher) processes, while others are consequences of focal injuries (e.g., sensorimotor dysfunctions). Emotional changes after TBI are variable, and proportional to the severity of the injury—some seem to be transient.

It is estimated that 20% of children with head injuries require special educational services because of residual disability. Initial performance will be modified by what has been learned to that point, potential for compensation by the alternate hemisphere, and interference with lateralized functions (primarily processed by the left or right cerebral hemispheres) caused by TBI, e.g., language (usually left hemisphere) and spatial organization (largely right hemisphere). Intellectual deficiencies are more apparent in the older child, upon whom more demands are made. Yet, the child's outward appearance may appear "recovered," or subsequent developmental disorders may not have been manifested since the child has not achieved developmental milestones. Anxious children have a higher incidence of other symptoms after controlling for injury severity. However, anxiety intensity appears to be independent of the extent of neurological injury. Ongoing stressors enhance symptom maintenance. Children with TBI exhibit long-term behavior problems in spite of cognitive recovery. Inadequate social competence, or troublesome behavior, may cause rejection by peers and teachers.

The symptoms of children's postconcussive syndrome are consistent with those of adults: Cognitive dysfunctions; language; behavior; increased likelihood of enrollment in special education, motor skills, psychosocial measures, educational lag, unemployment, troubled family relationships; health; memory, attention, problem solving, headaches, dizziness, fatigue, sensorimotor performance; academic achievement (language and reading, calculation, writing, spelling) with increased likelihood of enrollment in special education or educational lag; behavioral disorders with reduced social competence; Reduced IQ; deficient behavioral adjustment; poor motor skills; increased likelihood of unemployment; and/or troubled family relationships.

Dysfunctions of Sexual Development

Normal physiological development (growth and sexual maturity) is the outcome of integrated hormonal

functioning. This is vulnerable to impact or movement of the brain which causes it to move, stretching or tearing hypothalamic-pituitary structures. Hypothalamic damage can reduce gonadal hormone inhibition resulting in premature puberty with short adult stature. Delayed or absent adolescence may be caused by hypothalamic or anterior pituitary lesions that interfere with hormonal developmental patterns of inhibition and then release leading to sexual maturity (ovulation, menarche, e.g., the first menstrual period, and male secondary sexual characters). Precocious puberty (sexual precocity) is variously defined as the appearance of secondary sexual development before age 8 in girls and 9 in boys. Brain trauma and radiation therapy may be followed by delayed puberty or precocious puberty. Growth disorders include retardation of maturation, or accelerated growth and skeletal maturation with premature growth cessation, can commence within a few months of injury. Non-development of sexual maturity can occur due to pituitary insufficiency or gonadal failure consequent to hypothalamic insufficiency: loss of libido, impotence, amenorrhea and sexual infantilism.

Cross-Cultural Issues

The reported sequelae are unsurprisingly similar in different nationalities. Special concerns may arise because of cultural differences within a family in approaching such problems as illness. Some individuals do not understand the health-care system, or may not want to challenge professionals. Brain injury causes shame in some ethnic groups; therefore, family members may not be informed of a relative's TBI. Cultural differences affect response to the health care system. Obtaining information may require the use of a translator since friends and family may not be fluent in medical terminology; problems occur when they are not oriented as to the special characteristics of brain injury. Even these personnel may not be properly oriented to work with a TBI patient. To the extent that parental origin affects the caregiver style, the child's outcome is affected. Coping strategies may differ. Avoidant strategies predict poorer family outcome than acceptance.

Examination of a child who is native to a culture using a language significantly distinct from that of the examiner requires care against mistaking characteristics of the language with familiar neuropsychological disorders. Using the Japanese language as an example, there are differences of syntax, lexicon, orthography, and phonology. The major European languages utilize the word order Subject-Verb-Object, while Japanese utilizes Subject-Object-Verb, which might suggest an aphasic disorder. Lateralization of verbal functions which are dependent upon the visual structure of language may also be reversed (to the left cerebral hemisphere as opposed to the right). Nevertheless, particular symptoms occur across languages, e.g., aphasia (inability to understand or express oneself through language) and agrammatism (speech unconforming to grammatical rules). Acculturation can be categorized as traditional, marginal, bicultural and assimilated. Particular procedures are normed on groups that may be socio-economically or ethnically so disparate from the patient (rural and/or international) that they inaccurately indicate functional weaknesses and fewer strengths than they express in their environment. Further, those from rural environments are exposed to different conditions than those in urban environments: patterns of interpersonal violence (including intimate partners), types of neurotoxic exposure, stress, agricultural accidents, lack of medical coverage and treatment. These represent a potential for different pre-existing conditions that must be considered in studying examination performance.

Other educational and cultural variables affecting performance include: unavailability of suitable norms, reflecting dialect differences within presumably unified groups (e.g., Spanish and Arabic speakers); lack of familiarity with test taking; varying levels of linguistic competency; socioeconomic status; lack of familiarity with writing implements; and, level of formal education. A psychological procedure may emphasize particular cognitive abilities, which may by discrepant with a culture, or the stage of development at which particular abilities are learned. This may affect later neuropsychological performance. Further, the examiner is concerned whether a procedure normed on one segment of a population speaking a given language is generalizable to another without significant performance differences. A history of discrimination, or growing up in totalitarian regimes, may result in an attitude where "honest" behavior is rarely rewarded, therefore affecting the presentation of claims to obtain proper compensation.

See also: ➲ *Neuropsychological assessment*; ➲ *Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)*; ➲ *Stress/stressors*

Suggested Reading

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Childhood

Georgia Yu

Understanding how children develop can help parents raise their children more effectively, lead society as a whole to adopt wiser policies regarding children's welfare, and answer intriguing questions about human nature. Children are influenced by their early experiences, but some are able to overcome even the most traumatic backgrounds. Child development research is important for a number of reasons. First is to gain information and understanding that can help parents raise their own children successfully. Second is to gain insight into social policy issues related to children and to help society adopt policies that promote children's well-being. Thirdly, is to better understand human nature in general.

Historical Foundations in the Study of Child Development

Some of the earliest recorded ideas about children's development were those of Plato and Aristotle. These two Greek philosophers, who lived in the fourth century B.C., were particularly interested in how children's nature and the nurture they receive influenced development. Both Plato and Aristotle believed that the long-term welfare of society depended on children being raised properly. Careful upbringing was essential, because children's nature would otherwise lead to their becoming rebellious and unruly. Plato emphasized self-control and discipline as the most important goals of education. Aristotle agreed with Plato that discipline was necessary, but he was more concerned with fitting child rearing to the needs of the individual child. Plato believed children are born with innate knowledge, while Aristotle believed that all knowledge comes from experience and that without experience, the mind is merely a potential.

Roughly 2,000 years later, the English philosopher John Locke and French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau proposed ideas that were related to, but also somewhat different from, those of Plato and Aristotle regarding how parents and the general society can best promote child development. Locke, like Aristotle, viewed the child as a tabula rasa, or blank slate, where development largely reflects the nurture provided by the child's parents and the broader society. He believed that the most important goal of child rearing is the growth of character.

Whereas Locke advocated first instilling discipline and then progressively increasing the child's freedom, Rousseau believed that parents and society should give children maximum freedom from the beginning. Rousseau claimed that children learn primarily from their own spontaneous interactions with objects and other people, rather than through instruction by parents or teachers. He even argued that children should not receive any formal education until the age of 12 when they reach "the age of reason" and can judge for themselves the worth of what they read and are told. Before then, they should be allowed the freedom to explore whatever interests them. Although these philosophical views raised fundamental questions, they were based more on impressions and general beliefs than on systemic observations that could reveal how children actually develop.

Beginning Research on Children

A research-based approach to understanding child development began to emerge in the nineteenth century, in part as a result of two converging forces: social reform movements and Charles Darwin's theory of evolution.

During the Industrial Revolution, many children in Europe and the United States (U.S.) worked as paid laborers. Some were as young as 5 or 6 years old, and spent as much as twelve hours a day working in factories or mines, often in extremely hazardous conditions. These harsh circumstances concerned a number of social reformers, who began to study the effects of the conditions on the children's development. In addition to the first child labor laws, these and other child social reform movements established a legacy of research conducted for the benefit of children and provided some of the earliest descriptions of the adverse effects that harsh environments can have on children's development.

Later in the nineteenth century, Charles Darwin's work on biological evolution inspired a number of scientists to propose that intensive study of child development might lead to important insights into the nature of the human species. Darwin himself was interested in child development and in 1877 published an article titled "A Biographical Sketch of an Infant," which presented his careful observations of the motor, sensory, and emotional growth of his own infant son. Darwin's "baby biography"—a systematic description of day-to-day development—represented one of the earliest methods for studying children.

Emergence of Child Development as a Discipline

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, child development began to emerge as a formal field of inquiry. A number of universities established departments of child development, and the first professional journals devoted to the study of child development were founded. Also emerging during this period were the first theories of child development to incorporate important research findings. One prominent theory, that of Sigmund Freud, was based in large part on results from experiments with hypnosis and analysis of patients' recollections of their dreams and childhood experiences. On the basis of this evidence, Freud concluded that biological drives, especially sexual ones, were a crucial influence on development. Another prominent theory was that of James Watson, which was based on the results of experiments examining the effects of reward and punishment on the behavior of rats and other animals. Watson concluded that children's development is controlled by environmental conditions, especially the rewards and punishments that follow particular behaviors.

Enduring Themes in Child Development

The modern study of child development has resulted in the establishment of particular themes, which help us to answer some fundamental questions about children. The first is *whether nature and nurture coexist in the development of children*. Nature refers to the biological component inherent in each individual. This genetic inheritance influences everything from our physical appearance, personality, intellectual ability, and mental health to certain preferences. Nurture refers to the environment, both social and physical, that influence development, including the womb from which the child spent the prenatal period to where the child grows up, what schools the child will attend, and what friends the child will have and interact with.

Today developmentalists recognize the interaction between nature and nurture. Rather than asking which is more important, developmentalists ask how nature and nurture work together to shape development. One of the main lessons of research on the nature-nurture interaction is that the timing of experiences is often crucial. For example, the timing of puberty influences girls' reactions to junior high school. Many other instances where the timing of experience is critical occur in the first year or so after birth. In particular, if highly abnormal experiences occur early in life, they often have especially serious and lasting deleterious effects on development.

A second theme is the *active child*. With all the attention paid to the role of nature and nurture in development, what is often overlooked are the ways in which children contribute to their own development. Even in infancy and early childhood, this contribution is reflected in many ways. Three important contributions occur during the child's first years: attentional patterns, their use of language, and their play.

Children first begin to shape their own development through the selection of what to pay attention to. Even newborns look towards objects that make noise and move. This preference helps them to learn about important parts of the world, such as people and other animals. Once they begin speak, usually around 9 to 15 months, development of their mental activity becomes evident in their use of language. For example,

toddlers often talk when they are alone in the room and no one else is present to reward them or react to what they are saying. Only if children were internally motivated to learn language would they practice talking under these circumstances.

Children's play also provides many examples of how their internally motivated activity contributes to their development. Children play by themselves for the sheer joy of doing so, but they also learn a great deal in the process. Children's active contribution to their own development is also evident in particular activities Around the age of 2, children sometimes engage in socio-dramatic play, an activity in which they pretend to be different people in make-believe situations. In addition to being inherently enjoyable, these make-believe games teach children valuable lessons, such as how to cope with fears. Children's contributions to their own development increase as they grow older. When they are young, their parents are important determinants of their children's environments. In contrast, older children and adolzescents choose many environments, friends, and activities for themselves. These choices exert a huge impact on their future.

A third theme is whether development is *continuous* or *discontinuous*. Some scientists envision children's development as a continuous process of small, incremental changes. Others believe that the process is a series of sudden, discontinuous changes. Researchers who view development as discontinuous start from a common observation: children of different ages seen qualitatively different. A 4-year-old and a 6-year-old child, for example, seem to differ not just in how much they know but also in the way they view the world.

A common approach in understanding age-related differences among children comes from stage theories, that propose that development occurs in a progression of distinct age-related stages. According to these theories, a child's entry into a new stage involves relatively sudden, qualitative changes from one coherent way of experiencing the world to a different coherent way of experiencing it. One of the most well-known stage theorists is that of Jean Piaget. Piaget's theory of cognitive development holds that between birth and adolescence, children go through four stages, each characterized by distinct intellectual abilities and ways of understanding and reasoning about the world. Other theories include Sigmund Freud's theory of psychosexual development, Erik Erikson's theory of psychosocial development, and Lawrence Kohlberg's theory of moral development. Each of these stage theories propose that children of a given age show broad similarities across many situations and that their behaviors differ sharply at different ages.

Even though these stage theories have been very influential, in the past 20 years, researchers have concluded that in most aspects of development, changes are gradual instead of sudden, and that development occurs skill by skill, and task by task, instead of in a broadly unified way. This view of development is less dramatic, but a great deal of evidence supports it. One such piece of evidence is the fact that a child often will behave in accord with one stage on one task but in accord with a difference stage on another task. This variable level of reasoning makes it difficult to view the child as being "in" a particular stage.

A fourth theme is the *mechanisms with which change occurs*. A useful framework in trying to understand this particular theme is Darwin's theory of evolution. According to evolutionary theory, species originate and change through two main processes: variation and selection. Variation refers to the differences within and among individuals. Selection involves the more frequent survival, and therefore the greater reproduction, of organisms that are well adapted to their environment. Through the joint operation of variation and selection, species that are better adapted to a given environment become more prevalent in that environment over time, while less well adapted species become rarer or disappear altogether.

From a psychological viewpoint, variation and selection appear to produce changes within an individual's lifetime. Psychological variation involves the diverse ways in which people think, act, and relate to each other. Psychological selection includes increasing reliance, with age and experience, on the most useful of these ways of thinking, acting, and relating. Together, such variation and selection seem to produce a wide variety of positive changes in psychological functioning.

In biological evolution, the organisms that are best adapted to the environment tend to increase in number over time. Similarly with cognitive development, the most efficient strategies increase in use as children increase in age and experience. Thus, as children generate the correct answer to a problem increasingly often, they come to associate the answer with the problem, which allows them to retrieve it from memory more often. Evolutionary accounts have proved useful for understanding development in many areas beyond arithmetic. These include development of

social relationships, sex differences, language, and sports. New variations in these areas emerge out of the universal tendency for children to play and explore their environments. Selection occurs through children's increasing use of those variations that allow them to meet their goals consistently, quickly, and easily.

The fifth theme is how *sociocultural context plays a role in child development.* Children grow up in a particular set of physical and social environments, in a particular culture, under particular economic circumstances, at a particular point in history. These make up the physical, social, cultural, economic, and historical circumstances that constitute the sociocultural context of a child's life. The most obviously important parts of children's sociocultural contexts are the people with whom they interact (e.g., parents, grandparents, relatives, siblings, day-care workers, friends, peers) and the physical environment in which they live (e.g., their home, day-care center, school, neighborhood). Another important but less tangible part of the sociocultural context concerns the institutions that influence children's lives (e.g., school systems, religious institutions, sports leagues). Yet another important set of influences include the general characteristics of the child's society (e.g., its wealth and technological advancements, values, beliefs, attitudes, traditions; laws and political structures).

One method that developmentalists use to understand the influence of the sociocultural context is to compare the lives of children who grow up in different cultures. Such comparisons often reveal that practices one culture takes for granted and views as "natural" may be different from other cultures. Contexts of development differ not just between cultures but within cultures as well. In multicultural societies, many contextual differences are related to ethnicity, race, socioeconomic status (a measure of social class based on income and education). Virtually all aspects of children's lives, from the food they eat to the parental discipline they receive to the games they play, are influenced by these characteristics.

The sixth theme is *individual differences between children.* Anyone who has had experience with children appreciates their uniqueness- their differences not only in physical appearance but everything from activity level and temperament to intelligence and emotionality. These differences among children emerge very quickly. There are four factors that have been identified that could contribute to the differences among children within and among families. These factors include genetic differences, differences in treatment by parents and others, differing effects on children of similar experiences, and children's choices of environments.

A final theme is how *research can promote children's well-being.* Improved understanding of child development often leads to practical benefits. Several examples include programs for helping children cope with anger or recommendations regarding how to obtain valid eyewitness testimony from young children. Another type of benefit that child development research has yielded is procedures for diagnosing developmental disorders early, when they can be corrected most easily and completely. Another valuable application of child development research has been programs for helping children learn more effectively. Not only are these programs beneficial in trying to prevent later problems, but they are also intervention-focused in helping children overcome these problems and difficulties.

Jean Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Development

As mentioned earlier, Jean Piaget is one of the most influential theorists within child development research. Piaget's theory has withstood the test of time because his observations and descriptions of children vividly convey the flavor of their thinking at different ages. Another reason is the exceptional breadth of his theory. A third reason is the thought-provoking observations Piaget used to support the theory. Finally, another reason is the theory's intuitively plausible depiction of the interaction of nature and nurture and the recognition of both continuities and discontinuities in development.

Piaget's fundamental suggestion about children was that from birth onward they are active mentally as well as physically, with their activity greatly contributing to their own development. His approach is often labeled *constructivist,* because it depicts children constructing knowledge for themselves in response to their experiences. The "child scientist" is the dominant metaphor in Piaget's theory. He believed that nature and nurture work in conjunction to produce cognitive development. Nurture includes every kind of experience the child encounters, and nature includes the child's maturing brain and body; his ability to perceive, act, and think; and motivation to meet two basic functions that are central to cognitive growth: adaptation and organization. Adaptation is the tendency

to respond to the demands of the environment in ways that meets one's goals. Organization is the tendency to integrate particular observations into coherent knowledge.

Piaget depicted development as involving both continuities and discontinuities. The main sources of continuity include assimilation, accommodation, and equilibrium that work together from birth to propel development onward. Assimilation is the process by which people translate incoming information into a form that they can understand. Accommodation is the process by which people adapt current knowledge structures in response to new experiences. Finally, equilibrium is the process by which children, and others, balance assimilation and accommodation to create a stable, coherent understanding of the world. First, children are satisfied with their understanding of a phenomenon (equilibrium). Then, children perceive that their understanding is inadequate (disequilibrium), because they recognize shortcomings in their understanding but cannot generate a superior alternative. Finally, they develop a more sophisticated understanding that eliminates the shortcomings of the old one. This new understanding provides a more stable equilibrium.

Although Piaget placed some emphasis on continuous aspects of cognitive development, the most famous part of his theory concerns discontinuous aspects, the distinct stages of cognitive development. Piaget viewed these stages as products of the basic human tendency to organize knowledge into structures. The central proponents of Piaget's stage theory include the following: qualitative change, broad applicability, brief transitions and invariant sequences. Piaget believed that children of different ages think in qualitatively different ways. The type of thinking characterized by each stage pervades a child's thinking across diverse topics and contexts. Children do not move from one stage to the next quickly and easily. Instead, they pass through a brief transitional period in which they fluctuate between the type of thinking characteristic of the new, more advanced stage and that of the old, less advanced one. Individuals everywhere and in various historical periods progress through the stages in the same order; no stage is skipped.

Piaget hypothesized that children go through four stages of cognitive development: sensorimotor, preoperational, concrete operational, and formal operational. The sensorimotor stage is between birth and 2 years. During this period, the infant's intelligence develops and is expressed, through sensory and motor abilities. Through the maturation of their sensorimotor abilities and the application of these learning mechanisms to their experiences, infants learn about people and objects and construct rudimentary forms of fundamental concepts such as time, space, and causality. Throughout this period, they live largely in the here and now: their intelligence is bound to their immediate perceptions and actions.

In the preoperational stage, between the ages of 2 and 7, toddlers and preschoolers become able to represent their experiences in language, mental imagery, and symbolic thought. This allows them to remember their experiences for longer periods of time and to form more sophisticated concepts. However, Piaget viewed children at this stage as unable to perform operations, or reversible mental activities. The inability to perform such operations results in young children having difficulty thinking in consistent, logical ways. Instead, they focus on single, perceptually striking aspects of an event or problem, even when multiple aspects are important.

In the concrete operational stage, between ages 7 and 12 years of age, children can reason logically about concrete objects and events. However, they have difficulty thinking in purely abstract terms and in combining information systematically. The final stage of cognitive development is the formal operational stage, ages 12 and beyond, children can think about concrete events but also about abstractions and purely hypothetical situations. They can also perform systematic scientific experiments and draw appropriate conclusions from them.

Information-Process Theories

Information-process theorists view children as undergoing continuous cognitive change. Important changes are viewed as occurring constantly, rather than being restricted to special transition periods between ages. Cognitive growth is viewed as typically occurring in small increments rather than abruptly. This depiction differs from Piaget's belief that children progress through qualitatively different stages separated only by relatively brief transition periods. Also basic to information-processing theories is the assumption that children are active problem-solvers. Problem-solving involves a goal, a perceived obstacle, and a strategy or rule for overcoming the obstacle and

attaining the goal. Two key cognitive processes that are emphasized in information-processing analyses of children's problem solving are planning and analogical reasoning.

Analysis of the information-processing requirements of planning indicates that it requires a kind of strategy choice, in which the individual decides to forgo immediate attempts to solve the problem in favor of analyzing which strategy is likely to be most effective. Within this perspective, several factors seem likely to lead children, especially young ones, to choose not to plan even when doing so would help them solve problems. Planning requires children to inhibit their desire to move directly toward the goal. A large part is due to the maturation of the frontal lobe, which plays an important role in inhibition, and has not matured yet. Young children tend to be overly optimistic. They think they can remember more, communicate more effectively, and imitate a model more accurately than they actually can. Plans can fail, either because they were inherently flawed or because they were badly executed. This high failure rate makes planning a less attractive option than if planning were consistently successful. It is important to note that brain maturation, in combination with experiences that reduce over-optimism and demonstrate the value of planning, leads to an increase in frequency and quality of planning well into adolescence.

People often understand new problems in terms of familiar ones. Successful analogical reasoning requires ignoring superficial dissimilarities and focusing on underlying parallel relationships. As with planning, a rudimentary form of analogical reasoning emerges around children's first birthday. This early competence, however, is initially limited to situations in which the new problem closely resembles the old. Superficial similarity between the original and new problems continues to influence analogical reasoning well beyond infancy. Even in middle childhood, younger children often require more surface similarity to draw an analogy than do older ones.

Core-Knowledge Theories

The core-knowledge theory reflects two features in research. The first is the focus on particular areas such as understanding of other people, that have been important throughout human evolutionary history. Other key areas viewed as core knowledge include recognizing the difference between living and nonliving things, identifying human faces, finding one's way around the environment, and learning language.

A second feature of the core-knowledge approach is the assumption that in certain areas of probable importance in human evolution, young children reason in ways that are considerably more advanced than Piaget's theory suggested were possible. If children under the age of 6 or 7 were completely egocentric, they would assume that other people's knowledge is the same as their own. From this perspective, there would be no point to making a false statement because the other person would know it was false. But studies of young children's deceptions indicate that 3-year-olds understand that other people can be fooled. The question is how children come to have such sophisticated knowledge so early in life.

Core-knowledge theories depict children as active learners, constantly striving to solve problems and to organize their understanding into coherent wholes. In this aspect, these theories' perspective on children's nature resembles those of Piagetian and information-processing theories.

The way in which core-knowledge theories differ strongly from Piagetian and information-processing theories is in their view of children's innate capabilities. Piaget and information-processing theorists believe that children enter the world equipped only with general learning abilities and that they must actively apply these abilities to gradually increase their understanding of all types of content. In contrast, core-knowledge theorists view children as entering the world not only with general learning abilities but also with specialized learning abilities that allow them to quickly and effortlessly acquire information of evolutionary importance. Where the central metaphors within Piagetian and information-processing theories are the child as scientist and the child as computational system the central metaphor in the core-knowledge approach is the child as well-equipped product of evolution.

Sociocultural Theories

Sociocultural approaches emphasize that much of development takes place through direct interactions between children and other people. Rather than viewing children as individuals trying to make sense of the world through their own efforts, sociocultural theorists view children as social beings, enmeshed in the lives of

other people who want to help them acquire the skills and knowledge valued by their culture.

A major player among the sociocultural theorists was Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky. He portrayed children as social beings, intertwined with other people who are eager to help them gain skills and understanding. Vygotsky viewed them as intent on participating in activities that happen to be prevalent in their local settings. Whereas Piaget emphasized qualitative changes in thinking, Vygotsky emphasized continuous, quantitative changes.

Among the important aspects of Vygotsky's legacy is the idea that cognitive change originates in social interaction. Vygotsky and contemporary sociocultural theorists have proposed a number of more specific ideas about how change occurs. One of these ideas is guided participation, in which more knowledgeable individuals organize activities in ways that allow less knowledgeable people to engage in them at a higher level than they could manage on their own. Three other related concepts include: intersubjectivity, social scaffolding, and the zone of proximal development.

Sociocultural theorists believe that the foundation of human cognitive development is our ability to establish intersubjectivity, the mutual understanding that people share during communication. Effective communication requires participants to focus on the same topic and on each other's reaction to whatever is being communicated.

Children's learning is also aided by social scaffolding, in which more competent people provide a temporary framework that supports children's thinking at a higher level than children could manage on their own. Ideally, this framework includes explaining the goal of a task, demonstrating how the task should be performed, and helping the child execute the most difficult parts. This is, in fact, the way parents tend to teach their children. Through the process of social scaffolding, children become capable of working at a higher level than if they had not received such help. At first, this higher-level functioning requires extensive support, then it requires less support, and eventually it becomes possible without any support. The higher the quality of scaffolding, the greater the child's learning.

In analyzing the process of social scaffolding, Vygotsky used the term zone of proximal development (ZPD) to refer to the range of performance between what children can do unsupported and what they can do with optimal support. Implicit in this label is the idea that development is most likely when a child's thinking is supported by a more knowledgeable person at a somewhat higher level than the child can manage, but no so far beyond the unaided level that the child would be lost.

See also: *Childhood depression*; *Early childhood education*; *Emotional intelligence*; *Parent attachment*; *Sociocultural factors*

Suggested Reading

Hertzman, C., & Weins, M. (1996). Child development and long-term outcomes: A population health perspective and summary of successful interventions. *Social Science and Medicine*, *43*(7), 1083–1095.

Parker, S., Greer, S., & Zuckerman, B. (1988). Double jeopardy: The impact of poverty on early child development. *Pediatric Clinics of North America*, *35*(6), 1227–1240.

Suggested Resources

Early Childhood Research and Practice (ECRP)—http://ecrp.uiuc.edu/: A bilingual website journal on the development, care, and education of young children.

Childhood Depression

Kelly Brey Love · Susan M Swearer

It has only been within the past two decades that the majority of clinicians and researchers reached agreement that children can experience a depressive disorder. Initially, researchers believed children's lack of psychosexual development prohibited development of depression in childhood.

There has also been disagreement regarding which symptomatology comprises childhood depression, and how it differs from depression in adults. Many clinicians and researchers shared the belief that depression in children was "masked" by other symptoms (e.g., aggression, enuresis, anxiety, among others). More recent research has identified and emphasized the similarities between depressive symptoms experienced by adults and children. Cohort data suggest that the age-of-onset of depression has decreased, and prevalence has

increased as compared to children born in the first half of the 20th century.

Prevalence

While depression does occur in childhood, it is more likely to manifest in adolescence and adulthood. Estimates vary, but it appears that between 0.3-2.5% of prepubertal children may be diagnosed with Major Depressive Disorder, and between 0.6-2.5% with Dysthymic Disorder Depression in preschoolers is less common than in older children, and is typically associated with instances of extreme abuse and neglect. Depression is equally present in both males and females in childhood, however, a gender difference does appear after onset of puberty, with more females reporting depressive disorders than males.

Assessment

Childhood depression can be assessed via several different strategies. Self-report scales, semi-structured clinical interviews, peer report or nomination, parent/teacher/caregiver rating scales, behavioral observation, and biological and/or psychophysiological measures have all been utilized to assess depression in young children. The most commonly used methods of assessment are self-report and parent/teacher/caregiver rating scales. An obvious difficulty affecting both diagnosis and treatment of depression is that young children often prove to be poor informants of their feelings, and in particular, have difficulty identifying the temporal and causal relationships between their moods and events.

Course

A Major Depressive Episode is a period lasting a minimum of two weeks consisting of either depressed mood or anhedonia. In children and adolescents, the mood may be irritable rather than sad. A Major Depressive Disorder is a clinical course characterized by one or more major depressive episodes, without history of manic, mixed or hypomanic episodes. Dysthymic mood is described as a generally "low" mood, infrequently experiencing joy or excitement. Those experiencing dysthymic mood are often described as feeling "down in the dumps." Dysthymic Disorder is comprised of a chronically depressed mood that occurs most of the day (more days than not) for at least two years. For children, the duration only needs to be one year, and their mood may be irritable rather than sad or depressed. The initial one to two years (depending on age) of the Dysthymic Disorder must be free from a Major Depressive Disorder.

The course of a major depressive episode and dysthymia in children present differently than in adults. A major depressive episode typically lasts for 32–36 weeks in children or adults, and has a maximal recovery rate of 92%. Recovery for a major depressive episode is relatively protracted, with the greatest improvement in reduction of depressive symptomatology occurring between the 24th and 36th week. The average length of Dysthymic Disorder is much longer than a major depressive episode, at 3 years. The younger the child is at onset, the more likely they are to experience a relapse, and are more likely to have recurrent episodes of depression as adults.

Comorbidity

It is well established that children who are depressed often experience additional psychological disorders. Anxiety is the most commonly diagnosed comorbid disorder with depression in children, with 25–50% of depressed youth also diagnosed with an anxiety disorder. On average, children who experience comorbid psychological disorders report more severe impairment and often suffer more long-term consequences.

Criteria

The *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: Text Revision* (DSM-IV TR) outlines the criteria for the different mood disorders. Diagnostically, there is little difference in adult and child criteria for a diagnosis of depression with the exception that the duration of dysthmia is 1 year for children instead of 2 years, and "irritability" can be considered a manifestation of dysphoric mood. The DSM-IV TR criteria for a major depressive disorder requires persistent depressed (or irritable) mood or a marked decrease in interest or pleasure in most or all daily activities for at least two weeks. In addition, four of the following features must be present during the same two week period: weight loss or gain, sleep disturbance, psychomotor agitation or retardation, fatigue, feelings of worthlessness or guilt, reduced concentration, or recurrent thoughts of death. Symptoms must lead to

significant distress or impairment of functioning and must not be due to substance misuse, physical illness, or bereavement.

Etiology- Familial Environment/ Genetics

Familial and environmental factors play a large role in the development of depression in young people. High parental criticism, parental discord, and poor parent-child communication has been associated with onset and course of depression in youth. Both depressive symptoms and disorders have been significantly associated with undesirable life events.

Parental psychopathology also appears to be a significant risk factor for both the development and the course of childhood depression. Forty-five percent of children with mothers diagnosed with depression met criteria for a major depressive disorder, compared to 11% of children who were diagnosed as depressed whose mothers were not depressed. A longitudinal study of depressed children whose parent(s) were also depressed found more severe episodes of depression in a ten-year follow-up than children without depressed parents.

Experiencing single risk factors (e.g., pre-pubertal onset, familial history of depression, parental psychopathology, stressful life events, and low family support) appears to be associated with an increase in being diagnosed with childhood depression. However, when these risk factors are experienced in combination, the likelihood of impairment in the child is greater. Many researchers have found that an increased number of risk factors is associated with increased impairment.

Risk factors, such as the diathesis-stress model that has been validated in studies of adult depression have also been validated for childhood depression. Children who have a general negative cognitive style (irrespective to the onset of a stressor) report higher levels of depression after a stressor in comparison to children who do not endorse a negative cognitive style. It is important to note that due to developmental considerations, few studies have examined the relationship between cognitive style and depression in children under the age of eight.

Etiology- Biological

There also appears to be a biological component for depression in children. Research has found that depressed children hyposecrete growth hormones in comparison to non-depressed peers, even after the depressive episode has subsided. biological disregulation among depressed children is found in their neurochemistry, specifically identifying serotonin, neorpinephrine and acetylcholine as contributing to mood disorders.

When a child is depressed, it is likely due to a combination of genetic vulnerability and exposure to severe trauma or stressors. Thus, the manifestation of childhood depression appears to be a mix of both "nature" and "nurture."

Prevention

School based prevention programs involving preadolescents at risk for depression found that students participating in either a school based cognitive training program, social problem-solving program, or combined cognitive and social problem-solving program reported significantly fewer depressive symptoms than a control group.

Treatment

Treatment for childhood depression has significantly lagged behind treatment for adults. It is only in the past 10–15 years that studies have been conducted testing the efficacy of psychopharmacological and therapeutic treatments.

Pharmacotherapy

The use of serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs) appears to be somewhat effective in treating childhood depression. A recent study found that 56% of patients 7–17 years old receiving the SSRI fluoxetine demonstrated clinical improvement compared to 33% receiving placebo. Tricyclic antidepressants, which are frequently prescribed for treatment of depressed adults, have received mixed conclusions when used with children. This lessened success with children may stem from the developmental changes occurring in the neurotransmitter system.

Psychotherapy

Cognitive Behavioral Treatment: Individual cognitive behavioral interventions have proven effective in reduction of depressive symptomatology; lessening duration of depressive episodes, and in facilitating

remission of a depressive episode in children and adolescents. Cognitive behavioral treatment typically includes pleasant events activity scheduling, self-control skills, problem solving, and cognitive restructuring. Treatment can be time limited, often between 10–12 sessions, over a five to 12 week duration.

Behavioral Treatment: Many behaviorists believe depression occurs from a lack of reinforcement in the environment. If a child does not receive reinforcement (e.g., praise, interactions, touch), depressive symptoms may occur. Reinstatement of reinforcement in the environment will likely result in reduction of depressive symptomatology. Little research regarding this type of treatment has been conducted with children; however, research has found that increasing social reinforcers is an effective treatment with depressed adults.

See also: *Anxiety*; *Child abuse*; *Childhood*; *Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT)*; *Depression*

Suggested Reading

American Psychiatric Association (2000). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders: Text revision* (4th ed.). Washington D.C.: American Psychiatric Association.

Ginsburg, S. D., & Twentyman, C. T. (1987). Prevention of childhood depression. In R. F. Munoz, (Ed.), *Depression prevention: Research directions* (pp. 93–103). New York: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation.

Kazdin, A. E. (1990). Childhood depression. *Journal of Child Psychology*, *31*, 121–160.

Stark, K. D., Laurent, J., Livingston, R., Boswell, J., & Swearer, S. (1999). Implications of research for the treatment of depressive disorders during childhood. *Applied & Preventive Psychology*, *8*, 79–102.

Children's Literature

Anne E Cunningham

A Brief Historic Perspective

Within the context of human history as a whole, the idea that children should have books to read that were specifically written for them is relatively new. Prior to the mid-1400s, the literacy heritage of Europe consisted of the oral tradition and parchment manuscripts, which were rare, costly, and usually prized possessions of only nobles and priests. The invention of moveable type in the 1450s by Johannes Gutenberg, however, made possible the mass production of books. By 1476, William Caxton, returning from Germany after learning the process of mass production, established England's first printing press. At that time, most children's books were not written to interest children, but instead to improve either their manners or their minds. Though not written for children, three of the books published by the Caxton press became children's classics, including *The Book of the Subtyle Historyes and Fables of Esope* (The Fables of Aesop). Caxon Press books were beautiful, but too expensive for most people. Soon, however, chapmen (peddlers) were selling crudely printed booklets, called chapbooks, for pennies. By the seventeenth century, books that retold fairy tales became common in France, thanks to Charles Perrault, who recognized that children needed literature of their own.

In the 1740s, the idea of children's storybooks became established to some extent as the middle class became larger and its social position strengthened. In 1744, John Newbery began publishing a line of children's books that were intended for children's diversion rather than sheer instruction, including *Mother Goose*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and *Gulliver's Travels*. With Newbery's success, publishers realized there was, indeed, a market for books written especially for children. The nineteenth century brought such classics as *The Grimm Brothers' Fairy Tales*, *A Book of Nonsense* (Edward Lear), *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (Lewis Carroll), *Little Women* (Louisa May Alcott), *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (Mark Twain), and *Merry Adventures of Robin Hood of Great Renown in Nottinghamshire* (Howard Payle).

Classics published specifically for children in the twentieth century and the early twenty-first century included texts providing diversion, in addition to literature reflecting the diverse nature of society. During this time, attention to nonfiction, historical fiction written in diverse genres (e.g., poetry), and realistic fiction that tapped into many aspects of children's lives (including difficult topics such as the death of a friend or relative) flourished. Here are a few examples: *The Velveteen Rabbit* (Margery Williams Bianco), *The Story of Babar* (Jean de Brunhoff), *And to Think I Saw It on Mulberry Street* (Dr. Seuss), *Make Way for Ducklings* (Robert McCloskey), *The Island of the Blue Dolphins* (Scott O'Dell), *Zeely* (Virginia Hamilton), *African Traveler, The Story of Mary Kingsley* (Ronald Syme),

The Cay (Theodore Taylor), *Moja Means One: Swahili Counting Book* (Muriel Feelings), *A Taste of Blackberries* (Dorie Smith), *Frog and Toad* (Arnold Lobel), *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* (Mildred Taylor), *Dragon Wings* (Laurence Yep), *Grandfather's Journey* (Allen Say), *Lincoln: A Photo Biography* (Russell Freedman), *Joyful Noise: Poems for Two Voices* (Paul Fleishman), *Witness* (Karen Hesse), and *A Year Down Yonder* (Richard Peck).

Multicultural Children's Literature

Multicultural or cross-cultural literature is literature about racial or ethnic minority groups that are culturally or socially different from a country's majority population. Many of the goals of multicultural education—such as building respect across cultures, building an understanding of cultural differences, and sharpening the sensitivity toward the commonality of all people—are fostered through multicultural literature. In any society, a lack of books about minorities or inaccurate depictions of minorities can perpetuate stereotypes and result in psychological exclusion. Thus, children's literature represents an important avenue to bridge cultures. In the U.S., a host of changes in social life and literature have occurred since the 1940s, when Americans began to express publicly their growing objections to the use of certain stereotypes in children's books. As multicultural groups became more prominent, for the most part after the 1970s, a concurrent change in the literacy depictions of cultural groups emerged. Groups such as the Interracial Council on Books for Children, and transformation within publishing companies themselves, led to changes in the literary depictions of minorities and, in general, reflected more diversity. Additionally, the status of multicultural literature was enhanced as teachers and librarians began to include these works in their collections. Most journals that publish articles about literacy and journals of literary criticism, such as *Booklist*, *Book Links*, and *Horn-Book Magazine*, include information about multicultural literature. The inclusion of multicultural literature in basal readers also has a positive effect on creating climates in which minority students and their classmates gain heightened respect for individuals, as well as for the contributions and values of cultural minorities.

More and more literary criticism includes evaluation criteria for multicultural literature. Typical questions reviewers are asked to consider include (Norton, 2003, p. 460): *Are the characters portrayed as individuals instead of as representatives of a group? Does the book portray physical diversity? Is the culture accurately portrayed? Are the factual and historical details accurate? Does the author accurately describe contemporary settings?* At the time of this writing, multicultural books can be found in all genres, from poetry and drama to fiction—traditional tales, folklore, historical fiction, contemporary realistic fiction—to nonfiction, including biographies and informational books about history, geography, culture, and people. Publishers are also responding to the need for bilingual titles that extend subjects as well as children's interests.

The Evolution of the Use of Children's Literature in the Classroom

The use of authentic, unabridged children's literature for the teaching of reading in the classroom has had an uneven history; however, as of the 1980s, balanced literacy, which includes the use of authentic literature, is seen as integral to the education, health, and well-being of all students, including second language learners. From the 1940s through the 1990s, basal programs dominated reading materials used for instruction in American elementary classrooms. By the mid-1990s, however, practices had changed, due to the availability of high-quality children's literature, the popularity of the whole language movement, and the prominence of reader-response theory introduced by Louise Rosenblatt (1991), among others. Data from the 1991 National Assessment of Educational Progress revealed that half of the fourth-grade teachers polled, nationwide, reported a heavy use of children's literature in their classrooms. More recently, smaller surveys have shown that more than 90% of teachers agree that literature should comprise a significant part of school life.

One characteristic of the fairly recent movement toward literature use has to do with its strong theoretical underpinnings that encompass reader response theory. This emphasizes the relation between the text and the reader in the reading process. Using John Dewey's term, *transaction*, in 1991 Rosenblatt emphasized that reading is dynamic, where readers shape meanings based on the text and their prior knowledge and motivation, while at the same time the text itself shapes the readers' new experiences and orientations. Literature-based instruction in classroom settings includes literature discussion groups, reading aloud, literature-based reading in the content areas,

and the use of literature with special populations. These practices are intended to improve children's motivation to read, attitudes and feelings of self-efficacy about reading, and general reading ability. Implications from several studies on the use of literature in the classroom have led reading scholars to suggest that quality literature be a staple in all school settings.

See also: *Cuento therapy*; *Poetry, Teaching*; *Reading aloud to students*

Suggested Reading

Cullinan, B. E. (Ed.) (1987). *Children's literature in the reading program*. Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

Martinex, M., & Roser, N. (2003). Children's responses to literature. In J. Flood, D. Lapp, J. R. Squire & J. M. Jensen (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teaching the English language arts* (pp. 799–834). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Mullis, I., Campbell, J., & Farstrap, A. (1993). *NAEP 1991 reading report card for the nation and the states: Data from the national and trial state assessments*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Norton, D. (2003). *Through the eyes of a child*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill/Prentice Hall.

Rosenblatt, L. (1991). Literature: S.O.S. *Language Arts*, *68*(6), 444–448.

Suggested Resources

Ramsey Library Research Guides: Multicultural Literature Resources—http://bullpup.lib.unca.edu/library/rr/multcultlit.html: This website emphasizes large, general sites that lead to more specific resources. The primary focus is on literature for children and young adults.

University of Delaware Library: Resources for Children's Literature—http://www2.lib.udel.edu/subj/chld/: Includes databases, electronic journals, Internet resources, and research guides for children's literature.

Children's Personal Meaning Profile (PMP-C)

Joshua D Walker

The Children's Personal Meaning Profile (PMP-C©) is a children's version of The Personal Meaning Profile (PMP) and for use with children from the ages of 5–12. The PMP is a self-report assessment that identifies the various sources which imbue an individual's life with a sense of meaning. The PMP is based on a prototypical structure of the implicit theories that humans hold regarding what makes life worthwhile. The PMP is comprised of seven subscales representing those areas of life in which one seeks and experiences some degree of existential fulfillment. These are labeled achievement, relationship, religion, self-transcendence, self-acceptance, intimacy, and fair treatment. Beyond The PMP's value in identifying these separate domains of meaning-making, the PMP is also useful in assessing the magnitude (i.e., the degree of congruence with an ideally meaningful life), breadth (i.e., the number of different sources from which one derives a sense of meaning), and balance (i.e., the relative similarity in scores across the seven areas of life that provide meaning) of one's personal meaning structure. Standing in the mainstream of research on personal meaning and purpose in life, the PMP and its associated studies contribute to the growing body of literature that focuses on positive traits and psychological strengths. Accordingly, the notion of a meaningful life has, in various formulations, been associated with well-being, adaptive coping, and therapeutic growth. The relevance and usefulness of meaning-in-life as a psychological construct to both mental and physical health has appealed to researchers and practitioners alike, and new directions in the study of personal meaning and new extensions of its possible applications have made it accessible and helpful to school psychologists and counselors in particular.

The PMP-C adapts the original format to include a series of questions designed to explore some of the areas more deeply, yet appropriately for younger respondents. For example, regarding intimacy, the interview would discover how important it is for the child to have a very close relationship with someone who really cares about him/her and with whom he/she can share everything, and whether he/she has someone who provides this (e.g., his/her parents and/or brothers and sisters). With these deeper questions, the PMP-C is not only able to identify what children value, but also the gap between what they value and what they are actually able to experience. The scope of the PMP-C is also extended, seeking to explore variations across cultures. For instance, the PMP-C asks children living in America whether they previously maintained or currently maintain a close relationship with someone living in their home country. This flexibility to account for the

experiences of recently immigrated children allows this instrument to respond to the growing need for cultural sensitivity in assessment and counseling tools.

The prototypical structure of the ideally meaningful life involves a positive and mature attitude toward life in general and toward oneself in pursuit of a productive, purposeful life—and one that is connected to the community and spiritual/religious realm. In recent literature, alienation from one's community or religiosity/spirituality has been shown to limit one's fulfillment in other areas because one's culture profoundly influences one's psychosocial development. This presents a special challenge in cross-cultural situations where the shared meanings of one's family of origin are potentially incongruent with those of the host society or majority culture. Feelings of estrangement, loneliness, alienation, and powerlessness are often accompanied by a sense of meaninglessness as children struggle to make sense of their new environments and process the complexities of cultural conflicts. Counselors and school psychologists need to be prepared to help children navigate the challenges of acculturative stress, especially as it is complicated by their young age, possible racial/ethnic identity crises, language barriers, and privacy issues.

The PMP-C holds promise as a method for exploring and assessing the inner world of children in a manner that is both culturally sensitive and psychometrically sound. As researchers and practitioners become better able to understand a child's personal sense of meaning—how it both constructs and is constructed by the beliefs, feelings, motivations, values, experiences, and relationships that comprise the identity of self and community, they will become better able to improve the meaning-making capabilities of children facing adversity.

See also: ➲ *Assessment of culturally diverse children*; ➲ *Discrimination*; ➲ *Prejudice*; ➲ *Racism: Individual, Institutional, and Cultural*; ➲ *System of Multicultural Pluralistic Assessment (SOMPA)*; ➲ *Worldview*

Suggested Reading

Wong, P. T. P., & Fry, P. S. (Eds.) (1998). *The human quest for meaning: A handbook of psychological research and clinical applications*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Wong, P. T. P., & Wong, L. C. J. (Eds.) (2006). *Handbook of multicultural perspectives on stress and coping*. New York: Springer.

Suggested Resources

Website for the International Network on Personal Meaning (INPN)—http://www.meaning.ca/index.html: The INPM is dedicated to advancing health, spirituality, peace and human fulfillment through research, education and applied psychology with a focus on the universal human quest for meaning and purpose.

Chinese Youth

Grace Wong

Chinese Americans are the largest group among Asian youth in the United States (U.S.). While Asian immigrants comprise 3–4% of the American population, Chinese people comprise nearly one fourth of the Asian population within the U.S. The largest concentrations of Chinese Americans are in California, New York, Hawaii, and Texas with large communities also found in New Jersey, Massachusetts, Illinois, and Washington.

History

Chinese people have been in the U.S. primarily since the middle of the nineteenth century. With the exception of scholars and diplomats who had a greater chance of bringing their families, a large portion of Chinese people in the U.S. were men, singled or married with wives and children still overseas. The discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in 1848 that led to the California Gold Rush of 1849 brought many Easterners westward while bringing Chinese from Southern China. Aside from the hope of striking it rich, some looked to escape poverty and starvation. Many defied imperial laws against immigration to leave China and to make their fortune with plans of returning to their homeland. Without intentions to set down roots in "Gold Mountain" as many Chinese referred to America, many of the children of Chinese Americans in this group were raised overseas with their fathers visiting periodically until the child was of age. Generally, only the sons joined their fathers in the U.S.

So many Chinese men had come to the West coast in the mid-to-late nineteenth century that at one point, one of four people in California was Chinese.

Willing to take low paying jobs to compete against other laborers, the labor unions began to rally against Chinese "coolies." A "yellow peril" was declared and with the rise of xenophobia, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was enacted, further restricting not only Chinese men, but also the immigration of women and children. Since anti-Asian sentiments were not limited to the Chinese, Japan responded in a series of face-saving measures in 1907–1908 called the Gentlemen's Agreement which limited its own citizens from immigrating to the U.S. in exchange for schools in San Francisco, California not to discriminate against Japanese students. For the latter part of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, immigration restrictions were so tight that only relatives of U.S. citizens were allowed into the country.

The Chinese Exclusion Act was not repealed until 1943 when it became embarrassing for America to have an Immigrant Exclusion law against its war ally. Eventually, the Johnson and Nixon administrations further changed the inequity of quotas, allowing more immigrants to come from Asia. With the largest groups of Chinese immigrants arriving at the shores after the mid 1960s, intact Chinese families became more common and issues concerning children and adolescents began to raise attention.

The Chinese immigrants who came during this later era were of several types. The first group was sponsored by relatives already in the U.S. The second group came under refugee status (post-WW II refugees) and a third were foreign students who elected to stay in the U.S. after their studies. The latter group was also identified as part of the "brain drain" when top scholars from other countries were drawn to opportunities in the U.S. By and large, these new immigrants were better educated and already westernized, readily integrating into American society in a way that the previous group was not able to as well as not allowed to prior to the Civil Rights Movement.

Prior to the Civil Rights Movement, most Chinese were limited to professions such as restaurants, laundry, domestic work, and work in dried goods stores. Rights that were won from the Civil Rights Movement gave all minority groups greater access to educational and professional opportunities. These immigrant groups had great expectations of themselves as well as their children to be successful academically. Many had gone through the devastation and losses of World War II in Asia and were driven to reestablish themselves in their new home. Since work opportunities were more readily accessible, they entered into professions such as the sciences, medicine, business, the arts, and law, a part of American society that was not previously available. Thus, the existing Chinese in America and the newer group of Chinese immigrants became a part of mainstream American life in a way that their predecessors were not allowed to before.

The Two Faces of Model Minority

As this generation grew up, formed families, and made headways in society, expectations for their children to succeed was natural. The Chinese culture has a longstanding emphasis on education. The Chinese philosopher Confucius (5 B.C.) raised education to moral superior status. Education, over the next twenty-five centuries, was seen as the way out of poverty. Success through the examination system in China allowed the poor to move upward and become officials. Academics became an emphasis within the culture and esteemed with honor and respect.

Like Jewish immigrants, the success of Chinese and other East Asian immigrants easily contributed to the Asian stereotype of being a Model Minority. However, the flaw of this myth is that Asian Americans represent only 3–4% of the overall population and those present in the U.S. are a pre-selected group with a high representation of foreign students and refugees who were from professional backgrounds. The small sample size and the selective representation skew the population in the direction of greater success than normal. The expectation of academic success has both its strengths and weaknesses. The strength is that the new immigrant group moved up quickly into competitive environments and financial success. The weakness is that sometimes the stress of this requirement for success is undue pressure, leading to mental health problems such as anxiety, depression, and even suicide.

As a group, Asian Americans over the age of 25 have the largest percentage of college graduates (44%) compared to the general population (24%). While Chinese Americans (and Asian Americans) quickly outgrew their proportional representation in colleges, literature also well documented the underutilization of mental health services in college counseling centers. Chinese youth report a higher than average percentage of depression and anxiety and yet seek college mental health services less than their White, African American, and Latino counterparts. A significant contributor is

the cultural tendency to keep problems private and not cause self or family to "lose face." This often leads to Chinese students' hesitancy to show embarrassing behavior and bring shame on oneself and ones family. Simultaneously, the lack of knowledge about mental illness and its signs and symptoms also lead to failure to recognize mental health problems as soon as they appear and get help in times of crisis. Other research has indicated that Chinese Americans do seek help, but often at a later stage of distress, thus, showing up at clinics with more severe psychiatric problems. Sometimes the problems are at a severity in which more serious interventions such as medication and hospitalization are required.

The Model Minority myth projects the image that the community is doing well which can lead to overlooking existing problems. Many immigrant children grow up in households where parents work longer hours since new immigrants often work at a lower social stratum than in their original homeland to make ends meet. Children are often left to grandparents, babysitters, or occasionally left on their own once they are old enough to fend for themselves, while still being expected to work hard academically. Surprisingly, some survive and even become successful, but many others do not, leading to poor performance in school, truancy, and emotional adjustment problems. Immigrant children, particularly the oldest children, sometimes function as mini-adults with all the responsibility placed on their shoulders but without the authority over their younger siblings. The lack of parental supervision greatly contributes to the rising phenomenon of truancy. While the truant behavior is not necessarily gang-related, staying out of school can have a significant impact on academic performance and future career choices. Older siblings in particular act as parent substitutes—often because parents rely on their children to translate and to negotiate the new environment. Not all children take on the role of parentified child well and various forms of rebellion including pregnancy, drugs, and spending sprees are known to occur.

As the People's Republic of China opened its doors for immigration, a larger proportion of the recent Chinese come from China rather than Taiwan, Hong Kong (which is now a part of China), Singapore, Vietnam, and the rest of Southeast Asia. While many are still coming for academic reasons, a greater majority now come as relatives who are sponsored by relatives in the U.S. Also, a smaller proportion are in the U.S. without documentation. Eager for economic success, this new group of immigrants is more focused on surviving financially and less emphasis is placed on academics compared to the foreign students of the past.

The recent phenomenon in the last two decades has been for some of the new immigrants to send their newborns back to China to be raised by grandparents so that both parents can focus on financial survival. Some of the children return to the U.S. by kindergarten or during the elementary school years. Mental health providers working for school systems have noted an increase in referrals for evaluation for this group of children.

More specifically, several problems have been observed. After living with grandparents for their formative years in China, the children often return to the U.S. after years of separation from their parents and experience difficulties in academic and social adjustment. Problems range from poor academic preparation to parent/child bonding and other behavioral issues. Children who were sent to less prosperous urban and rural parts of China often encounter schools with sub-par academic standards and poor medical care, resulting in a lack of interventions for developmental needs such as for diet, speech, and hearing problems.

In addition, the "One Child Policy" in China that was originally intended to keep the population explosion in check, resulted in the choice of couples to abort females in hopes of having a son. Since families can only have one child, the preciousness of the child has led grandparents to treat their grandson (and the occasional granddaughter) like royalty, indulging the child with whatever they can offer. When these children return to the U.S., they face a number of adjustment issues.

Academically, the children have fallen behind their peers and catching up is often a struggle. Schooling in China is most likely not in English. Their parents are often not in the position to meet academic needs as some of the parents may not have mastered the English language and some have not had much education themselves. Also, parents are virtual strangers to their children as they have had little time to bond. Discipline is more difficult when parents and children have not established an emotional connection. Sometimes there are feelings of guilt about sending the child to China. This can contribute to feelings of conflict about discipline.

Unfamiliar with their own children, parents may not have an awareness of the child's emotional, medical, and academic needs leading to failure to recognize the seriousness of their children's problems at school. Lack of knowledge can contribute to failure to comply with recommendations for treatment and/or the unrealistic expectation of school systems to take care of all of the child's problems. Children under this circumstance can become very discouraged about their own ability to manage in the academic environment. Often mental health providers need to provide psychoeducation for parents to encourage compliance with suggested interventions for their children.

Youth and Gangs

Some teens choose to join gangs in their local community to find affiliation, belonging, and efficacy in the world. While the temporary sense of protection provides some relief, many other problems develop from gang affiliation including violence and criminal behavior that effect later life options. Drugs, alcohol, and anti-social behavior become woven into the fabric of life, all of which are difficult to break away from. For young men, the affiliation requires loyalty and, sometimes, surrendering personal and family information that can never be taken back, allowing the gang to maintain leverage over its members. Straying from the gang can mean personal danger as well as potential harm to family. For young women who are girlfriends of gang members, sexual favors are sometimes demanded by other gang members. Sometimes families have had to move away to escape the reaches of the gangs and to provide a fresh start for their teenager.

Immigration and its Stress on the Fabric of the Family

Even with the support of parents, not all parents are able to provide adequate help for their children. Parents and grandparents who immigrate to the U.S. without adequate English speaking skills, academic training, emotional development, or cultural flexibility may find themselves alienated from their children. Younger generations often acculturate faster than older generations as children are exposed to western education and values on a daily basis. Social rules, communication styles (e.g., direct vs. indirect), values, and much more begin to differ between the generations as children acquire the new values while the parents still retain values from the old world. This generation gap can lead to clashes within the family over issues ofdating, power, money, independence, interracial marriage, and expectations of future support for aging parents. How acculturation is worked out depends on the flexibility and openness of both parties. The best examples of acculturation are often a healthy blend of the new and old view and the appreciation for both.

See also: ➲ *Academic achievement in minority children*; ➲ *Asian/Asian American youth*; ➲ *Confucianism*; ➲ *Ethnic minority youth*; ➲ *Korean American youth*; ➲ *Racism: Individual, Institutional, and Cultural*; ➲ *Stereotyping*

Suggested Reading

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Citizenship

Leslie Ditta

Civics education, which is now more commonly known as citizenship education, has been part of education curricula for decades. There is debate, however, about citizenship education. Different models of citizenship education are used: one is the European model, which focuses on democratic skills and practices; another model is the United States (U.S.) model, which focuses on personal virtues, namely justice.

Some of the debates about citizenship education are as follows: Should schools help bring up students as good, democratic citizens? What aspects of citizenship should be taught? How should citizenship be taught? In many ways, schools and families have to work as partners to develop and educate children. When school and family reinforce lessons, students can internalize these

lessons better. Consequently, a debate arises whether citizenship should be taught in school, or if it should be reserved for family teaching. As citizenship contains many morals, one view is that families should be responsible for teaching their children values needed in society and world. On the other hand, is the view that citizenship needs to be reinforced in school, as incidents of crime, substance abuse, and other undesirable behaviors are common among many youths.

The existing viewpoint that citizenship should be taught in schools leads to the next debate: What elements or perspectives of citizenship should be taught? An approach to take is teaching democracy, democratic skills of citizens, and democratic practices. This approach is commonly found in European education. Because students will become adults in a democratic society, they need to learn in school how the society and government works, thereby being able to be a good citizen. Another approach is teaching citizenship about an individual's rights and virtues. This approach is common in the U.S. The theory behind this approach is that if an individual feels that he or she has a right, he or she will act in a way to uphold that right and will expect the society to uphold it. For instance, if a U.S. citizen believes he or she is free, he or she will act free, and will look for ways that a democratic government defends his or her rights. This emotional approach is also found in U.S. program philosophies of character education.

Citizenship education is now a greater focus in schools because of its link with character education. Schools are engaging several approaches in an effort to enhance the citizenship qualities among their students. The first approach is to look at the present curriculum. Citizenship education is a topic that can be taught across disciplines. Primarily, citizenship education falls naturally into the discipline of social studies. Civics curriculum defines good citizen traits and behaviors that are expected to help contribute to the greater good of the society. Citizenship education also fits in with the language arts. Some propose that to teach about citizenship, students should have models to reference. To do this, the curriculum is infused with multimedia resources of historical figures, past and present, and those from diverse cultures. Various video documentaries and books tell accounts of the lives of heroes. Trade books and novels are also effective tools to use in younger grades, as they are written to grab the readers' attentions, in addition to presenting the facts of the person being studied.

Whether at home or in school, children need to be exposed to the idea that citizenship does not mean the same in all cultures. There are elements of citizenship that all cultures contain, like a hierarchy, rules, and consequences. Understanding that people have different ideas of what being a good citizen means and what government should be can help with appreciating and tolerating differences among people and cultures.

Once students have been given instruction that helps them understand the workings of society, and of the roles of inhabitants it becomes the student's task to act like law-abiding, good citizens. Some schools are providing students with greater responsibility in decision-making, specifically in the area of discipline, to promote this development. The idea of choice becomes central to this approach. Instruction enables students to see, through activities and discussion, that people have the ability to choose, and to make choices based on their personal values and those of society, but also to consider the consequences of their choices on the society, or on themselves. When situations arise in which discipline is required, the focus turns to character and citizenship. Students are encouraged to see that good character and citizenship is everywhere, not just in isolated lessons.

Whatever approach is taken, the key to success is to have a united front. Families will be the primary teacher of values and citizenship to children; however, it is inevitable that schools will have to address these values and systems at some point, even if citizenship is not a content area in the curriculum. Thus, to have an entire school that shares common vocabulary, procedures, and attitudes towards citizenship education will ensure that students learn about this area.

See also: ➤ *Bullying*; ➤ *Character education*; ➤ *Classroom management*; ➤ *Discipline*; ➤ *Service learning*

Suggested Reading

Lickona, T. (1991). *Educating for character: How our schools can teach respect and responsibility.* New York: Bantam Books.

Meltzer, M., & Saul, E. W. (1994). *Nonfiction for the classroom*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Quenk, R. (1997). *The spirit that moves us: A literature-based resource guide, teaching about the holocaust and human rights.* Gardiner: Tilbury House.

Zehr, H. (2002). *The little book of restorative justice.* Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

Suggested Resources

Public Broadcasting Station (PBS)—http:///www.pbs.org: A resource to educators, The Public Broadcasting Station (PBS) has a video library of biographies that can be utilized during class discussion of heroes and great citizens.

New Jersey State Bar Foundation—http://www.njsbf.org: The New Jersey State Bar Foundation has compiled resources for educators to use for conflict resolution and instruction in character education.

Class Size

Anna L Harms · John S Carlson

Class size refers to the number of children taught within a single classroom. Dating back to the 1920s, the topic of class size has been of great interest to school staff, parents, politicians, and economists. While the idea of having smaller classes is appealing to nearly all, it is necessary to establish whether small classes will, in fact, lead to improved student outcomes, and whether such outcomes warrant financial funding. Despite being one of the most widely investigated topics in education, only the past 10–15 years of research has been able to yield substantial findings. This research has been facilitated by the implementation of several exemplary class-size reduction programs. Three foundational projects included Tennessee's Project Student/Teacher Achievement Ratio (STAR), Wisconsin's Student Achievement Guarantee in Education (Project SAGE), and North Carolina's program in Burke County. There is some disagreement regarding what qualifies as a "small" class. While some consider fewer than 20 students in a class to be small, many argue that student gains are not seen unless the class size is 15 or fewer.

Research examining both short-term and long-term student outcomes has shown several benefits of small class size. Lasting academic gains were found for the three class size reduction projects identified above. Specifically, the longer students were enrolled in small classes, the higher their standardized test scores in both reading and math. These gains were also durable, as students continued to receive better grades in high school and were more likely to enroll in more difficult classes. Students who have been in small classes in the elementary years are also more likely to apply for college. Both the STAR and SAGE projects found that the beneficial effects of small class sizes were largest for African American students in urban schools, which lends support for using smaller class sizes as an intervention for narrowing the achievement gap.

Special education classes are most often small in size, consisting of fewer than 15 students, and research shows that having fewer students in a special education class is also related to greater academic gains. Evidence that students who experience academic difficulties benefit from small class sizes further suggests that smaller class sizes are important for promoting student achievement. Internationally, average class sizes in Belgium and Italy tend to be among the smallest (20 students per class), while China and Korea have some of the largest average class sizes (40 students per class). In contrast to the United States (U.S.), data on class size and student achievement indicates that, outside the U.S., countries with larger average class sizes have slightly greater student achievement.

It is also important to recognize the distinction between class size and student/teacher ratio. Student/teacher ratios are typically calculated by dividing the total number of students in a school by the total number of staff. As a result, a student/teacher ratio can be misleading, particularly if support staff, who are not responsible for instruction, are included in the calculation. Critics of class size reduction efforts frequently cite research based on student/teacher ratio data as evidence that small classes do not lead to academic gains.

Research findings suggesting that smaller class size can be beneficial to students does not necessarily warrant an immediate large-scale movement for all schools to reduce class size. Rather, class size transitions need to be undertaken with a great deal of thought and planning. Budgets must be planned to accommodate the hiring of new teachers and instructional space must be allocated appropriately. Districts must ensure that new teachers are well trained, and that current teachers have access to professional development.

See also: ➜ *Achievement tests*; ➜ *Classroom management*; ➜ *School, Size of*

Suggested Reading

Achilles, C. M., & Finn, J. D. (2005). Class size and pupil-teacher ratio confusion: A classic example of mixing "apples and oranges". *National Forum of Applied Educational Research Journal*, *18*(2), 5–25.

Finn, J. D. et al. (2001). The enduring effects of small classes. *Teachers College Board*, *103*(2), 145–183.

Krueger, A. (2003). Economic considerations and class size. *Economics Journal*, *113*, 34–63.

Suggested Resources

National Education Association Web Page on Class Size: http://www.nea.org/classsize/research-classsize.html

Reduce Class Size Now Web Page: http://www.reduceclasssizenow.org/structuredAbstracts.htm

Classroom Management

Bridget Luebbering

Educators generally agree that classroom management is any action taken by the teacher to establish order, engage students, and elicit cooperation. Therefore, classroom management is a term that encompasses an abundance of strategies within the field of teaching. These techniques can range from the smallest details (the physical arrangement of a classroom) to the most complicated (the student-teacher relationship). Consequently, classroom management covers many different topics, including effective instruction, disciplinary actions, classroom procedures, teacher attitudes, classroom environment, and motivational techniques.

Classroom management can become very complicated because it involves many rapid, unpredictable, and often public classroom events that have both a related past and a probable future. For instance, when an angry, disruptive student enters the classroom at the beginning of the day, the teacher must immediately deal with this behavior in the presence of many bystanders. In addition, although the student's anger was caused by past events, the teacher's reaction to this anger will affect the future of their student-teacher relationship.

Consequently, one of the biggest obstacles of classroom management is that teachers often have little time to prepare for classroom problems that must be handled immediately and effectively. Unfortunately, if problems are not dealt with correctly, they may have a huge impact on the student, the teacher, and the classroom environment. Therefore, classroom management strategies must be used to prevent discipline problems and maximally engage students in active learning. Research has shown that classroom management is one of the largest factors affecting academic success. While successful management requires training, hard work, and careful planning, it is an effective use of available school resources and serves many purposes within the classroom.

One purpose of classroom management is to help teachers establish order and create environments where learning is maximized for every student. In today's increasingly diverse classrooms, classroom management helps to create rules and procedures to ensure that every student is treated fairly and has the opportunity to learn to the best of their ability, regardless of race, culture, ethnicity, or disability. A second purpose of classroom management is to create teachable moments where students not only acquire the concepts being taught but also learn how to work with and respect every individual in the classroom. Through effective classroom management strategies, students learn not only their own rights and responsibilities but also appropriate ways to work in groups, accomplish tasks, and act responsibly. By working together, students and teachers learn how to appreciate individual differences and all the various ways these differences are beneficial to the classroom experience.

To accomplish these goals, teachers must use effective classroom management techniques. While there are many different classroom management strategies, certain characteristics are fundamental. Primarily, techniques should be preventative rather than reactive, meaning that many problems are eliminated before they occur. Secondly, since it is impossible to avoid every problem, strategies must be planned rather than improvised. Given that classroom problems may arise rapidly, teachers need to plan how they will handle a variety of different situations and problems. Finally, effective strategies should be tailored to fit the unique needs and culture of the students, teachers, and school. Classroom management techniques will not be effective unless they coincide with the values of everyone in the classroom.

One of the greatest benefits of effective management is that is lays the foundation for successfully working in a multicultural classroom, which is a growing need in today's society. To illustrate, over 20% of American students are ethnic minorities, 40% are economically disadvantaged, 2% have limited English capabilities, and 16% have disabilities. The number of students with learning, behavioral, and other educational disabilities in general education classes has

tripled over recent years. In fact, 47% of students with disabilities are spending 80% of their day in regular classrooms. Therefore, more teachers are being asked to manage increasingly diverse classrooms.

Unfortunately, many teachers do not feel prepared for this responsibility. Ninety-eight percent of teachers rate their skill and knowledge in planning for general education students as good or excellent. However, only 39% give themselves a high rating for their ability to plan for special education students. Without a plan, teachers may respond to student behavior from the perspective of mainstream, sociocultural norms, which may lead to discrimination against students. By creating a classroom management plan, teachers will have a preset method to handle discipline problems and therefore be more likely to consistently react to every student in a similar manner, regardless of race, ethnicity, or disability. In addition, students also see how the teacher responds to every student fairly and thus, can learn to model similar behavior.

A second way that effective management can benefit multicultural classrooms is through influencing the classroom climate. Since effective management provides equal status, consistency, and fair treatment for every child, it helps to decrease the stereotypes and hostility that may arise from the diversity and cultural gaps in the classroom. It also helps teachers create a positive classroom environment, where the individual differences of everyone in the classroom are appreciated and encouraged. This allows every individual to share and teach others about their own cultural values, which works to decrease problems such as racism and discrimination.

Practicing effective management strategies not only promotes positive classroom environments but also has the benefit of helping teachers establish positive relationships with every student in class. As a foundation for effective management, students who have positive relationships with their teachers are more likely to follow their request. In fact, research demonstrates that the quality of the student-teacher relationship is the most important aspect of classroom management. When students see that their teacher is not only treating everyone fairly but also valuing their own individual differences, they begin to respect the teacher and are more willing to build a positive relationship.

To establish effective relationships, teachers must have an increased awareness of the students' needs and also establish appropriate levels of dominance and cooperation. Teachers can use the following basic classroom management techniques to accomplish these goals: (a) establish clear behavioral expectations by explaining the rules and consequences to students before behavior problems arise, (b) establish and clearly explain learning goals for every student by providing clarity of the content of material and offering both positive and negative feedback, (c) show assertive rather than passive or aggressive behavior by using appropriate tone of voice and body language, (d) establish cooperation by having flexible learning goals and taking a personal interest in the students' lives, and (e) show positive classroom behaviors such as eye contact and I-messages.

Effective management is not simply beneficial to a multicultural school. Rather, it is a prerequisite to a successful classroom. Optimal learning cannot occur without effective management because disruptive behaviors are likely to interfere with instructional activities and distract other students. Indeed, lack of discipline has been reported as one of the biggest obstacles to student learning for the past three decades. Discipline issues can be minimized by making students feel welcome, safe, and supported, which are all primary goals of effective management strategies.

Since not all discipline problems can be eliminated, effective management also helps teachers handle the discipline problems that do arise. While teachers without effective management strategies simply improvise their reactions to discipline problems, teachers with a classroom management strategy have a consistent and clearly stated plan about how to handle discipline problems. Teachers who simply improvise discipline procedures increase the probability of confrontations, creating an unpredictable classroom environment, thus increases the stress level on themselves and their students. The effect this has on the mental health of teachers is significant and it is important to note that one third of all teachers quit within the first 5 years of teaching. Classroom management techniques can help reduce teacher stress by engineering classrooms so that the students are more responsible for their behavior than the teachers. If teachers can focus on preventing discipline problems through classroom management procedures, it is hoped that they will have fewer discipline problems, less stress, and more time for their own work.

Therefore, it is crucial for teachers to be trained in evidence-based classroom management strategies to promote the academic success and emotional well-being of every individual in the classroom. Good classroom management techniques increase not only

student/teacher productivity and satisfaction but also the teacher's ability to provide students with an effective learning environment. Effective management strategies help to reduce teacher stress and discipline problems while simultaneously creating positive environments and relationships that support a multicultural classroom.

See also: ➲ *Teacher burnout*; ➲ *Discipline*; ➲ *Teacher efficacy*; ➲ *Time management*

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Marzano, R., Marzano, J. S., & Pickering, D. J. (2003). *Classroom management that works: Research based strategies for every teacher*. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Stone, R. (2005). *Best classroom management practices for reaching all learners: What award-winning classroom teachers do*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Code Switching

Jose Mercado

Code switching is a linguistic phenomenon that involves the use of two languages within the same conversation. While what was previously viewed as a mode of communication for those with language deficiencies and lower intelligence, current research has shown to be a complex form of communication between bilinguals with psychosocial and cultural implications. The following is an example

Code switch: '*Voy para el mall para comprar* sneakers'

Translation: 'I'm going to the mall to buy sneakers'

Sociolinguistic Factors

Why do bilinguals code switch? At a linguistic level, code switching has been used involuntarily during translation. As a result of not being able to recall a word or phrase in either the dominant or secondary language, code switching has been used as a form of word retrieval. The inability to recall the word or phrase has been shown not to be a failure of word knowledge, but rather reminiscent of the tip-of-the-tongue (TOT) phenomenon that involves the inability to recall known information at a particular moment.

Current research has also found a structural component in the switching process which debunks the myth that code switching involves grammarless mixing of the two languages. Current findings show a competence in maintaining the integrity of both languages during the switching process. Therefore, no 'new grammar' has been created and both the qualitative and quantitative distinctions of both languages have been maintained. Further evidence has found a varying level of code switching ability, giving credence to the notion of code switching being a mode of bilingual ability. The level of competency in either language has been shown to directly correlate with the sophistication of code switching. For example, those dominant in one language tend to code switch in shorter phrases (*verdad*? right? *tu sabes*? you know?). In bilinguals who have an equally high level of competency in both languages, intra-sentential switching appears to be most common ('I am going to your house *para lavar mi ropa*'/to wash my clothes). This level of switching is not taught, but rather is an intuitive sense of linguistic proficiency.

Psychological Factors

Code switching has been found to be motivated by both conscious and unconscious factors. On the conscious level, switching serves as a means of expression of feelings in one language that the bilingual speaker may feel is not present in the alternating language. Unconscious factors include the process of receiving, storing and retrieving information. Unconscious switching can be placed into three categories:

1. *Momentary inclination.* Linguistics research has shown that the choice of language usage in switching is not as a result of limited knowledge in either language, but rather a momentary availability of a word or phrases within the context of the conversation.
2. *Frequency of exposure.* Psycholinguists have determined that the frequency that speakers of a language are exposed to certain words will play an

important role in determining their choice in code switching phrases. Therefore, it is an unconscious learned response that will cause someone to choose an English phrase over a Spanish phrase, especially when it is used within the informal surroundings of the community. Conversely, in cases of modern technology and business-related language, bilinguals tend to switch to English, possibly due to the formality and lack of exposure to those areas.

3. *Untranslatability.* Within the context of bilingualism, there lies a dual cultural personality. Cultural influence plays a significant role in code switching as a means of communication. Bilingual speakers are often bound to cultural words and phrases that are not easily translatable. Words such as *sweetie pie* in English would not reflect the same context if used in Spanish. Therefore, code switching has been enmeshing of two languages and cultures to form coherent thoughts.

Emphasis

Bilingual speakers often use code switching as a means of changing tone or emphasis in conversation. The use of contrasting language is an excellent way of giving colorful expression or minimizing a particular thought:

'I was climbing a tree *y parti my brazo*' (and I broke my arm).

The use of switching is a signal by the speaker that a meaningful thought is approaching.

Historical context

Study of contemporary code switching began to develop in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Before this time switching was seen as a smaller issue surrounding a larger discussion of dialects. It was not until authors such as Joshua Fishman and Michael Clyne that code switching became a field for further research. Prior to this time little attention was given to code switching and whatever attention existed was negative. Individuals who used code switching were seen as unintelligent, and using switching was equated with deviant behavior patterns.

Works by Einar Haugen, Uriel Weinreich and Charles Ferguson, before the 1960s, would later be seen as having set the stage for more contemporary code switching literature. This phenomenon later became an integral part in other research in linguistics and an expansion of study in other fields such as the process of acculturation in immigrant communities. Research at this time did not focus on code switching. Code switching was a mere by-product of other studies in psychology, linguistics and anthropology, which revolved around bilingual speakers and immigrants. Moreover, code switching had not been given a name. The term code switching, sometimes also referred to as code mixing or code shifting, was introduced as early as 1953 when Einar Haugen introduced the term in his book *Bilingualism in the Americas.*

See also: Acculturation; Bilingualism

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Becker, K. R. (1997). Spanish/English codeswitching: A syncretic model. *Bilingual Review*, *25*(1), 3–31.

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Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT)

Rhonda Turner · Susan M Swearer

Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) is a form of psychotherapy that focuses on the role of cognition in the expression of emotions and behaviors. CBT assumes that maladaptive feelings and behaviors develop through cognitive processes which evolve from interactions with others and experiences in the environment. The goal of therapy is to identify the maladaptive cognitive process and to learn new ways of perceiving and thinking about events. These new ways of thinking will lead to more positive behavioral and emotional responses.

CBT is a general classification of psychotherapy. It encompasses several different approaches that share the same theoretical underpinnings. Among the cognitive behavioral approaches being practiced today are Rational Emotive Behavior Therapy, Cognitive

Therapy, Rational Behavior Therapy, Rational Living Therapy, Schema Focused Therapy and Dialectical Behavior Therapy.

History of CBT

A precursor to the development of CBT was the emergence of Albert Bandura's Social Learning Theory. Unlike the prevailing psychodynamic or behavioral views of psychological disturbance, Bandura viewed people as consciously and actively interacting cognitively with their environments. He introduced the notion that cognitive mediation occurs in the stimulus-response cycle of human behavior. This suggestion that people *think* before they *do* offered a new target for therapeutic intervention and set the stage for the development of CBT.

Cognitive Behavioral Therapy has its origins in the work of Albert Ellis and Aaron T. Beck in the late 1950's and early 1960's. During that time, Albert Ellis, seeking an alternative to psychodynamic therapy which he viewed as indirect and inefficient, developed Rational Emotive Therapy (RET). Later termed Rational Emotive Behavior Therapy (REBT), Ellis' approach emphasized the role of cognitions in determining a person's feelings and behaviors. Ellis was particularly influenced by the Stoic philosophy which held that people are upset not by events, but rather by the view they take of them. He was also influenced by the psychotherapist Alfred Adler, who posited that behavior stems from thought.

REBT holds that psychological disturbances stem from irrational beliefs. These irrational beliefs usually take the form of an individual's insistence that things *should, ought,* or *must* be different from the way they are. Cognitive errors including overgeneralization, interpreting small events to have great meaning (i.e., believing that an everyday mistake is evidence of complete incompetence), and catastrophizing, turning a small problem into an insurmountable one, are targets of therapy. In REBT, the therapist directly confronts these irrational thoughts and unrealistic expectations.

Also influenced by the Stoicists, and Adler, Aaron T. Beck developed a structured, short-term, present focused treatment for depression. Beck's approach, termed Cognitive Therapy was based on Beck's observation that his patients with depression held idiosyncratic cognitive biases. From this, Beck developed a model of depression depicting a cognitive triad characterized by a negative view of the self, the world and the future, along with a perception of the self as inadequate, alone, and worthless. Beck maintained that similar systematic biases in information processing are characteristic of most psychological disorders. For example, anxiety disorders are characterized by a pervasive sense of physical or psychological danger while paranoid thinking involves a bias assuming that others are prejudiced, abusive or critical.

Whereas the REBT therapist actively confronts and attempts to persuade the client that his/her thinking is irrational, in Cognitive therapy the client is engaged in a spirit of collaborative empiricism. That is, through a combination of Socratic questioning and behavioral experimentation, the therapist and client work together to determine the accuracy (or inaccuracy) of the client's thoughts and beliefs.

In the 1970's Donald Meichenbaum developed a treatment approach he termed Cognitive Behavior Modification. Meichenbaum's early research on the role of cognition in behavior originated in his observation of persons with schizophrenia engaging in self instruction in their efforts to maintain assigned "healthy talk" to receive reinforcements. Stemming from this observation, much of Meichenbaum's work centered on the internal dialog, or "self-talk" that underlies individual's affect and behavior and is the foundation for the development of coping skills. Meichenbaum suggested that cognitive behavior modification was aimed at creating a bridge between strictly behavioral and strictly cognitive treatment modalities and has been successfully applied in the treatment of anxiety, anger, and stress.

Applications of CBT

Over the years, CBT has been used to treat a wide variety of psychological disorders, across a variety of populations and settings. Among adults, it has been proven effective in the treatment of major depressive disorder, generalized anxiety disorder, social phobia, substance abuse, obsessive-compulsive disorder, and couples'/marital problems. CBT has also been applied to the treatment of post-traumatic stress disorder, personality disorders, chronic pain, antisocial behavior, hypochondria and schizophrenia.

As previously noted, CBT uses performance-based procedures and structured sessions along with cognitive intervention techniques to produce changes in thinking, feeling and behavior. This model translates well to

working with youth and their families. Cognitive Behavioral approaches adapt well to the demands of children's differing developmental levels. Although it provides structure for treatment, cognitive behavioral therapy is flexible allowing for adaptations to meet individual client's developmental needs. With younger children the treatment process will likely have a behavioral emphasis, focusing on operant techniques to modify behavior. As cognitive abilities develop, the focus of therapy can shift to the mediating cognitions that determine emotion and behavior. It has been suggested that children as young as age 5 can benefit from cognitive behavioral therapy. For children who are not developmentally ready for more abstract forms of thinking, CBT focuses on concrete skills including problem solving and rehearsal of positive coping statements.

Although the research is less extensive than in the adult literature, CBT has been proven effective with children and youth across a variety of presenting problems in a variety of modalities. Youth ranging in age from preschool to college have benefited from CBT approaches provided to the individual, with their families, or in groups, and in outpatient or inpatient treatment settings. The efficacy of CBT in the treatment of childhood or adolescent aggression, anxiety, social anxiety, depression, obsessive-compulsive disorder, suicidal ideation and eating disorders has been empirically supported in a number of studies.

Principles of CBT

While there are multiple approaches to CBT, according to the National Association of Cognitive Behavioral Therapists (NACBT), they share several characteristics. First, CBT is based on the cognitive model. That is, feelings and behaviors stem from *thoughts*, not from external stimuli. This sets the stage for CBT's hopeful assumption that the individual can alter his/her feelings and behaviors, even in the face of intractable situations.

Second, CBT is time limited. Unlike psychoanalysis which can last for years, CBT extends for an average of 16 sessions, across types of presenting problems. Judith Beck notes that treatment for depression and anxiety generally ranges from four to 14 sessions. The time-limited nature of therapy holds true in applications with children and adolescents as well as adults, although protocols adapted from adult therapy approaches may need to be extended to allow for development of the therapeutic alliance and to build skills in meta-cognition and problem solving. Treatment protocols for youth depression and obsessive compulsive disorder generally entailing fewer than 20 session have been empirically supported.

Third, CBT recognizes the importance of an effective therapeutic relationship between therapist and client although this is not the focus of treatment. Factors contributing to a positive therapeutic relationship include warmth, empathy, caring, genuine regard and, particularly with youth, a collaborative spirit. The CBT therapist focuses on teaching the client to serve as his/her own therapist by identifying and modifying distorted thought patterns.

Similarly, CBT emphasizes collaboration and active participation. Client and therapist are viewed as a team. The client is actively engaged in the therapeutic process, with input on session topics and homework. According to Judith Beck, cognitive therapy teaches patients to identify, evaluate and respond to their dysfunctional thoughts and beliefs. In a spirit of collaborative empiricism, the therapist helps the client evaluate his thoughts by examining the evidence that either supports or refutes them. Cognitive behavioral therapists use Socratic questioning to develop an understanding of their clients' concerns and encourage clients to question themselves.

In addition to being collaborative and active, CBT is based on an educational model. The aim of therapy is to teach the client to be his/her own therapist, emphasizing relapse prevention. Positing that maladaptive behaviors and emotional reactions are learned, CBT aims to help the client unlearn the old reactions and develop new ones by altering his or her cognitive responses.

Cognitive behavioral therapy is goal oriented and problem focused. Unlike its psychoanalytic predecessors, cognitive therapy maintains that the thoughts contributing to a patients' distress are not deeply buried in the unconscious. As a result, CBT emphasizes the present, and on ameliorating symptoms in the here and now rather than on lengthy analysis of the client's developmental history.

A related principle of CBT is that it is structured and directive. In keeping with its time-limited nature, CBT employs a specific agenda for each session. This consistency of structure facilitates generalization by providing a formula the client can use when acting as his or her own therapist after termination of therapy. The therapist and client generate the agenda collaboratively keeping the client's goals for therapy in mind. Further, CBT uses homework, tasks to be completed between therapy sessions.

Conclusion

CBT has rapidly increased in popularity over the last forty years. It enjoys strong empirical support, and the body of research into its efficacy is expanding with each passing year. Given symmetry between the time limited nature of CBT and the demands of cost containment and managed care, this growth seems likely to continue.

See also: ➲ *Childhood depression*; ➲ *Desensitization*; ➲ *Obsessive-Compulsive Disorder (OCD)*

Suggested Reading

Beck, A. T., & Weishaar, M. E. (1995). Cognitive therapy. In R. J. Corsiniand, D. Wedding (Eds.), *Current psychotherapies* (5th ed.) (pp. 229–261). Itasca, Illinois: F.E. Peacock.

Beck, J. S. (1995). *Cognitive therapy: Basics and beyond*. New York: Guilford.

Friedberg, R. D., & McClure, J. M. (2002). *Clinical practice of cognitive therapy with children and adolescents: The nuts and bolts*. New York: Guilford.

Suggested Resources

The Association for Behavioral and Cognitive Therapies (ABCT)—http://www.aabt.org/aabt: The website of the Association for Behavioral and Cognitive Therapies provides an overview of the organization as well as resources about CBT and therapist referrals.

The Beck Institute for Cognitive Therapy and Research—www.beckinstitute.org: The Beck Institute offers cognitive behavior therapy training programs, conducts research on the efficacy of CBT and provides direct clinical services.

National Association of Cognitive Behavioral Therapists—http://www.nacbt.org: The website of the National Association of Cognitive Behavioral Therapists provides information on CBT and therapist referrals.

Collaborative and Cooperative Learning

Clark Chinn

Collaborative learning is a task structure for learning in which students work together in small groups, with little or no moment-to-moment teacher involvement in any single group. Many researchers who investigate learning in small groups have used the term *cooperative learning*. Although some distinguish between cooperative and collaborative learning, others do not make a clear distinction. This article will employ the terms interchangeably. Several of the many researchers whose ideas figure prominently in this article include Brigid Barron, Ann Brown, Elizabeth Cohen, John Frederiksen, Lynn and Douglas Fuchs, Rachel Hertz-Lazarowitz, Joseph Jenkins, David and Roger Johnson, Alison King, Angela O’Donnell, Rollanda O’Connor, Annemarie Palincsar, Shlomo Sharan, Robert Slavin, Noreen Webb, and Barbara White.

Goals of Collaborative Learning

One main goal of collaborative learning is to promote student academic learning, but there are other goals, as well. These include (a) enhancing students’ ability to work effectively in groups, (b) reducing racial prejudice, sexism, and other forms of prejudice by fostering interaction, respect, and friendships among diverse students, (c) nurturing altruism and prosocial action, and (d) reducing social status differences (differences between “good” and “poor” students among students in a class). Research on the effectiveness of collaborative groups demonstrates that well-designed group tasks can achieve these goals. When collaborative group tasks are well designed, collaborative learning promotes greater learning than individual learning. However, poorly designed collaborative groups can be ineffective and even detrimental.

Group Processes that are Associated with Learning

Seven group processes associated with learning in cooperative groups are:

- Effective groups are *highly engaged* on group tasks
- There is *positive interdependence*, which means that students can accomplish the tasks only by working together; the task is structured so that it is not possible for students to succeed by working separately
- Students *attend jointly* to tasks. This means that students are paying attention to the same aspects of the task as they collaborate
- Students exhibit *respect* for each other

- *Participation* by different students in the group *is balanced*. This does not entail that all students participate equally but only that there are meaningful contributions by all group members
- Students employ higher-order *social and cognitive strategies* during their interactions. Effective social strategies include orderly turn taking, offering encouragement, and asking for input from those less involved in the discussion. Effective cognitive strategies include giving explanations and elaborations; merely asking for and receiving answers without explanations is negatively associated with learning
- There is *uptake* of ideas. Uptake refers to students listening to and responding meaningfully to their peers' contributions. Uptake can include both building constructively on peers' ideas as well as critiquing their ideas

Obstacles to effective group interaction include (a) off-task talk, (b) social loafing—in which some students allow other students to do all the work, (c) unequal interaction, (d) negative interactions such as anger, ridicule, and racist or sexist remarks, (e) working independently instead of together, or splitting up work instead of collaborating, (f) low-quality interactions that do not involve much thinking, and (g) reinforcement of students' beliefs that some students are not capable of contributing.

Effective Instructional Approaches

Educational researchers have developed and demonstrated the effectiveness of a number of instructional procedures for promoting the seven core processes and to avoid the obstacles.

The Use of Rewards. Several reward structures are possible within collaborative learning. One is to provide a single *group reward for a group product* (e.g., an overall grade to a group project). A second is *group study for individual rewards* (e.g., students study together but take tests independently). A third is *group rewards for individual* learning, in which all students in a group receive the same reward, but the reward is given on the basis of average group performance or average group improvement. For example, a group of five students might study for a math test. They would receive a reward (such as class money to be traded for privileges or prizes) based on the average improvement over the last math test. Robert Slavin's *Student Teams-Achievement Divisions* (STAD) is an instructional format based on group rewards for individual learning. Slavin has provided evidence that reward structures that do *not* involve group rewards for individual learning do not benefit students. However, others such as Elizabeth Cohen have argued that when tasks are more complex and involve higher order thinking, rewards are not necessary in group work and may even be counterproductive.

Guided Cooperation. Guided cooperation methods comprise a variety of specific methods for directing students to use targeted cognitive strategies during their interactions. For instance, *scripted cooperation* has students take turns summarizing text passages and giving feedback to each other on the quality of their summaries. These processes explicitly require students to engage in summarization and monitoring understanding, two strategies that are widely recommended to promote reading comprehension and memory. *Guided peer questioning* has students study a text by asking each other questions about the text; students construct questions by filling in question stems such as "Describe ____ in your own words" or "Explain why ______." Researchers have found guided cooperation methods to be effective.

Complex Tasks. More recent research on collaborative learning has focused on more complex, more authentic tasks. These tasks require use of multiple strategies and diverse knowledge. The tasks are complex enough that students must share ideas and information to succeed; even the highest performing students will fall short without access to others' ideas. The tasks are challenging and open-ended, requiring students to share diverse perspectives to succeed. They often require students to consider multiple sources of information and to conduct various types of investigations. The use of variety in activities, including hands-on investigations, motivates students and encourages the use of deeper learning strategies.

Group Investigation (developed and investigated by Sharan, Shachar, and Hertz-Lazarowitz and their colleagues) is one method that employs complex tasks. In Group Investigation, teachers select a general topic; student groups choose their own subtopics to explore. The groups follow a general procedure for investigating these subtopics. The work involves substantial research, culminating in a presentation to their peers. Students who learn through Group Investigation learn more than students in control classrooms without collaborative learning.

Other methods that engage students in complex tasks include Aronson's *jigsaw*, Brown and Campione's *communities of learners*, the Johnson's *constructive controversy*, and Bereiter and Scardamalia's *Knowledge Forum*.

Scaffolding Complex Tasks. Students can carry out complex tasks only with scaffolding—assistance that enables students to complete tasks that they could not have carried out without the assistance. Methods of providing scaffolding in group tasks include preteaching needed knowledge and strategies, decomposing tasks into simpler tasks, providing prompts that direct students to use particular strategies, and giving hints. Many researchers have also advocated assigning social and cognitive roles to each student in a group. For instance, one student in a group can be responsible for making sure that each student explains his or her ideas, another can check whether reasons are relevant, and so on. Another particularly effective method is having student groups evaluate their own performance using task-relevant criteria that they may help develop.

Preparing Students for Group Work. Students can be prepared for group work through team-building activities and training students to use targeted social and cognitive strategies.

There is no single best size and composition for groups. Effective methods have employed students working in groups ranging from two to five or six. Although some have recommended that groups be heterogeneous in terms of proficiency, gender, and ethnicity, there are problems with this proposal. Consistent assignment of heterogeneous groups in this way can actually enhance the salience of proficiency, gender, and ethnicity. One current recommendation is to assign groups flexibly according to interest in particular topics, a need to work on a particular strategy, and so on.

Collaborative Learning and Students at Risk for School Failure

When designed well, collaborative learning is an instructional method that can enhance the performance of students at risk for school failure. In addition, there is evidence that collaborative learning can improve interethnic liking and can increase interethnic interactions. According to some scholars, collaborative learning methods particularly benefit students from cultural groups that value group collaboration over competition among individuals.

Poorly designed collaborative learning has the potential to be detrimental to students with low academic status, including a variety of students at risk for school failure. *Complex Instruction*, developed by Elizabeth Cohen and her colleagues, is a format for collaborative learning that has been shown to be effective at reducing status differences and improving academic achievement. Complex instruction involves the use of complex tasks. Teachers employ a *multiple-ability treatment*, in which teachers repeatedly emphasize that there are many cognitive abilities needed to perform the task successfully, that no one student has all of the cognitive abilities, and that all students have some of the cognitive abilities. Teachers also publicly note the contributions of lower-status group members, and they train lower-status students to be expert in tasks so that they can teach their peers.

The Fuchs's *Peer-Assisted Learning Strategies* (PALS) and Palincsar's *reciprocal teaching* are cooperative learning methods with demonstrated benefits for students who risk school failure. PALS is a pair-learning approach designed to improve students' reading comprehension ability. It relies largely on guided questioning focused on retelling text passages, summarization, and predicting what will come next, and it also uses STAD-like reward structures. Reciprocal teaching involves students taking turns leading group discussions; it focuses on the strategies of generating questions, summarizing, clarifying, and predicting.

Studies have documented benefits of well-designed collaborative reasoning for English as a Second Language (ESL) students in the United States (U.S.) ESL students in third and fourth grade made impressive gains in language arts, reading, mathematics, and oral English ability after participating Complex Instruction. PALS benefits ESL learners as well as learning disabled students. Another approach using STAD-like formats has also proven effective with ESL students. Thus, collaborative learning appears to be effective with language learners as well as with students of differing cultural backgrounds.

Apart from carefully scripted approaches such as PALS, there is mixed evidence on whether collaborative learning is effective for students with learning disabilities (LD). Researchers have reported conflicting results. It is particularly important for teachers to attend to status differences when groups include special education students, as special education

students are more likely to be ignored and left out during group learning. In a review article, O'Connor and Jenkins summarize several techniques that are likely to benefit students with LD's in collaborative groups. These include (a) having LD students work in groups with helpful partners, (b) providing social skills training to LD students, (c) using the multiple-abilities manipulation described earlier, (d) establishing norms of respect, (e) encouraging students to keep track of how well they are distributing turns and providing help with strategies and conceptual knowledge to LD students outside of the group work time.

See also: *Education*; *Learning styles*; *Outcomes-based education*

Suggested Reading

Honig, M. I. (2003). Building policy from practice: District central office administrators' roles and capacity for implementing collaborative education policy. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 39*(3), 292–338.

Collaborative for Academic, Social and Emotional Learning (CASEL)

Jennifer Axelrod

Social and emotional learning (SEL) is the process of acquiring the skills to recognize and manage emotions, develop caring and concern for others, make responsible decisions, establish positive relationships, and handle challenging situations effectively. In an increasingly diverse global society, learning these skills is critical for the healthy development of young people.

SEL as a field was established by the Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL) founded by Daniel Goleman, Eileen Rockefeller Growald, and Timothy Shriver in 1994. CASEL's mission is to establish social and emotional learning as an essential part of education by advancing both the science and evidence-based practice of SEL. CASEL's work integrates cognitive, social, and affective components of learning, emphasizes the inextricable link between social and emotional skills and academic achievement, and uses rigorous science to influence policy and expand practice. Its current projects focus on implementation of sustainable schoolwide SEL, educational leadership, standards and assessment.

CASEL, based at the University of Illinois at Chicago, has identified five core social and emotional competencies:

- Self-awareness: Accurately assessing one's feelings, interests, values, and strengths; maintaining a well-grounded sense of self-confidence.
- Self-management: Regulating one's emotions to handle stress, control impulses, and overcome obstacles; progressing toward personal and academic goals; expressing emotions appropriately.
- Social awareness: Taking the perspective of and empathizing with others; recognizing and appreciating individual and group similarities and differences; using family, school, and community resources.
- Relationship skills: Establishing and maintaining healthy relationships; resisting social pressure; preventing, managing, and resolving interpersonal conflict; seeking help when needed.
- Responsible decision making: Making ethical and safe decisions respectful of others; considering likely consequences of various actions; applying decision-making skills to academic and social situations; contributing to the well-being of one's school and community.

Evidence-based SEL programs teach these competencies intentionally, sequentially, and in ways that are developmentally and culturally appropriate. They establish contexts where these skills can be expressed, practiced, and encouraged. Optimally, programs are implemented in a coordinated manner throughout the school day; lessons are reinforced in the classroom, during out-of-school activities, and at home; school staff receive ongoing professional development in SEL; and families, schools, and communities work together to promote children's social, emotional, and academic success.

Much of the educational power of SEL lies in its providing educators with a common language for working with children from different racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic backgrounds and for helping all children succeed in school and life. A meta-analysis by CASEL researchers highlights findings connecting SEL interventions with improvements in academics, including standardized test scores.

CASEL's home state of Illinois has provided leadership in recognizing SEL as essential to education, developing SEL Standards that specify the skills all children should have before graduation. Other school districts, states, and countries are building from the Illinois standards to guide their SEL policies and practices.

See also: ➲ *Character education*; ➲ *School roles in mental health*; ➲ *Social skills*

Suggested Reading

Zins, J. E. et al. (2004). *Building academic success on social and emotional learning: What does the research say?* New York: Teachers College Press.

Suggested Resources

Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL)—www.casel.org: This website provides a step-by-step guide and 40 tools take school leaders and stakeholder teams through the process of planning for and accomplishing the changes needed for sustainable SEL.

College Board

Kevin A Kupzyk · James A Bovaird

The College Board is a non-profit membership association that was assembled with the primary purposes of helping students find the right post-secondary school and prepare for college. It is composed of more than 4,300 universities, colleges, schools, and other educational organizations. The College Board, founded in 1900, is headquartered in New York City with regional offices throughout the United States (U.S.). Originally known at the College Entrance Examination Board, the main goal of the College Board is to ease the transition from high school to higher education for both students and colleges, additionally providing students with advice on applying for college and financial aid information. The College Board develops the SAT, the Preliminary SAT (PSAT)/National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test (NMSQT), the Advanced Placement (AP) Program, and the College Level Examination Program (CLEP).

The College Board developed the first "College Boards" for use as entrance examinations by 12 selective northeastern U.S. colleges to compare applicants from around the country as fairly as possible, despite diverse high school experiences. The "College Boards" became the SAT to provide colleges and universities with a tool to evaluate the college preparedness of potential students. Development of a nationally standardized test eliminated the need for students to take examinations at each school to which they were applying. The College Board contracts with the Educational Testing Service (ETS) to develop and administer the SAT, and to provide programs that help students prepare for the exam.

The PSAT/NMSQT is a co-sponsored program by the College Board and the National Merit Scholarship Corporation (NMSC). Like the SAT, the PSAT/NMSQT assesses critical reading, math problem-solving, and writing skills. However, the PSAT/NMSQT is taken prior to the SAT so that students may receive feedback on relative strengths and weaknesses so that they may better prepare for college. The PSAT/NMSQT is also the gateway for NMSC scholarship competition.

The AP Program provides students with the opportunity to take college-level courses in high school. Upon successful completion of a final exam, students may earn college credit for the course at participating colleges. The CLEP Program allows students to demonstrate college-level achievement by passing an undergraduate level college exam. Thousands of colleges and universities grant credit and/or advanced standings upon passing CLEP examinations.

Through the Office of Academic Initiatives, the College Board facilitates educational improvement through research involving assessment approaches, teaching, and learning. In consultation and collaboration with the academic community through supporting the work of academic researchers and scholars, the College Board also works to build consensus on academic standards, provide scholarly publications, develop academic programs, and organize conferences and seminars to inform professionals of developed standards and programs.

Another entity within the College Board, the Office of Government Relations, works to shape federal and state legislation, regulations, and programs in order to further access and fairness in education for all students. Through work with strategic partners, the Government Relations staff deals with several policies such as assessment, financial aid, and affirmative action.

The governing body of the College Board is the Board of Trustees, which are elected and appointed by College Board member delegates. The Board of Trustees then nominates a chair and vice chair, who are elected bi-annually by College Board members. The president of the College Board is responsible for managing the organization. In addition to advising the president, trustees are responsible for making legal decisions and approving the mission, strategic goals, and budget.

The College Board maintains regional offices located in six regions of the U.S., each provides services specific to their respective regions. Annual regional forums are held to bring secondary and post-secondary professionals together, allowing attendees to share ideas and knowledge regarding strategies for preparing students for higher education. The forums also provide a means of having their issues and ideas heard by member representatives who are a part of the College Board's national assembly.

See also: ➲ *Achievement tests*; ➲ *SAT*; ➲ *Testing and measurement*

Suggested Reading

Johanek, M. C. (Ed.) (2001). *A faithful mirror: Reflections on the college board and education in America*. New York : The College Board.

Suggested Resources

The College Board—www.collegeboard.com: This website contains information for students, parents, and educators on the services offered by the College Board and information about the organization.

Comics/Jokes/Humor

Jesse A Metzger

Humor has long been recognized as having a valuable role in helping people cope with stressful situations and providing a change of perspective during times of difficulty. Although there is only a small body of work on humor in the school setting, past research has examined how children use humor (e.g., what are the functions and role expectations of the "class clown"), as well as whether humor influences children's ability to learn in the classroom. Research on humor has also illuminated the extent to which it can be culturally mediated; that is, informed and influenced by an individual's sociocultural background.

Theory and research has frequently highlighted the social nature and functions of humor among children. Some see the role of class clown as an avenue through which children negotiate power in a social context. Humor offers a unique way for children to join the classroom "discourse," to contribute to or alter the classroom environment (over which they may otherwise have no control). Some researchers also suggest that class clowns may use humor to overcome feelings of boredom or disconnectedness, or as a way to compensate for perceived educational or social inadequacies. A study that examined outcomes of perceptions of student humor, for instance, found that being the class clown led to prestige among boys attending private high schools. This finding supports the notion that humor can lead to desired social outcomes.

The interaction of students' and teachers' use of humor has also been studied. Results show that greater "humor-orientation" in teachers was associated with increased student perceptions of learning, and that students with a high humor-orientation reported learning more with teachers who also had a high humor-orientation. In addition, this study found that humor was related to teachers' responsiveness to student needs. Taken together, these findings indicate that humor has an important role in children's social and academic development. This evidence is contrary to the traditional belief that student humor (whether in the form of "class clowning" or in terms of a general orientation toward and receptiveness to humor) is something to be curtailed or subjected to discipline.

Given the cultural diversity that characterizes many schools in the United States (U.S.), any discussion of humor in the school setting must give attention to the ways in which the definition, meaning, and quality of humor can vary greatly as a function of culture. Humor may manifest itself differently and serve various functions within diverse ethnic, racial, gender, and other sociocultural groups. For example, research has shown that humor among boys in English secondary schools served as an organizing principle for masculinity. Elizabeth Simons found that among

African American adolescents, joking (which included verbal contests often called "playing the dozens") revealed information about their attitudes and beliefs towards school that were not easily available from other sources. In the Latino community, *bromas* are jokes that may use sarcasm or irony to express underlying anger. *Bromas* may function as a way for children and adolescents to communicate defiant feelings without directly defying authority. These examples all serve to illustrate the importance of cultural context when understanding the role of humor in the school environment.

See also: *Adolescence*; *Childhood*

Suggested Reading

Hobday-Kusch, J., & McVittie, J. (2002). Just clowning around: Classroom perspectives on children's humour. *Canadian Journal of Education, 27,* 195–210.

Nayak, A., & Kehily, M. J. (2001). 'Learning to laugh': A study of schoolboy humour in the English secondary school. In W. Martino, & B. Meyenn (Eds.), *What about the boys?: Issues of masculinity in schools* (pp. 110–123). Buckingham, England: Open University Press.

Simons, E. R. (1991). *Students' spontaneous joking in an urban classroom*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Berkeley: University of California.

Community Approaches to Improving Child Success

Charlynn Small · Velma LaPoint · Jo-Anne Manswell Butty · Cheryl Danzy

Community approaches to improving child and adolescent success involve families and communities. Community partnerships may include a bevy of persons and organizations that individually and collectively create, implement, evaluate, and fund these programs. Community approaches to improve child success can focus on two types of evidenced-based approaches—supplementary education (SE) and positive youth development (PYD) programs. Because (SE) seems to focus generally on improving child success in schools, through community approaches, PYD programming will be more fully described below on the basis of its broader scope.

Defining Supplementary Education

SE is defined as both formal and informal developmentally enriched learning activities that seek to improve youth academic achievement as well as social competence in schools by youth's parents, family members, or staff of community-based organizations, generally occurring outside of schools and beyond their regular school day or year. Some scholars believe schools, as currently organized, cannot provide totally for the educational and social needs of youth. SE can occur within the youth's families where parents provide children's basic needs, influence youth's friends and peers, guide and limit television viewing, provide reading materials and computer technologies, and have other family members' (e.g., grandparents) assist students because of their own skills and experiences such as encouragement and other rewards for academic achievement, as well as traveling and related experiences with diverse cultural groups and in a variety of settings. SE can occur, for instance, in community settings such as mentoring and tutoring programs, weekend and after-school academies, faith-based activities, public libraries, and folkloric and cultural events such as museums exhibits, festivals, and other activities that expose youth to nationally and globally diverse cultures.

The main thesis of SE is that high academic achievement and social competence are related to the students' exposure to high quality family- and community-based learning activities that occur both in-school and out-of school, in support of academic learning and achievement—activities that are the "hidden curriculum" of high academic achievement. Higher income parents, families, and community members automatically and routinely provide these activities for their children because they have the resources. SE is generally underused for and by many low-income students of color—African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans and Asian Americans. The parents, family and community members, and educators of these students may not be economically positioned or know how to participate in SE opportunities.

Defining Positive Youth Development

As a relatively new concept with few standardized definitions, PYD has generated abundant and increasing research work. Proponents, however, do agree on

some basic constructs and ideals. A core concept is the coordination and delivery of a number of youth services such as those provided by various agencies, foundations, federal government programs, and organizations. The goal is to enhance overall youth health and well-being, social and behavioral competencies, and academic success. Professionals and others seek to link youth with the kinds of relationships and activities believed to facilitate healthy development.

There are four PYD distinguishing features. First, it is comprehensive in its scope as it combines different components from various ecological contexts to create evidenced-based strategies, opportunities, and experiences that promote youth and community development. Second, PYD promotes access to resources and opportunities. Third, PYD is developmental in nature, with active youth participation being an essential component for optimal outcome. Fourth, PYD is symbiotic as different settings work collaboratively to positively influence youth and vice versa. Concepts and principles from multiple academic disciplines including education, medicine, public health, political science, psychology, social work, and sociology are used to produce strategies for successful youth outcomes.

There are some additional important PYD tenets. First, many researchers have long considered that being healthy is defined as the absence of pathology. Risk factors for pathology, and interventions aimed at addressing them and their effects, have received considerable attention. Few scholars would argue that a reduction in youth at-risk behavior (e.g., substance use, non-marital sex, pregnancy, violence, school failure) would increase the probability of positive developmental outcomes. However, there is also considerable interest in examining and defining the attributes and traits that encourage resilience and lead to success in the family, school, workplace, and other community settings. There is also interest in broadening the view of developmental success to include not only factors that contribute to individual, but to community success.

Second, most researchers show consensus around PYD principles: (a) all children can learn and are able to achieve success; (b) stakeholders, with a vested interest in having thriving families and communities, help youth achieve success by coordinating meaningful, nurturing relationships within these contexts; (c) PYD is enhanced exponentially when youth are engaged simultaneously in several different relationships; (d) ethnic, racial, gender, and social backgrounds should have no bearing on youth's ability to benefit from these nutrient-rich relationships; (e) the community should be viewed as an essential component where a system of services can be delivered; (f) youth must necessarily be engaged in their own development, actively involved in organizing these potentially successful relationships within and across their families and other ecological and familial contexts, which they should also help arrange; (g) developmental contexts in which nurturing relationships take place should be designed to support youth and provide potential opportunities and resources; (h) all youth have developmental assets (e.g., various skills, competencies, and values) that contribute to learning and success; and (i) an emphasis on reducing health-compromising behavior.

Third, several researchers have examined PYD, developmental psychopathology, and prevention terminology. Voluminous studies have been generated on interventions and preventive measures for curbing substance use, violence, teen pregnancy and other behavior challenges. Fewer studies have focused on best practices or strategies for promoting resilience and other prosocial behaviors. On the other hand, PYD is more than just prevention. Preventing youth problems by itself does not necessarily prepare youth for productive community membership. Prevention research tends to focus on the processes and dynamics involved in designing and mobilizing developmental settings. PYD mobilizes people and resources with the ultimate goal of promoting youth health and well-being. This view is taken a step further with an emphasis on the active role that young persons take in shaping their own contextual environments. PYD is considered a line of inquiry regarding the ways in which youth become motivated, socially competent, and compassionate adults.

Historical Notes

The term PYD can be found in literature on juvenile delinquency as early as the late 1940's. Researchers linked delinquent behavior casually with contextual factors, and believed that behavior change would not occur merely by "fixing the child." This assumption generated further thought leading to initiatives designed to identify and organize community resources aimed at helping youth with special needs. In the early 1970's, federal agencies began to re-conceptualize the notion of juvenile delinquency and examined what keeps "good youth on

track," versus "why do youth get into trouble?" Successful youth appeared to have four critical behavioral and attitudinal assets—competence, usefulness, belongingness, and, empowerment. In this re-conceptualization, the emergence of PYD is apparent—the importance of context in shaping development, as well as a shift toward viewing development in terms of strengths instead of weaknesses. This represented a major paradigmatic shift from prevention, although some researchers would argue that there is still a conceptual overlap between prevention and PYD. In addition to reconsidering the notion of context in shaping development, federal agencies began to seriously consider the benefits of enhanced resources and opportunities for all youth.

Another major influence of this paradigm shift was the research and reports by the Carnegie Corporation focusing on an alarming trend of 10–15-year-olds being exposed to and engaging in high rates of risk behaviors and developmental threats. In addition, it was determined that a high percentage of young persons were in greater need for assistance than was originally believed. Proposed interventions for this group of youth were focused less on services offered and on treatment, but more on environmental influences. Interventions were aimed at family, school, and other community contexts. Major emphases were placed on reengaging youth and families. There were also other federally and foundation-sponsored conferences focusing on the concept of PYD. In the mid 1990's, a reaffirmation of earlier Carnegie reports called for community mobilization and systemic change.

School-based Programs

For the majority of youth, school-based programs generally are linked to successful academic outcomes. In addition, findings indicate that these associations can be generalized across youth from various racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic groups. For example, results from several studies suggest that some urban African American youth participants in school-based programs viewed them positively and regarded their school environments as more supportive than students who were not participants in these types of activities. Research suggests that highly structured, school-based programs organized outside-of-school hours offer promise for the development of youth, including certain underserved youth from some urban, racial, and ethnic groups. However, there is also evidence to suggest that a number of the stereotypes and misperceptions about youth of color were developed, reinforced, and perpetuated in public schools. African American and Latino children have often been perceived as unsuccessful academically.

Historically, African American youth have been placed disproportionately in special education classes or programs, or have been placed in alternative education programs. Research indicates similar trends for Latino children whose numbers also are increasing among those attending beleaguered Title 1 schools. Nearly one third of Latinos, over age 25, completed less than 9th grade. Low high school graduation rates and high drop out rates for this group suggests that this is a trend that will continue. Low academic achievement has long been associated with disruptive behavior. Devaluing racial and ethnic group students' cultural wealth further aggravates low academic achievement. Students, who often become disengaged from teachers and from what schools symbolize, give-up trying, are "pushed out" or "drop out" of schools. Given these circumstances, community-based programs are alternatives that can have a significant role in the development of these children, as they provide a context for the rediscovery and formation of their individual and cultural identities.

Community-based Programs

Research work documents the program characteristics of PYD for multicultural youth placed at-risk for problematic behavior. Community-based programs provide non-formal learning opportunities for youth, with the purpose of creating high quality experiences that are responsive to different youths' interests and developmental needs. About seven million children participate in some type of out-of-school program. And while this number includes children from many underrepresented groups, reports indicate that youth of color participate in community-based programs far less than White European youth. The degree to which youth participate in programs depends on several important factors including opportunities and motivation. Youth of color tend to participate in these types of programs at much lower rates, in part because of structural barriers such as lack of availability, location, and transportation. Lower rates of involvement in community-based programs by children of color have led some to conclude that approaches that take into

account children's cultural and linguistic backgrounds should be developed with the assumption being that programs that are culturally responsive would lead to increased participation and thus, greater PYD.

When designing community-based programs aimed at facilitating PYD development for youth of color, especially in urban communities, several important community contexts should be considered. First, activities that occur within safe and nurturing contexts, with caring adults, allow for self-understanding and acceptance. These programs are also attractive to parents and family members who live in high-risk problem neighborhoods. The facilitation of mentor relationships, which contributes to the development of certain behavioral attributes, can also occur within these contexts. Another aspect to consider is that urban communities are often comprised of both similar and diverse racial and ethnic families. These communities are ideal settings for cultural identity formation and awareness. Finally, due to certain social conditions (e.g., physical isolation, concentrated poverty, and public neglect) urban youth are frequently exposed to risk factors that challenge PYD. Thus, youth living in these conditions, often have had to adopt value systems and survival strategies that resemble and are different from other communities bereft of these conditions.

The process of identity formation for children of color, which is derived in part from the community context, is essential to their healthy psychosocial development. The role of community in this process often rests in large measure on the make-up of the community as well as its relation to neighboring communities. For example, the socialization of United States (U.S.)-born Latino children is that of the *barrio* or Spanish-speaking segment of many urban neighborhoods. A variety of diverse groups from Central and South America have migrated to neighborhoods that have long been inhabited by many Puerto Ricans. Certain aspects within these communities have changed considerably as a result. The Puerto Rican corner grocery or *bodegas* has changed into *abarroteras,* or grocery and general stores due to the arrival of Mexicans (particularly from the state of Puebla). Because of the changing dynamics, U.S.-born Puerto Ricans living in them may consider themselves mostly in terms of their U.S. experience rather than in terms of their Puerto Rican heritage. Conversely, Latino youth from more homogenous segments probably have a stronger identity with people in the region or segment where they live. Still, for other U.S.-born Latino youth the situation becomes even more confounded if they also have some African ancestry as is the case with Hispanic Caribbeans. This is just one example of the relevancy of the community cultural context that can influence the process of identity formation for youth of color. For this reason, it should be considered in the creation of PYD programs.

Additional challenges are faced by other youth of color. For example, African Americans who live in some urban communities must confront challenges posed by stereotypical images often presented by the media and other venues as deviants (e.g., teen pregnancy, substance abuse, gratuitous violence, and welfare dependency). These youth must consider these stereotypical, cultural icons as they struggle to form their own individual identities. Consequently, programs for these youth usually focus on intervention and prevention, rather than on enhancing the attributes that will make them successful as adults. In addition, because the various cultures of these youth frequently are viewed as lacking rather than distinct, much of their individual ethnic identity is lost when efforts are made by schools and other institutions to assimilate these children into the mainstream culture with no regard for their own.

Another example relating to stereotypes of ethnic minority youth relates to Asian American youth. Asian Americans are a diverse group of persons including Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos, Indians, and Vietnamese. Asian Americans are often referred to as the "model minority" because it is believed that they have overcome challenges of racism, low socioeconomic status, unfamiliarity with American culture, and limited English language proficiency to attain educational and economic success comparable to or even exceeding that of White European Americans. While there is a vast body of research on high academic achievement among Asian Americans, it is accompanied by findings that some Asian American students during adolescence have negative and mixed attitudes and behaviors about achievement. They experience, for instance, resentment of parental/teacher/peer expectations and pressures to succeed, refusing to study, skipping classes, and not intending to pursue college-indicating struggle and ambivalence toward academic achievement. It should also be noted that within certain sub-groups there are low-income Asian Americans who experience social problems associated with this status (e.g., inadequate basic living needs, gang violence, and neighborhood crime).

Neighborhood-based Programs

High rates of participation in neighborhood-based programs by urban students have been reported. This seems to suggest that program participation within this context may have important implications for these youth. There are numerous accounts in the literature of the benefits of youth programs in urban and disadvantaged neighborhoods. Results of several studies examining the effects of Boys and Girls Clubs, and similar organizations within these environments, indicate lower incidence of drug-related arrests, and fewer documented reports of juvenile crime. Another benefit noted regarding many of these types of out-of-school organizations is that they often reach out to aid families of the youth they serve.

As with any organized program, these neighborhood-based out-of-school programs may not prove successful for all youth. Some youth may profit from one aspect or component of a program while others find no value in that same component. The extent to which this occurs may depend on factors such as gender, race, ethnicity, or individual needs. Also, the quality of the program will likely determine its contribution to the promotion of PYD or not. Sometimes these programs are less well-structured, offer fewer substantive activities, have irregular hours, and may not be well-supervised by responsible adults. Youth participating in programs with less rigorous standards have engendered more behavioral problems than youth who did not attend these programs.

Faith-based Programs

Studies have shown that youth who have a faith or spiritual base show lower rates of delinquent and antisocial behaviors. However, it is not known whether lower rates of problem behavior among youth with a spiritual or religious base are correlated with religious or spiritual group affiliation. For some youth, especially racial and ethnic group youth, spirituality and religiosity may be tied to their general cultural background, which happens particularly among some African Americans, Native Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans. There is also research suggesting that other diverse groups of young people (e.g., rural or suburban working class) may profit from participation in faith-based group activities as well. Results of several studies examining youth involvement in religious or community-service oriented activities were encouraging. Positive outcomes associated with these groups were increased self-esteem, fewer incidents of problem behavior, and improved efforts toward academic achievement.

Team Sport Activities

Rates of youth participation in team sport activities vary. Research suggests that adolescent females engage in both school-sponsored athletics and out-of-school athletics at a rate much lower than males who seem to have more confidence in their athletic abilities, and place a higher value on athletic achievement than females. Results of one longitudinal study showed that between age 9 and 17, girls evidenced a sharp decrease in their levels of physical activity. By age 17, many of the respondents (significantly more girls of color in urban communities) indicated that they engaged in no leisure-time physical activities, which suggests that they are in danger of not getting enough exercise.

Many community-based organizations with limited budgets and well-established athletics programs for boys tend to fund those programs almost to the exclusion of programs for girls. This exclusion significantly limits opportunities for girls to develop their skills, and gain the other benefits promoted by team athletics. Research suggests females' self-evaluations may also be compromised by limited participation in these activities. Another study indicated that team sports involvement predicted greater self-esteem in a sample of urban teenage girls, suggesting obvious potential benefits. Budget cuts to funding for other publicly supported services such as parks and recreation programs also limit opportunities for participation in team athletics. Low budgets and lower requirements to school health and physical education curriculum further limit options for team sports, and may contribute in part to an alarming trend in the increasing rates of childhood obesity which poses significant health problems (e.g., hypertension, diabetes, musculoskeletal and joint problems, and depression) to youth and their future adult health status.

Organized team sport activities have both proponents and opponents of youth engagement in these activities. Proponents suggest that youth can gain enhanced social skills, increased self-esteem, and increased academic achievement while opponents indicate participation in team sports has been associated with problem behaviors such as underage drinking, vandalism, and less value placed on team collaboration. While few

studies document the effects of team activities on the development of low-income youth, there is evidence that these children engage in organized athletic activities far less frequently than do other children. A better understanding of the importance of participation in organized team athletics and the skills, competencies, and other benefits gained from it, could facilitate greater efforts to have more equitable programs to meet the needs of all youth.

Mentoring Programs

More than 2 million children have established mentoring relationships with supportive non-parent, adult role models. Mentors can be teachers, extended family members, neighbors, and volunteers from a range of community-based, profit and non-profit organizations to help facilitate PYD. Mentoring includes a variety of approaches to help young persons with tasks assisting with homework, attending cultural events, and negotiating difficult personal situations (e.g., conflicts with family, teachers). Adults who build successful relationships with youth usually express a passion about young people and their work with them. They tend to believe that the work they do makes a real difference in the lives of youth.

While research suggests that young persons from any socioeconomic background can benefit from mentoring, there is evidence that suggests that well-adjusted, middle class children profit less from these types of relationships than do youth dealing with some adversity, including those living under high-risk conditions as well as those from affluent backgrounds. Some research indicates that an estimated two-thirds of mentoring relationships with youth living in high poverty have been unsuccessful. This failure is largely due to a poor match between adults and youth. Often if the mentor and youth are from extremely different backgrounds, there are few similarities upon which to build a relationship. There is evidence to suggest that young persons fare poorly when repeatedly exposed to short-lived relationships. For this reason, a good fit is critically important between youth and mentors.

Similarly, it has been found that not all youth are well-suited for mentoring. Youth who present serious emotional or behavioral challenges often require professional treatment, and mentoring should not be viewed as a substitute for counseling or therapeutic services. Mentors, on the other hand, can provide knowledge, encourage positive attitudes, and facilitate learning of skills and discipline for life success especially in apprenticeships, internships, or similar programs organized around performance or production of final products.

Rites of Passage Programs

The purpose of education is to transmit accumulated wisdom and knowledge of a society from one generation to the next to aid in preparing youth for membership, and promoting their active participation in the maintenance and development of that society. The system of education in any country reflects that culture's perspectives, values, mores, and traditions and thus, countries and societies often differ in their educational systems. Consequently, immigrant children or those not indigenous to a specific country are subject to a socialization process and participation in an educational system that may or may not value their primary culture. Scholars have argued that historically, American public education has focused on one purpose for White European Americans, and on another for youth, namely African Americans, Asian Americans, Latinos, and American Indians. They have asserted that European Americans have been educated to assume positions of power in society, while other groups have been educated to fill less powerful or subordinate positions. This view suggests the continued importance of providing education, socialization, and other expressions from the original cultural perspective of the group.

One strategy used to meet the educational needs of these groups is rites of passage programs. A rite is a ceremony or celebration and passage refers to movement from one stage to another. Regarding African American rites of passage programs, five stages of development have been identified in the traditional African spiritual life cycle: (a) birth refers to passage from the spiritual world; (b) puberty refers to passage from childhood to adulthood; (c) marriage refers passage to communal and independent living; (d) eldership refers to passage to the stage of wisdom; and (c) death refers to passage back to the spiritual world. Many cultural rites of passage programs focus on the adolescent phase because this is the point at which children are socialized and prepared for adulthood. Rites of passage programs for these youth are necessarily guided, educational processes which include certain developmental tasks. The goals are to facilitate knowledge and the acceptance of the responsibilities,

privileges, and duties of adult members of their society. Within the context of rites of passage programs, youth can be exposed to some of the cultural experiences and history lessons that will facilitate knowledge and acceptance of one's own cultural richness. Also within this context, youth have opportunities to participate in activities that help them acquire an appreciation of community engagement through service. Research indicates that a great number of these types of programs have different populations, goals, and objective and have positive outcomes for African American youth, parents, and family members.

Another example of a rites of passage program is the Minnesota-based Chicano–Latino Youth Leadership Institute (ChYLI) which addressed a variety of challenges, e.g., familial disruption, substance use and other high risk behaviors, low educational attainment, and delinquency. The program sought to encourage, empower, and develop leadership skills of Chicano Latino youth. PYD was promoted through a number of leadership activities, community service projects, and different supervised workshops with an emphasis on increasing knowledge and understanding of Chicano Latino culture. Positive outcomes included increased levels of community involvement, improved peer relationships, and higher graduation rates than non-program participating Chicano Latinos.

Another rites of passage program offered by Lane Community College in Oregon initially targeted African American teens as a way to intervene in the lives of those who might be at risk of academic failure and drop-out, substance abuse, or delinquency. Through self-development exercises, literary arts, history classes, and career planning workshops the program sought to help youth establish strong identities and lasting connections to heritage, community, and to college in that predominantly European American environment. The program was successful and subsequently, three other rites of passage programs were developed for Asian Americans, American Indians, and Latino youth using each group's own ethnic history and cultural traditions as the basis distinctive for their program's curricula.

Conclusions

There is a need for increased access to SE and PYD programming, especially for low-income youth of color, given that such programs are effective in improving youth academic achievement and social competence. There is a need for parents and family members to provide for SE and PYD programming, although some parents and family members may not be able to afford such programs; however, some families may be able to pay varying fees. At the same time, some community-based organizations, with government and private corporate and foundation support, may be able to provide for such programming as they seek the most effective ways that these programs can be sustained in order to promote PYD and outcomes. It is critical that professionals understand the youth's culture and receive education in undergraduate and graduate programs as well as career professional development exercises if the U.S. wants to successfully face the challenges of increasing racial and ethnic groups in schools, communities, and society at large.

See also: *Career education*; *Community interventions with diverse youth*; *Cultural resilience*; *Ethnic minority youth*; *Mentoring diverse youth*; *Multicultural education*; *Prevention*

Suggested Reading

Benson, P. L., Scales, P. C., Hamilton, S. F., & Sesma, A. (2006). Positive youth development: Theory, research, and applications. In W. Damon, & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology*, (6th edn.) (pp. 894–941). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Clauss-Ehlers, C. S., & Weist, M. D. (2004) *Community planning to foster resilience in children*. New York: Kluwer Academic Press.

Congress, E. P., & Gonzalez, M. J. (Eds.) (2005). *Multicultural perspectives in working with families*, (2nd ed.). New York: Springer.

Maton, K. I., Schellenbach, C. J., Leadbeater, B. J., & Solarz, A. L. (Eds.) (2004). *Investing in children, youth, families, and communities: Strengths-based research and policy*. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Morrissey, K. M., & Werner-Wilson, R. J. (2005). The relationship between out-of-school activities and positive youth development: An investigation of the influences of communities and family. *Adolescence*, *40*, 67–86.

Suggested Resources

Kansas State University Community Health Institute—http://www.kstatechi.org/links_youth.html: This section of the K-State CHI website provides links to several other websites with useful information about promoting positive youth development.

Community Interventions with Diverse Youth

Robbie J Steward · Chandra M Donnell

Of this nation's 63 million children, approximately 15 % (9.5 million) suffer from emotional or life traumas that require psychological service intervention. Of these, over 70% will not receive adequate treatment. What must the mental health profession do to increase accessibility of services to children so that the probability of their academic and life success will increase? The following presents an overview of issues associated with school- versus community-based service delivery and describes a non-traditional model of training and service delivery to children and adolescents based on comprehensive collaboration between the two.

School-based Service Delivery

Although one identified site for intervention in the social and psychological adjustment of children is the school building, there are several reasons that services should expand beyond the school setting. The following section identifies and discusses a select number of these reasons.

First, not all school-age children, required by state law to attend school, attend regularly. Parents with severe psychological or physiological concerns are at times unable to function sufficiently to prepare children for school. Students in urban areas who have poor attendance during high school have been found to have sporadic attendance during the elementary years as well. Instead of attending school, older children may assume family responsibilities usually reserved for adults (e.g., primary caretakers of younger siblings or disabled or impaired parents or guardians, and/or major contributors to household finances). Irregular access to transportation may also contribute to non-attendance. Children may decide independently not to attend without parents' awareness for a wide variety of reasons. Under- or unsupervised older children with psychological (e.g., depression) or physiological (e.g., substance addiction) concerns may be incapable of functioning adequately enough to attend school or take advantage of services when they do attend. Because of budget cuts that reduce staff, who typically attends to truancy, absenteeism may continue indefinitely. Unfortunately, it is also in these school districts that experience the most budget cuts that district policies allow a larger number of absenteeism before effecting academic progress. For example, in some school districts, promotion to the next grade level after having missed up to 45 days in the academic year is common. Teachers and administrators who do not regularly monitor attendance exacerbate the problem. It would be these children, those who are not present and who most need guidance, assistance, and support, who would benefit least from school-only based interventions. Unfortunately, these characteristics are typical descriptors of urban school settings, which typically have large racial/ethnic minority student populations from lower socio-economic backgrounds and a larger representation of students who are identified as possibly finding academic failure. In many academic settings the most vulnerable often do not receive services that address children's psychological/emotional well-being.

The second reason is that the probability for exposure to counseling appears to increase with age and with the severity of the symptoms exhibited by the child. Although early identification of problem behavior does occur at the elementary level, symptoms typically remain ignored until middle- or high school. There appears to be a direct correlation between the perception of the severity of the child's problem and the physical size of the child. For example, symptomology in children appear worthy of attention by mental health professionals only when the behavior poses an immediate threat to the school, teachers, and/or other students. Consequently, those children who exhibit signs indicating need for intervention may not receive necessary attention from a mental health professional until school disciplinary activity or the legal system requires such. Intervention, then, only occurs in conjunction with punishment. Time delay in service delivery and the presentation of service with punishment increases the probability of the development of self-defeating cognitions and behaviors that do not respond easily to intervention. Such delays in assessment and intervention increase the probability of prolonged experiences of academic failure.

Third, school-only intervention strategies perpetuate the notion that the 'school system' bears the primary responsibility of attending to the cognitive and affective needs of the child. Although often expected, teachers are not trained to attend to the many emotional needs and skill deficits resulting

from a child's developmental delays, early life trauma, or neglect. In addition, the school schedule and infrastructure in its current form does not all allow school counselors, who are trained to implement prevention and intervention programming, to attend to the comprehensive set of emotional needs and issues that an increasing number of students bring to the setting. Even when available for providing counseling services, the average counselor-student ratio is 1:500 in many high schools.

In summary, school interventions alone appear to provide the opportunity for service delivery to those children who need it the least and are the most functional. This is a positive outcome for these children need guidance and assistance too. However, this focus of service delivery indicates that many children who are in dire need of mental health intervention, will not receive adequate treatment and, may consequently experience the long-term, future consequences of untreated psychological/emotional ills. The rate at which the problems of children are increasing is causing grave concern among clinical, agency, and school counselors alike. Community-wide mental health intervention programming, which is inclusive of the school setting, would seem imperative in service delivery that would meet the needs of all children.

Barriers to Community-wide Mental Health Service Delivery for Youth

Although the points listed above support the necessity of community-wide intervention for youth, there are at least three reasons that explain why such services seldom occur within non-traditional settings.

First, university academic departments responsible for the training of school psychologists and other mental health professionals (i.e., counselors, counseling psychologists, clinical psychologists, psychiatrists, and social workers) may have limited vision about opportunities for training and service delivery to those who need it most. For example, in spite of having long-standing ties within specific communities, these ties may only include schools, mental health agencies, and hospitals as sites for practica and internships. Trainees may not be familiar enough to venture out beyond these traditional connections or even encouraged to think about doing so. In addition, guidelines for tenure and promotion may not support faculty to expend the necessary time and effort in the development of training sites with no current structure for mental health service delivery to children. Status quo is maintained.

Another example is that academic departments and programs may work independently to develop guidelines and opportunities for practica and internships within communities. Creative thinking about how departments across different disciplines might collaborate to provide training opportunities that facilitate the development of competent mental health service provider to children in non-traditional, more efficient ways may not be conceptualized and implemented.

Second, although prevention is becoming a primary focus of service delivery within some communities, intervention activities consume most professionals' schedules. Current training sites may serve clientele who: are aware of the concepts of mental health and mental illness; have been referred by another professional (i.e., physician, judge, or school); and/or, value the current traditional means of service delivery. Potential sites for prevention for a broader clientele are often overlooked given that the need for intervention appears so much greater among those who are currently accessing the services.

The third reason that impedes community-wide programming is rooted in the community culture. For many community members, contact with mental health professionals often occurs simultaneously with discipline or punishment by the school or legal system. What makes this tie between therapy and punishment even more binding is that therapy is recommended as a last alternative, when the patience of all other adult authorities has been diminished. For this reason, many community members, who are most in need, choose to avoid mental health professionals. Those who are mandated to access services (e.g., court-referrals) may be labeled as resistant by professionals. In such cases, psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, and counselors are perceived as the enemy no matter where they may be located. The onus is on the mental health profession to provide a more salient interpretation of services provided. Building trust within the community between traditional and future sites for service delivery is critical. Developing new opportunities for prevention and treatment intervention activities at sites where children and adolescents may experience empathy, unconditional positive regard, support, and guidance without a sense of punishment will begin the process of altering negative community cultural norms related to mental health and mental illness.

The fourth, and perhaps most critical barrier for a limited service delivery focus is the lack of available funding. Without the necessary creative collaboration, the implementation of traditional service delivery within the confines of well-established and financially secure agencies and institutions (e.g., schools, hospitals, and community mental health agencies) is easier than considering the expense of the development of non-traditional community sites.

Clearly defining key deterrents to the expansion of mental health service delivery to children in conjunction with, but beyond the confines of the school, is the first step of the development of effective community-wide programming. The following section describes one model for program development specifically designed to circumvent each of the deterrents indicated above.

School Community-University Collaboration: A Model for Community-Wide Training and Service Delivery

This model is based upon a set of general guidelines associated with the work of Professional Development Schools (PDSs), which are models of optimal levels of collaboration between university faculty and kindergarten through grade 12 school settings. The following presents a list of underlying guidelines that expand mental health service delivery to children and adolescents in a cost-effective and efficient manner in the author-developed Student-Teacher-Parent Support Unit regarding work in a PDS: (a) collaboration among school settings, community sites, and university training programs is imperative; (b) the university must assume the leadership role in the development of the collaborative relationship across campus and with target community sites; (c) the collaboration must be reflected in well-integrated service delivery offices within the physical structure of a location frequented by community members; (d) the collaboration must be reflected in a well-integrated staff consisting of individuals from the surrounding community as well as those from the university; (e) the collaboration must be reflected in the development of the method of service delivery and based upon the needs of the community organization; (f) the collaboration must be reflected in the development of in-service training modules developed by both university and community staff; (g) program development must include a balance of both prevention and treatment intervention components; (h) guidelines for program and staff evaluation must be well defined prior to the implementation of the program; and, (i) well-defined research questions must guide the collection of information from staff and those served for the purpose of program evaluation and research so that outcomes might contribute to the body of knowledge addressing service delivery to youth within the community.

These guidelines, which closely parallel and circumvent the barriers indicated in the previous section, can be used in the development of a school and community-wide, training and research model for mental health service delivery to children. This Service-delivery, Training, and Research Model for school-community intervention, from this point on will be referred to as STaR. The STaR model serves as a means to more substantially link children's emotional/psychological health with that of academic persistence and success through the development of effective school, university, and community site liaisons.

The Role of the University in the Implementation of the STaR Model

Universities provide resources that would certainly circumvent costs of the expansion of service delivery to children and adolescents within the community. Faculty participants bring a comprehensive knowledge of theory and methods of intervention, grant writing skills, and academic appointments that allow time for service. Undergraduate and graduate students, who are required to enroll in both (usually unpaid) practica and internships, bring energy, eagerness to use newly acquired skills and to positively influence children's lives, as well as a willingness to learn. Both bring the skills and interest in the process of program development, program implementation, and research that will be provided by each site. Incentives to engage in each of these activities fit with universities' guidelines for degree attainment for students (e.g., theses and dissertations) and the tenure and promotion process for faculty (e.g., teaching, research, and service). Training within such a setting would insure trainees with in-vivo cross-cultural challenges of not only working with children and parents who may be culturally different, but also having to form working alliances with colleagues having different worldviews and theoretical perspectives. Both faculty and trainees

would be required to make cultural shifts in work within non-traditional training settings. Program evaluation and ongoing data collection would serve as incentives to both faculty and students who are committed to research.

Implementation of the STaR Model

First, participating faculty and students within departments responsible for the training of mental health professionals (e.g., school psychology, psychiatry, clinical psychology, counseling, counseling psychology, educational psychology, social welfare, the ministry, and others) must dialogue about expectations for future training, practicum or internship on-site supervision, program development, and service delivery. The outcome of this contact should be threefold: one set of guidelines for practicum/internship experiences; one set of expectations for onset supervision; and, schedules for volunteer faculty rotations for the on-site supervision of trainees within non-traditional sites for training, research, and service delivery. All three must represent professional organizational and ethical standards that are satisfactory to representatives from each discipline. This multidisciplinary approach in the development of human service teams has been found to be successful in community service delivery and to positively influence the professional development of all participating parties.

Second, the objective of regularly scheduled meetings of faculty who volunteer to serve as on-site supervisors should change over time. Initially, site identification, strategies for contact, and the generation of specific research questions and methods for data collection will be addressed. (After sites have been identified and staffed with trainees, the role of these meetings would be the supervision of supervision, including the discussion of ongoing issues presented to trainees at the site.)

Third, faculty would present trainees with descriptions of each practicum/internship site. Two levels of trainees would be targeted: those who are prepared to enroll in practicum and internship hours; and, those who are beyond this point in their training (e.g., enrollment in dissertation credits). Barring any licensing requirements for supervision, the more advanced students could serve as on-site supervisors in conjunction with the faculty on-site representative. Doctoral level clinical supervision coursework with a practicum component is another alternative resource for advanced level trainees' contribution to service delivery at no cost.

Initially, participating faculty and trainees across academic disciplines would meet to discuss training guidelines and to generate possible research questions that interest trainees, particularly those who are at the thesis or dissertation stage of their program. However, after these discussions, supervision of trainees, program maintenance, evaluation and improvement become primary objectives.

Fourth, once sites and participating trainees have been identified (as discussed below), trainees must participate in staff orientation and be prepared to provide a staff orientation to the training expectations of the departmental faculty. These dialogues would result in a shared understanding of how community site and university staff might remain beneficial to each other in the process of service delivery to the clientele.

Fifth, for those sites without available administrative support staff for record keeping, participating faculty would contact local community colleges, vocational schools, and secretarial schools or schools of business to identify interns who are available and interested in having an experience in office management. Current site administrative support staff and university faculty would assume responsibility for the supervision and evaluation of these interns.

Sixth, all participants would work collaboratively to develop a site-appropriate office structure for record keeping, the scheduling of individual as well as group services provided, and monitoring of client contact and consultation hours. Supervisors would work closely with trainees in the development of a balanced training experience that includes: activities related to professional development (e.g., record-keeping, case presentations, program development, supervision, consultation); intervention and prevention service delivery to clientele; supervision; and consultation with site staff.

Once the structure has been implemented and staff members have been identified, like all other well-established programs, maintenance and refinement of service delivery and program evaluation become the remaining objectives.

Identifying Potential Sites for STaR: The Criteria for Site Selection

First, potential, optimal community site selections would be those where both children and parents or

guardians frequent on a regular basis. This would be particularly important given that parental or guardian consent is required for professional contact with children. Given some of the barriers discussed above, opportunities for service delivery would occur in sites where children are in their natural settings beyond the school day. School administrators' and counselors' survey of students and parents regarding children's out of school activities would identify these potential sites.

Second, sites would include staff members who already have regularly scheduled, close contact with children. This provides faculty and trainees with some understanding of the issues individual children bring to the setting, and assists in the identification of the need for assessment and potential points of intervention for service delivery.

Third, targeted sites must agree with the basic 'required' professional guidelines for training that have been developed by faculty from multiple disciplines as reflected in the policies and practices of respective professional organizations and state professional codes. Much discussion about the required guidelines for training across different disciplines is needed prior to this stage, and it is critical that this agreement is in written form and signed by all parties involved prior to contact with community settings.

Fourth, sites must agree to the underlying STaR guidelines that assert the need for integration of the university staff within the existing structure and the collaboration between the two in service delivery to children and their parents within the community. Existing cultural norms that adhere to legal guidelines of practice and have indicated some level of efficacy over time are to be respected and serve as the basis of all other practices that university faculty and trainees bring to the setting. Respect of these norms should be integrated into the final agreement of policy and practices in service delivery and result in a document signed by all parties represented.

University representatives should anticipate some resistance and skepticism in efforts to establish working alliances with sites wherein the delivery of mental health services has not previously existed. On the other hand, they also must be prepared to listen for and correct unreasonable expectations that community members may have about the outcome of their presence. Sensitivity to the realistic reservations that many community members may have about mental health professionals and psychology, in general, is a necessity. Adherence to the principles of collaboration and integration of community, university, and school staff is key to success.

The following is a list of potential community sites for mental health service delivery to children: before and after school programs; churches, temples, and mosques; physician's, especially, pediatricians' offices; community childcare services (e.g., Kindercare, university and community college childcare and child development centers); learning centers; Big Brothers and Big Sisters; YMCA and YWCA; community youth centers; women's shelters; women's resource centers; safe houses for abused children and those who have run away from home. All are sites wherein the presence of children is 'normal' and service delivery can occur without interfering with children's acquisition of academic competence during the regular school day schedule. In addition, for the most part, these are settings that are 'parent-approved' and existing staff members not only have ongoing contact with parents or guardians, but also have some sense of children's family dynamics. Notice that sites listed allow for service delivery to children across all developmental stages and, therefore, for early intervention and follow-up as children may move from one setting to another as they mature.

The STaR Model and Service Delivery

To overcome any negative perceptions related to the profession of mental health it is critical that each site adheres to a preventive psychology model of service delivery that is more future-oriented than most 'treatment' oriented community facilities. In the field of psychiatry, there is one model that emphasizes the continuity that exists between what is commonly thought of as 'prevention' and what is normally termed 'treatment'. This model divides preventive activities into three different categories: primary, secondary and tertiary.

Primary prevention aims to reduce incidence by preventing new cases of the development of disorders or dysfunctional behavior sets. Clienteles who receive primary prevention are those who are completely free of dysfunctional behaviors and who may be at risk for developing such disorders. **Secondary** prevention is intended to result in early detection of a disorder and to provide effective treatment at an early stage in the development of the disorder. It differs from most treatment because early cases are actively sought out and

treatment is likely to be less intensive than would be the case if the disorder had progressed further. Shortening the duration of the disorder and the overall prevalence within the community are the primary objectives. **Tertiary** prevention is intended to prevent disabilities and handicaps that may be associated with a disorder. The idea that a disorder need not necessarily produce disability, and that a disability need not necessarily result in handicap, is central to the notion of tertiary prevention.

It must be noted that although there are several other approaches to prevention that indicate points of assessment and intervention within communities, the typology fits that of the STaR model for service delivery to children. For instance, it expands the opportunity for parents to access mental health services for their children at sites where they are most familiar and comfortable. Enlisting support and guidance from strangers is not 'normal' for many within certain communities. In addition, it has been found that the majority of potentially helpful interpersonal transactions for people with psychological problems take place outside the formal mental health system and the majority of psychological problems never find their way to mental health professionals at all. It would seem critical that mental health professionals are trained to become integral parts of socially accepted sites within the community culture instead of remaining an isolated entity to be approached only under the most extreme and severe circumstances (e.g., post-incarceration) or becoming an intrusive force which evades the personal life-space of community members without invitation as part of an intervention plan (e.g., home visits).

Although the use of a well-established theoretical model in the development of assessments and intervention strategies is supported, it is also strongly recommended that existing modes of service delivery be staffed by those who are not formal mental health agents, but mental health agents nonetheless (paraprofessionals). The reason for this recommendation is due to confusing results in the literature that indicate no significant difference in service delivery outcomes regardless of the status of the service deliverer (professional vs. paraprofessional). In fact, a meta-analysis of the literature comparing the client contact outcome between professionals and paraprofessionals favored paraprofessionals in service delivery. Because the STaR model advocates collaboration, it is important that faculty and university students take every opportunity to learn what is currently effective in the informal service delivery system within the community site.

Although indicated above, several modes of service delivery that fit the needs of the site and that of the surrounding community should be considered for implementation. Individual contact with youth and parents would only be one of many intervention strategies available. Structured therapy, and support groups for both parents/guardians and children would be provided. Family therapy, parent training, and couples' groups are other available options. Skills training (e.g., social skills, stress management skills, anger management, decision-making and goal setting skills, coping skills, and parenting), and career development would be just two of the areas highlighted in programming. Normal life transitions might be addressed as well (e.g., school transition, school to work transitions, preparation for surgery, and children of divorced parents). Assessment and interventions that address learning styles and academic skill deficits would be a part of the services provided. The possibilities are as many as the site and university staff might consider appropriate.

Given the multi-disciplinarian emphasis for service delivery, it is important that the connections between the students' emotional/ psychological development, health, academic success, and persistence are acknowledged and positively reinforced. With this system, school staff members (i.e., counselors, school psychologists, teachers, and administrators) have an extended list of referral sites for parents when problem behaviors and potential for academic failure are immediately noted. Staff of the newly developed non-traditional community sites could serve as consultants for parents, teachers, school psychologists, and counselors in their work with referred children as well as the children within the general population. The depth and breadth of the outcome of service delivery would be expanded to not only correct developmental problems, but to enhance children's normal development through increasing their exposure to prevention-focused interventions.

The STaR Model and Research

The identification of research topics must address issues of program evaluation as well as individual interests of faculty, trainees, and onsite staff. This component is not only invaluable to faculty and trainees, but to the community agency as well. This is particularly true in cases

where the site is supported by grants or soft money resources that require verification of efficacy. All service delivery and training activities should be framed within the context of evaluation and research at all STaR community sites.

However, the development of research friendly service-delivery sites is often quite complicated. This is particularly true if research is done with the intent of publication in professional journals. The messiness of service delivery within communities can directly contradict the neatness required in most research designs. To circumvent this messiness, some leaders in the field have suggested four essential methodological research design features which must be considered to maintain internal validity which is often missing in studies at community sites: random assignment of clientele, duration of treatments, well-defined descriptions of interventions, and clearly indicated personal-social characteristics of mental health care providers and the clientele that might confound results. Ideal facilities would include opportunities for audio and/or videotaping, particularly for process research. Clients' ongoing and final evaluations of sessions, in addition to the evaluations of sessions by those providing services would be maintained. Supervision evaluations provided by supervisors and supervisees across disciplines would certainly provide a significant contribution to the literature. Best practices are more clearly delineated as a result of the identification of empirically-supported interventions and practices. These suggestions only address the basic data collection that all sites might strive to attain. The possibilities are limitless and the potential of optimal outcomes increased.

In addition to the consideration of possible topics, it is critical that adherence to the university's human subjects' guidelines and procedures are reinforced in both training and service delivery. Completion of consent for participation in research and program evaluation forms must be a part of the intake process. Agency staff, parents and/or guardians and youth should be asked for consent or assent so that all will be informed about the reasons for the data collection and how the results will be used.

Finally, the often, most tedious endeavor of identifying authorship of any manuscripts to be submitted for publication can become problematic, particularly in cases that include participants across disciplines and institutions (i.e., community agency staff and the university associates). It would appear critical that well-defined guidelines for authorship rankings, sole authorship, and multiple authorships be established during the initial stages of site development. Early discussions about these specific issues is even more important given that all participating faculty would at some time during the academic period be responsible for the oversight of data collection. Confusion about this seemingly minor issue may not only jeopardize the research component, but the success of the STaR site. Relationships among faculty and trainees across disciplines could be damaged, causing conflict where collaboration is required.

Summary

With the emotional needs of children in today's society growing exponentially within our changing culture, interventions beyond the school, but linked to the school and children's academic well-being, are needed to provide a more comprehensive strategy for mental health service delivery to children and adolescents. Collaboration among the school, the university training programs, and community sites that have typically been uninvolved in mental health service delivery may be the key to meeting these needs. The STaR youth model of service delivery is just one proposed means of inexpensively attending to and preventing the negative experiences with which many of today's children are confronted.

See also: ➲ *Access and utilization of health care*; ➲ *Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL)*; ➲ *Early intervention*; ➲ *School roles in mental health*

Suggested Reading

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Carpenter-Aeby, T., & Aeby, V. G. (2001). Family-school-community interventions for chronically disruptive students: An evaluation of outcomes in alternative schools. *School Community Journal*, *11*(2), 75–92.

Perkins, D. D., Crim, B., Silberman, P., & Brown, B. B. (2004). Community development as a response to community-level adversity: Ecological theory and research and strengths-based policy. In K. I. Maton, C. J. Schellenbach, B. J. Leadbeater, & A. L. Solarz (Eds.), *Investing in children, youth, families, and communities: Strengths-based research and policy* (pp. 321–340). Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Suggested Resources

School Community Partnerships—http://kcsos.kern.org/schcom/stories/storyReader$98: The website offers information on how school and community partnerships can result in improving attendance, increase academic performance, and strengthen families.

Standards for Professional Development Schools—http://www.ncate.org/documents/pdsStandards.pdf: The website provides a comprehensive overview of a model for school and university alliances toward the improvement of kindergarten through grade 12 education.

Community Psychology

Shannon Gwin Mitchell · David Lounsbury

Community psychology is an area of specialization within the broader field of psychology (Division 27 of the American Psychological Association). It emerged in the U.S. in the 1960's, taking a progressive, proactive approach towards key social issues including poverty, racism, and health/illness. Community psychology in the as practiced in the U.S. is a blending of the fields of social psychology, political science, and community development. Practitioners in this field use the various principles of psychology to enhance the health and functioning of people, and the communities in which they work and live.

Theoretical Framework

The specialization in community psychology differs from more traditional psychological theory and practice in numerous ways. Most importantly, instead of taking an individualistic, positivistic approach towards the study of behaviors and behavior change, community psychology adopts a systems perspective in which the reciprocal relationship between individuals and the various social structures comprising their communities of interest and affiliation (e.g., family, neighborhood, occupation, ethnicity) is the focus. Known as the ecological model, this theoretical orientation holds that people and their behaviors can only be understood within their cultural, historical, geographic, economic, and social contexts. The focus ranges from micro-systems, such as families, through macro-systems, including the socio-political circumstances.

Another core difference between community psychology and more traditional, applied psychology concerns the issue of values. Rather than adopt a value-free orientation, community psychologists embrace the fact that personal and cultural values guide their work and consider the pursuit of social justice a core goal for the field. This perspective is understandable given both the progressive movement that spawned the field and the ecological model that continues to guide it.

Community psychologists view all behaviors as the result of a person's adaptation to their environment and to the available resources, competition, and barriers within their niche. This means that issues such as health, competence, and even "normality" must be understood from that person's perspective. Rather than focus on what a person or community is doing "wrong," community psychologists often focus on the group's strengths, competencies, and talents, and bring them to the fore when working to institute positive change.

Respect for cultural and ethnic diversity is also central to the field. This includes respect for the similarities and differences among members of diverse racial, ethnic, religious, social class, and age groups, as well as for persons with different sexual orientations and ability levels.

Community psychologists believe that promoting health is more fiscally responsible and effective than waiting to provide treatment until after a problem has developed. In many cases, there simply is not a sufficient corps of trained practitioners to provide treatment to all of those in need. In other cases, needless suffering is endured because prevention or early intervention services were not in place. The field's prevention orientation mirrors that of the field of public health, although social and behavioral effects can sometimes be difficult to measure and may take years to see.

Key Research Topics

While the range of topics studied within the field has changed over the last 40 years, some of the key topics that have been the focus of continued research interest and application include: empowerment, psychological sense of community, self-help/mutual-help, social

support, health promotion/wellness, and stress/coping. Research by community psychologists can be found in journals dedicated to their specific discipline, such as *The American Journal of Community Psychology* or *The Journal of Community Psychology*, but is also frequently found in the journals of other, related fields, including *The American Journal of Evaluation*, *American Journal of Public Health*, *Health Education and Behavior*, and *Law, Psychology and Public Policy*.

Research Methods and Focus

The ecological analogy describes not only the theoretical perspective within the field of community psychology, but also its research and intervention process. Since behaviors are viewed as the product of ecological influence impinging upon a person at multiple levels, community psychologists frequently intervene at multiple levels, as well. This is particularly true when attempting to change or prevent deeply ingrained behaviors.

Action research is considered the ideal model in community psychology. Action research is conducted with the specific goal of improving an organization, and is very context-specific. It involves the researcher (working in collaboration with the participants) defining a problem, creating and implementing an intervention, observing and evaluating the effectiveness of the intervention, and then, potentially, re-defining the problem and repeating the process until a satisfactory level of change has been achieved. Action research has been described as a "spiral" process.

Research conducted by community psychologists often has the researcher taking a supportive role, rather than assuming the position of "expert." It is assumed that the community members must guide community change and development if it is to be useful, realistic, and lasting. This means that community members are often involved in identifying the problem, developing possible solutions, and implementing the changes. The community psychologist often facilitates the process, offers alternative perspectives, provides technical assistance, assists community members in the formation of coalitions or the targeting of other un-tapped resources, and may help community members in defining outcome goals and evaluating outcome effectiveness. In sum, the research process is collaborative and applied, and the ultimate goal is to build community capacity.

International Development of Community Psychology

Because of its person-in-context emphasis, community psychology has evolved slightly differently around the world, including other Western countries (e.g., Canada and Western Europe), Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Latin America. While the U.S. version of community psychology significantly contributed to the creation of the field in other countries, there are some distinguishing differences. Some countries tend to place greater emphasis on community development and social justice issues than does their U.S. counterpart. Others are more strongly influenced by alternative fields within and without psychology, including critical psychology, feminist theory, health psychology, sociology, and even political psychology and Marxist ideology.

Training in Community Psychology

Although professionals from numerous other disciplines may work along side community psychologists, or identify with one or more of the same theoretical ideas, there are specific graduate training programs offered in community psychology. In the U.S. most community psychology training programs are at the doctoral level, although a few offer terminal masters degrees. Community psychology training programs are classified as either free-standing (i.e., independent of other psychological interest groups), community/clinical programs (i.e., offering a primary, secondary or equal emphasis of community psychology training alongside training in clinical psychology), or community psychology/interdisciplinary (i.e., community programs aligned with non-psychology departments).

See also: ➔ *American Psychological Association (APA)*; ➔ *Community approaches to improving child success*; ➔ *Cultural diversity*; ➔ *Cultural resilience*; ➔ *Discrimination*; ➔ *Ecology*; ➔ *School-based prevention*

Suggested Reading

Levine, M., & Perkins, D. V. (1997). *Principles of community psychology: Perspectives and applications*. (2nd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

O'Donnell, C. R., & Ferrari, J. R. (Eds.) (1997). *Education in community psychology: Models for graduate and undergraduate programs*. New York: Haworth Press.

Trickett, E. J., Watts, R. J., & Birman, D. (1994). *Human diversity: Perspectives on people in context*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Suggested Resources

Society for Community Research and Action–http://www.scra27.org: The SCRA is Division 27 of the American Psychological Association, serves many different disciplines that focus on community research and action. Its members are committed to promoting health and empowerment and to preventing problems in communities, groups, and individuals.

Community Schools

Amy Berg

The demographic makeup of the country, and its schools, is changing. Today, approximately 38% of public school students are identified as belonging to a minority group. By the year 2010, it is projected that in seven states and Washington, D.C. more than half of all students will belong to a minority group. Today, nearly 20% of America's school-age children speak a language other than English at home. This is a trend that has been emerging over the past 30 years.

Although the demographic makeup of schools has shifted, that shift is not reflected in the diversity of school staff. Among teachers, only 10% of secondary teachers and 14% of kindergarten through grade 6 teachers are minorities. At the administrative level, 16% of principals, and 4% of superintendents are people of color. Half of all schools have no minority teachers.

These changes present a unique set of challenges for schools. Often, schools lack the expertise to be responsive to this diverse group of students and their families. Many teachers and principals began to work at a time when schools were less diverse. Younger staff may not have had the training in preparation programs to be truly culturally competent. Many of these teachers and principals are finding that it often takes an authentic connection to the community to truly engage it.

The community school represents a major response to this set of challenges. To address the needs of a changing population, community schools form partnerships with organizations in the community that help them better connect to students, families and the surrounding community. Community schools are public schools that are open to students, families and community members before, during and after school, throughout the year. They serve as the center of the community, integrating academics with other services and opportunities. As both a place and a set of partnerships, community schools mobilize an array of community resources—education, youth development, family support, health and human services, family and community engagement, community development—and connects such resources to student learning and development. Community schools recognize that multiple supports—physical, emotional, social and academic—are required for all students to succeed.

The History of Community Schools

For more than 100 years, community schools have promoted the idea that school, community and family are inextricably joined and must work closely together. While the strength of the community school movement has ebbed and flowed over the years, the idea that the best way to address the needs of an economically, racially and ethnically diverse student body is through schools working together with community partners and families has remained constant.

In the late nineteenth century, Jane Addams' settlement house movement brought recreational, health and educational services to working-class, largely immigrant neighborhoods in Chicago and similar urban-industrial centers. By the early 1900s, John Dewey's concept of the "school as a social center" encouraged advocates to bring these opportunities into public schools.

Fostered by the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation and its work in Flint, Michigan, a formal movement to promote community education gained national visibility in the 1930s. By the 1970s, Congress provided important seed money for the movement with the passage of the Community Schools Act and the Community Schools and Comprehensive Community Education Act.

Since the late 1980s, various local, state and foundation-funded efforts have produced new models

that further developed the key features of community schools and greatly increased their numbers. Approaches designed to mobilize the assets of communities and address barriers to learning resulting from poverty, changing demographics and other contemporary facts of life emerged alongside more established community education programs. In 1998, the community school movement received a major boost from the twenty-first century community learning centers program. Based on a community education strategy, the new federal initiative promoted the development of local after-school programs as a way to build community schools.

In the past decade, community schools have seen a resurgence. The need for schools to find ways to address the issues that often surround cross-cultural education is one reason for this. To address this issue, community schools, because of their unique relationship with the community, are able to tap the experience and resources of the community. Lead agencies—partners that share responsibility with the school for results—often have more experience and expertise working with students and families from different cultures. Often these lead agencies are community-based organizations that are run by and serve people of color.

Addressing the Needs of a Diverse Population

In community schools, partners who share their assets and expertise with the school are important sources of social capital. For young people, social capital increases exposure to role models and life options. It enhances their sense of connectedness to others, their sense of security and their belief in the future. For people of all ages, social capital makes it easier to share expertise, succeed individually and contribute to a healthy community.

For many—especially those from less affluent communities and lower-income families—social capital, like financial capital, is not readily available. Community schools consciously work to change this. They build social capital, for example, through mentoring relationships with caring adults. School-to-work learning experiences significantly increase young people's knowledge of career choices and help them develop the skills needed to pursue them. From poetry slams to career days to "shadow government" exercises, community schools enhance students' cultural literacy and social competence.

At Stevenson-YMCA Community School in Long Beach, CA, where three-fourths of the student body is Latino and 72% are considered English Language Learners, the school is doing just this. The school and the YMCA have established a Community Leadership Institute as a way to channel people into leadership roles throughout the community. Parents also serve as teachers in adult education programs and teach teachers about parent engagement and communication with Latino families. Stevenson parents are now taking the skills they have honed in these programs to middle schools as their children progress out of elementary school. Working collectively through close-knit relationships, parent, students and staff at Stevenson have been able to address community concerns, build upon community assets, and develop a comprehensive community school that directly reflects the community it serves.

At George Washington Community School, in Indianapolis, Indiana, the entire school community is committed to making the school a place where all are welcome and diverse groups of people feel comfortable and accepted. The school has been particularly effective in creating an environment that fosters understanding and communication among students who come from a variety of backgrounds. Through a partnership with La Plaza, a group that works to empower and integrate the Latino community of Central Indiana, George Washington engages Latino youth and their families to increase high school graduation rates and prepare youth for college. While many were not able to initially maintain this program in schools due to budget restraints, the relationship with the community and the commitment to building a culturally competent school, helped George Washington find a way to keep the program.

Experiences like these create confidence, hone skills and help people who come from different cultures and life experiences come together. Tapping the expertise of community groups, families and students removes barriers to communication and understanding that often exist between the school and the community.

Conclusion

Community schools are effective in addressing the academic, social and physical needs of young people, as well as the needs of their families. Evaluation data

from organizations such as the Academy for Educational Development, the Stanford Research Institute, the Chapin Hall Centers for Children and other groups, compiled by Joy Dryfoos, an authority in the field, demonstrate the positive impact of community schools with regard to learning, achievement, healthy youth development, family functioning and community life. Indeed, the author's own research shows that community schools show improvements in grades, test scores and attendance and reductions in behavioral problems and suspensions.

Community schools are also an effective way to address the challenges that changing demographics often present. Throughout the history of this movement, these schools have paid particular attention to issues of race, ethnicity and class. Research shows that these schools are providing enhanced outcomes particularly for minority and under served youth. As U.S. demographics continue to change, this approach to educating all youth to high standards will become an increasingly effective education reform strategy.

See also: *Community interventions with diverse youth*; *Educational partnership*; *Outcomes-based education*; *Urban schools*

Suggested Reading

Blank, M., Melaville, A., & Shah, B. (2003). *Making the difference: Research and practice in community schools*. Washington, D.C.: Coalition for Community Schools.

Blank, M., Berg, A., & Melaville, A. (2006). *Growing community schools: The role of cross-boundary leadership*. Washington, D.C.: Coalition for Community Schools.

Melaville, A., Berg, A., & Blank, M. (2006). *Community-based learning: Engaging students for success and citizenship*. Washington, D.C.: Coalition for Community Schools.

Suggested Resources

Coalition for community schools website—www.communityschools.org: The Coalition for Community Schools is an alliance of national, state and local organizations in education, youth development, community planning and development, family support, health and human services, government and philanthropy as well as national, state and local community school networks.

Schools of the twenty-first century at Yale University—http://www.yale.edu/21C/immigrant.html: The school of the twenty-first century runs several programs devoted to improving the lives of immigrant families and children.

Asset-Based Community Development website—http://www.northwestern.edu/ipr/abcd.html: The ABCD Institute shares findings on capacity-building community development in two ways: (1) through extensive and substantial interactions with community builders, and (2) by producing practical resources and tools for community builders to identify, nurture, and mobilize neighborhood assets.

Community Violence

Tara Mathews · Stacy Overstreet

Community violence is defined as chronic exposure to interpersonal violence that occurs in neighborhoods where children and families live. Community violence refers to that which occurs in public places, and although frequently interrelated, does not include violence that occurs within the home, at school, or in the media. Exposure to community violence comes in many forms, as youth experience violence through personal victimization, witnessing events in their neighborhoods, and hearing about events that have occurred in their communities. These experiences include life-threatening events such as attacks with guns and knives, as well as events that imply danger, such as drug deals, seeing a dead body, and hearing gunshots in one's neighborhood. Children and adolescents in the United States (U.S.) report astonishing rates of community violence exposure, and in recent years, community violence has been described as a public health epidemic. This issue has received increased national attention, by media and researchers alike. However, we are only beginning to learn how to protect youth from community violence and the various negative outcomes that exposure has been linked to.

Rates

Although national rates of violent crime have been decreasing since their peak in the 1990s, rates of community violence are actually increasing. Surveys have revealed that community violence affects children of all ages and backgrounds, crossing racial, socioeconomic, and geographical boundaries. However, rates of community violence are highest for ethnic minority children living in poor, urban communities. Because they

are more likely than other ethnic groups to live in urban areas, African American and Latino American children are at the highest risk for exposure, and report alarming rates of violence in their neighborhoods. In fact, some urban areas in the U.S. have even been compared to war zones, as community violence occurs chronically and is a part of everyday life for those who live there. Survey research suggests that by the time they reach middle childhood, most children living in inner cities have been exposed to serious acts of violence, such as shootings and stabbings. Although this varies by research study, statistics on community violence in urban areas demonstrate that as many as 100% of children have heard about violence in their communities, 99% have witnessed violence, and 70% have been personally victimized in their neighborhoods.

Consequences

In addition to the direct consequences of exposure to violence, such as physical harm, hospitalization, and in some cases, death, exposure is associated with mental health, behavioral, and academic problems in youth. Exposure to community violence is often traumatic, as it can be life-threatening and challenge children's perceptions of safety in their neighborhoods. The most common consequence of exposure is Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), which is an anxiety disorder that can result after exposure to a traumatic event. Research has found that as many as one-third of children and adolescents who have been exposed to community violence suffer from symptoms of PTSD, which include reexperiencing the traumatic event, which may come in the form of intrusive thoughts or nightmares; emotional numbing and avoidance of things that remind one of the trauma, such as walking a certain path to school where one has been witness to violence; and persistent symptoms of increased physiological arousal, such as an exaggerated startle response and difficulty concentrating. Although not as common as PTSD, symptoms of depression have also been linked to exposure to community violence. Like PTSD, depression is a serious mental health concern and is characterized by feelings of sadness or irritability, loss of interest in activities, feelings of worthlessness, difficulty concentrating, and changes in eating or sleeping patterns. Also a significant concern, depression is often associated with thoughts of death and suicide. Little work has been done to identify how and why depression develops in children who experience community violence. However, it has been suggested that chronic exposure to stressful and dangerous situations may contribute to depressive feelings of helplessness, hopelessness, and ineffectiveness among children, who are typically unable to do anything to change their environments.

Externalizing behavior problems are also common among children and adolescents exposed to community violence. Specifically, aggression and other disruptive behaviors are frequently observed, including increases in fighting, gang involvement, rule-breaking, and the use of weapons. Various explanations have been offered for the increased level of aggression among violence-exposed youth; however, none has been supported conclusively. For example, it has been suggested that children and adolescents who are chronically exposed to violence in their communities may be desensitized to violence and may view it as a normative and effective means of attaining one's goals. It has also been suggested that the parents of children living in dangerous neighborhoods may be less likely to discourage the use of aggression and violence as it may be necessary for the purpose of self-defense.

Not surprisingly, community violence is also associated with school problems among children and adolescents. Recent studies have demonstrated that youth exposed to community violence are at risk for frequent absences, grade retention, and poorer academic achievement, in the form of grades as well as standardized test scores. This is likely related to the emotional and behavioral problems that violence-exposed youth experience, which may impede both motivation and ability to do well in school. Symptoms such as difficulty concentrating, fatigue due to sleeping difficulties, disruptive behavior, and a diminished interest in activities may have deleterious effects on academic performance.

Protective Factors

Taken together, the effects of community violence on youth are tremendous, and are undoubtedly taking a toll on society at large. In an attempt to discover how we can protect youth from these effects, researchers are beginning to explore protective factors, which refer to characteristics of the child, family, and more distal environments that serve to buffer high-risk youth from poor outcomes. Although little is known about

the specificity of these protective factors in the context of community violence, three categories of protective factors have been identified, including 'individual' factors, such as a high intelligence level; 'family' factors, such as parental social support and parental monitoring; and 'extrafamilial' factors, such as having connections to prosocial organizations.

Among children exposed to community violence, however, social support is the only of these factors that has consistently shown a buffering effect. A high level of social support, which refers to the perception that others are available to provide emotional and practical support, appears to have some ability to protect children from the effects of community violence. Children often receive social support from their immediate family members, as well as from extended family, peers, teachers, and clergy. The receipt of positive and stable social support can protect youth from the consequences of community violence by providing them with feelings of security, as well as opportunities for receiving advice and expressing emotions such as fear and anxiety. However, it appears that among youth who report high levels of exposure, such as many of the children living in poor urban areas, even social support loses its ability to buffer youth from being affected.

Future Directions

Research on community violence is still in its infancy, and additional work is necessary to fully understand the scope of the problem as well as its effects on youth. Because they are at the highest risk for exposure, most research has been conducted with youth living in urban areas. However, community violence occurs in suburban and rural settings as well and there is a need for additional research regarding how children and adolescents who live in such areas are affected. Additionally, researchers are beginning to study children's beliefs about their communities to examine how subjective factors, such as perceptions of safety and predictability, may play a role in the development of mental health problems. Also of interest is examining the effects of community violence on normative developmental processes, such as cognitive development, the ability to regulate one's emotions, and the ability to form relationships. It is believed that the stress, anxiety, and fear associated with exposure to community violence may jeopardize these processes, making children more vulnerable to developing mental health, behavior, and academic problems. Researchers are also interested in examining characteristics of violent events themselves, such as a child's relationship to the victim and the perpetrator. It has been suggested that the more proximal a violent event is to a child, the more harmful the consequences will be. For example, hearing about the stabbing of a family member or friend may be significantly more traumatic than witnessing the stabbing of a stranger.

Perhaps of most importance, potential protective factors should be further explored to identify buffers for the effects of community violence. For instance, researchers are beginning to examine coping strategies, such as problem solving, behavioral avoidance, and distraction, to discover whether particular strategies are more effective in protecting against the effects of community violence. Family functioning has also been explored and some studies have suggested that parents can protect their children through frequent monitoring of their children's whereabouts and behaviors, and by creating an atmosphere of family cohesiveness. Additionally, it has been suggested that positive school environments may be protective by providing children with a safe haven; however, those at the highest risk for exposure to community violence often face the accumulative risk of attending unsafe, poorly funded, and overburdened schools. Finally, the identification of protective factors can inform the development of prevention and intervention programs; the more we know about what protects youth from the tremendous effects of community violence, the more effectively we can intervene.

See also: ➲ *Aggressiveness*; ➲ *Childhood depression*; ➲ *Conflict resolution;* ➲ *Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)*; ➲ *School violence*

Suggested Reading

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Stein, B. D., Jaycox, L. H., Kataoka, S., Rhodes, H. J., & Vestal, K. D. (2003). Prevalence of child and adolescent exposure to community violence. *Clinical Child and Family Review 6*, 247–264.

Suggested Resources

The National Center for Children Exposed to Violence—http://www.nccev.org/violence/community.html: This website provides a variety of resources related to community violence such as statistics and links to literature and other relevant websites.

National Youth Violence Prevention Center—http://www.safeyouth.org/scripts/teens/community.asp: Provides community violence prevention strategies and links to other helpful websites.

Computer Based Testing

James A Bovaird

In contrast to the traditional pencil-and-paper mode of test administration, computer-based testing (CBT) is the administration of an examination via a computer. CBT began in the 1970's with research on the statistical reliability of ability estimation and various adaptive testing formats. Early research assumed dichotomous scoring and a unidimensional response model. The 1990's saw a rapid expansion of CBT thanks to vast improvements in the speed, computing power, and cost of computers. CBT has become a common form of test delivery for numerous licensure, certification, and admissions tests including (but not limited to) the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB), Graduate Record Examination General Test (GRE), Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), Graduate Management Admission Test (GMAT), Professional Assessment for Beginning Teachers (PRAXIS-PPST), National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS), Automotive Service Excellence (ASE) test, and American Dietetic Association (ADA) test.

Computer-based testing presents several administrative, logistical, technological, and substantive advantages over the pencil-and-paper format. Perhaps the most notable advantage is the level of administrative control given test administrators over the testing conditions. For instance, the amount of time allowed and the type of feedback used for individual items or the entire test can all be controlled by the test administrator. From a logistical perspective, CBT can reduce testing time, provide immediate scoring, allow more frequent testing, provide the opportunity for walk-in testing, allow individual administration, and increase test security by reducing the possibility that examinees can provide information to one another. More complex item types available through computerization itself enables a much broader range of technological measurement advances through increased capacity for expanded visualization (including true color, zooming, and object rotation), audition (incorporating audible commands, prompts, or items), and interaction. Test administrators can capitalize on the automated nature of computers to develop or compile, process, and score tests, including complex responses such as open-ended questions. Finally, from a substantive perspective, CBT has the potential to assess new skills, some even better than other testing formats, and can allow access to data that is not available from a pencil-and-paper format (e.g., response time).

Computer-based testing is not without its unresolved problems, however. CBTs require access to computer testing centers, although testing via the Internet may alleviate this limitation. The security of CBT items, the reliability of the test-delivery systems, and the expense of developing the test and the testing environment are also of concern. Finally, the psychometric quality of the tests, the adequacy of the supporting theoretical models, and the issue of whether test bias occurs due to the effect of access to technology on performance are active areas of inquiry. Recent legislation, most notably in the state of New York, has raised additional issues related to test security by requiring certain levels of item and test disclosure.

A special form of testing called computer-adaptive testing (CAT) is of particular relevance to modern testing and is only possible through the computer-based platform. Adaptive tests rapidly adjust the difficulty level of the test to match the ability level of the examinee. A CAT starts at a difficulty level that is deemed most likely to be accurate for the examinee (usually "average"). Depending on the accuracy of the initial response, which is immediately scored by the computer, the item presented next is either more or less difficult than the last one. Thus the items administered are appropriate for the examinee's ability level. Through an iterative process of testing, updating the ability estimate, and re-testing, a CAT can arrive at a more accurate ability estimate than what can be obtained by a non-adaptive test. Some of the notable advantages to a CAT beyond those that are inherent to any CBT are: fewer test items (as many as half when compared with pencil-and-paper tests), less time required since test items outside the test taker's proficiency level are excluded, enhanced test security because all examinees are potentially administered a different set of items,

improved examinee test-taking motivation, and reduced average test score differences across ethnic groups.

Current foci for research on CBT and CAT involve technical problems such as item bank maintenance, pre-testing items to obtain item statistics, and item and test security.

See also: ➲ *High stakes testing*; ➲ *Intelligence/Intelligence Quotient (IQ)*; ➲ *Testing and measurement*

Suggested Reading

Bartram, D., & Hambleton, R. (Eds.) (2005). *Computer-based testing and the internet: Issues and advances*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

Mills, C. N. Potenza, M. T., Fremer, J. J., & Ward, W. C. (Eds.) (2002). *Computer-based testing: Building the foundation for future assessments*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Conduct Disorder

LeShawndra N Price

Conduct disorder, a mental disorder first diagnosed in childhood or adolescence, can be defined as a persistent pattern of antisocial behavior in which youth consistently disregard and violate the rights of others and the age-appropriate norms or rules of society. The disordered behavior of youth with conduct disorder occurs across multiple settings (e.g., at home, school, or in the community) and substantially impairs their ability to function socially, at home, school, and/or work. These behaviors fall into four categories: aggressive behavior that causes or threatens physical harm to other people or animals, deliberate property damage or destruction, deceit or theft, and serious rule violations. Conduct disorder symptoms are the most frequently reported source of referral for psychiatric services for children and adolescents.

Diagnostic Criteria for Conduct Disorder

The diagnostic criteria for conduct disorder as stated in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders-IV (4th ed.) Text Revision* is as follows:

A. A repetitive and persistent pattern of behavior in which the basic rights of others or major age-appropriate societal norms or rules are violated, as manifested by the presence of three (or more) of the following criteria in the past 12 months, with at least one criterion present in the past 6 months:

Aggression to people and animals

(1) often bullies, threatens, or intimidates others
(2) often initiates physical fights
(3) has used a weapon that can cause serious physical harm to others (e.g., a bat, brick, broken bottle, knife, gun)
(4) has been physically cruel to people
(5) has been physically cruel to animals
(6) has stolen while confronting a victim (e.g., mugging, purse snatching, extortion, armed robbery)
(7) has forced someone into sexual activity

Destruction of property

(8) has deliberately engaged in fire setting with the intention of causing serious damage
(9) has deliberately destroyed others' property (other than by fire setting)

Deceitfulness or theft

(10) has broken into someone else's house, building, or car
(11) often lies to obtain goods or favors or to avoid obligations (i.e., "cons" others)
(12) has stolen items of nontrivial value without confronting a victim (e.g., shoplifting, but without breaking and entering; forgery)

Serious violations of rules

(13) often stays out at night despite parental prohibitions, beginning before age 13 years
(14) has run away from home overnight at least twice while living in parental or parental surrogate home (or once without returning for a lengthy period)
(15) is often truant from school, beginning before age 13 years)

B. The disturbance in behavior causes clinically significant impairment in social, academic, or occupational functioning.

C. If the individual is age 18 years or older, criteria are not met for Antisocial Personality Disorder.

Specify type based on age of onset:

Conduct Disorder, Childhood-Onset Type: onset of at least one criterion characteristic of Conduct Disorder prior to age 10 years

Conduct Disorder, Adolescent-Onset Type: absence of any criteria characteristic of Conduct Disorder prior to age 10 years

Conduct Disoder, Unspecified Onset: age at onset is not known

Specify severity:

Mild: few if any conduct problems in excess of those required to make the diagnosis *and* conduct problems cause only minor harm to others

Moderate: number of conduct problems and effect on others intermediate between “mild” and “severe”

Severe: many conduct problems in excess of those required to make the diagnosis *or* conduct problems cause considerable harm to others

Prevalence and Etiology of Conduct Disorder

Although rates of conduct disorder vary between six and 16% according to population sampled and methods of assessment, research from the National Comorbidity Survey Study Replication (NCS-R), a nationally representative study of mental disorders in the general United States (U.S.) population, estimates that the lifetime prevalence of conduct disorder is 9.5%. Rates of conduct disorder tend to be higher in urban samples and among boys (12.0% in boys vs. 7.1% in girls in the NCS-R).

Research on the origins of conduct disorder indicates that child and adolescent antisocial behavior cannot be traced to a single factor or a single defining situation. Instead, multiple risk factors contribute to and shape such behavior over the course of development. Some factors are related to characteristics within the child, such as neurological deficits, difficult temperament, and propensity to interpret hostile intent in social encounters, but others relate to factors within the environment, including family, peers, school, and neighborhood context, which enable, shape, and maintain aggressive and antisocial behavior. Such forces as weak bonding, ineffective parenting (poor monitoring, ineffective, excessively harsh, or inconsistent discipline, inadequate supervision), coercive parent-child interactions, exposure to violence in the home, poor peer relations, association with deviant peers, and a climate that supports aggression and violence puts children at risk for conduct disorder and for being violent later in life. A child is more likely to develop conduct disorder if he or she has a sibling with conduct disorder or a parent with antisocial personality disorder.

Types and Course of Conduct Disorder

The DSM-IV identifies two subtypes of conduct disorder based on age at onset. The childhood-onset type is defined by the onset of at least one criterion characteristic of conduct disorder prior to age 10. Generally, children with childhood-onset conduct disorder are physically aggressive towards others, have academic difficulties, and have difficulties in peer relationships. Children with childhood-onset conduct disorder are also more likely to have a concurrent diagnosis of oppositional defiant disorder or attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) during early childhood, and often have symptoms meeting full criteria for - conduct disorder prior to puberty. Left untreated, childhood conduct disorder has a poorer prognosis than adolescent-onset conduct disorder. In keeping with this distinction of onset of presenting conduct disorder symptoms, the adolescent-onset type is defined by the absence of any criteria characteristic of conduct disorder prior to age 10. In general, these youth have less severe symptoms than childhood-onset youth. Adolescent-onset youth tend to display less aggressive behavior, have more normative peer relationships, and their conduct disordered behavior tends to discontinue after adolescence. Adolescent-onset youth are less likely than those with the childhood-onset type of conduct disorder to have persistent conduct disorder and develop antisocial personality disorder in adulthood.

The first symptoms of conduct disorder may occur as early as the preschool years, but usually significant symptoms appear during middle childhood or early adolescence. Conduct disorder has a high stability over time. Childhood conduct disorder often persists into adolescence and predicts antisocial behavior in adulthood. Conduct disorder is often associated with either extraordinarily low or extremely inflated self-esteem, early onset of alcohol, tobacco, and illicit drug use, early age at first sexual intercourse, and high levels of risk-taking and reckless behavior. Children with conduct disorder are often diagnosed with coexisting learning problems, ADHD, oppositional defiant disorder (ODD), substance abuse, and/or mood disorders. Without early and comprehensive treatment, youth with conduct disorder often develop additional coexisting problems and the conduct disorder symptoms become more severe.

The symptoms of most children diagnosed with conduct disorder remit by adulthood. Research

consistently shows that less than 50% of youth with conduct disorder meet diagnostic thresholds for adult antisocial behavior disorders after age 18. However, adolescent conduct disorder is one of several factors shown to predict adult antisocial disorders.

Interventions

Although early identification and intervention is the optimal goal, many youth with conduct disorder are not identified until later in childhood or into adolescence. Preventive interventions implemented in the primary contexts in which youth develop and are socialized can help address trajectories leading to persistent conduct disorder. Two examples of interventions that have been rigorously tested and proven effective in decreasing antisocial behaviors in children and adolescents are the Linking Interests of Families and Teachers (LIFT) Program and Multisystemic Therapy (MST). The LIFT program is a school-based intervention designed for first and fifth grade children from neighborhoods characterized by high levels of juvenile delinquency and their parents. The intervention is designed to target aggressive child behavior and coercive interactions in the family, classroom, and with peers on the playground. The ten week intervention consists of components for the family and the classroom. The family component consists of six two-hour parent training/support group sessions that focus on positive encouragement, clear discipline, problem solving, parental monitoring, and support of academic engagement. The classroom component consists of two highly interactive social skills training sessions per week for ten weeks, focusing on classroom rules, compliance and participation, and interpersonal and conflict resolution skills. Teachers also use the Good Behavior Game, that positively reinforces children for good behaviors. Parent and classroom components are integrated so that similar behavior issues are targeted in both contexts.

Research examining the immediate outcomes of the LIFT intervention for both first and fifth grade children in the intervention compared with children in the control group indicated decreased physical aggression on the playground, an increase in teacher ratings of child positive behaviors with peers, and decreased mother aversive behavior during mother-child interactions. Mothers who exhibited the highest pre-intervention levels of aversive behaviors showed the largest immediate reductions. Similarly, the most physically aggressive children benefited most from the intervention. That is, the more aggressive the child was initially, the greater the reduction in aggressive behavior at the time of the post-intervention assessment. The three-year follow-up of the original fifth grade children from the LIFT program examined the delay of onset of police arrest and substance use (i.e., alcohol, tobacco, marijuana) during the middle school years. Compared to children in the intervention group, children in the control group were 1.55 times more likely to be arrested during middle school and 1.49 times more likely to report patterned alcohol use. No difference was found between groups on self-reported tobacco or marijuana use during middle school. While the research hypothesized that youth rated as at higher risk at baseline would be most likely to benefit from the intervention during middle school, statistical analyses did not support their hypothesis.

Multisystemic Therapy (MST) is a treatment methodology for serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders who are at high risk for out-of-home placement and their families. MST typically aims to improve caregiver discipline, enhance family relationships, decrease association with deviant peers, increase association with prosocial peers, improve youth school or vocational performance, and develop and maintain a social support network to help achieve and maintain such changes. MST is family-based and provides intensive treatment services in the natural environment where problems occur (e.g., homes, schools, neighborhoods).

Research findings indicate that MST demonstrates considerable promise in the treatment of youth antisocial behavior, substance abuse, and emotional disturbance. Research comparing MST to individual therapy (IT) on the prevention of criminal behavior and violent offending among juvenile delinquent offenders at high risk for committing additional serious crimes showed increased supportiveness and decreased conflict-hostility for family interactions among families receiving MST. In contrast, families that received IT either deteriorated (indicating decreased supportiveness), showed increases in conflict hostility, or showed no change on measures of supportiveness and conflict hostility. MST also resulted in decreased self-reported psychiatric symptomatology in parents and decreased parental report of behavior problems in youth. More importantly, MST produced long-term changes in youths' delinquent criminal behaviors. At four years post-intervention, the overall recidivism rate for MST completers was

less than one-third the overall rate for IT completers (22.1% vs. 71.4%). Recidivists who completed MST had fewer arrests than did recidivists who had completed IT; and recidivists in the MST group had been arrested for less serious crimes than their counterparts in the IT group. Further follow-up that took place on average thirteen years later revealed that the overall recidivism rate for the IT group was significantly higher than the MST group (81% vs. 50%). Moreover, compared with the MST group, IT children were 4.25 times more likely to be rearrested during the follow-up period, 2.57 times more likely to have an arrest for a violent offense, and 3.33 times more likely to have an arrest for a drug offense.

Treatment of conduct disorder can be complex and challenging, and might include behavior therapy with the parents and child or pharmacotherapy. Behavior therapy uses conditioning to make more desirable behavior more likely and decrease or eliminate undesirable behaviors. Behavior therapy may also include skills building for the child, such as anger management, and parent education including management strategies for the child with conduct disorder. Often, a therapist will coordinate the establishment of a behavioral plan with school and home to maximize effectiveness. Special education may be necessary for youth with coexisting learning difficulties.

Treatment may also include medication in some youth, especially for those with attention problems, impulse problems, or depression. Yet, pharmacological interventions alone have not been demonstrated to be consistently effective in treating conduct disorder. Some stimulant and antipsychotic medications, including methylphenidate and risperidone, have been found to reduce aggressiveness effectively in children with conduct disorder.

See also: ➲ *Aggressiveness*; ➲ *Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD)*; ➲ *Bullying*; ➲ *Character education*; ➲ *Moral education*; ➲ *School violence*; ➲ *Social skills*

Suggested Reading

American Psychiatric Association (2000). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (4th ed.). Text Revision. Washington, D.C.: Author.

Eddy, J. M., Reid, J. B., Stoolmiller, M., & Fetrow, R. A. (2003). Outcomes during middle school for an elementary school-based preventive intervention for conduct problems: Follow-up results from a randomized trial. *Behavior Therapy*, *34*, 535–552.

Moffitt, T. E., Caspi, A., Rutter, M., & Silva, P. A. (2001). *Sex differences in antisocial behaviour*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Schaeffer, C. M., & Borduin, C. M. (2005). Long-term follow-up to a randomized clinical trial of multisystemic therapy with serious and violent juvenile offenders. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, *73*(3), 445–453.

Suggested Resources

NIMH: Youth In A Difficult World-A brief overview of Multisystemic Therapy—http://www.nimh.nih.gov/publicat/youthdif.cfm: This section of the NIMH website provides an overview of Multisystemic Therapy.

American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry Fact Sheet—http://www.aacap.org/publications/factsfam/conduct.htm: This website provides a list of facts concerning child psychiatry and behavior.

PERMISSIONS: Diagnostic criteria reprinted with permission from the American Psychiatric Association Association. Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (4th ed.) Text Revision. Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association, 2000.

Conflict Resolution

Megan Maguire

Violence and bullying will at some point affect the majority of students in our nation's school systems. In fact, one national survey found that 33% of high school students have reported their involvement in a physical altercation within the past school year. Some of these students will be the aggressors of violence themselves, some students will be the victims of the bullies, and some students will be the witnesses during an incidence of bullying. Teachers and other adults within a school system must create an environment where students feel protected from bullies and are comfortable reporting instances in which they have been victimized. Conflict resolution training enables teachers and professionals to help students not only to deal with bullies in school, but also to teach bullies about the reprehensive effects of their behavior. Appropriate conflict resolution paired with character education may be a valuable tool against bullies within school systems.

Conflict resolution programs are a relatively new addition to United States (U.S.) schools. Introduced

in 1994, the concept of conflict resolution as part of an educational curriculum is only 12 years old. However, more than 5,000 schools in the U.S. offer programs that address conflict resolution. The goal is to teach students a new way of handling conflict, communicate with the other students about how to hear the other person's viewpoint, and discuss disagreement until a compromise can be the final solution. Programs exist in every state and in every type of school, whether rural, suburban, or urban. These programs also now target children from kindergarten to high school.

Conflict Resolution

Many conflict resolution programs exist in school systems. There are three general goals to a conflict resolution program. These goals are: to maintain order and peace within the school, use conflict as an instructional tool, and build upon core goals and objectives of the curriculum. Conflict resolution programs should be taught at all grade levels and the focus should be relevant to students at all ages.

A very popular and widely used form of conflict resolution is peer mediation. This program teaches social skills to students. Peer mediation typically only involves a few students who are trained to act as impartial mediators between other peers. It is important to select a diverse group of students to act as peer mediators. All segments of the school's entire population should be represented equally. The conflicts that arise most often in peer mediation situations for elementary and middle school students are fighting between students and verbal abuse. However, the most commonly addressed issue during a high school peer mediation session concerns friendship arguments, followed by verbal abuse and fighting. The goal of peer mediation is to provide students with an opportunity to consider and express their feelings about a given situation. Most conflicts are resolved within one peer mediation session.

Students trained in peer mediation are educated about the function of conflict resolution and peer mediation. Students undergo training sessions where they learn many skills necessary to help their peers handle conflict peacefully. Peer mediators learn the following skills: self-introspection, consideration about how to best deal with conflict, negotiation, cooperation, problem solving, anger management, and active listening skills. Students will also participate in simulated peer mediation sessions during their training.

As opposed to peer mediation, conflict resolution is taught to a large student body such as an entire grade or school. Conflict resolution training programs aim to teach students how to manage their anger, gain control over their natural responses to aggression, identify conflict, and avoid possible physical conflicts. The ultimate goal of conflict resolution is to give students the requisite skills to avoid physical confrontation and solve conflict peacefully on their own.

Conflict resolution programs address issues that can perpetuate violence within the school. Topics include prejudice, discrimination of individuals, sexism, and racism. A typical conflict resolution program teaches students the following steps to resolve a conflict peacefully: set ground rules, listen, find common interests, brainstorm possible solutions to the conflict other than violence, discuss perceptions of the suggested solutions, and peacefully reach a compromise. Many programs also address the issue of anger management to help students find ways to express their anger without violence or aggression.

Effectiveness

Conflict resolution and peer mediation appear to be an effective way to reduce student conflict. Schools that implement a conflict resolution program tend to see less incidents of general disruptive behavior. These trends are especially visible in elementary schools. Conflict resolution programs also tend to affect student attitudes toward conflict resolution. Prior to conflict resolution education, for instance, some studies found that more students were likely to use aggression or violence to resolve an issue. After conflict resolution training, however, students were more inclined to resolve a conflict positively, using the taught methods of communication.

Students seem to have a positive reaction to conflict resolution programs. For example, teachers have noted that students engage in fewer fights and demonstrate more respectful behavior. On an administrative level, it has been noted that following conflict resolution programs there was an increase in attendance and a decrease in suspensions. Also, administrators report spending less time dealing with disciplinary related matters.

A high level of diversity in a school is correlated with a high level of conflict. The cultural values a student holds may have an impact on how that student interprets messages from others and determines what behavior is and is not appropriate. Members of different cultures often hold different help seeking behaviors. These help seeking behaviors might be an indicator of how receptive a student might be to conflict resolution or peer mediation. For example, African American individuals may be less likely to engage in help seeking behavior than White Americans. School personnel and student mediators involved in conflict resolution must be trained to effectively help members of all cultural groups.

Staff Responsibility

Training for conflict resolution occurs both at the student and faculty/administrative level. Teachers must be trained to resolve student conflict effectively and act as mediators. Additionally, it is the responsibility of the administration to see that school staff is trained in modeling and teaching appropriate conflict resolution behaviors. School personnel should be trained in the basic behaviors of conflict resolution, including: negotiation, cooperation, problem solving, anger management, and self-introspection.

Students benefit from participation in programs that encourage the skills that are taught in conflict resolution programs. Some studies have shown that in a school year in which students were the recipients of peer mediation, 60% of the students had no referrals for misbehavior.

Conflict resolution skills are best understood by students when the lessons are part of a long-term curriculum. That is, teachers must incorporate the skills that students are learning in all areas of study at all times. Communication skills taught in a conflict resolution class should be modeled in English class, reinforced in Physical Education, and praised in History. Teachers can also gain greater classroom management by incorporating themes from conflict resolution into their daily lessons.

See also: ➲ *Aggressiveness*; ➲ *Bullying*; ➲ *Character education*; ➲ *Community violence*; ➲ *Classroom management*; ➲ *School violence*

Suggested Reading

Hanson, M. K. (1994). A conflict resolution/student mediation program: Effects on student attitudes and behaviors. *Journal of Scholarly Research 12*(4), 9–14.

Inger, M. (1991). Conflict resolution programs in schools. ERIC/CUE Digest Number 74. 3 p.

Suggested Resources

Conflict Resolution in the Classroom—http://www.gigglepotz.com/peace.htm: This website is a resource for teachers and administrators offering many approaches to help students develop conflict resolution skills.

Confucianism

Wan-Chun Jenny Chen

Confucianism is a philosophy of life, not a religion. It talks about the way of being human, and how to conduct an effective life for the benefit of society (a country). The value system of Confucianism has been rooted in Chinese lives and has deeply influenced Chinese beliefs, concepts, value, behavior, and education. Founded by Kung-futze, which means "the master Kung," also known as Confucius (551–479 B.C), Confucianism focuses on how to live in a social environment with regard for ethics and politics. The core ideas developed in Confucianism are about *Jen*, *Tao*, *De*, and *Li*, which describe the way of people and the way of governing.

Jen (□) is the foundation of Confucianism. *Jen* recognizes the importance of benevolence, charity, and kindness. It is the essence of human beings and a core value. *Jen*, considered Confucianism, can be applied to three groups:

1. For individuals, such as caution and perseverance. Caution can be shown in many ways. For example, people who have caution in conversation will interact with people with integrity and reliability, thus showing *Jen*. Perseverance might be interpreted as an attitude towards jobs and personal faith. Taking responsibility and having a clear mindset result in justice, which is a manifestation of *Jen*.

2. For interpersonal relationships, such as respect, trust, and kindness.
3. For politicians, for example, serving the country with virtue and loving fellow countrymen. Politicians with kindness and altruism love their people and improve their lives. These are practices of *Jen*.

Tao (□) is a road of righteousness and guides the living to act as they should. With *Tao*, people who understand their duties appropriately base their behavior on their roles without overstepping responsibilities. Therefore, the country follows regulations and is prosperous; people are satisfied with their government and life.

De (□) involves societal virtues and people's moral character. *De* is the foundation of a country. Confucius mentioned that when the ruler has *De*, his people will possess wealth and his country will be strong. *De* insures that blessings will be bestowed upon descendants and their business dealings will be successful. Purifying the heart is one approach to achieving *De*, and *De* facilitates *Jen*.

Li (□) is developed through *Jen* and is demonstrated through behaviors such as respect, ethical virtues, and loyalty. *Li*, recognized as culture, is a standard for appropriate behaviors to maintain the social order. It is also viewed as a system for the polity which regulates the way to govern the country, providing a clear path for politicians and people to follow.

Another aspect of Confucianism pertains to the five relationships that are at the foundation of society: the relationship between husband and wife, the relationship between father and son, the relationship between elder brother and younger brother (siblings), the relationship between friends, and the relationship between ruler and minister. Each relationship and role invokes duty toward others. Their connections to others lead to the essential interactions in a society. Deference to authority is an approach to the harmony of the family as well as to the government of a country. For example, superiors have the responsibility of benevolence and the care of subordinates. Meanwhile, subordinates have a duty to respect and to be loyal and compliant to their superiors. Based on these mutual interactions, the five relationships are well established and thus the harmonious society, which is the consequence of these well-structured rapports, is stable. Therefore, the emphasis on group orientation becomes a force that leads society, and people in a group should sacrifice individual needs, desires, and wishes for the benefit of the group.

Education is deeply influenced by Confucianism, and everyone has an equal right to receive an education. Education is highly valued and brings honor to a family. Education teaches people about *Jen*, *Tao*, *De*, *Li*, and thus people are able to serve their government with these virtues. Confucius believed that anyone can benefit the country if he/she is educated. Hence, Confucius devoted himself to advocate his political philosophy and educate his followers. Strengthening self-capacity with education is an approach to devoting self to the benefit of the country (or society), to eliminating poverty and to freeing people from low social status. Educated people can govern successfully.

See also: ➤ *Chinese youth*; ➤ *Cultural diversity*; ➤ *Culture*

Suggested Reading

Creel, H. G. (1975). *Confucius and the Chinese way*. New York: Harper & Row.

Consultation

Mitchelle Johnson

Consultation within schools can be defined as an indirect method of service delivery in which a consultant or help giver (e.g., school psychologist) works with a consultee (e.g., teacher or parent) to help a client (e.g., students) who is exhibiting behavioral and/or academic difficulties. Several models of consultation exist that focus on various areas such as mental health, behavioral change, organizational change, and instructional change. Each focus area follows a problem solving process and emphasizes a collaborative relationship between consultants and consultees. The stages of problem solving generally include: entering the system (e.g., the school), establishing rapport, contracting, problem identification and analysis, intervention planning and implementation, and evaluation. Multicultural consultation represents an alternative approach to the consultation helping process and is applicable to each of the problem solving stages.

Multicultural consultation is defined as a culturally sensitive, indirect service requiring adjustments to the consultation process by the consultant so that the needs and cultural values of the consultee, the client, or both are met. The research generally suggests that the success of the multicultural helping framework is contingent on the ability of the consultant to address issues of cultural diversity (i.e., race, gender and ethnicity), and is not based on the actual cultural background of the consultant. Cross-cultural consultation is viewed as a subset of multicultural consultation and is applicable when at least one member of the consultation triad (consultant, consultee, and client) differs culturally from the others.

Application to the Problem Solving Process

A number of approaches are important to successfully establish a rapport within a multicultural framework. The consultant must seek to develop a trusting relationship with the consultee (parent or educator), and acknowledge the consultee's concerns, particularly related to racial issues, multicultural differences, experiences and language. It is also important to value the consultee's frame of reference in terms of cultural perspectives and language experiences. Becoming more knowledgeable about the history, values, and beliefs of the cultural groups being serviced can also facilitate the helping process.

During problem identification and analysis, the *problem* is viewed as a "mismatch" between the client (e.g., child) and other factors, such as the environment in which the client is embedded. Applying a multicultural consultative framework at this level requires that the consultant recognize how their cultural values are rooted in their professional interpretation of a problem. It is also critical that the problem identification tools used to identify referral concerns are sensitive to cultural and linguistic differences. In addition, approaches such as using interpreters when communicating with clients from linguistically diverse backgrounds is fundamental in addressing the concerns, priorities and resources of such populations. Strategies such as reframing can be helpful in developing alternative explanations of the consultee's view of the problem as well as other issues.

Goals and interventions should be selected to match the consultees' and clients' cultural perspectives (e.g., childrearing practices or beliefs). Moreover, to successfully guide the consultation, the consultant must identify variables that could potentially impede the helping process such as: (a) the consultee's lack of knowledge/skill in applying an intervention; (b) a lack of trust of the consultant or in the plan; and (c) a mismatch between the needs (e.g., limited time/skill, differences in cultural values) of the consultee and what is required to implement an intervention. Thus, the consultant must be flexible and creative in developing solutions.

During the intervention and implementation stage positive outcomes can be assured when resistance that results from a poor match between features of the program and consultee knowledge and skills are adequately addressed. Additionally, tools used in the evaluation stage can target short and long term goals related to cultural and linguistic factors.

See also: ➲ *Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning (CASEL)*; ➲ *Cross-cultural consultation*; ➲ *Home-school partnerships*

Suggested Reading

Rogers, M., & Lott, B. (Eds.) (2005). School consultants as change agents in archieving equity for families in public schools. *Journal of Educational and Psychological Consultation 16*(1–2), 113–125.

Suggested Resources

National Association of School Psychologist—http://www.nasponline.org/: This website provides resources for culturally competent consultation in schools. Information is relevant for school psychologists and school personnel.

Context Communication

Colette L Ingraham

Context communication involves the cultural and situation-specific expectations that are embedded within interpersonal communication. It is composed of the

communication patterns shaped by the culture, called cultural context, as well as the specific situations and expectations within which communication occurs. Culture is influenced by the values, customs, and traditions of a given group. Cultural context forms the lens or paradigm from which meaning is derived, thus an understanding of a group's culture helps one understand its ways of communicating. Situation-specific expectations relate to a particular circumstance, time, or place. For example, one would use a different type of communication when teaching new information versus when socializing with friends.

Edward T. Hall classified communication and cultures as high-context (HC) or low-context (LC) as a way to describe the degree of cultural understanding needed to gain meaning from communication. He described HC messages as those where understanding is contingent on familiarity with the message-sender's culture. LC messages are relatively direct and do not require cultural understanding to determine their meaning. Many individuals use both HC and LC communications, depending on the circumstances, such as HC communication patterns within their family, and LC patterns when asking for directions.

HC messages often include subtle and indirect nuances that are interpretable only by those who are familiar with the message-sender's culture. They may include nonverbal cues, indirect communications, gestures, colloquial expressions, and embedded meanings that are not easily understood by those unfamiliar with the sender's culture. Those who are experienced in the same cultural context are able to make sense of the message and can interpret the sender's intent, beyond what is directly communicated. Thus, in HC communication, the message receiver must understand the sender's culture to read between the lines and, thus, gather the true meaning of the message. For example, the invitation, "Come over tonight and bring something to share" is an example of a HC message because one must understand the expectations for the situation and culture to know the appropriate item to bring to the gathering. Would one bring a home-cooked dish, chocolates, games, movies, or even jokes to the event? Clearly one must understand the context for such an invitation to have ideas of the appropriate and respectful things to bring.

In contrast, LC messages are direct and require little understanding of the sender's culture. The words themselves convey the message and there is little doubt about their meaning. No inferences, multiple meanings, or extensive understandings of the communication context are needed to comprehend what the message-sender is saying. The directive, "Stand up right now" is an example of LC communication.

In addition to classifying communication messages, Hall also grouped countries along a HC and LC continuum. HC cultures have social norms and customs based on traditions and homogeneous cultural values, whereas LC cultures are more heterogeneous, with diverse groups and values. LC cultures use direct communications and can change rapidly because they are not as tied to traditional ways. When members of HC and LC cultures interact, conflict can arise because they operate from different patterns of communication and values. For instance, people from HC cultures may expect to work from a traditional system of respecting the elders, following long-standing patterns of introductions, and gift-giving, whereas people from the LC cultures may feel comfortable simply introducing each person as they walk into the room, without regard for their status or position. Such behavior may be seen as disrespectful by members of HC cultures. These context communication concepts have been used to explain cross-cultural differences that can create conflicts and misunderstandings.

See also: *Cross-cultural consultation*; *Cross-cultural families*; *Cross-cultural competence in school psychologists' services*

Suggested Reading

Gudykunst, W. B. (1994). *Bridging differences: Effective intergroup communication* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hall, E. T. (1976). *Beyond culture*. Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

Ingraham, C. L. (2006). Context communication. In Y. Jackson (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of multicultural psychology* (pp. 110–111). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Suggested Resources

BeyondIntractability.org—http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/communication_tools/: This website includes a useful discussion about context communication from the perspective of communication across cultures across cultures. It includes resources and links that are of interest.

Corporal Punishment

Robert W Burke

In spite of recurrent controversy, the use of corporal punishment in kindergarten through Grade 12 public schools is authorized by state law in 21 states; its use is banned by state law in the remaining states and in the District of Columbia. According to the Center for Effective Discipline, a steady decline in the frequency of administration of corporal punishment by school personnel in the United States (U.S.) has been evident during the past 30 years. For example, in 1976 an estimated 1,521,896 students received corporal punishment in schools; in 2003, that number had dropped to 301,016 students. Depending on one's position concerning the use of corporal punishment, this decline may be regarded as a significant improvement in the conditions of schools or, conversely, an unfortunate trend that has contributed to the widespread misbehavior of students currently plaguing many schools. This sharp contrast in perspective underlies the beliefs, values, and arguments advanced by opponents as well as proponents of corporal punishment.

Defining Corporal Punishment

Although a precise, universally-accepted definition of corporal punishment does not exist, the following statement explains what appear to be the key identifying elements of actions that may be regarded as corporal punishment:

Corporal punishment refers to any action of a parent, other adult, or caretaker that intentionally inflicts or causes pain or physical discomfort in a child for the purposes of punishment or containment. Corporal punishment includes, but is not limited to, spanking, slapping, smacking, hitting, shaking, biting, shoving or pulling a child; denying, restricting, or rationing a child's use of the toilet; forcing physical exertion, requiring a child to remain motionless, or isolation of a child in confining spaces; denying a child access to needed water, food, or sleep. Such treatment is potentially traumatic even if it does not meet the legal requirements for a definition of child abuse under current legislation (http://www.nospank.net/apa-let.htm).

Arguments Supporting Corporal Punishment

Proponents of using corporal punishment both in the home and at school seem to base their position on a long-standing set of deeply-held traditional beliefs and values. Primary elements of this belief and value system include the following:

- The belief that, since the physical pain caused by corporal punishment supposedly does not linger, the recipient can "get over the punishment quickly" and resume daily life.
- The belief that corporal punishment acts as a deterrent to the recipient—as well as to other students.
- The interpretation of revered texts (including, for example, the Bible and the Qur'an) in manner that they are seen as supportive of the use of corporal punishment.
- The belief that corporal punishment, when properly administered, is the most effective form of discipline for misbehaving, disrespectful, and noncompliant children and adolescents.
- Polls consistently indicate that an overwhelming majority of American adults believe that corporal punishment is sometimes necessary. In fact, the U.S. chose not to sign the 2004 United Nations "Rights of the Child Proclamation" because of the document's sanctions against parental use of corporal punishment.

Arguments Opposing Corporal Punishment

In contrast to proponents' reliance on traditional belief and value systems, opponents of corporal punishment base their position primarily on the substantial body of empirical evidence developed by scholars in the fields of psychology, social work, and pediatrics. Highlights of findings from this composite research base include the following key points:

In an official policy statement opposing corporal punishment, the American Academy of Pediatrics reported that:

- Corporal punishment is of limited effectiveness and has potentially deleterious side effects.

- The more children are spanked, the more anger they report as adults; the more likely they are to spank their own children; the more likely they are to approve hitting a spouse; and the more marital conflict they experience as adults.
- Spanking has been associated with higher rates of physical aggression, more substance abuse, and increased risk of crime and violence when used with older children and adolescents.

Elizabeth T. Gershoff, in reporting her findings from a meta-analytic study that combined 60 years of research on corporal punishment, indicated that:

- The only positive outcome of corporal punishment was immediate compliance; however, corporal punishment was associated with less long-term compliance.
- Corporal punishment was linked with nine other negative outcomes including: increased rates of aggression, delinquency, mental health problems, problems in relationships with their parents, and likelihood of being physically abused.

In an official position statement opposing corporal punishment, the National Association of School Psychologists (NASP) emphasized that:

- The empirical evidence suggests that corporal punishment "negatively effects the social, psychological, and educational development of students and contributes to the cycle of child abuse and pro-violence attitudes of youth."

See also: ➲ *Child abuse*; ➲ *Conflict resolution*; ➲ *Discipline*

Suggested Reading

Gershoff, E. T. (2002). Corporal punishment by parents and associated child behaviors and experiences: A meta-analytic and theoretical review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *128*(4), 539–579.

Suggested Resources

Center for Effective Discipline—http://www.stophitting.com: This website provides information for parents on effective discipline, news updates, religious views, and laws concerning the discipline of children.

National Association of School Psychologists—http://www.nasponline.org/information/pospaper_corppunish.html: This is an NASP website that presents a position statement on corporal punishment in schools.

Council for Indian Education

Shamagne N Richardson

The Council for Indian Education is a non-profit corporation that provides teacher training and culturally authentic reading material for Native American students. The organization's mission is to improve the education of Native American students. Teachers are equipped by the Council with information on traditions, Native American culture, and ways in which their instruction can be adapted to the needs of their Native American students.

The organization provides instructional materials that will give Native American students an opportunity to learn reading skills; these materials relate to their backgrounds, interests, and experiences, and promote a better self-concept, more interest in learning among Native American students, as well as stronger intercultural relationships. In addition, this instructional material gives non-Native American students a better understanding of their Native American neighbors.

The Council began as a small project by John Woodenlegs, president of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe, in 1965. The now intertribal organization was initially formed with the purpose of gathering information for a series of small books about the Cheyenne that were to be used to teach reading to the Cheyenne children. This project lasted for about 5 years, but some of the committee members decided to continue the initial charter as well as introduce other tribes to this opportunity. The committee then formed a non-profit corporation, The Council for Indian Education.

The current organization, presided over by Dr. Hap Gilliad, consists of a board of directors and approximately one hundred members. An Intertribal Editorial Board reads and evaluates all material before publication, to ensure its authenticity and quality.

The Council offers workshops to schools. It also publishes and selects authentic reading materials to sell to schools. Most of the books published by the Council are sold to elementary schools. To meet the Council's standards, these instructional materials must accurately interpret Native American life, culture, and ideals. Guidelines for authors are provided and include the use of substitution terminology rather than terms that are used inappropriately by authors and can be

mistakenly taken as prejudicial. Other terms that have no derogatory implications such as the word princess can also be considered inappropriate.

See also: Native American schools; Native American youth

Suggested Reading

Gilliad, H. (2005). *Native American way of life: Understanding American Indian cultures.* Montana: Council for Indian Education.

Gilliad, H. (2005). *Teaching the Native American: Understanding American Indian cultures,* (4th ed.). Montana: Council for Indian Education.

Reyhner, J. A. (1994). *Teaching American Indian students.* Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press.

Suggested Resources

http://www.cie-mt.org: This website is a direct link to the Council for Indian Education, 1240 Burlington Avenue Billings, Montana 69102-4224, U.S.

Counseling

Mark Kiang

Since its professional emergence in the 1940s, counseling has been a dynamic, multifaceted, ever-evolving specialty within which many dichotomies have arisen. At its foundations, counseling revolves around a relationship between a counselor and client(s), in which the client(s) seek, voluntarily or not, some form of help from the counselor. In the relationship, the counselor seeks to help his or her client through three specific lenses: crisis, tertiary, and development. The crisis lens concerns helping those people in emergencies—in urgent situations that require immediate action. The tertiary lens entails the counselor seeking to help clients remedy a particular problem and equipping them to prevent future problems from occurring. The development lens involves the development of individuals, who do not necessarily suffer from any immediate problems, in the healthiest way possible. Barbara F Okun has described this "working alliance" as being a relationship that is authentic, warm, and empathic.

Charles Gelso and Bruce Fretz have outlined five unifying themes of counseling psychology. The first unifying theme is that clients are generally, although not in all cases, characterized by intact personalities. Counseling psychology tends to serve those who have problems in living rather than those suffering from severe disturbances. A second unifying theme is an optimism with which there exists a focus on clients' strengths and assets and in developing them further, as opposed to a concentration solely on the sickness. The counselor possesses a belief in the client's coping abilities. A third emphasis is on relatively brief interventions. This differs from clinical interventions, which tend to last for relatively longer periods of time. Fourth is an emphasis on person–environment interactions rather than solely considering the person as an independent being. The counselor examines the client's life and the ways in which environmental factors affect and are affected by the client's beliefs and behaviors. The fifth unifying theme is an interest in the educational and career development of individuals. This interest in developing an individual's ability to take on an appropriate occupation has its roots in the foundations of early counseling and currently represents an important aspect of high school and college counseling. It is important to note that the aforementioned themes only roughly approximate the dynamic climate of counseling and should be considered as generalities rather than definitional characteristics of the profession.

Counseling Theories/Approaches

Within the practice of counseling there exist diverse theories and approaches. As noted by Okun, throughout its history, counseling has evolved as the foci on models for therapy have shifted. Counseling began with an initial focus on traditional psychodynamic approaches based largely on Freudian theory. This focus aimed to resolve issues from one's past as they relate to current anxieties. In the 1970s and 1980s, integrated cognitive and behavioral approaches emerged. In these models, the concentration is on the "here and now" and in changing an individual's overt behavior. This was followed by a systemic approach in

which family interactions were examined. Currently, the focus is on the ecological perspective with a concentration on outcome-oriented, brief therapies. Elements of each of these highlighted perspectives are evident in the practice of counseling today.

Cross-Cultural Concerns in Counseling

A current topic of much discussion, debate and examination within counseling circles concerns cross-cultural aspects of the profession. United States (U.S.) demographics, both in society and in the counseling profession, have changed and expanded greatly since professional psychology emerged in the 1940s. This phenomenon has allowed for the broader representation of our society in counseling and for the development of counseling services to better accommodate diverse cultures. This, in turn, has required new perspectives and roles to be fulfilled within counseling. The field of counseling began as a burgeoning profession during World War II to address the needs of servicemen. Counseling was needed to prepare men for going into service, to help them deal with posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and to prepare them for careers upon their return. The great majority of the counseling clientele were White Anglo males, as were the counselors. The practice of counseling at that time was based on theories, in particular that of psychoanalysis, which catered to the same demographic. As U.S. demographics increasingly changed, the need for a more culturally sensitive and adaptable counseling environment became evident. This need was further emphasized by social movements during the 1950s and 1960s, which brought about desegregation of schools and universities and the creation of community health centers. Counselors during this era consequently encountered a number of ethnic minorities that they rarely had come into contact with before. The ever-increasing diversity in the counseling field continues to this day.

Counseling's Response

Since the early 1990s, counseling, in theory and in practice, has been at the forefront of psychology professions in terms of cross-cultural/multicultural awareness and sensitivity. In 1992, the American Counseling Association (ACA), the largest association to represent professional counselors in various practice settings, published an outline of Cross-cultural (also called Multicultural) Competencies and Objectives in two of its journals—the *Journal of Counseling and Development* and the *Journal of the Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development*. The Competencies and Objectives were approved and contributed by the Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development (AMCD) and delineated competencies to guide the practice of counseling with respect to culture, race and ethnicity.

The AMCD defines *multicultural* as encompassing the five major racial/cultural groups in the U.S.: African/Black, White/European, Hispanic/Latino and Native American, or indigenous groups. Multiculturalism has also come to incorporate the diversity of other demographic variables such as socioeconomic status (SES), religion, gender, and sexual orientation, to name a few.

Despite the ACA's and AMCD's attempts to render counseling accessible to a diverse array of clientele, counseling on the whole still tends to cater to the Anglo American majority. Gelso and Fretz found that many researchers agree that counselors' shortcomings are in the area of providing culturally sensitive and responsive therapy. Gelso and Fretz conclude that these limitations are the overriding bases for under-utilization and the high drop-out rate of mental health services among people of color.

Counseling in Schools

Forms of school counseling pre-date counseling in a broader sense Counseling in the form of vocational guidance in schools started at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Bureau of Vocational Guidance was established in 1908 by Frank Parsons, the "Father of School Guidance." Its purpose was to assist young people in their transition from school to work. In the 1940s, school counseling was greatly influenced by new military testing of students and by Carl Rogers' theories on helping relationships. In the 1950s, the U.S. government established the Guidance and Personnel Services Section in the Division of State and Local School Systems. The U.S. "space race" with the Soviet Union, upon the Soviet launch of *Sputnik I*, sparked great development in vocational counseling as the U.S.

sought to encourage students to pursue math and the sciences under the National Education Act (NEA). Since that time the profession of school counseling has continued to grow and define itself.

The American School Counselor Association (ASCA) states that a certified/licensed school counselor possesses the skills to address the academic, personal/social, and career development needs of all students. Professional school counselors have a master's degree or higher in school counseling and must meet state certification/licensure standards. They are employed primarily in elementary, middle/junior high, and high schools. The school counselor is responsible for the development of his or her students and maximizing their potential. The counselor must also demonstrate an awareness and accommodation for the concerns of parents/caretakers and educators.

School counselors carry out their duties through four ASCA-defined areas: school guidance curriculum, individual student planning, responsive services, and systems support. The school guidance curriculum area is the planning of lessons designed to help bring about desired competencies in students. Individual student planning consists of school counselors developing ongoing systemic activities to help students establish goals and develop future plans. The responsive services aspect of school counseling is based on the helping relationship between the counselor and students and is concerned with prevention and intervention activities. These activities include individual or group counseling, consultation with parents and educators, and providing information. Finally, system support involves the overall management and continual improvement of the school counseling program and the counselor him- or herself.

School Counseling's Effectiveness

Numerous studies, based on both qualitative and quantitative measurements, have shown that school counseling is successful in many aspects. Research has shown that counseling guidance has a positive effect on academic achievement, reducing victimization, decreasing classroom disturbances and on successful career development. Furthermore, studies support that programs/interventions designed to improve mediation skills, prevent violence and problem behaviors, prevent school drop-out and reduce test-taking anxiety have all been highly effective.

See also: ➲ *School counselor*; ➲ *Grief counseling*

Suggested Reading

Gelso, C., & Fretz, B. (2001). *Counseling psychology* (2nd ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Group/Thomson Learning.

Okun, B. (2002). *Effective helping: Interviewing and counseling technique* (6th ed.). Pacific Grove, CA: Wadsworth Group.

Suggested Resources

The American Counseling Association–www.counseling.org: The American Counseling Association promotes growth and development of the counseling profession and of those who are served. It provides updated news and resources to aid both counselors and students in their research, career pursuits and advancement of knowledge.

The American School Counselor Association–www.schoolcounselor.org: The American School Counselor Association (ASCA) supports school counselors' efforts to help students focus on academic, personal/social and career development so they achieve success in school and are prepared to lead fulfilling lives as responsible members of society. ASCA provides professional development, publications and other resources, research and advocacy to more than 18,000 professional school counselors around the globe (adapted from website).

Creativity

Melanie L Bromley · James C Kaufman

Creativity is a difficult concept to define and operationalize, in part because researchers disagree on what it is. Most research and theory-based definitions of creativity, however, boil down to two components. First, creativity must represent something different, new, or innovative. Second, it also must be useful, relevant, and appropriate to the task.

The most common measures of creativity are the Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking (TTCT). These tests were based on Guilford's work on divergent thinking. There are four components to the test: fluency, flexibility, originality, and elaboration. Fluency is the quantity of ideas a person has; flexibility is how many different categories these ideas fall into;

originality is how unique these ideas are; and elaboration is how well-defined and detailed the ideas are. Typical questions might be to ask for different uses of a toothpick. More recently, creativity has been measured through the Consensual Assessment Technique, -which involves the rating of creative products, such as a picture or a poem. Other common methods include self-report, teacher ratings, and testing people who are known to be creative or considered creative by their peers.

There are several studies that have investigated cultural differences in measures of creativity. Specifically, studies have not shown a significant difference between African Americans and White Americans on the TTCT or on rated creative products. Research has indicated that bilingual students in general may have an advantage in creative abilities. However, studies of verbal creativity have shown higher scores for White Americans than Hispanic Americans, although these differences may be due to language difficulties during test administration.

The results for Asian Americans are less clear. Artwork produced by American-born college students was rated as more creative than art produced by Chinese-born students by both American-born and Chinese-born raters. Yet a similar study that compared American and Chinese drawings of geometric shapes found that the two groups were rated similarly for creativity by both American and Chinese raters. In both studies, American and Chinese judges tended to agree on which products were creative and those that were not.

See also: ➲ *Intelligence/Intelligence Quotient (IQ)*; ➲ *Learning styles*; ➲ *Personality Tests: Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) and Millon Clinical Multiaxial Inventory (MCMI)*

Suggested Reading

Kaufman, J. C. (2005). Non-biased assessment: A supplemental approach. In C. L. Frisby, & C. R. Reynolds (Eds.), *Children's handbook of multicultural school psychology* (pp. 824–840). New York: Wiley.

Kaufman, J. C., Baer, J., & Gentile, C. A. (2004). Differences in gender and ethnicity as measured by ratings of three writing tasks. *Journal of Creative Behavior*, *38*, 56–69.

Niu, W., & Sternberg R. J. (2001). Cultural influences on artistic creativity and its evaluation. *International Journal of Psychology*, *36*, 225–241.

Crime in Schools

Sycarah Grant · John S Carlson

Criminal activity within schools has been an area of concern for school boards, researchers and governmental agencies. In the 2003 school year, the United States (U.S.) Department of Education's *Indicators of School Crime and Safety for 2005* found that students aged 12–18 were victims of approximately 1.9 million nonfatal crimes at school, including approximately 1.2 million thefts and 740,000 violent crimes. Statistics show trends in victimization decreasing over the last decade.

In addition to student victimization, teachers also report being the victims of crimes in the schools where they work. Annually, from 1999 through 2003, teachers were victims of approximately 119,000 thefts and 65,000 violent crimes. In both survey years, teachers in central city schools were more likely to be threatened with injury or physically attacked than teachers in urban fringe or rural schools.

With the number of criminal acts taking place in schools, it is important to target them for interventions that deter students from criminal behavior. Schools are an excellent focus of intervention because they are readily staffed with individuals trained to help children develop into academically and socially responsible citizens. First, schools need to be aware of the factors that may increase the possibility of crime in schools. There may be negative characteristics of the school, such as easy availability of drugs, alcohol, and weapons. Students may have had negative school-related or peer related experiences or associate with delinquent peers. Students may have individual characteristics that predispose them to committing crimes, including early problem behavior, impulsiveness, rebellious attitudes, and low levels of social competency.

The culture and climate of the surrounding community is one of the strongest predictors of a disorderly school setting and the risk of crime in school. Schools in urban, poor, disorganized communities experience more disorder and crime in comparison to other schools. These schools also demonstrate less leadership, teacher morale, teacher mastery, school climate and physical resources required to fix the problem and improve the system. This lack of human resources can create a vicious cycle, where the schools that need the

most prevention and intervention services are the least able to provide them.

Research on crime prevention programs has identified effective strategies for reducing crime in school. Several effective strategies include: building school capacity to initiate and sustain innovation, school-wide campaigns that clarify and communicate norms about in-school behaviors, and comprehensive long-term instructional programs that teach and continually reinforce a range of social competency skills. In addition, programs that teach "thinking skills" and those that group youths into smaller "schools-within-schools" where there are smaller units with more supportive teacher-student interactions and greater flexibility in instruction have both been shown to be effective.

The U.S. government has also passed legislation that aims to address the issue of crime in schools. In 1994, the U.S. passed the Gun Free Schools Act that requires states to pass legislation to enforce "zero tolerance" federal gun free school laws by expelling students who bring firearms onto school property for more than 1 year. Schools often expand these rules to include substance abuse and aggressive behavior. Many states also receive financial assistance for their local drug and violence prevention programs under the Title IV and the Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act. Lastly and more recently, the No Child Left Behind Act mandates that states must report safety statistics for every school. Students who attend chronically dangerous schools or who are victims of violent crimes at school must be able to transfer to a safer school.

See also: *Bullying*; *Conflict resolution*; *Emotional intelligence*; *Gangs*; *School violence*; *Social skills*

Suggested Reading

Hawkins, J. D., Catalano, R. F., & Miller, J. L. (1992). Risk and protective factors for alcohol and other drug problems in early adulthood: Implications for substance abuse prevention. *Psychological Bulletin*, *112*, 64–105.

Howell, J. C., Krisberg, B., Wilson, J. J., & Hawkins, J. D. (1995). *A sourcebook on serious, violent, and chronic juvenile offenders.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Suggested Resources

To promote a violence-free school—http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2002375: This website is designed to describe the *Safety in Numbers Handbook*. The Handbook can be used by school, district, and state staff to improve the effectiveness of their efforts to collect and use disciplinary incident data.

Keep Schools Safe—http://www.keepschoolssafe.org/: This website helps deal with the many issues related to the safety and security of schools.

Crisis Intervention

Lindsay Mahony

Currently, 70–96% of students in 15 large United States (U.S.) school districts are comprised of ethnic minority students. In addition, greater than 70% of these students do not have full English proficiency and one out of every seven speaks a different language at home. Clearly, the cultural diversity among U.S. students and schools continues to grow throughout the country. Because of this growing diversity, the goal of many schools' crisis response teams is to have a culturally diverse group of helpers, with members from each culture represented in the school. Unfortunately, this goal has not been reached, with most crisis workers belonging to the dominant, North American Anglo culture. To avoid potential conflicts or barriers to effective connections made between these students and their crisis response team members, it becomes essential for these dominant-culture helpers to become competent multicultural crisis counselors. The following three dimensions have been proposed to comprise the competent multicultural crisis intervener: (1) Counselor awareness of one's own assumptions, values, and beliefs, (2) Understanding the world view of the culturally different client, and (3) Developing appropriate intervention strategies and techniques.

Counselor Awareness of One's Own Culture

Culture has been defined as the shared language, ideas, beliefs, values, and behavioral norms of a group of individuals with a group identity. As mentioned previously, many crisis response team helpers are members of the dominant, North American Anglo culture and

are often unaware that their own values and attitudes are not universally shared. Being flexible and open to all value and attitudes among diverse racial and ethnic groups of youth is a first step towards culturally competent crisis intervention in schools. Once aware of these values and attitudes, differences between cultures may be more apparent and the allocation of appropriate resources during times of crisis will be executed. One example of cultural difference is illustrated by what the dominant Euro American and Latino cultures view as being in control of life events. The dominant Euro American culture largely believes that individuals can change and control the events in their lives. This is in contrast to the Latino cultural belief that God or fate control life events. For many members of the Latino culture, religion plays a monumental role and is an integral part of every day life. During environmental crises, then, Latinos may benefit more from interventions focusing on religion and God's meaning for such events, whereas the European American culture may not benefit from such an intervention. As depicted in this example, explicit acknowledgment of one's own culture is critical for becoming a competent multicultural counselor. Such acknowledgement allows for heightened awareness of differences between one's own culture and those of others and the employment of appropriate interventions during times of crisis.

Understanding the World View of the Culturally Different

Understanding cultural differences has important implications for crisis intervention and prevention. Using the previous example, when assisting Latino children during a crisis, religion may be an important consideration for effective intervention. Through the acquisition of new cultural understandings and skills, crisis helpers from the dominant culture can learn to work more effectively with students of different cultures.

When attempting to understand the cultures of various minority groups, it is important to bear in mind the life events and stressors that may have influenced their members' perceptions of the world. These stressors may include poverty, discrimination, the need for assimilation, potential changes in gender roles, role reversals between children and adults, divided families, poor health, and increased susceptibility to posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) as a result of witnessing terrorism and other violent acts. However, while acknowledging these added stressors, it is crucial to avoid using a deficit model when working with students of color. In addition to having extra stressors, students of color may also have extra resources for coping such as extended family, religion, and resilience. It is important to emphasize and utilize these strengths when working with diverse students during times of crisis.

An additional part of culturally competent crisis intervention is to recognize how diverse cultural groups cope with crises. For some Middle Eastern cultures, for instance, outward expression of grief by wailing, crying, and self-mutilation are considered normal for a survivor following the death of a loved one. Yet to members of the Euro American culture, this response may be considered a breakdown of ordinary coping abilities. To understand an individual's response to a particular situation, it is necessary for crisis team helpers to find the meaning of responses for each of their students. The utilization of cultural informants or mentors may be useful for communicating to helpers what normal reactions to various traumatic events are for particular cultures. Additional strategies and techniques may be utilized when working with culturally diverse students that not only denote multicultural competence, but also further the helpers' understandings of cultural and individual differences and coping mechanisms. These strategies and techniques are discussed in the next section.

Developing Appropriate Intervention Strategies and Techniques

Many clinicians generalize about students from different cultural backgrounds, yet one cannot assume an individual will share all of the ideas, values, and norms of the group with which he or she identifies. One technique to help crisis workers become more aware of individual differences between students, even if from the same cultural background, is the Culturagram. The Culturagram is a diagram that places each student in the center and connects him or her to ten aspects of his or her culture. These aspects include reason(s) for immigration, length of time in the community, legal status, age of student at the time of immigration, language spoken at home and in the community, health beliefs, impact of crisis events, holidays and special events, contact with cultural institutions, and values about family, education, and work. Together,

knowledge in these areas helps the crisis worker better understand each student within a cultural framework, pointing not only to areas for potential intervention, but also to assets and strengths of the individual. This technique also inhibits the crisis workers from generalizing and stereotyping individuals of a particular culture or background.

Some additional strategies that may be utilized to aid crisis workers in dealing with students from diverse cultural backgrounds include the following three principles: (1) Be concerned and competent, (2) Listen to the facts of the situation, and (3) Reflect the individual's feelings. The first principle, be concerned and competent, entails behaviors such as being aware of the status of one's self and of others. With regard to status, for example, when working with the family of a Mexican American student, depending upon level of acculturation, initial communication may be directed towards the father to acknowledge his status within the family. The second principle, listening to the facts of the situation, involves the use of culturally appropriate listening skills to establish rapport and foster open communication between the crisis worker and his or her student(s). For example, being aware of nonverbal communication norms for different cultures is important. Eye contact and proximity, for instance, vary from culture to culture, so it is vital to be aware of these differences to portray competence as a multicultural counselor. Often in the African American culture, for example, it is more important to maintain eye contact while speaking than when listening; For the Euro American culture, the reverse is true. Lastly, various cultures may express their feelings surrounding a particular crisis in different ways, with some individuals holding their emotions in and others being overly expressive. Many Latino groups, for instance, are more expressive when conveying emotions than White Americans. It therefore becomes crucial for the crisis worker to reflect these individuals' feelings to clarify one's understanding of them and convey appropriate responses.

Additional strategies specific for crisis interventions of diverse groups include the reestablishment of the students' social support networks, engaging in focused problem solving, and dealing with language issues appropriately. One way to facilitate the reestablishment of social support networks for students of color is to utilize the students' coping resources of family and religion. In some cases, when families are disrupted due to immigration and/or changing role reversals, group work or interventions may be more effective than individual work as they support the collective orientation commonly valued by many cultures and may serve as a substitute in the absence of otherwise cooperative and cohesive family systems.

With regard to religion, the relaxation of strict separation between church and state in schools may facilitate a more positive crisis resolution for some students of color. As mentioned previously, religion plays an integral part of many cultures and therefore is a valuable resource for coping during times of crisis. With regard to focused problem-solving, it is important to know how mental illness and specific crisis events are perceived by students of color and their families, as this perception may impede the effectiveness of many crisis interventions. For example, some cultures believe that mental problems as a result of crises are a sign of weakness and bring shame to the individual and his or her family. Therefore, services provided through a medical setting may appear more acceptable.

Finally, the issue of language is pertinent to effective multicultural crisis intervention. If possible, it is most helpful for the crisis interveners to speak the same language as their clients. However, as mentioned previously, this match is often hard to achieve, making the use of interpreters a more common practice in many schools' crisis intervention programs. A few key principles should be implemented when choosing an appropriate interpreter. It is essential that the translator has some knowledge of the political and cultural background from which the client comes and that he or she is aware of the ethical concept of confidentiality. It is also important for the translator not to elaborate on the client's responses inappropriately and to know how to convey the meaning of the client's physical gestures and other nonverbal communication.

Since many diverse students will be paired with dominant-culture helpers, it is important for these crisis interveners to do what they can for their students, being as competent as possible. It is perhaps more essential, however, that these helpers know how to facilitate suitable referrals to culturally appropriate counselors. Follow-ups to ensure smooth transitions and proper crisis resolutions for these students are a crucial part of the intervention process and should be implemented along with every referral.

See also: ➲ *Community interventions with diverse youth*; ➲ *Cross-cultural competence in school psychologists' services*; ➲ *Culturally competent crisis response*; ➲ *Culturally competent practice*

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Suggested Resources

The Center for Trauma Response, Recovery, and Preparedness—http://www.ctrp.org/resources_cultural_comp.htm: The Center for Trauma Response, Recovery, and Preparedness website provides clinical, educational, and scientific expertise to enhance the capacity of behavioral health providers in safely and effectively meeting the needs of people affected by crisis.

National Association of School Psychologists—http://www.nasponline.org/culturalcompetence/index.html: School psychologists who are culturally competent ensure that consultation, intervention, and assessments are appropriately designed to meet student, staff, and parental needs. The National Association of School Psychologists' Culturally Competent Practice website was developed as a collection of resources to assist school psychologists, educators, and parents in their efforts to enhance the mental health and educational competence of all children.

Critical Thinking

Susan F Wooley

Critical thinking is a way of approaching any subject, content, or problem in which the thinker is deliberate about the process of thinking and reasoning and imposes intellectual standards upon his or her thinking.

People are constantly bombarded with information from their own senses and experiences as well as from what they read, hear, or see from various media. Everyone thinks, but when not using critical thinking skills much human thinking is biased, distorted, partial, or uninformed. A critical thinker seeks out credible sources of information, sifts through the inputs received, tests those inputs relative to other standards, and uses the sifted information to inform decisions. Critical thinking involves analysis and synthesis of information and can help a person make sense of the world.

Several academic subjects include the development of critical thinking skills.

Health literacy by definition includes being a critical thinker. Science as inquiry depends on thinking critically and logically. Historical and literary analyses involve critical thinking. Some critical thinking skills that curricula often include are to:

- Raise vital questions and problems and then state them clearly
- Gather and assess relevant information
- Use abstract ideas to interpret information and come to well-reasoned conclusions and solutions
- Test ideas against relevant criteria and standards
- Think open-mindedly, recognize and assess one's assumptions, the implications, and the practical consequences
- Communicate effectively with others to figure out solutions to complex problems

Thinking critically requires not only having such skills but also using them. No one uses critical thinking skills in all situations. Everyone has episodes of undisciplined or irrational thought and areas of more or less background with which to make comparisons. For this reason, the development of critical thinking is a life-long endeavor.

People sometimes use critical thinking skills to win an argument by pointing out the flaws in someone else's statement. Ideally, people use critical thinking in an unbiased way using criteria such as clarity, accuracy, precision, consistency, relevance, sound evidence, good reasons, depth, breadth, and fairness. When used in this way, critical thinking can reveal cultural assumptions and lead to probing questions and new ways of thinking.

Critical thinking is self-directed, self-disciplined, self-monitored, and self-corrective thinking. It requires that the person agrees to standards of excellence and to applying them. It involves effective communication and problem solving abilities and a commitment to overcome one's biases.

See also: ➲ *Creativity*; ➲ *Cultural issues in education*; ➲ *Democracy, Teaching about*; ➲ *Literacy*; ➲ *Media literacy*

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Facione, P. A. (2006). Critical thinking: What it is and why it counts. *Insight assessment.* Available at http://www.insightassessment.com/pdf_files/what&why2006.pdf

Suggested Resources

Internet School Library Media Center (ISLMC)—http://falcon.jmu.edu/~ramseyil/critical.htm: This critical thinking page, which is part of the school library section at James Madison University, has general information, lesson plans and bibliographies to help educators interested in higher order thinking skills.

The Critical Thinking Community—www.criticalthinking.org/: Consisting of the National Council for Excellence in Critical Thinking and Moral Critique and the Foundation for Critical Thinking, the Critical Thinking Community provides educational materials, professional development workshops, and conferences designed to develop critical thinking.

The National Center for Teaching Thinking—http://www.nctt.net/lessonsarticles.html: This website offers lesson plans for use in a variety of subject areas.

Cross-Cultural Competence in School Psychologists' Services

Matthew Lau · Theodore J Christ

Competencies for the practice of school psychology are defined by the National Association of School Psychologists (NASP) and the American Psychological Association (APA). Documents such as the *Professional conduct manual* (PCM) and *The blueprint for training and practice III* (BP-III) provide guidance and standards for the practice of school psychology. For example, Guideline 6 in the PCM states, "School psychologists have the sensitivity, knowledge, and skills to work with individuals and groups with a diverse range of strengths and needs form a variety of racial, cultural, experiential, and linguistic backgrounds." The guideline goes further, to recognize that biases are inherent to the human condition and that school psychologists are ethically bound to recognize their own biases and to work to provide an equitable service to all individuals. Issues of multicultural and multilinguistic competencies are of substantial importance as the population of the United States (U.S.) continues to become ever more diverse.

Seventy-five percent of all respondents identified themselves as "White alone" when they responded to the *U.S. census* in 2000. That information does not reflect the increasing diversity of the country. In 2005, *The American community survey* revealed that one in five (20%) residents speaks a language other than English at home. Other data suggests that 10% of students qualify as English Language Learners (ELLs). The most prevalent non-English language in the U.S. is Spanish. Other common languages include Vietnamese, Hmong, Korean, Arabic, Haitian Creole, Cantonese, Tagalog, Russian, Navajo, and Khmer. Many ELL students are concentrated in California, New York, Texas, Florida, Illinois, and New Jersey. However, ELL populations continue to grow dramatically in many states around the country. For example, the ELL population has grown by 210% in Minnesota from 1991–1992 to 2001–2002. In this context, cultural competence must reference language diversity.

The student population continues to diversify, but the field of school psychology has not diversified. In a 1999–2000 survey, over 90% of school psychologists identified themselves as White. This disparity has led to a call to recruit school psychologists who are multilingual and from diverse cultures. Some have argued that school psychologists should share cultural and language background with the students they serve. Nevertheless, all school psychologists can and should establish competencies to serve their community of children. Regardless of background, school psychologists can learn to serve students who are culturally and linguistically diverse. The following domains of cross-cultural competencies for school psychologists are proposed.

School psychologists should carefully examine their own cultural values, personal beliefs, and biases. Bias is inherent to the heuristics that humans use to understand their world. School psychologists should be aware of their own biases and work to provide equitable service to all children. Intense emotions that accompany personal beliefs about controversial issues such as sexual orientation, premarital sexual activities, abortion, and ritualistic practices (e.g., female circumcision, spiritual healing) must give way to tolerance and evidenced-based practice. Nevertheless, it is important for school psychologists to recognize their own limitations. This will help identify when to confer with

colleagues and when to refer clients to other service providers who do not share an insurmountable bias. This does not limit the school psychologist's responsibility as a mandatory reporter of illegal or dangerous activity—even if the activities are acceptable within some cultures. Some other cultural values and expectations may be incongruent with mainstream values, and school psychologists are ethically and legally required to act within the law.

School psychologists need to demonstrate understanding of, and sensitivity to, the differences and similarities between "mainstream" American values and other ethnic/cultural values. It helps to understand the motives and rationales behind certain behaviors and practices when they are unfamiliar. It is often possible to emphasize similarities between cultures, which can be used as a starting point for understanding. It is the responsibility of the school psychologist to foster mutual respect and cooperation.

School psychologists must recognize the diversity within and between cultures and ethnic groups. For instance, Hispanic or Latino can be divided into four other major ethnic subgroups: Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Central and South American. Moreover, Asian American comprises members from over 28 subgroups. In addition, individuals' attitudes, beliefs, and values can be substantially influenced by personal experience, educational level, socioeconomic status (SES), and time spent embedded within the U.S. culture. Although ethnicity is often used as a proxy for culture, school psychologists must avoid superficial generalizations and stereotypes.

Evidence-based instructional strategies and programs typically have positive effects for all students. There is little evidence to support the belief that students require culturally specific instruction. Data-driven and research-based practices are expected to benefit culturally diverse students. Certainly, best practices also imply that these students are carefully and frequently monitored to ensure that changes can be made if necessary. For social–emotional interventions, culturally sensitive practice should be incorporated in planning and implementation to maximize success, align with cultural expectations, and reduce potential barriers. The school psychologist must explore whether culturally distinct norms and communication patterns contribute to school-based problems.

School interpreters are essential team members. They help to bridge the language barrier among students, staff, and parents. Some can assist with translating written materials. They can also take on a role as a cultural liaison. However, many interpreters are trained in school psychology. School psychologists should develop specialized skills when they have to work through an interpreter to collect assessment data. Both the interpreter and the school psychologist might require additional training. Relatives, friends, or other students are not good candidates to be used as an interpreter.

Many school psychologists rely on published norm-referenced assessments. Many of those assessments are highly suspect for bias against non-majority groups. Researchers have argued that the unique experiences of culturally and linguistically diverse students are not represented in the normative samples of these standardized measures. Therefore, there is questionable validity for the interpretation of norm-referenced test scores when the target student is non-White or affiliates with a non-majority culture. School psychologists must develop competencies to detect measurement bias and report potential bias along with assessment outcomes.

See also: ➲ *Cross-cultural school psychology*; ➲ *Culturally competent practice*

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Cross-Cultural Consultation

Charles R Ridley · Lanaya L Ethington

Cross-cultural consultation occurs when the cultures of the consultant, consultee, or client do not match.

In this context, *culture* is defined as the ideas, beliefs, skills, customs, values, and social behavior of a particular group of people. For example, the consultant and consultee may identify with a culture that is different from the client, the consultant and client may share a culture that is different from the consultee, or the consultant may identify with a cultural group dissimilar to that of the consultee and client. It may also be the case that the consultant, consultee, and client each identify with a different cultural group.

Cross-Cultural Consultation Competence

Competence is the predetermination and attainment of the outcomes of one's profession or vocation by coordinating and integrating relevant competencies. To be competent to engage in cross-cultural consultation, consultants must exhibit competencies in awareness and identification of cultural components to the process. First, consultants must be aware of their own cultural identification, assumptions, and values so that they can recognize how it may influence their practice. Second, consultants must be aware of how the mainstream culture may affect minority cultures' experience and identification. Third, consultants must be able to identify and value an alternative worldview. Lastly, consultants must be able to attend to cultural variables in the diagnosis, assessment, and treatment phases of their interventions.

Consultation Roles

Consultants play a number of roles in their practice. There are five roles that are especially relevant to cross-cultural consultation. As *advocates*, consultants attempt to protect the rights of those who are unable to help themselves. This may be especially important when consultants advocate for social justice or confront racism and oppression. For example, consultants may advocate for clients who are being underserved in schools due to cultural misperceptions. As *experts*, consultants function as technical advisors who provide particular knowledge, advice, or service to the consultee. This may occur when consultants with cultural expertise apply it to their practice. For example, an Asian American consultant may use his/her knowledge of Asian cultures to help integrate Asian immigrants into American mainstream society. As *trainer/educators*, consultants attempt to change the consultee's professional functioning. Consultants use this role to create conditions in which the consultee can develop skills. Consultants who are serving to raise the intercultural sensitivity to teachers and administrators may provide workshops or training to raise cultural awareness. As *investigators*, consultants gather information, analyze it, and give feedback to consultees. This may involve consultants identifying any underlying cultural components to problems. For example, parents of students who seemingly do not comply with school procedures may be influenced by their cultural backgrounds. Consultants may be able to discern cultural components in situations and make them explicit to consultees and clients. As *process specialists*, consultants observe and facilitate the consultee's problem-solving processes. In schools, consultants may use their cultural expertise to identify cultural components to problem-solving processes that affect the consultee and client.

Consultation Principles

Effective consultants operate from a basis of sound principles, and five principles are important as guidelines for cross-cultural consultation. *Collaboration* is the process of establishing a working alliance and recognizing how both parties can contribute to the process. By collaborating with consultees, consultants are able to include the clients' cultural values in the process of problem conceptualizations rather than imposing their own cultural values onto the situation. This allows consultants and consultees to co-construct how they conceptualize the problem and the desired outcomes toward which they strive. *Problem reframing* occurs when consultants challenge and broaden the consultee's problem definition. Reframing is the process by which the consultant reconceptualizes the problem, without changing the facts, so the clients and consultees may develop a different perception of the problem. In cross-cultural consultation, consultants should attempt to enter the consultee's frame of reference by attending to the cultural, sociopolitical, and psychological contexts that affect the consultee's perception of the problem. By entering the client's frame of reference, consultants are able to reframe the problem so that it is culturally appropriate to the client. Using an *open systems perspective* allows consultants to consider the dynamics and interactions between organizations and their environments. In cross-cultural consultation, consultants need to be

aware of how the cultures of the students, parents, and administrators of the school interact with each other. This may also be considered attending to the cultural context in which the consultation occurs. The principle of *accountability* requires consultants to continually assess and monitor their own performance, as well as seek constructive feedback about their performance. This requires consultants to be familiar with cultural differences in power differentials that may affect the feedback they receive. For example, when interacting with members of a culture who communicate indirectly and defer to authority figures, consultants may not receive explicit comments regarding their performance.

Finally, the principle of *ethics* holds consultants ultimately responsible for conducting themselves in an ethical manner. Although there is not a specific ethics code for consultants, they are encouraged to abide by the ethical code of the helping profession with which they are affiliated. It would be considered ethically inappropriate for consultants to practice outside of their area of expertise, and consultants need to be aware of their limits and make the appropriate referrals when necessary. In cross-cultural consultation, it is important for consultants to be aware of how their cultural values may have an impact on their performance.

Challenges of Cross-Cultural Consultation

When consulting cross-culturally, consultants need to recognize the difference between being culturally sensitive and overemphasizing culture. That is, cultural differences between consultants, consultees, and clients do not inherently imply that the problems are cultural in nature. Rather, consultants need to balance cultural information with developmental issues and the school environment when assessing a problem. Also, it is important to recognize within-group variation; that is, although a consultee or a client may identify as a member of a particular cultural group, consultants need to recognize individuals' uniqueness and personal history. Another challenge to cross-cultural consultation may occur when consultants adopt a "color-blind" approach where individuals are treated the same regardless of their race, gender, ethnic, or cultural background. Although consultants may use a color-blind approach to be egalitarian and objective, consultants may inadvertently deny potentially important cultural components to the problem. A final challenge to cross-cultural consultation is the lack of appropriate knowledge or skill when interacting with members of a different culture. Although consultants may enter into a consultation relationship with the belief that they have the adequate knowledge and skill level to be effective, the consultation process may elucidate cultural deficits or misperceptions.

See also: ➲ *Context communication*; ➲ *Cultural diversity*; ➲ *Culturally competent practice*; ➲ *Multicultural teacher training*; ➲ *Worldview*

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Cross-Cultural Dissonance

Ben K Lim · Soh Leong Lim

Cross-cultural dissonance (i.e., intergenerational conflict) occurs within immigrant families as children acculturate more quickly to the dominant United States (U.S.) culture than their parents. These young people learn the subtle nuances of English in school and many begin to embrace Western values such as freedom and individual rights, expressiveness, and emotional congruence. These values may be antithetical to their own cultural heritage. For example, the traditional Confucian values of family obligation and duty, deference, and emotional restraint among East Asian families may run counter to the values placed upon individualism and assertiveness found in Western society.

There are four ways minority families accommodate to the host culture when they migrate to the U.S. First, if the families are not English-speaking, it is

natural for them to seek people of their own ethnicity and live among them. As long as they do not have to interact with other people beyond their cultural enclaves such as "Little Italy" or "Chinatown," they manage well. However, beyond their ethnic enclaves, they may be dependent on their more acculturated children and community leaders to help them navigate the complexities of American bureaucracy. Second, there are families who assimilate themselves totally to the dominant majority. They take great pains to extricate themselves from any aspect of their own culture. They not only live in a White community and attend a White church, they also do not associate with their own people at all. They attend English classes, learn American history, and adopt an American lifestyle and beliefs.

Third, some immigrants who have escaped their country because of economic, political, or religious persecution, may harbor a hatred for anything that reminds them of their past and may even refuse to speak their own language. Such extreme actions of emotional cut-off from one's cultural heritage have shown to be unhealthy for psychological well-being. Sometimes immigrants in such situations find that they are not fully accepted either by their adopted culture or by their own cultural groups. This can give rise to marginalization by both the host culture and the individual's own ethnic group. Families in this category suffer from identity crisis and experience extreme cross-cultural dissonance. Finally, the fourth way of acculturation is known as biculturalism or multiculturalism. Studies have shown that the ability to function in both cultures is the essence of cultural competence. This requires an immigrant to be open to learning new experiences, be willing to take risks, and be prepared to embrace and celebrate the strengths of diversity in both their own and that of their host country.

Individual family members do not have the same rate of acculturation. Sometimes both generations may move in the same direction with the parents acculturating slower than the children. Even though this may seem cross-culturally consonant, it may also give rise to problems in the parent-child relationship, For instance, parents who are not acculturated at the same pace can become dependent on the child to translate documents and conversations. This role reversal in immigrant families is sometimes referred to as a parentification of children.

A disconcerting situation for immigrant families is when two generations acculturate in different directions. For instance, the parents become more isolated from the host culture and hold on to their traditional ways, while the children decide to assimilate fully with the majority culture. In this case, cultural dissonance takes place and misunderstandings can easily result because due to the clash of cultures and differing values that play out in the household.

Since the school is often the focal point of multiculturalism, school personnel and clinicians need to become culturally aware and sensitive to the potential for cultural dissonance between parent and student, teacher and student, and among multicultural groups in the classroom. It is critical that teachers are aware of the potential for cultural dissonance between themselves and their students as well as among the generations of the family whose student is in their classroom.

See also: ➲ *Cross-cultural competence in school psychologists' services*; ➲ *Cultural diversity*; ➲ *Racial/ethnic group differences*

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Cross-Cultural Families

Kathryn de Bruin · Ben K Lim

Terms Defined

Culture refers to the values and beliefs that are institutionalized in a people's collective life, whereby inherited meanings, morality, beliefs, and ways of behaving are preserved. Culture takes on a particular life that is often more readily seen by those on the outside looking inward.

Race relates to people who share biologically transmitted traits that are defined as socially significant. The United States (U.S.) Census Bureau has six major racial categories based on distinct physical characteristics.

The six major categories are: White, Black or African American, Hispanic/Latino, American Indian and Alaska Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander, and other race. Each major category is then subdivided into further sections.

Class identifies the social stratum whose members share certain economic, social, or cultural characteristics. Examples include the lower-income, working, middle, upper middle, upper, and in some communities, social castes. Class intersects with other cultural variables such as education and race.

Family has traditionally referred to people who are related to one another by birth, adoption, or marriage. Usually families have parents, children, and relatives. Family can be viewed as the basic unit to which children are born or adopted and together they progress through one family life stage to another. With the breakdown of traditional families in the American society, "family" is increasingly defined as members of a household or community who live together in close and supportive relationships.

The Myth of the Melting Pot

The Declaration of Independence as written by Thomas Jefferson states that, ". . .all men *(and women)* are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, among which are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." Freedom, democracy, and equality are core U.S. values; they seek to help all people to live together respectfully irrespective of ancestry, gender, race, creed, sexual orientation, or disabilities.

The "melting pot" is a term used to describe this process of cultures fusing together and each group of people losing their identity. This may seem desirable to create an emergent nationhood. This paradigm is based on the notion that ancestry and cultural heritage are inconsequential to one's well-being. For cultures that are expressly different from the White majority, however, there is a lot to sacrifice both communally and psychologically.

The Multicultural Alternative

Culture influences society at multiple levels. It influences daily practices such as family life and the kinds of occupations people choose. Family is understood differently in various cultural groups. It lies anywhere on a continuum from the nuclear family on one end, to families that embrace kin and community, and on the other end of the continuum, to families that include descendants and ancestors.

Life transitions are emphasized differently in families of different ethnicities. A family generally goes through six family life cycle stages: the unattached young adult, the newly married couple, the family with young children, families with adolescents, launching children and moving on, and the family in later life. As a family negotiates through each stage, family members take on different roles, and develop through various family life transitions. Culture plays an important role in the expression of each family life cycle stage. For instance, the Italian family often emphasizes the eminence of weddings, Jewish communities consider the Bar Mitzvah an important rite of passage, and the Irish view death as the most important transition,

Everyone in the U.S. has a unique heritage, and with the exception of American Indians, Americans have come from foreign lands at different times. Immigrants bring with them different ways of living life, being a family, and practicing beliefs. They come together to this country, and depending on their identity development and various intergenerational and contextual stressors, adjust to their new homeland in various ways. Psychologically, families who remain connected with their past and have a firm sense of identity are able to express themselves freely in their present and future endeavors. The greater the degree to which they know about and appreciate their own distinctiveness, the greater capacity they have to accept differences in other people. Paradoxically, this further enhances tolerance and unity as people learn to live and grow together. This paradigm does not reinforce the idea of the "melting pot." It encourages multiculturalism. A more suitable metaphor may be a salad bowl. Each vegetable in the salad bowl maintains its uniqueness and yet by itself, it does not provide the delicious taste that salad produces. Diverse families add much flavor to American society when they are able to integrate their unique heritage with the new sociocultural environment.

Social scientists are finding that during times of stress and crisis, people revert to old or familiar sources of comfort, such as rituals, behaviors, and beliefs with which they grew up. The unique heritage that is a deep part of people's ancestry cannot be denied. This heritage longs to find its expression, in family patterns, beliefs,

thinking, feeling, and behavior. There are social and psychological benefits to being true to one's heritage. Developmental psychologist Erik Erikson has written extensively on psychosocial identity development. He purports that during various stages of life, individuals must make an adjustment to self and to the social environment. The social milieu plays an important role, and the term "identity crisis" is used for people who are confused about the transition that they are negotiating due to societal cultural expectations. This is an individual perspective, but this is not dissimilar to family identity. Families move through various life stages. Transitions will occur smoothly once the life tasks for a particular stage have been achieved. Transitions from one life cycle stage to another are often marked through different rituals and traditions in different cultures.

The desire to belong is basic to any human being. It fulfills a deep psychological need for identity and historical continuity. Every family relationship with the exception of marriage occurs without choice. People are born into families. Despite the innate desire for connection, family members do try to disconnect from family. This occurs through various cut offs, albeit divorce, moving geographically or simply "disowning" one another. The following describes various cross-cultural family groups.

American Indian Families

There has been a tendency to see American Indians as a homogenous group, resulting in a blurring of the distinctions between a number of different tribal groups and clans. The American Indians endured a history of genocide. They were labeled as uncivilized and denigrated for their customs and religious beliefs. Families were torn apart by the relocation plan in the 1950s and 1960s. As people migrated to cities, alcoholism soared, suicide and violence increased. School drop out rates rose, along with teenage pregnancy and unemployment.

American Indians are reclaiming their cultural heritage. American Indian history is included in school curricula; stereotypes are being replaced with new respect. Diversity in tribe, language, and lifestyle is being acknowledged. American Indians share some common values including strong family ties, an attachment to the natural environment, and a distinct spirituality. A child's primary relationship is with his or her grandparents and grandparents may or may not be biological grandparents but could include a great aunt or other relations. When someone marries into a family, they are treated as biological relatives. People identify themselves by the tribe they belong to, by their relatives, and by the family they represent.

Because of the history of victimization of American Indians by missionaries, school teachers, and social workers, skepticism of the helping profession remains strong. School counselors will have to be aware of this history and work hard to build rapport with American Indian families. This can be done by displaying personal authenticity and showing genuine respect and concern when working with American Indian families. American Indian people value listening and periods of silence are not uncommon.

African American Families

African American families have migrated from a number of African countries. Amongst themselves they are diverse in many ways although there are a number of similarities as well. The majority of African Americans originally lived in the south, but they are now represented in larger cities all over the U.S. The ancestors of African Americans came to the U.S. during the Atlantic slave trade in the seventeenth century. They were brought over as cheap labor. This involuntary migration gave them a sense of inferiority. White preference, discrimination, and oppression exacerbated their experience. Disillusionment that evolved from the oppression caused many to turn to substance abuse, which some consider another form of slavery, albeit psychological in nature.

African Americans originated from a social structure of tribes with close-knit family groups. African Americans continue to hold the family and kin in high regard. The family offers a tremendous support network. Counselors may invite extended family to discussions at school, taking into consideration that people who are involved in the children's lives and considered "family" may or may not be blood related.

The African American family tends to be more multigenerational, including different combinations of roles within the units. It is more acceptable for women to work outside the home, similar to the tradition in Africa, where women's contributions went beyond just childbearing. Women have found it easier to find work in this country than African American men, contributing to a more subtle aspect of racism, where African

American men are seen as less productive and unable to provide for their families. In many families, both males and females work. This results in more egalitarian relationships among African American couples in comparison to couples from other cultures. A growing number of women choose to become single parents rather than remaining childless. It is not uncommon for children to perform some of the parental duties when parents are working or when families are large.

African American people are sensitive to protocol issues, they expect to be addressed as Mr., Mrs., Ms., or Dr. Respect is an important value. A culturally sensitive counselor will communicate this by focusing on family strengths, asking permission, avoiding familiarity initially, and avoiding professional jargon.

Death and mourning is an important life cycle phase. Funerals are emphasized, often lasting four to seven days. Family members attend out of respect and will make great efforts to be present at the funeral.

Asian American Families

Asian American families emigrate from different countries in Asia. According to the U.S. 1990 Census, five main Asian ethnic groups in the U.S. include Chinese (23% of the Asian population), Filipino (19%), Japanese (12%), Korean (11%), Asian Indian (11%), and Vietnamese (9%). Asian culture is ancestor-oriented and collectivistic rather than individualistic; dependency oriented rather than independence-oriented. Among the Chinese people, for instance, the family name comes first, followed by the individual name. This illustrates the importance of the family in the culture. There is a great sense of duty and obligation to the family; the need to be accepted by the community is paramount. The culture is shame-based and so "face-saving" and maintaining harmony is important in interpersonal relationships. Moral order is maintained through respectful manners. Conveying genuine concern and showing interpersonal etiquette is an important part of familial relationships.

Family structure is hierarchical, with the line of authority extending from the fathers, to first-born sons, male sons, and then to mothers and daughters. It is important to assess the family structure in work with Asian and Asian American families. The Asian culture gives great deference and honor to those in authority. Counselors establish credibility by using official titles when addressing the head of the family and when making personal introductions. Since education and expertise play a key role among most Asian cultures, a display of the counselor's licenses or diplomas will enhance their credibility. Counselors are expected to be experts and are often sought for authoritative answers and direct advice. Ambivalence may be considered a weakness.

Asian families may be less expressive and assertive. Love may not be verbally or physically communicated. Instead, it may be shown in concrete and pragmatic ways. Family harmony is to be kept at all cost and emotions that may disrupt harmony to the family are not expressed outwardly. A major consequence of this is psychosomatization, the physical expression of emotional and mental distress. Therefore, a competent cross-cultural school counselor will take greater notice of the medical complaints expressed by the person while also attending to nonverbal cues.

Latino American Families

Latinos (or in some contexts known as Hispanics or Chicanos/as), have a multidimensional identity, representing a variety of nationalities, skin colors, cultures, traditions, values, beliefs, worldviews, and languages. A majority of Latinos living in the U.S. originate from Mexico (67%), Puerto Rico (13%) and Cuba (6%) while others come from the Dominican Republic and Central and South American countries (14%).

National heritage is of extreme importance among Latinos as it provides a sense of pride and identity. Latinos work hard to maintain their language, traditions, and ways of life. They have a strong sense of family unity, personal warmth, and respect for elders. Some of the more important values are family unity, welfare, and honor. The family guarantees protection and provision. The system of kinship includes both biological and those not related by blood, such as adopted children and godparents. A school counselor might utilize the family as a source of support and information. This can be done by inviting extended family members to school meetings.

Family interdependence (*familismo*) is very important to the culture; however, it tends to be patriarchal in organization and role expectations. Men (*machismo)* and women *(marianismo)* are taught different codes for behavior. Older children have greater authority than younger children, with males having greater authority than females.

Religion is very important for Latino communities. The majority of Latinos identify with Roman Catholicism. Religion permeates their lives. Many also incorporate folk healing beliefs (*curanderos/as*). There is a loyalty to others and the focus on the quality of interpersonal relationships is important (*personalismo*). In this sense, Latinos may have a loyalty towards the school counselor or teacher if they are trustworthy and considered friends as well as professionals.

Many Latinos come from a legacy of loss and oppression. Many have immigrated to the U.S. with the hope for a better life but find that they face oppression and discrimination in their new host country as well. This can add to their distrust of school, legal or social service systems. It is important to be sensitive to the individual's distress and distrust of the system. Formality, especially initially, is viewed as a sign of respect, such as addressing people by surname unless invited to do otherwise.

Middle Eastern Families

Arab Americans have their own unique culture. Arab people refer to those related to the tribes of Arabia, who speak the Arabic language, and who embrace Islam as their religion. Islam spread mostly during the seventh and tenth centuries A.D. Thereafter, the Muslim people were forced to live under different governmental systems, such as when the Ottoman Empire conquered the Arabs, and the Europeans occupied their lands after World War I. During this time, two waves of immigrants arrived to the U.S. In the 1980s, the Arab world experienced a rekindling of loyalties and a resurgence of Islam and these were accentuated by the Gulf War in 1991. After the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, Arab Americans experienced alienation and discrimination. Arab American families may feel friction between Western secular values and their own Islamic culture.

For Arab families, the family unit is the basis of community. Men, women, and children are given particular duties and roles to perform for the good of the family. Marriage is arranged by the family and is not based on romantic love. Arab people are also encouraged to marry within their own culture. Arab parents are more likely to engage in authoritarian disciplinary styles, such as lecturing their children, and using punishment to instill fear. Because the Arab family is closely knitted, seeking help is seen as being disloyal to the family and community. Families are more likely to turn to Arab-oriented services during these times.

Arab children are likely to spend more time with their mothers, and the mothers may sometimes take the role of mediators between the children and their fathers. While school counselors may have initial contact with students' mothers, it is essential to get the fathers as heads of the family involved. This is respectful of the family hierarchical system. Families are more likely to get involved if the school counselor will do home visitation or are willing to speak with the parents on the telephone.

Jewish American Families

Jewish Americans have immigrated from Spain, Germany, the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, South Africa, and Israel, among other countries. The family is considered a haven and there is a strong connection with previous generations. Jewish families are open to examining their family functioning, thus giving them a family perspective of problems. This makes Jewish families likely to seek out psychotherapy. Other family values include education and professional achievement, with success being strongly sought after. Getting married and raising children are important values in this culture. Jewish parents are likely to be very involved in their children's schooling. Parents are more likely to be democratic in their child rearing, having more open boundaries between parent and child. Parents talk openly with children and put an emphasis on communication. Jewish families tend to be child-focused; children are encouraged to talk about their problems. Jewish mothers hold primary responsibility for child rearing. Success in parenting is valued and parents are expected to sacrifice to see children succeed, particularly male children. Children then repay their parents with the pleasure of success.

Life cycle rituals are important to Jewish families. Grief is expressed through several different mourning rituals including the "sitting shiva" and the "unveiling." Children become adults when they celebrate the "bar mitzvah."

Suffering is shared easily because ethnic tragedies such as the holocaust are a central part of the Jewish history and are not denied. Suffering is dealt with directly, as important work to be done, and is experienced in community rather than independently. The preservation of Jewish heritage is essential because

of historical persecution as well as living away from the homeland. Jewish families may live in Jewish communities, and may immigrate in groups. Intermarriage is frowned upon for this reason, as is the notion of a family member rejecting Jewish cultural background.

European American Families

In 1990, Whites made up 80% of the U.S population. They come from all over Europe and identify themselves as "Americans." An immigration law in 1790 stated that only Americans of European descent could become U.S. citizens. America was then understood as being "White." Many of these families have been in the U.S. for three generations or longer, and may not identify with their ancestral ethnicity. While this is the case, aspects of ethnicity that were shed may subconsciously manifest later in life or in future generations, and White individuals may find themselves reverting back to customs and practices of their heritage. Generally, European Americans have not experienced the degree of discrimination that troubled either earlier immigrants or immigrants from other ethnic groups.

Many European American families are religious. For instance, the church is very important to Irish American families. The most ritualized life cycle transition to Irish Americans is that of dying. A funeral is often postponed for a few days to allow all family members to be present. No expense is spared at a funeral. Because life is filled with suffering and pain that is endured alone, for the Irish, death opens the door to the afterlife, which is a relief.

Privacy and individual rights are important values, and so many topics are not discussed with persons outside of the marital dyad or nuclear family. Families, particularly those of Anglo descent, may find themselves isolated and without a supportive network. This individualism can get in the way of finding familial help and support during crises. Self-initiation and self-reliance are valued in this culture. With autonomy as a core value, suffering and difficulty is often experienced alone and in silence. Individuals or families will work hard and privately to overcome obstacles and deal with grief. Values of independence and hard work are instrumental in helping European Americans achieve success in the U.S. These families are optimistic and confident. On the other hand, the lack of family rituals and traditions, particularly around dealing with difficulty and pain can become the nemesis of these families and communities.

Irish American families also believe that suffering is a private matter. They have traditionally believed that it is their own sin that results in suffering. These deep core beliefs led to the tendency to keep problems private rather than to seek out help. Families may turn to alcohol before they turn to a counselor in times of trouble, leading to higher rates of addiction among members of this group.

Italian American families are very close to nuclear and extended family members. "La famiglia" includes all relatives by marriage, giving them a large support network. Members of the Italian American community will be less likely to move away to pursue individual goals. These families focus on the enjoyment of life, seen in being together and eating together. The life cycle stage most emphasized here is marriage.

Counselors as Cultural Brokers

In light of national diversity, school counselors need to be culturally competent. An awareness of how race, religion, immigration status, class, age, disability, and sexual orientation affect family identity is important. Few people will fit exactly into the general descriptions given above. Hence, these descriptions serve only as a starting point from which to begin to understand people in the context of their culture.

Given the number of multiracial individuals in the U.S., it is wise to refrain from guessing or assuming a person's ethnic identity. Respect can be shown by asking people about their ethnic background and how they self-identify. Counselors need to posit themselves as learners when working with cross-cultural families. Acknowledgement of ignorance and taking a "not-knowing" stance as a learner are helpful characteristics for the culturally sensitive counselor. Misunderstandings may be avoided this way and the cultural gap can be better bridged.

Culturally sensitive counselors belong to a particular culture themselves. All people see the world through their own cultural lens. The goal is not to be free of a particular culture. Instead, as cultural brokers, school counselors recognize that they are unable to remain aloof and be free of value judgments. Learning about one's own heritage and its impact on the counseling process is a first step towards becoming culturally aware.

See also: *Ethnicity*; *Family therapy*; *Melting pot*

Suggested Reading

McGoldrick, M., Giordano, J., & Pearce, J. K. (Eds.) (1996). *Ethnicity and family therapy*. New York: Guilford Press.

McGoldrick, M. (Ed.) (2002). *Re-visioning family therapy: Race, culture, and gender in clinical practice*. New York: Guilford Press.

U.S. census Bureau. (2000). *American fact finder: Profile of selected Economic Characteristics*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government printing office.

Walsh, F. (Ed.) (1982). *Normal family processes*. New York: Guilford Press.

Suggested Resources

U.S. Census Bureau—http://factfinder.census.gov/: This website presents U.S. demographic statistics from 2000.

American Psychological Association (APA) Multicultural Guidelines—http://www.apa.org/pi/multiculturalguidelines/: This APA website provides a document featuring guidelines on multicultural education, training, research, practice, and organizational change for psychologists.

Cross-Cultural Learning Styles

Marcella LaFever

Culture and Teaching

The importance of, and the cultural influences on learning styles in the classroom, are not new topics. Over the past 30 years, several theories have been advanced about how students, from kindergarten to post-secondary education, learn and process information. Even before that, theorists had been investigating the influences of culture on cognitive processes. These fields of study have converged in research on how to create culturally inclusive classrooms and attention to cross-cultural learning styles.

The critical examination of standard teaching practices in North American schools was catalyzed by the civil rights movement and the recognition that educational institutions were not serving the society as a whole. It was proposed that these practices were in fact excluding many students from advancing within the school system. Primarily these students were from marginalized and economically depressed cultural communities. Teaching practices were perpetuating social divisions along lines of class and color of skin.

As a result of extensive research, there are several ways that learning styles have been categorized and conceptualized. In the midst of all these theoretical constructs, the attempts to connect cultural influences to the way students learn has been haphazard. The following will give an overview of learning styles, investigate the impact of culture on the way students learn, provide important parameters for using information about learning style, and suggest an umbrella approach to serving all students in a multicultural class.

Learning Styles

Many definitions of learning styles have been posited. However, in its most basic form, learning style refers to the preferences that a learner has for processing and retaining information. Processing of information includes how the learner thinks about information, how the learner relates to others in the classroom, and how the learner relates to the environment and classroom experiences. Designations for learning styles include such things as how students take in information (visually, verbally, hands-on), how they organize and process information (through activities, by reflecting, by induction or deduction), and the rate at which students progress toward the learning goal (one thing at a time, by looking at the big picture).

Teachers have an important role to play in how and when information is disseminated so that possibilities for student processing and retention are maximized. Students who have a learning style that matches the learning style of the teacher have a higher rate of success in the classroom. For example, if a teacher has been successful in his/her own learning by working alone using memorization and reading, it is likely to be his/her tendency to expect the same from students. Students who match this style are successful in that particular classroom. In general this creates a need for the teacher to expand the repertoire of teaching techniques beyond those that have been comfortable.

Cultural Impact on Learning Styles

Culture is a historically shared system of codes and symbols, deeply imbedded within each individual, that

provides a way of interpreting and giving meaning to social interactions. Social interactions include those that take place in a classroom and throughout the process of learning. Therefore, it makes sense that cultural background will in some way have an impact on student learning. For example, when communicating in the classroom, if a student's cultural learning has put emphasis on being conscious of the well-being of others (collectivism) rather that achieving rewards for themselves (individualism), they are less likely to feel comfortable giving personal opinions in front of the rest of their classmates. If this sort of communication is expected in the classroom, those students will be seen as "not participating" or "not trying." Culture influences the way a student perceives, organizes, and processes information.

If a teacher knew which particular cultural preferences were present in the classroom it might make sense to have students design a curriculum that matches the resulting learning style. On the other hand, although culture may be a deeply imbedded system that is shared by a group, individual differences (especially within a North American context) must be taken into account across teaching contexts. To make an assumption that all Hmong students need to work in groups because they come from a culture that values collectivism would be counterproductive to them and their classmates. It is more useful to remember that all students use all learning styles at some point in their learning but may prefer to start with a particular preference.

All Students use all Styles

It is important to understand that a combination of teaching strategies, that incorporte the learning styles, optimizes opportunities for learning. In the author's own study, 100 university students were surveyed (50.5% White, 21.9% Hispanic, 28.7 other) to test the hypothesis that students learn more when classroom activities cross all learning styles. To test this hypothesis, students were asked to identify the array of teaching techniques used in a class where they felt they learned a lot as well as in a class where they did not learn a lot. There was statistical significance in two areas: (a) the number of teaching techniques that were used in the classroom; and (b) the use of styles that did or did not cross a variety of learning styles.

In the classes where the students felt they learned a lot, compared with those where they felt they did not learn a lot, the 95% critical value for a χ^2 test with 99 degrees of freedom was 124.34. The χ^2 value for these data was 527.34, greater than the critical value of χ^2 (99, $N = 100$, $p<0.05$), so the null hypothesis was rejected. Learning is related to the number of teaching techniques used.

Similarly, the techniques themselves, when using a more active learning mode that incorporates several learning preferences, make a difference. In a paired-samples t-test, 12 of the 19 techniques were more than the t-value of 1.98 required for significance at the level of $p<0.05$. Techniques such as working with a partner ($t = 9.998$), discussion as a whole class ($t = 12.006$), and giving a team presentation ($t = 5.042$) all use a combination of reading, seeing, hearing, practicing, and demonstrating knowledge.

The usefulness of learning styles is to recognize that all students use all styles in the full cycle of learning. Although students may have a preference for starting or concentrating their learning in a particular phase of the cycle, it is the wholeness of the process that needs to be considered when designing a curriculum. Whether it is designing each day to include a full cycle of learning style activities or designing each unit that way, all learning styles can be built into a curriculum that attends to cross-cultural learning.

See also: ➲ *Assessment of culturally diverse children*; ➲ *Culturally competent practice*; ➲ *Learning styles*

Suggested Reading

Garcia, E. (1999). *Student cultural diversity: Understanding and meeting the challenge* (2nd ed.). Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Villegas, A. M., & Lucas, T. (2002). *Educating culturally responsive teachers: A coherent approach*. New York: State University of New York.

Suggested Resources

New Horizon for Learning—http://www.newhorizons.org/strategies/front_strategies.html: This website offers information on some of the most widely implemented methods for helping all students to learn more successfully. The information includes a description of how the teaching and learning strategies work, where they have been applied, results, books, websites, and other resources, and where to find further information from experts in the field.

Cross-Cultural Psychology

Erika Niwa · Catherine S Tamis-LeMonda

Diversity has become a buzzword in the disciplines of education and psychology. References to culture, ethnicity and race pervade empirical and theoretical writings of the past three decades. Consequently, the field of psychology has shifted from an emphasis on universal developmental processes to an emphasis on developmental processes in context. Although early theorists such as Vygotsky and Erikson recognized the role of culture in human learning and development, the mid 1960s witnessed the beginning of the modern movement in cross-cultural psychology, which culminated in the creation of the International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP) in 1972. To illustrate the growth in cultural studies, a search of PsychInfo from 1960 to 1970 yields 2,854 publications with the term "culture" in the abstract. From 1970 to 1990, that number more than tripled to 9,035, and between 1990 and the present, over 31,000 publications contain "culture" in the abstract. Nonetheless, most psychological research continues to be conducted in Western societies by Western psychologists, although this trend is changing. In this piece, select theories and findings from the field of cross-cultural psychology are briefly reviewed and applied to the study of children's school experiences and achievement.

Any treatment of the broad topic of cross-cultural psychology calls for a working definition of the term "culture." Although culture has been defined in countless ways, most definitions focus on symbolic (i.e. values and beliefs) and/or behavioral aspects of human development. Here we conceptualize "culture" as encompassing both symbolic and behavioral dimensions. Specifically, we borrow Rogoff's definition of culture as a shared set of beliefs, attitudes, values and patterned routines and ways of doing things that exist within communities. This definition considers culture to be a dynamic, rather than static, constellation of membership and participation in multiple groups.

The term *cross-cultural psychology* often refers to studies that are based on comparisons of behavioral or psychological phenomena across cultural groups, although many cultural studies are focused on within-group behaviors and views. Cross-cultural work is particularly important for distinguishing universal processes from those that vary across cultures. Cross-cultural inquiry enables scholars to meaningfully refine and revise current theories to accommodate the beliefs and behaviors of different communities, thereby moving beyond theories that have been predominantly founded on research with White, middle-class, American samples. Such research offers the unique opportunity to use natural cultural variation as a tool to further unpackage cultural correlates. Finally, cross-cultural studies inform the design and implementation of culturally sensitive services and interventions (including those used in school settings).

Challenges to Cross-Cultural Psychology

Despite the importance of cross-cultural work, it is plagued by a number of challenges. Four are particularly noteworthy: (1) determining the bounds of a cultural community, (2) addressing the psychological and psychometric equivalence of instruments and constructs across different groups, (3) disentangling cultural influences or meaning from other variables, such as socioeconomic status, and (4) studying the dynamic relations that exist between individuals and cultural communities.

The first challenge to cross-cultural work is to define the boundaries of a community or cultural group. One approach is to focus on "society" or "country" as the unit of analysis, such as in studies that compare parenting practices in the United States (U.S.) and Japan. Although this strategy has the potential to yield insights into similarities and differences at macro-levels, it can be problematic. Clearly, culture is not synonymous with country, and countries are not homogeneous units. Studies that compare individuals across societies must take into account a vast intra-society heterogeneity. Furthermore, as countries become increasingly diverse in terms of the demographics of their populations, there is an even greater need to carefully select subgroups within a society and to examine the variability that exists within those subgroups. As an extension of this approach, some scholars use a more focused and localized concept of community to deal with intra-group variation. This is achieved, for example, by studying participants from ethnic enclaves who reside in particular geographic or regional locations. For example, investigators at New York University's (NYU) Center for Research on Culture, Development, and Education

(CRCDE) focus their work on within-group variation in specific ethnic groups in New York City (e.g., Dominican, Chinese, African American) who reside in specific neighborhoods. This focused approach to the notion of community permits examination of participants' thoughts and actions at the intersection of ethnicity and context.

A second challenge concerns instrument and construct equivalence across groups. Much cross-cultural research compares populations from dramatically different backgrounds on the same variables. However, because cultures differ dramatically in their geography, customs, religion, labor markets, belief systems, social class structure, and education to name a few, measures that are appropriate to members of one community may be inappropriately applied to members of other communities. For example, what does it mean to compare the parenting views or practices of mothers living in Thailand to mothers living in New York City? If these two groups of mothers differ in their responses to a particular questionnaire what might explain those differences? Their cultural views? Familarity with testing? Willingness to share personal information with a stranger? Literacy levels? Economic conditions? The issue of cultural equivalence is particularly problematic if the instruments being used have not been developed or normed on the group being studied. In fact, the majority of extant instruments (e.g., IQ tests, depression inventories) have been normed on predominantly White, middle-class, American samples. Similarly, many of the main constructs that guide thinking in developmental psychology, including "attachment," "formal operations," and "morality," are based on a history of research that assumes relatively universal processes of development. In recent decades, such work has come under fire, leading to questions about the generalizability of certain constructs and associated theories to diverse communities. These recent efforts have illuminated a number of cultural assumptions that undergird much research. As such, the field of cross-cultural psychology has appropriately pushed for a re-examination of many accepted constructs.

One example of a construct that is highly culture-specific is that of "self esteem." Numerous studies conducted primarily with U.S.-born children reveal the beneficial effects of self-esteem for children's academic and psychological outcomes. However, in a comparative study of mothers in the U.S. and Taiwan, Miller and colleagues found self esteem to be a culturally-situated parental goal for children. American mothers viewed self-esteem as something that should be fostered in children so as to promote positive developmental outcomes, whereas Taiwanese mothers felt that children should be left to naturally develop, and that feeling good about oneself was an unhealthy goal. In fact, the term self-esteem does not even exist in Mandarin Chinese or Taiwanese, and Miller and her colleagues were challenged to find a phrase that paralleled the English phrase. This work illustrates the complexity of studying concepts or constructs that might hold entirely different meanings for individuals of different communities.

A third challenge to cross-cultural studies concerns the difficulties of disentangling culture from other demographic characteristics of groups, including socioeconomic status. Oftentimes, differences in cultural beliefs or ways of behaving might be attributed to differences in the economic resources available to different groups. For example, early studies comparing African American parenting styles to those of Anglo mothers revealed differences in disciplinary styles and punitiveness, with African American mothers often being characterized as more harsh than Anglo mothers. However, such studies are often based on comparisons between low-income African American parents and middle-income Anglo parents, thus confounding race with economic status. When middle-income African American mothers are studied, they share the same child-oriented disciplinary tactics as their middle-income, Anglo counterparts. It may be that stressors such as unemployment and financial strain contribute to higher levels of maternal depression and higher levels of punitiveness, which would in turn explain greater authoritarianism in low-income African American parents.

The importance of disentangling cultural sources of variance from other sources also extends to studies on academic achievement and opportunity. Much research has highlighted inequalities in American public schools and illustrates the deeply entrenched and historically situated relationship that can exist between culture, race, and class. Although such a discussion is beyond the scope of this entry, it is important to keep in mind when constructing, conducting, and interpreting group differences in views and behaviors.

Finally, all cultural comparisons are challenged by the need to consider the dynamics of individuals' lives. Culture is always changing, and individuals belong to many cultural groups at one time. Therefore, the assumption that a given group will have stable characteristics, behaviors or views is simplistic. This issue is termed "The Box Problem" by Rogoff. The Box Problem refers

to interpreting culture as a "fixed categorical property of individuals." Such "boxes" are assumed to be both homogeneous and mutually exclusive, which fails to consider the dynamic nature of cultural groups. At any given point in time, an individual is negotiating membership in and ways to behave across a number of communities. For example, a child might behave a certain way when at home but behave differently when at school, in line with the expectations of the two cultural communities. The notion of shifting membership is exemplified in Yip's study of ethnic identity in Chinese American university students. Students were randomly contacted over a one-week period and asked to report on who they were with, what language they were speaking (Chinese or English), and which identity (e.g., gender, ethnic, age, family role) was most salient to them at that particular moment in time. The students did not know that involvement in the study had anything to do with being Chinese. Yip found that salience of ethnic identity (how "Chinese" students felt at any given point in time) fluctuated by situation, context, and the individuals who were around the student.

Across developmental time, individuals become members of an increasing number of cultural communities (e.g., work, school, peers, religious institutions, family). For example, a preschooler growing up in a Mexican immigrant home might spend the majority of time in a relatively homogeneous community, surrounded by primary caregivers who are Mexican as well. The young child will eat certain foods and be expected to behave in certain ways. However, upon entry to school and thereafter, the same child will be increasingly exposed to the mainstream culture, and will assimilate parts of that culture into his or her identity. By adolescence, the individual might be considered bi-cultural, facilely shifting over the course of a single day between the mainstream American school setting and the customs of the Mexican family.

In summary, cross-cultural psychology is faced with a number of challenges, including the complexity of defining the bounds of a community, disentangling culture from other relevant factors in human views and behavior, evaluating the equivalence and validity of instruments and constructs across different groups, and recognizing the dynamics of culture as individuals traverse different cultural communities within and across developmental periods. The next section turns to discussion of theoretical frameworks that have been applied in cross-cultural psychology.

Theoretical Frameworks and Ideologies

One of the most influential theoretical frameworks that has been used to study cultural similarities and differences is the distinction between "collectivistic" and "individualistic" cultures and the related themes of "interdependent" versus "independent" selves or "relatedness" versus "autonomy." Traditionally, "individualist" cultures are those in which independence and autonomy are paramount and social ties to the group are fragile. This orientation stresses the importance of individual achievement, personal choice, self maximization, personal rights and intrinsic forms of motivation.

In comparison, "collectivist" cultures are those in which people place the interests of the group before the self and loyalty to members of the in-group is met with protection and support. Collectivist cultures value interpersonal harmony, interdependence, conformity and belongingness. Themes of filial piety and "Guan" in China, "Respeto" and "Familismo" in Latino cultures and "Suano" in Japan reflect ideals associated with collectivistic cultures. Adopting this framework, parents in "Western" cultures, such as North America and Western Europe, have been portrayed as promoting values associated with individualism. In contrast, parents in Asian, Latino and more rural, subsistence cultures have been described as promoting collectivism.

The individualistic-collectivistic framework sheds light on the ways in which cultural priorities come to shape children's behaviors and developmental outcomes. For example, from an individualistic perspective, academic achievement is considered a vehicle for increasing a sense of self-worth. However, in collectivistic communities, individual achievement serves the needs of the group. For example, Asian American children perform better on tasks to benefit the family rather than to feel better about themselves. There is a sense of obligation to do well in school to not shame the family.

Another contrast between individualistic and collectivistic orientations is evidenced in research on "personal choice." Iyengar and Lepper found that Anglo American children display higher task performance, increased interest, and persistence when they make their own choices. In contrast, Asian American children have better outcomes when close adults or peers make choices for them. Such work helps to unpackage the ways that cultural views and practices come to define relations between motivation and achievement.

Moreover, these findings are relevant to school contexts, where different notions of choice and achievement might affect children's academic outcomes.

Despite the usefulness and importance of the individualistic-collectivistic framework, it contains limitations that are being addressed by current scholarship. Clearly, individualism and collectivism are not unitary and necessarily independent constructs. Rather, people from all cultures share the universal goals of developing as individuals and contributing in meaningful ways to their communities. There exists enormous within-group and intra-individual variation in the emphasis that is placed on these cultural priorities, and current research is exploring how these values relate to one another within and across time.

In summary, cultural communities have been found to differ in the emphases they place on individual growth and achievement versus relatedness to the larger group. Studies suggest that individualism is a Western phenomenon that occurs in more technologically advanced societies, and that Asian, Latino, and indigenous groups tend to focus on the individual's role in meeting the needs of the larger group. What are the many factors that explain these differences in cultural priorities? Have they developed as a functional adaptation to specific affordances and constraints, such as the goal to help others under conditions of limited resources? These questions have yet to be fully answered. Nonetheless, cultural frameworks such as individualism-collectivism, although useful, come with limitations, and recent work sheds light on ways to evaluate the co-existence of these different cultural priorities.

Educational and Policy Implications

Inherent to cultural systems are the values placed on certain behaviors or beliefs. For example, in India, the emotion of *lajya* (shame) and the corresponding facial expression of "biting one's tongue" are deemed to be important virtues for women. Menon and Shweder's study examining the meaning of *lajya* showed its important role in expressing one's rightful place in society, duties and responsibilities, and the ability to be modest and shy, particularly in the presence of social superiors. The authors also note that the value attached to this emotion and expression appears to be patently different from Western conceptions of shame.

This evaluative component of culture is particularly relevant to the school context. For example, an integral part of cognitive development is learning how one's community defines intelligence. Such lessons pervade school systems where students become hyper-aware of what it means to be "smart." Clearly, however, evaluations of what is "smart" can vary dramatically from community to community. What happens when different cultural ideologies confront one another? The potential harmonizing and clashing of cultures is particularly salient in a school setting. While there are many benefits that can be reaped from the "coming together" of diverse groups and cultures, there are also challenges faced when different cultures come in contact.

Oftentimes, children from diverse cultural backgrounds come to school with a set of culture-specific behaviors that may not be equally valued in the classroom setting, and may in fact conflict with the behaviors that are expected and privileged by their teachers. Examples of this include cultural differences in the sorting and categorization of objects. In Glick's classic study, he asked Kpelle participants to sort 20 objects. The subjects sorted the objects into functional (e.g., potato with hoe, knife with orange), rather than categorical (e.g., tools in one group, foods in another), groups. The researcher considered the categorical grouping to be more appropriate, but when asked, the participants said that a wise man would categorize the objects in functional ways. When asked how a fool would categorize the objects, the Kpelle participants grouped the objects by category. Another example of a potential mismatch between behaviors is the role of observation in children's learning. In Mejia-Aruaz et al.'s study, Mexican and European American children were taught how to fold origami by observing a woman demonstrate and describe the steps. Mexican American children used more "intent participation" and focused observation, whereas the European American children asked more questions and probed for additional information.

In the next two sections, we present examples of challenges that children may encounter when faced with different cultural experiences in two specific domains—narrative development and ethnic identity.

Narratives

The process of certain behaviors becoming privileged in ways that differentially favor certain cultural groups over others is illustrated in the example of children's

storytelling or narratives. Children's development of narrative skills unfolds in highly specific cultural contexts. In recounting personal experiences, narrators must process how the events happened and reflect on how those experiences should be told to others. Such reflections on what makes a good narrative are grounded in cultural beliefs and practices.

Heath's classic study on narrative development in African Americans from rural communities in the Southeastern U.S. illustrates the problems such children have fitting in with the linear storytelling styles of middle-income, mainstream cultures. In mainstream Western cultures, events are chronologically ordered in ways that lead to a climax and resolution. This temporally-based way of relaying a story or personal experience is favored in most U.S. school settings. These expectations about "proper" narratives often closed out African American children who told stories with varying structures that did not revolve around a single climax, and lacked a clearly marked beginning or ending. Instead, African American children continued to tell the story for as long as their listeners remained entertained. Although these multi-themed stories were highly valued in the African American community, they were considered to be unfocused in the school context, and were therefore not valued.

Similarly, research on Haitian American children's narratives highlights how mainstream expectations about what constitutes a good narrative resulted in children's narratives appearing to be less developed. Haitian American children's narratives were characterized by the repetition of words and images, extra details to draw the audience into the story, and were linked to the experiences of their listeners, rather than to their own perspectives. However, similar to African American children's narratives, they did not use chronology and climax resolution as central aspects of storytelling.

Another example of a culture-specific narrative style is illustrated in observations of the Kwara-ae people of the Solomon Islands. The Kwara-ae use narratives as a means of maintaining good relations among family members and creating interpersonal bonds. Consequently, the stories of the Kwara-ae are characterized by a focus on discussing, evaluating, and resolving social conflicts and personal problems.

Cultural styles also affect the length and form of narratives. For example, Japanese children are more likely to relay short narratives about a collection of experiences, without providing elaborate detail of one specific experience, regardless of follow-up questions. When sharing narratives with their children, Japanese mothers were found to request less description, offer less evaluation and display more verbal attention to their children than White American mothers. This may stem from Japanese cultural beliefs about the importance of early empathy training.

Together, the above studies highlight the educational and developmental consequences of mismatches between the narrative skills that children bring to school and teachers' expectations about what constitutes a good story. The implications of this research are particularly important, given that narrative skills have been linked to children's language acquisition and later academic achievement. Moreover, these cross-cultural investigations on children's narratives and schooling highlight the inherently cultural experience of educational institutions. The very tradition of schooling is deeply rooted in a cultural context, and whether or not a student is a member or foreigner to the norms of the school institution can make a difference in their academic performance over time.

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity is another developmental domain that significantly affects children's academic achievement and well being. Ethnic identity is an important dimension of one's larger personal and social identity, as well as a critical aspect in the search for self, particularly in racial and/or ethnic minority groups. Discrimination, and its relation to majority and minority power status, can influence multiple aspects of ethnic identity. In particular, the ethnic identity development of individuals who are members of the majority is repeatedly endorsed by mainstream institutions, whereas the ethnic identity of minority groups is often not supported. To illustrate, research has revealed that the negative effects of being an immigrant youth were reinforced, not reduced, when children attended suburban schools. However, the positive effects of advantaged group membership of Anglo American youth remained even when they attended inner-city schools. In addition, work on contextual dissonance (in which a salient characteristic of an individual is at odds with characteristics of the predominant group in a given social context) has shown that individuals from lower valued social groups are more affected than higher valued social groups when immersed in a dissonant context.

A solid sense of ethnic identity is related to positive outcomes, such as self-esteem, and can also function as a buffer against stigma. Phinney argues that understanding one's ethnic identity allows individuals to maintain a sense of self when faced with discrimination and prejudice. However, there are also negative outcomes related to a poor sense of ethnic identity that place youth at risk. For example, research has documented that the threat of negative stereotypes about one's racial or ethnic group can lead to lower performance on standardized tests. Such "stereotype threat" can also affect social and emotional outcomes, extending to peer relationships. Risks for negative outcomes are further compounded by the presence of other challenges that may threaten the healthy development of ethnic identity among immigrant youth. Struggles around ethnic identity can be further heightened for immigrant youth for whom schools are a primary cultural institution and the main setting for interactions with peers. Although developing new peer relationships is a means for gaining independence from parents for American youth, friendships are particularly challenging for immigrant youth who may experience difficulties connecting with their new American peers.

When unpackaging the concept of ethnic identity, it is important to note that children develop multiple identities and are continually navigating numerous cultures, such as those at school, home, and with peers. This integration of multiple cultures has often been examined through the lens of acculturation. Acculturation refers to the process by which a child learns the behavior patterns and belief systems of a new culture. Healthy acculturation is characterized by the child's ability to move seamlessly between cultural contexts. For example, in Fuligni, Yip, and Tseng's study, they found that Chinese adolescents in the U.S. were able to quite effectively balance family obligations with academic responsibilities without affecting their psychological well-being.

Classrooms also present a context for specific forms of acculturation. Children come to learn what is valued in schools and classrooms and incorporate these values into their behavioral repertoires. This is beautifully illustrated in Wertsch's analysis of show-and-tell episodes in classrooms. He observed the ways in which teachers communicated their preferences to children about how to share objects during show-and-tell. One child brought a piece of lava to share with the class, and was praised for answering questions about its physical properties. However, the teacher showed no interest in the child's description of who gave the child the lava. Over time, children learned to participate in show-and-tell in ways that were privileged by their teachers—for example, focusing on facts about objects rather than tangential information. Eventually, students internalized these preferences, and even began to judge other children by the same standards. They evaluated statements as "good" if they seemed scientific, rather than personal or emotional.

This examination of ethnic identity, and the many cultural worlds that children and youth travel through, sheds light on the complex relationship between ethnic identity and positive developmental outcomes. In particular, implications of this research must inform theories of social and emotional development and academic engagement. From the perspective of cultural and ethnic identity development, it is important for children and adolescents to simultaneously maintain contact with their culture of origin while learning about and engaging with a new cultural landscape.

Conclusion

In summary, cross-cultural research presents a number of challenges, yet is critical to understanding the experiences of people living in dynamic, multi-cultural societies. Cross-cultural research promises to inform policies that promote children's academic achievement in schools, and their development into fully functioning members of their communities. It is particularly important to explore the ways in which different cultural groups successfully co-exist and learn from one another, and to recognize the role of educators and schools in helping children negotiate their cultural differences.

Teachers play a central role not only in instruction and classroom behaviors, but in ensuring that deficit models are not applied to children from different cultural backgrounds. If children or teachers in the classroom view certain children as less competent or motivated than others, this can have adverse consequences for students. Further, when there is a mismatch between the skills of the child and those that are valued in the school setting, there can be detrimental consequences. In increasingly multi-cultural and diverse schools and communities, there is the potential for a great number of positive developmental

outcomes. Teachers, staff and administrators should support children's adjustment to shifting cultural spaces.

In closing, Berry's model of acculturation offers a useful framework for characterizing the adjustment of children from different backgrounds who experience new cultural surroundings. His model specifies four possible pathways of individual acculturation: marginalization, separation, assimilation and integration. Marginalization refers to rejection of one's own culture along with being ostracized from the mainstream culture. The outcome for children is a sense of pervasive isolation. Separation occurs when individuals hold on to their native culture while shunning and avoiding contact with people from other groups. If children come to feel excluded from the mainstream, rather than integrating new ways of thinking and acting into their behavioral and psychological repertoires, they may come to feel less capable, valued and engaged. Assimilation is the mirror image of separation, in which individuals shun their cultural heritage and seek to associate only with individuals from the mainstream. Children who leave behind their heritage to adopt mainstream ways of acting may feel their true selves are silenced in these educational and social situations. Finally, integration, the most psychologically healthy pathway, includes maintaining cultural integrity while simultaneously participating as an integral member of the larger mainstream culture. Children are flexible and have the capacity to adapt and learn from different cultures at all points in development, and educators play a key role in this process of integration.

See also: *American Psychological Association (APA)*; *Cross-cultural learning styles*; *Culturally competent practice*; *Cultural psychiatry*

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Cross-Cultural School Psychology

Kiran Mala Singh

Cross-cultural school psychology can be defined in a variety of ways. The American Psychological Association (APA) and American Counseling Association (ACA) refer to the cross-cultural movement within the field of psychology to adapt practices to suit the characteristics and needs of those who seek mental health assessment or treatment as a professional responsibility. Its popularity in recent years is reflective of the widespread thinking that culture and its various aspects are an undeniable factor in the psychology of school children and young adults. It also comes out of increasing demographic changes across the United States (U.S.). Projected population estimates for the year 2020 suggest that one of three children attending public schools in the U.S. will represent a racially, ethnically, or culturally diverse group. Identified as one of the four principal pillars of expertise needed by all school psychologists, cross-cultural competence has been acknowledged in *School Psychology: A Blueprint for Training and Practice II*. A majority of training directors define cross-cultural competence as a psychologist's knowledge, awareness, and sensitivity to differences in culture. In a school context this translates into the school psychologist's ability to deliver culturally appropriate, non-biased services.

Cross-cultural school psychology competency in general is the knowledge and skill that school counselors and psychologists should practice in the delivery of psychological services to diverse student populations. Services include the proper and most fair assessment and testing tools used by educators in evaluating students of diverse cultures, English as a second language (ESL) students, as well as those students with special needs or disabilities, classroom and learning settings that encourage bi- or multilingual students to learn in their own native tongue as well as in English, incorporating mandatory, ongoing diversity training and constant retraining of school educators and counselors, and increased involvement with parents of diverse students. Perhaps a more drastic measure in ensuring cross-cultural psychology is adequately incorporated in schools comes with the increased push for culturally diverse counselors of all backgrounds and

their implementation in various school systems around the country. Cultural competent school psychologists can recognize the differential values found in the educational school system and how they may clash with culturally and linguistically diverse youth.

APA Guidelines

The APA has mandated multicultural guidelines. The implementation of such guidelines is a benchmark in the field of psychology, setting a precedent that all psychologists should be engaging in culturally relevant education, training, research, practice, and organizational development, making it clear that culture is fundamental to the study of an individual. As a tool to assist in the understanding of how multicultural issues affect work with individuals who are different from the practitioner, the following six guidelines were incorporated in 2003. According to APA guidelines psychologists should first recognize attitudes and beliefs that may negatively influence work with culturally diverse clients. This is considered the basis for all subsequent guidelines, pointing out that recognition and dismissal of the idea of privilege and personal biases as a counselor is the first step. Guideline two encourages psychologists to understand their culturally diverse clients and calls for sensitivity to the worldviews of ethnically and racially different individuals. Counselors must be aware of the world around them, the world at large, and the context in which they are living, understanding and respecting the worldviews of others they seek to counsel. The incorporation of multicultural perspectives in education is guideline three. This calls for psychologists to address multiculturalism in clinical training programs, making multicultural study a fundamental core within the study of psychology. It gives weight to the argument that an individual cannot be viewed separately from his or her culture and all it encompasses. Guideline four calls for culturally sensitive psychological researchers to recognize the importance of conducting culture-centered and ethical psychological research among persons from ethnic, linguistic, and racial minority backgrounds. This guideline is tied directly to demographic changes across the nation with regard to immigration into the U.S. Guideline five states that psychologists are encouraged to apply culturally appropriate skills in clinical and other applied psychological practices. Hence, it is not enough to know about cultural diversity, rather, it is imperative that such diversity training be put to use. The sixth and final guideline encourages psychologists to use organizational change processes to support culturally informed organizational/policy development and practices. Due to demographic shifts within the U.S., a psychologist's roles may change. Psychologists are encouraged to shift with such changes as they occur.

The Absence of Cross-Cultural Psychology

Why has culture been absent thus far with regard to school psychology? Some studies point toward the absence of culture in older texts. Others site the discrepancy as reflective of the misunderstanding of what a cross-cultural psychologist does. This argument explains the lack of attention paid to culture. It explains the dearth of understanding about what cultural psychology is and its beginnings, research, goals, and importance. Cross-cultural psychology has existed for decades, dating back to about the 1950s when it was termed, "comparative anthropology." It was later termed, "ethno-psychology," "societal psychology," "psychological anthropology," and "cultural psychology" in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, respectively. The idea that an individual does not exist apart from his or her environment has been long withstanding. The incorporation of that same person's culture, not only their societal surroundings took some time. As stated in the multicultural guidelines and agreed upon by most psychologists is that research must systematically consider culture in design, implementation, and interpretation of data. Such cross-cultural research must be done in the context of the group (e.g., racial, ethnic) in which it is being studied. Furthermore, such research must be ongoing and updated as census results prove demographic shifts, changes, and patterns. An overriding goal of cross-cultural school psychology is the incorporation of culture study and comparison with regard to a student's own personal culture against that of the dominant, majority culture in which he or she is educated. It calls for an understanding and inclusion of parental/cultural influences, assumed and expected gender roles, language barriers, religious values, educational values, and general lifestyle differences. As the counselor, it is imperative that such influences are taken into consideration when counseling a student. Not accounting for a student's home life and

upbringing is seeing only half the picture with regard to the mental health of that student. Assimilation and acculturation are also noteworthy and must be examined. The extent to which a student adjusts to a new school environment plays a big role with regard to language, understanding rules of conduct and what is or is not "appropriate" behavior, the value he or she places on his/her education, what that education means to him/her and the family structure, what other extra curricular activities a student may participate in, among other factors.

Until more recently, there was no clear consensus about how to define and encompass the full range of cross-cultural school psychology competencies. Previous examinations of cross-cultural school psychology competencies were lacking in their comprehensiveness. There had been little understanding of the knowledge and skills required of school counselors and psychologists while working with and for racially, ethnically, culturally, and linguistically diverse students and their parents. Current literature states that cross-cultural school psychology competencies include challenging assumptions and valuing others and being genuine in all interactions under the three main areas of competence: awareness, knowledge, and skills. These competencies recognize a student's context, including race, gender, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, abilities, age, religion, national origin, and power.

Emergence and Importance

The emergence and recent popularity of the emphasis on cross-cultural work results from a consensus of thinking among the psychological community: incorporating culture when trying to understand human behavior. Cross-cultural psychology is an extension of one of the foundations of human psychology, that human behavior is meaningful within and because of its social context. It seems there has been an increased calling for the acknowledgment and emphasis on culture and its importance with regard to individual counseling. Obvious signs are the increasing numbers in immigration and the constantly changing faces of "Americans." Another impetus includes demographic changes like the increasing Mexican/Mexican American population and the overwhelming necessity to speak Spanish, making it the "unofficial" second language of the U.S. Asian immigration numbers have also been increasing, affirming their importance on education. Like most psychologists, cross-cultural psychologists acknowledge that both biological and cultural factors influence human behavior but also take into account the reciprocal influence between and among different cultures and cultural groups.

The emergence of cross-cultural school psychology competence was initiated partially by the view that when a psychologist/counselor is lacking multicultural skills, critical resources are not engaged, there is no improvement on the cultural and linguistic aspects of the educational environment, educators and parents alike remain uninformed, and the student's needs overall remain unmet, thus perpetuating a cycle. A national survey of multicultural training in school psychology programs found the following: 40% of the programs sampled did not offer specific coursework associated with working with diverse populations. Of the students attending the sampled programs, about 30% received little to no exposure to racial/ethnic minority children during practicum or internship. Such results only further support the need for reform and an establishment of a level of cultural competence within school systems.

A goal of cross-cultural school psychology is to eliminate barriers between students of diverse backgrounds and their experience with the American school system. It can be presumed, that a student's distress may be the result of the clash between his or her original culture and the values of a new one. Typical sources of static with regard to such students include: proper roles for men and women in family life and in society at large, proper sexual behavior, child-rearing practices, responsibilities and rights of people at different ages, financial practices, property rights, standards in employer–employee relations, and religion, to name a few. School-aged children learn each of these within the classroom setting, from educators, peers, books, and exposure to outside influences other than family members. For counselors, a firm foundation in the understanding of cultures outside of themselves will only enhance the counselor–student/patient relationship.

During its establishment, goals for cross-cultural psychology included, testing current psychological theories and practices, find new ways of studying psychology in terms of culture, and the integration of what has been learned to give psychology a broader

and more encompassing universality. This form of psychology is based on research that recognizes various cultural factors and ethnic influences on development and behavior.

Schools of Thought

Absolutists declare that basically all human experiences are the same, regardless of cultural background. For example, feelings and emotions are basically the same across the board. For these types of theorists, culture plays very little into human characteristics. The anthropologists Boas and Herskovits made cultural relativism popular. Its emergence stemmed from the prevention of ethnocentric ideals and influences. Relativists are not interested in intergroup similarities, unlike absolutists. They strive to avoid evaluations and comparing. Universalist foundations are rooted in basic human characteristics. They believe that basic human characteristics are shared but culture influences how they are displayed. That is to say, those human characteristics that are universal to humanity are varied in the way they are expressed due to cultural influences.

Value in School Settings

The cross-cultural perspective should be taken into account with regard to school counseling, be it personal or vocational. In personal counseling with students, be it in elementary, secondary or higher education, the implementation and practice of cross-cultural psychology is an integral part of the student's collective well-being. This counseling accounts a part of the student's life not seen. A larger, broader, and much more complete picture can be viewed by the psychologist who is learning from and about cultural issues and influences in a student. A much more comprehensive and appropriate assessment and treatment can therefore be provided by the counselor as well. Issues and contradictions with regard to family and cultural traditions can potentially play a huge role in the overall health and well-being of a student. The cross-cultural aspect of psychology allows counselors to view potentially unseen pressures and influences on a student. Personal pressures to maintain "old-world" traditions of a particular culture can weigh heavily on a student whose exposure to American ideals and culture may pit him or her against those very same ideals. For example, a traditional Indian girl is said to be very obedient and nurturing, living with her parents until she is married and then moves into her in-laws home. This is in stark contrast to American norms of independence and feministic ideas of equality.

Cross-cultural school psychologists stress the importance of and recognize the distinction between values, morals, norms, etiquette, behavior, and a whole host of other variations within the U.S. and other cultures. It may be significantly important, for example, for an elementary school counselor to identify the rewards and punishment differentiations within diverse cultures. What is seen as a reward in one culture may not be rewarding in another, becoming especially important in grade school environments. Helping to foster and shape students' relational skills with regard to acceptable behavior towards persons of the opposite sex, people in positions of honor or authority, the young, the elderly, relatives and strangers, the unfortunate, the successful, and others, relies heavily on the counselor's cross-cultural psychological training or lack thereof.

With regard to vocational counseling, cross-cultural psychology is arguably just as important. Traditional influences and pressures of an immigrant family, for instance, may be the reason behind high school student's apprehensions about colleges, course(s) of study, degrees, and jobs. Adaptation of a much more accepting and open forum within counseling centers with cross-culturally trained counselors seems to be a much needed addition. Immigrant parents of first and subsequent generations of American immigrant children bear the brunt of cultural expectations and standards for success along with the burden of defining exactly what success in America actually means. For parents whose migrating to the U.S. was primarily based upon the future of their children, expectations and ambitions for their children can be overwhelming. Children may grow up with a sense of duty and obligation to their parents, sometimes neglecting their own goals and aspirations or worse, resenting their parents for pressuring them. Many times, immigrant children or children from culturally diverse families may be crumbling under the severe pressure from their parents to succeed and do well to justify their immigration or to support the family. In obligation to their parents for their sacrifice in leaving their homeland, some children find themselves selflessly pursuing educational and

employment paths not of their choosing but that of their parents. A counselor's sensitivity and understanding of cross-cultural influences and the delicate balance between an American lifestyle and traditional cultural values of their homeland, makes cross-cultural psychology in a schooling system invaluable.

Competency Improvements

The purpose of effective training and universality with regard to cross-cultural school psychology is to influence psychology students and professionals to be aware of the cultural issues to be effective therapists. A 2002 Delphi study from the University of Rhode Island and Queens College of The City University of New York, helped distinguish competencies integral to the implementation of effective cross-cultural school psychology training. In order of importance, the three competencies needing the most attention as identified by the study were: Assessment, Report Writing and Laws and Regulations. In the training of future school psychologists in cross-cultural competence, the APA and the National Association of School Psychologists (NASP) can put additional emphasis on these areas. They currently state that programs must provide a curriculum in diversity issues that leads to the development of competencies relevant to work with a clientele diverse in race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, nationality, and socioeconomic status. Further work must be done to precisely define characteristics of a truly culturally competent school psychologist.

See also: ➤ *Cross-cultural competence in school psychologists' services*; ➤ *Cross-cultural consultation*; ➤ *School counselor*; ➤ *School psychologist*

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CSBMHP

➤ Center for School-Based Mental Health Programs (CSBMHP)

CSMH

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Cuento Therapy

Giuseppe Costantino · Carmen Inoa Vazquez · Robert Malgady

Background

Cuento Therapy, originated by the first contributor in 1979 as an integration of Puerto Rican fairytales and social cognitive psychology, was the first time that literature and psychology were integrated to develop a culturally sensitive narrative therapy modality for Latino children and their families. Developed at both the Hispanic Research Center and Fordham University and conducted at the Lutheran Medical Center, Sunset Park Mental Health Center on a National Institutes of Health (NIH) RO1 grant, Cuento Therapy was the first study of a culturally competent therapy outcome program. Subsequently, it has become the first culturally competent, evidence-based therapy modality for Latino youngsters.

Intervention

In a study of a culturally sensitive treatment intervention with 5- to 8-year-old children, the first author developed a storytelling modality based on Puerto Rican *cuentos* or folktales, as a modeling therapy. The characters in folktales were posed as peer models

conveying the theme or moral of the stories. The stories were selected from a vast array of Puerto Rican children's literature with the consideration of captivating children's attention to the models, which is critical to the first stage of the modeling process. Second, the models were adapted to present attitudes, values, and behaviors that reflect adaptive responses to the designated targets of therapeutic intervention, such as acting out, anxiety symptoms, and low self-esteem. The folktales were adapted to bridge both Puerto Rican and Anglo cultural values and settings. Reinforcement of children's imitation of the models through active role-playing facilitated social learning of adaptive responses that were targeted in the stories' themes. Thus, the treatment was rooted in the children's own cultural heritage, presented in a format with which they could readily identify and imitate, and therapeutically aimed to affect psychosocial adjustment.

Sessions took place in a group therapy room at the clinical site, with participants seated in a circle with child–mother dyads sitting together. Two *cuentos* were read by the therapist at each session, alternatively along with the child and mother. To balance gender, one *cuento* had a female and one a male as the main character of the story. Personal experiences of the participants were shared and verbally reinforced. Subsequently, the participants enact the *cuentos* through role playing and videotaping, and reinforcement then followed. The following is an excerpt from one of the Puerto Rican *cuentos*.

The Little Boy Who Wanted to Become a Big Man

Not too long ago there was a boy called Juanito who did not want to go to school. One day, he told his parents: "I'm sick and tired of being treated like a boy, I'm old enough to do want I want to." His parents were sad. His mother said: "You're too little, you can't leave us... I would get sick from worrying about you." His father added: "Son, wait until you finish school, you're too young. Don't you know what happened to your grandfather? He left school and couldn't get a good job... They all called him Donkey Juan [*Juanito el Burrito*]." The little boy Juanito left anyway, but he had a hard time to find places to sleep and had no money to buy food. He realized he was better off at home, but was afraid to return. Then he met Mister Fox and Mister Dog, who promised him a home and food. They promised him a bag of gold. But they wanted him to steal it from someone's house. A neighbor saw the three of them and called "Police, Police!" The police came and caught Juanito, but not the other two. Crying, the boy wanted to go home. As he climbed the stairs to his apartment, he heard his parents crying because they missed him. He realized that his parents still loved him. From that day on he went to school, learned his lessons, and listened to his parents... on the way to becoming a man.

In this treatment intervention, children were screened for presenting emotional and behavior problems in school and at home, and the most symptomatic were selected for inclusion in the study. The presenting problems were symptoms of anxiety, depression, and conduct disorders, at the threshold of diagnostic criteria according to the third edition, revised, of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*. Their low socioeconomic status and high rate of single-parent household composition (60% female-headed households) also characterized these children as representing a population that may experience significant stressors.

Evidence for the Effects of Treatment

The effectiveness of the *cuento* intervention was determined by comparing treatment outcomes with respect to a second folktale condition in which the same stories were not adapted to bridge cultural conflict, a mainstream (art/play) intervention, and an attention-only waiting-list control group. The evaluation of treatment outcomes indicated that the bicultural folktale intervention led to significantly greater improvement in social judgment and reduction in anxiety symptomatology relative to both comparison groups at the immediate post-test after 20 sessions and at a 1-year follow-up post-test.

Further analysis revealed that the folktale intervention was most effective with younger children, 5–6 years old. Debriefing interviews conducted with 7–8-year-old children revealed that they viewed some of the *cuentos* as "childish." This developmental consideration prompted the development of another narrative modeling modality that was appropriate for older children and adolescents.

See also: ➲ *Children's literature*; ➲ *Cross-cultural learning styles*; ➲ *Culturally competent practice*; ➲ *Hispanic Americans*; ➲ *Language arts, Teaching of*

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Cultural Competency Self Assessment Checklist

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The civil rights era of the 1960s and 1970s set the stage for the multicultural counseling movement. In the late-1970s, discussions of multicultural counseling issues began to appear in academic journals, and a multicultural counseling competency position paper was published by Derald Wing Sue and colleagues in 1982, considered to be a classic in the multicultural counseling field, was published in *The Counseling Psychologist*. Since then, attention to multicultural issues in counseling has increased dramatically, and a flurry of systematic, well-organized professional association activity has had a major impact on the status of multicultural issues in counseling and psychology. The American Psychological Association (APA), for instance, officially authorized adaptations of the position paper by Derald Wing Sue and colleagues as the Multicultural Guidelines on Education and Training, Research, Practice and Organizational Development for Psychologists (APA, 2002). Ethical codes and guidelines of the APA (2005) and American Counseling Association (2005) have also called for mental health professionals to acquire knowledge and skills in providing services for a culturally diverse, visible and invisible, clientele varying in gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, national origin, immigration status, age, religion, disability, language, and socioeconomic status. Defined from a psychosocial perspective as a network of domain-specific knowledge structures shared by members of a visible or invisible social-cultural group, culture is internalized into each individual's self-concept and functions as a set of templates that guide and govern interpersonal expectations, perceptions, and interpretations across situations. The increased attention to multicultural competency, or lack thereof, has been driven, in part, by the growing racial and cultural diversity of the United States (U.S.) society at large, the monocultural assumption of traditional training models, and advances in multicultural theories and research.

Multicultural Counseling Competency Models

In the competency report written by Derald Wing Sue and colleagues, there are 11 specific competencies for multicultural counseling practice. The report later underwent several rounds of revisions resulting in 31 competencies. These competencies were organized into three major categories: (1) counselor awareness of own assumptions, values, and biases, (2) understanding the worldview of the culturally different client, and (3) developing appropriate intervention strategies and techniques. In 1996, Patricia Arredondo further presented 119 explanatory statements that linked each of the three major categories to three dimensions of personal identity: attitudes and beliefs, knowledge, and skills. These two sets of categories produce a three by three matrix that is referred to today as the multicultural counseling competencies model.

The most recent and comprehensive work on the multicultural counseling competency construct is the book *Multicultural Counseling Competencies: Individual and Organizational Development* published by Derald Wing Sue and colleagues in 1998. The text augments the list of 31 competencies to 34 and is more expansive than any of the previous works on

the competency model. Various versions of competency models not only impact the practice and training of mental health professionals but also fuel much conceptual and empirical productivity.

Furthermore, these competency models have been expanded to include three contexts in which mental health professionals function: (1) *personal* context includes counselors' identity, beliefs, attitudes, awareness, knowledge, and skills, (2) *professional* context refers to counselors' collection of roles such as therapist, consultant, teacher, or supervisor within the field of counseling psychology, and (3) *institutional* context where counseling practice occurs within institutional entities such as psychology departments, state agencies, and mental health clinics. In different contexts, counselors assume myriad responsibilities that may have different implications for culturally competent practice.

Self-Assessment Checklists

A number of self-assessment checklists exist in the literature, including, for example, the Cross-Cultural Counseling Inventory-Revised (CCCI-R) by La Fromboise and colleagues, the Multicultural Counseling Awareness Scale (MCAS) by Ponterotto and colleagues, the Multicultural Counseling Inventory (MCI) by Sodowsky and colleagues, and the Multicultural Awareness-Knowledge-and-Skills Survey (MAKSS) by D'Andrea and colleagues. Inventories and assessments such as these all focus on three main factors: awareness, knowledge, and skills. As a unique feature, the MCI also includes a Multicultural Counseling Relationship scale, which examines a counselor's stereotypes and comfort levels with minority clients.

To more fully understand how these various factors come into play in the development of a multiculturally competent counselor, counselors must undergo a self-examination in relation to larger contexts such as social interactions or the society at large. Specific attention is paid to counselors' awareness, knowledge and skills, across three levels of self-awareness: *Intra*personal (internal qualities), *Inter*personal (qualities in social interactions), and *Extra*personal (qualities regarding sociopolitical or sociocultural factors).

The intrapersonal level of multicultural competence includes a self-awareness of one's own internal processes, personality characteristics, thoughts, stereotypes, beliefs, biases and assumptions. The intrapersonal level also includes the ability to be self-reflective and self-aware. Through supervision and self-refection, counselors can hone in on blind spots or strengths.

The interpersonal level is characterized by an awareness of how cultural factors impact counseling encounters. This dimension focuses on the here-and-now of the counseling session as well as other social interactions. This level involves the interactions between the counselor and client, the process and content of those interactions, and counselors' multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills that contribute to the interaction.

The extrapersonal level of cultural competence involves knowledge about resources, barriers, cultural norms, traditions, and social policies that shape the worldview of both the counselor and the client. This also includes theories of identity development (e.g., gender role orientation, racial identity, gay identity). In addition, this level necessitates counselors to develop an awareness of how sociopolitical realities or perceptions contribute to the counseling relationship during the counseling process.

Use of the Self-Assessment Checklist

Although the multicultural counseling competency model has been widely recognized by the counseling and psychology professions and embraced in training programs, the implicit assumption that multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills translate into effective practice remains unsubstantiated. That is, while the model is specific about the necessary components of multicultural competence, it falls short of demonstrating how this competence is manifested in the counseling process. Each counseling encounter is multicultural in nature and is unique in itself; no model can predefine all of the richness and diversity of culture. After all, competence does not ensure effectiveness, and the development of cultural competence is an ongoing process. Once equipped with a set of basic cultural competencies, counselors are encouraged to examine how their cultural effectiveness, or lack thereof, results from: (1) factual knowledge: culturally relevant factual information; (2) generic clinical skills: fundamental counseling skills necessary for the development of working alliance, assessment, intervention, and termination; (3) theory-specific technical skills: the use of special procedures or techniques in the clinical setting based on a specific theory; (4) clinical judgment: the ability to apply knowledge and clinical skills to

counseling a particular client; and (5) interpersonal attributes: personality characteristics and styles, past personal experience, or psychosocial skills that may affect the ability to function in a professional capacity.

Given that culture is such a broad and rich vein of information, counseling practice is inevitably embedded in multiple sociocultural realities and contexts. The manifestation of culture(s) in the individual is idiosyncratic, depending on myriad factors, individual and contextual. Cultural knowledge should not be misused to stereotype clients. The multicultural counseling competency model and, by extension, the self-assessment checklist, can bring to counselors' mind a format for examining diversity-related critical incidents and the surrounding contexts through reflection. During this reflective inquiry process, counselors are careful in the exploration of the client's presenting concerns, respectful of each other's experiences and reactions, while avoiding being trapped in two different ways: through either inadequate attention to other factors beyond racial and cultural variables or ignorance of within-group differences. Counseling is likely experienced differently by the client than by the counselor due, in part, to the dynamic interaction among the individual, group, and universal aspects of the human experience. The intentional-reflective stand also allows counselors to uncover and identify their errors, on one hand, and further enhance their effective practice that is both ethical and culturally appropriate, on the other.

See also: *Cultural diversity*; *Roles and responsibilities of multiculturally competent school counselors*; *Self-assessment checklist for personnel providing services and supports to children and their families*

Suggested Reading

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Cultural Diversity

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All families are multicultural. The threads that weave together the heritage of every family unit are unique, making it difficult for any family to fit into a description of a particular group. Moreover, the school setting is arguably the most common and natural setting by which families relate to others from a variety of diverse backgrounds. Cultural diversity within the United States (U.S.) continues to increase. According to the 2000 U.S. Census Bureau, approximately 77% of the population is White, 13% is African American, 4% is Asian, and 6% are other races. It is clear that diversity is a relevant issue within the U.S.; therefore, developing cultural competence among professionals within the school system is imperative. Here cultural diversity will be explored from a systemic lens that includes a broad range of issues such as power, gender, age, socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity, disability, religion, and sexuality in the context of the family and school system.

Families in the School Context

Children and families must be viewed within their context if they are to be adequately understood. Effective models of working with families must consider the relationships families have with their wider environment including other individuals, friends, relatives, church, community resources, institutions, and social service agencies. Recognizing the impact of these systems upon families allows the clinician and school personnel to achieve a more complete and complex perspective of families. Furthermore, clinicians and school personnel are able to access and effectively intervene with families in a greater number of ways. Yet, consideration of children and families in context does not eliminate the issue of cultural bias and insensitivity. Instead, it elevates cultural competence to a position that warrants urgent attention.

The school is among the most culturally diverse system that families interact with on a regular basis. From a systemic perspective, schools are similar to families in their fundamental organizational structure. For example, both seek to care for and educate the young, both have well-established belief systems that

influence how they function, and both are comprised of various subsystems, (such as teacher-student, parent-teacher, and parent-student subsystems) that facilitate some tasks and inhibit others. In the 1960's, the community mental health movement lead to the establishment of a national mandate to provide mental health consultation for schools. The history of this process reflects the difficulty experienced in reconciling the idealism of some who believe the school system can be a place not only dedicated to academic excellence, but also to healing family and community life problems, and the pessimism of those who believe the school system cannot and should not be held responsible for managing any aspects of family functioning outside of the academic domain.

In an effort to determine a midpoint between these opposing views, schools have evolved over the years to include a variety of innovative approaches for meeting the mental health needs of children and families. As a continuation of this evolution process, schools must now consider approaches that engage with the cultural complexities within their frameworks. For example, on-campus parent support groups may work well for White parents, but Latino or Asian parents may feel it is inappropriate to share personal concerns with adults outside their families. Asian parents may prefer educational workshops and Latino's may prefer home-based interventions.

Definition of Cultural Diversity

Culture develops from and within societal contexts. As such, it is a set of individual or collective meanings that are in a constant state of flux. In a sense, culture defies definition. While it provides people with a means of making sense of themselves and their life experiences, it is always provisional, political, and emergent. Culture governs and influences how children and families view themselves, how they relate to each other, and how they interact with their greater environment. It involves a broad range of diversity issues, including gender, age, socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity, disability, religion, and sexuality. These dimensions are central to all human experience; therefore, it is imperative that clinicians and school personnel consider culture as a primary guide when working with children and families in the school setting.

Power Issues: Gender, Age, and Socioeconomic Status

Power is an inherent part of daily life. It guides personal and professional relationships according to both subtle and overt differentials established by factors such as gender, age, and socioeconomic status. While power is typically measured by the amount of control one person has over another, it can also be viewed as the ability by which one person can strengthen, encourage, challenge, and love another. Within the school setting, professionals can strive to achieve the latter conceptualization of power within both the organization of the school system and the family. Rather than seeking maintenance of the status quo or problem relief, professionals in the school system can aim to empower children and families by recognizing the importance of societal rules, roles, and imbalances, and providing them with an opportunity to explore and make sense of these issues in a personally meaningful way.

While many mental health professionals consider issues of overt dominance in clinical practice, studies have found that clinicians often fail to identify and address gender-related issues in their work with students and their families. This failure has important implications for the school setting. Rather than being part of the process that challenges maladaptive gender patterns, well-meaning professionals may accidentally perpetuate or re-create old ways of relating that do not serve men or women very well. School personnel must take conscious action to avoid gender bias, within both the organization of the school and how it relates to children and families. For example, men can generally be found in positions of greater authority within the school system (such as principal and other administrative roles), whereas women are often employed in lower hierarchical positions (such as teacher and librarian). Within the family, men often maintain the role of primary bread-winner, thereby placing women in a position of economic dependence. Therefore, common interactions between genders (such as a meeting between a male principal and a female parent, or a parent conference with a female teacher and male parent) must be considered from a gender-inclusive lens because of the inherent power differentials involved.

Furthermore, there is a wide variance among different ethnicities regarding gender roles. For example, Latinos may expect girls to act in stereotypical feminine ways *(marianismo)*; therefore, Latino parents may be uncomfortable allowing their daughters to join

school sport teams. African American parents are often fearful for the safety of their sons due to their historical vulnerability to violence, drugs, incarceration, early death, and discrimination. As a result, the parents may take extreme positions with school personnel when talking about their son's behavior or academic performance. When working with children and families, school personnel must be sensitive to these kinds of gender issues. This will provide a more comprehensive understanding of the presenting issue, thereby allowing them to empathically and collaboratively work with parents within their cultural context.

Concerning power and its relationship to age, children have many experiences throughout their lives in which they feel they have little or no power and control. Generally, children live in an adult world governed by adult values, rules, and regulations. While the school system strives to relate to children in a non-threatening, comfortable manner, the school environment may not be different than the child's larger environment. Children learn how to relate to others in school according to societal standards: they learn to obey their teacher, respect authority figures, communicate appropriately, and behave accordingly. Their power is limited by their youthful status, and their ability to express themselves and share their "voice" is restricted by their under-developed verbal skills.

One way to reduce the negative consequences of this issue is to educate school personnel on the value of play in child development. While there are over four thousand languages spoken in the world, play is not considered one of them; however, it should be because it is the primary means of communication for a child and it is a universal language. Despite varying cultural heritages, all children use play to express themselves. Toys are their words and play is their language. Through the metaphor of play, children learn to work through and make sense of their life experiences. It is a means by which they learn to recognize, express, and regulate their feelings in developmentally appropriate ways. Play provides children with familiar, non-threatening objects they can manipulate to reenact their past experiences or current thoughts and feelings. By doing so, children are able to gain a sense of power and mastery over their environment. They are empowered through play to trust themselves as well as their relationships with others.

The primary objective of the school system is to facilitate a child's learning. The establishment of mental health programs within schools opened the door for clinicians to be a vital part of reaching this goal. The main question is not whether play should be utilized within schools, but how it should be used within schools. One increasingly common intervention with children in elementary schools is play therapy, which is a dynamic, interpersonal relationship between a child and, primarily, a therapist, whereby the child learns to explore, cope with, or resolve trauma, disabilities, losses, or other developmental tasks. Play therapy is both preventative and curative; therefore, it can be used to meet a wide range of developmental needs for both adjusted and maladjusted children. Just as adults cannot be expected to perform maximally at work when they are going through a divorce, the death of a loved one, or a major life transition, children cannot be expected to be ready to learn at school without being given the chance to make sense of the recent fight they heard between their parents, the family cat that died last week, or the recent family relocation. Thus, play therapy provides an excellent adjunct to the learning environment in school because it helps all children get ready to profit from the learning opportunities awaiting them.

Social and economic class is a source of power differentials among people throughout all cultures. Classism is both discriminatory actions and attitudes which are based on differences between social or economic classes. A related concept is class-consciousness, which is defined as an awareness and feeling of identification with one's own social or economic rank in society. Classism is held in place by a system of beliefs that ranks people according to occupation, level of education, and economic status. This system of beliefs obscures the reality of class differences and fosters several myths. One such myth is the belief that the U.S. is fundamentally a classless society. In stark contrast to this myth, the majority of wealth in the U.S. is in the hands of a small percentage of its population. The inequitable distribution of wealth prevents the whole society from enjoying the full benefits of people's labor, intelligence, and creativity, and it contributes to misery and despondence for the poor and working classes.

Another myth assumes that the U.S. is essentially a middle-class nation; however, the middle class is shrinking in size, and the gap between the rich and poor is bigger than ever before. Yet another myth involves the belief that everyone has an equal chance to succeed. . . hard work, sacrifice, and perseverance is all that is needed for success in the U.S. In reality, however, socioeconomic status has a significant impact on

educational attainment. School performance and level of schooling completed is strongly correlated with class. For example, students with greater social status have a higher probability of getting better grades. Despite efforts to increase fair testing and school accessibility, current data suggest the level of inequity remains the same. A final myth states that the reason why the poor and working classes remain in their status is their lack of intelligence and their tendency to be overly emotional. Classism supports the notion that the upper class is smarter and more articulate than the poor and working classes, and these beliefs cause great pain to people by isolating them and preventing them from reaching their potential. The task of coping with and rejecting these erroneous beliefs is frequently a highly emotional process.

School personnel must be sensitive to the impact of socioeconomic status and the aforementioned myths on families for a variety of reasons. For example, children from poor and working classes may feel disillusioned by the myth that hard work and perseverance is all that is needed to succeed. They may lose motivation because they are constantly bogged down by the cycle of poverty, both of their families and their neighborhood. Conversely, other poor or working class families may push their children to excel in school, believing that education is the only gateway to a better life in the future. Recognizing the myth of equal opportunity for all, teachers can help by providing specific academic guidance to children, each starting at different points in their socioeconomic context.

Ethnicity and Race

Achieving a sense of belonging and historical continuity is a basic psychological need. Ethnicity describes a sense of commonality involving history and traditions that are transmitted through family generations and are reinforced by the surrounding community. Ethnicity transcends race, religion, and national origin, and is a major source of personal identity. People who are secure in their identity are able to act with greater freedom, flexibility, and openness to those from different cultural backgrounds. However, people often receive negative messages about their ethnic background and learn values from the dominant society that conflict with those they learned from their family heritage. In an effort to resolve this issue, they may ignore, cut off, or reject their cultural heritage. Some develop a sense of inferiority and self-hate, which can lead to aggressive behavior and discrimination toward other ethnic groups.

Racism, which assumes that group differences are biologically determined and therefore unchangeable, involves the belief that one's race is superior to another. It encompasses beliefs and attitudes about racial groups, which are often enacted by and reinforced through social, cultural, and institutional practices. Racism can be overt, involving easily detectable behavioral or verbal discriminatory acts, or it can be covert, subtle, hidden, denied, or discounted.

Race and ethnicity are relevant to the school setting in many ways. Ethnic groups differ in what they view as problematic behavior, how they respond to problems, their attitudes toward seeking help, the emphasis they place on various life transitions, and their attitudes about group boundaries. For example, the English may view emotionality in children as problematic, while the Chinese may view anything that disturbs family harmony as problematic. Italians may respond to problems by seeking family support, eating, or self-expression, whereas Norwegians may respond to problems by getting fresh air and exercise. These kinds of differences among ethnic groups are important to consider when working with children and families in the school system.

Likewise, racism is also an important consideration for school personnel. It can take many forms in the school system, ranging from an academic curriculum that emphasizes European American history and does not address the history of other ethnic/cultural groups, to an African American student who is excluded by his peers from an all-White school basketball team. School personnel need to be sensitized to the presence of institutionalized racism and the many ways it can influence students and their families.

Disability and Special Education

Another aspect of cultural diversity is the disability challenges that some students face within the school system. Over the past 30 years, the law determines that parental permission is required for the process of referral, evaluation, placement, and individualized education plans. Despite these changes, disabled students are often cast in the role of patients, and parents are in the role of respondents, who grant permission to authorities to carry out the various aspects of the

placement process. Among minorities in the special education system, parental involvement is even less involved and informed. Empirical studies and conceptual discussions have determined the following challenges regarding minority participation in special education programs: lower levels of involvement than White parents, less knowledge of special education procedures, rights, and services, feelings of isolation and helplessness, lack of self-confidence when interfacing with professionals, need for logistical supports (such as transportation, child care, and respite), culturally based assumptions of noninterference by parents in school matters, and implicit and explicit discouragement of parental participation in the special education process by professionals.

While the special education system continues to reflect mainstream American values and behaviors, the school system has made efforts to increase its cultural competence in this area. For example, school personnel have developed sensitivity to various cultural styles, and they are encouraged to take a more indirect approach to foster a relationship with parents that includes elements other than direct service issues. Additionally, school personnel are encouraged to use interpreters, even when parents are able to speak a little English. Difficulties with technical vocabulary and the subtle nuances of language and interpersonal behavior can lead to significant misunderstandings. Many schools have also developed outreach programs for minority parents. Advocacy programs teach parents their legal rights, help them understand the basic tenets of special education, and teach them skills for interacting with school professionals.

Religion

The increasing diversity of the school system also brings with it different religious adherence among students. While the public school system has made every effort to stay out of issues of morality and religion, remaining neutral is very difficult and perhaps even unhelpful. School personnel have been reluctant to inquire into a family's spirituality for a number of reasons, but doing so separates school personnel from accessing and understanding one of the greatest resources for many families. While religion will probably continue to be a sensitive issue within the school system, it is important that school personnel recognize the importance of religion in the lives of children and families.

There are many reasons for addressing the role of religion in families. For example, studies suggest that attendance of religious activities protects children from misbehaviors in and outside of school. Therefore, if the family is part of a community of believers, school personnel may recommend students to be involved in their youth activities. Also, religious institutions provide many kinds of support to families, including parenting classes, marital enrichment workshops, youth camps, and support groups. Families who are hesitant about referrals to counselors or social service agencies may feel comfortable accessing support services at their churches, synagogues, temples, or mosques.

Sexuality

Since the goal of the school system is to facilitate the learning process for children, sex education is included in the majority of school curriculums; however, it is a controversial topic among parents, school personnel, and the larger community. While cultures vary in their expression of sexuality, the following guidelines for sexual development among children apply across diverse people groups. Some minority families may be more hesitant about discussing this topic at home and may expect the school to spearhead sex education for their children.

Although there are general tasks for sexual development in children, the rate and nature may vary considerably from child to child. Normal sexual behaviors in children include those that considerable numbers of children demonstrate, although children who do not engage in these behaviors are not necessarily considered abnormal. Abnormal behaviors are those that indicate a child may be having difficulty with sexual development, may require additional sex education and/or assessment by a professional, or may be a result of a child's unique personality or life experiences.

From birth to 2 years old, much of a child's learning is body-related. At this age, children learn to distinguish between male and female, playfully explore their own bodies, enjoy nudity, and have the capacity for sensory pleasure. Sometimes children have spontaneous sexual responses; however, they are reflexive and are not related to sexual arousal. At this stage of development, it would be abnormal to observe a child experience resistance, fear, or discomfort with touch from primary caregivers.

During early childhood (ages 2–5), children begin to show an interest in the bodies of others, including both adults and children. They engage in playful, curiosity-based sexual behaviors and games, such as "peeking," "I'll show you mine if you show me yours," "playing doctor," and "playing house." Some children rub or touch their own genitals as a means of self-soothing and relaxation. Children at this age often engage in bathroom talk, show an interest in the basics of human reproduction, continue to enjoy nudity, and are developing the concept of privacy in relation to sexuality. Abnormal sexual behaviors include non-consensual sexual exploration with same-age playmates, or sexual exploration with a child that is significantly older or younger. Other problematic attitudes and behaviors include a persistent desire to be the opposite gender, performing physically harmful or painful sexual behaviors, oral-genital contact or exploration, penetration of another child's vagina or anus with fingers or objects, sexual intercourse (actual or simulated), obsessive talk about sexuality, and public nudity or sexual behavior after learning the concept of privacy.

During middle childhood (ages 5–8), children continue to grow in their understanding of sexuality. Characteristics of this stage of development are gender role socialization, continued cognitive sophistication and interest in human reproduction, the ability to link reproduction with sexual pleasure, increased need for privacy while bathing and dressing, awareness of sexuality in the media, peer talk about sexuality, and an awareness that different sexual orientations exist. Normal behaviors include curiosity-based sexual play with similar-age peers (often in private), touching of their own genitals for pleasure and/or relaxation, and talking about body parts and functions (often with slang of sexual language). Abnormal behaviors and attitudes include lack of knowledge relating to basic elements of human reproduction and signs of sexual abuse or exploitation.

During late childhood (ages 9–12), children experience physical changes due to puberty, have a heightened concern about physical appearance, are attracted to the opposite sex, and develop an understanding of the rights and responsibilities associated with sexuality and relationships. Normal behaviors include dating, increased modesty or desire for privacy, physical intimacy (such as kissing), touching their own genitals, heightened interest in sexual media, and preoccupation with sexuality. Problematic sexual behaviors and attitudes include adult sexual activity, trouble with body image, compulsive genital touching, and trouble interacting with others in a socially or sexually appropriate manner.

From age 13–18, children complete the changes of puberty. They experience increased attraction, sexual feelings, and desire toward the opposite sex or same sex. Children at this age may face peer pressure to be sexually active, and they may prefer romantic relationships in favor of close friendships. Problematic issues related to sexuality at this stage of development include violence, coercion, or exploitation in relationships (such as sexual harassment and date rape), as well as pregnancy, pornography, and sexually transmitted diseases.

While these stages of sexual development tend to cut across cultural boundaries, there are significant differences in cultural norms of sexual expression. For example, Latino families go to great lengths to protect a girl's virginity and keep her reputation unmarred. As a result, these families may not allow their daughters to talk with boys or go on dates without chaperones. In traditional Asian families, physical expressions of love and affection are uncommon; therefore, these children may be less likely to display some of the more overt sexual behaviors. It is important for school personnel to be aware of these kinds of cultural differences in sexual expression.

When talking to a child about sexuality, it is important to do so with a calm, matter-of-fact, accepting tone. When adults speak to children about these issues in a non-blaming, non-shaming, non-judgmental manner, children learn that their sexuality is normal, positive, and healthy. Asking a child to show the adult where the child learned problematic sexual behaviors may be more comfortable to the child than being asked to tell about it. When a child has the option of showing an adult something, the child is given the option of using their primary means of communication, play, in addition to their developing verbal skills. Children can act out their experiences using dolls, doll houses, animals, cars, and other toys in a way that is comfortable to them. Nevertheless, sometimes children are responsive to specific, open-ended questions from adults about sexual behaviors. Adults may also find it helpful to talk with other people in the child's life to gather further observations. School personnel should refer parents to the child's pediatrician or a child therapist if abnormal sexual behaviors are observed.

Sexual orientation as a diversity issue is increasingly being discussed in schools. Different cultural groups have differing views about the topic. It is

important that children be respectful of the decisions that different individuals make regarding this issue. Homophobic attitudes must be confronted and dialogues encouraged by those who differ in their views.

Developing Cultural Competence

Cultural competence is the ability of individuals to accept, understand, and relate effectively to culturally diverse groups of people. There are a variety of ways to develop cultural competence among school personnel. Some argue the best way for an individual to develop cultural competence is by thoroughly studying his/her own ethnic identity. By doing so, the individual can develop greater self-awareness. Culturally skilled individuals recognize how their personal background, attitudes, values, and biases influence their psychological processes. They are comfortable with differences between themselves and others and can recognize the limits of their knowledge and experience. Additionally, cultural competence can be developed by gaining an understanding of general characteristics of various ethnic groups. While there are many problems associated with stereotyping ethnicities, school personnel would benefit from a basic understanding of the values and beliefs associated with several groups.

Perhaps one of the most effective skills of culturally competent individuals is the attitude of "not knowing." School personnel are not required to know everything about cultural groups, and they could not do so even if they wanted to. An open-mind and curious stance may be all that is necessary to build a bridge with ethnically diverse groups. Finally, cross-cultural training groups may facilitate the development of cultural competence. In these kinds of groups, participants are asked to describe themselves culturally, identify who influences their sense of cultural identity in their family, discuss which cultures they understand best apart from their own, and explore the characteristics they like most and least in their own cultural group. They are also encouraged to take cross-cultural plunges by attending functions of other ethnic events and celebrations. By engaging in these activities, school personnel gain a multidimensional perspective of diversity.

See also: ➲ *Cross-cultural competence in school psychologists' services*; ➲ *Cross-cultural families*; ➲ *Cross-cultural school psychology*; ➲ *Cultural issues in education*; ➲ *Racism: Individual, Institutional, and Cultural*

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Cultural Enmeshment

Georgia Yu

It has been estimated that the number of biracial individuals in the United States (U.S.) is between one and ten million. According to the 2000 U.S. Census Bureau, there has been an addition of 126 racial combinations for the first time in history, giving biracial and multiracial individuals the option to self-identify with multiple heritage groups. As biracial people become empowered to claim their right to accurately label their heritage and the numbers of biracial individuals and families continue to grow, society is compelled to broaden its definition of race. Many theorists have argued that biracial individuals inherently live in two worlds, unable to enjoy the benefits of full membership within either group. Others have argued that being biracial allows individuals to transcend and transform socially constructed ideas of racial classification.

Enmeshment is considered the third stage in the development of biracial identity. This stage occurs when an individual becomes confused and guilt-ridden at having to make a choice that is not a true reflection of his or her own identity. This individual experiences a lack of group acceptance and suffers from low self-esteem. The individual feels disloyal to one of his or her parents, and becomes concerned about how his or her peer group will respond if they meet the parents. The individual strives to resolve this guilt and confusion by identifying with both racial groups. The term "enmeshment" is also a concept taken from family systems theory, characterized by the relationship two or more individuals. Their lives and identities are so intertwined with each other that it is difficult to disentangle them for them to function independently.

The family system can have the most crucial influence on the development of a child's cognition. Through family, a child learns what is expected of him or her in society. The child learns to distinguish right from wrong. In this cognitive process, a child figures out how he or she fits into the world at large. A sense of self develops. If the child has a positive family experience, the child will have built a strong foundation to deal with the conflicts of life. If the family atmosphere is negative, the child fights a battle from the beginning.

Basically, the family provides the first experience in life that influences the future. The dynamics of familial interaction are what help the child deal with issues such as identity formation, building self esteem, emotional perspectives, and intellectual development. In combining the ideas of a cultural identity and the family systems definition of enmeshment, cultural enmeshment is the idea that an individual cannot separate from the two or more cultural identities. The individual is torn between or among different cultures and is unable to identify with the more salient culture.

Increased globalization and the effects of mass media, in which a "universal" or dominant cultural (namely Western and European America) is promoted, could predict increased cultural enmeshment and decreased importance of ethnic distinctions. However, increased similarity in cultural practices across ethnic groups is not associated with a reduction in the salience of ethnic identity. Although there may be challenges in conceptualizing and operationalizing terms such as race, culture, and ethnicity, they represent a multifaceted conceptual paradigm for understanding human diversity. These terms represent minority, socioeconomic, and immigrant status to many individuals even though these factors influence the lives of all families. They not only shape the study of various cultural groups, but have an impact on their economic, political, and social positions as well as acknowledge how within-group variation reflects and represents culture.

See also: ➲ *Acculturation*; ➲ *Biracial/multiracial identity development*; ➲ *Culture*; ➲ *Ethnic identity development*

Suggested Reading

LaFromboise, T., Coleman, H., & Gerton, J. (1993). Psychological impact of biculturalism: evidence and theory. *Psychological Bulletin*, *114*(3), 395–412.

Cultural Issues in Education

Michael J Nakkula · Claudia Pineda

It is widely argued that since key concepts and information are embedded within cultural values, education is as much a matter of *cultural socialization* as it is a process of learning specific information or developing critical thinking skills. In fact, *critical thinking skills* are also enmeshed with cultural values, as successful critical thinking in one context might prove unsuccessful in another; in this way, critical thinking may be defined as mental strategies or behaviors that allow one to function at an optimal level within particular cultural contexts. Proponents of these views argue that one cannot adequately conceive of education outside of specific cultural parameters, and that to be educated is, in part, to be culturally socialized. In this regard, an educated person is a cultured person, a person whose learning has been *cultivated* through the values, goals, and practices of particular educational approaches.

Definitions of Culture Applied to Education

Culture, as summarized from various anthropological definitions, is a shared (collective) organization of ideas (symbols and meanings) that includes the intellectual, moral, and aesthetic standards prevalent in a community. Morals are an integral component within almost all cultures as well as almost all educational approaches. Whether it is a formal part of the curriculum, an explicitly articulated value within a school's mission statement, or an organizer of a school's code of discipline, moral standards are central to day-to-day functioning in virtually all educational settings. How are teachers expected to treat students? How are students expected to treat one another? How are these expectations cultivated? These are all moral questions addressed by educators. In addition to these moral questions about how to best maintain order in a classroom setting, educators must also address questions about how to structure formal lesson plans; these lesson-plan questions also have moral underpinnings. How do educators teach students the moral lessons derived from history? How do they present the

morality of our political and legal systems? In this regard, education is morally grounded whether or not the moral values are explicitly articulated.

Aesthetic dimensions of culture are also prevalent within education. By aesthetic we mean standards and experiences of beauty and excellence. What constitutes great art? What allows people to experience "a good life"? How do we create a better world? These are all questions with an aesthetic core, and they are all questions that education addresses on multiple levels. Recently, students have begun to ask educators why classical visual and musical arts are featured almost exclusively in some school curricula, as opposed to popular art forms derived from youth culture (i.e., hip-hop music, art and style). What about contemporary novels from the *New York Times* best sellers list? Are they merely "pop" culture successes, given that they have not yet stood the test of time? Questions like these about the role of culture and the degree of its importance to education are important aesthetic questions for educators.

Communication and the Culture of Education

Communication is another key feature to most definitions of culture. What must students learn to be effective communicators, and what constitutes advanced communication skills? The academic skills associated with communication can have powerful cultural implications. For example, reading well is a matter of developing receptive communication skills within the culturally valued educational arena of literacy. What does it mean to read well? Does it mean reading widely? Reading quickly? Understanding deeply? All of these criteria play important roles in the development of excellent reading skills. This is critical from a cultural development perspective because knowledge—including culturally endorsed information—is passed along through reading. Further, reading contributes to the development and critique of culture. Ideas gleaned through reading contribute to individual and collective notions of what is important, what should be prioritized or privileged within a culture, and what should be changed. Cultural revolution, whether major or minor upheavals, utilizes literacy, particularly reading skills, as an integral tool.

Active listening is a second aspect of receptive communication used to impart cultural knowledge in school. Throughout the elementary school grades, children are prompted to listen attentively to teachers and peers. They are socialized to pick up cues that may help them understand the meaning of messages, ideas, and lessons. Active listening encourages students to listen beyond surface messages by connecting information heard in the present with related knowledge gleaned from prior lessons.

Students' culture, as well as their academic and other skills, is also partially built by educators' *scaffolding*. The concept of scaffolding, first coined by the developmental psychologist Lev Vygotsky, argues that deep levels of learning require *interpsychological* connections, or the ability to connect one mind with another. Such connections are made through verbal communication as well as the active sharing of knowledge via apprenticeships in which teachers or other skilled adults model their knowledge through shared activity. Vygotsky's well-known concept of scaffolding is derived from this perspective. By scaffolding, Vygotsky and other developmental psychologists refer to the mental and behavioral supports provided for learners in reaching toward highly challenging goals or complex skills. It is important for educators to recognize that cultural beliefs, attitudes, and values are passed along via interpsychological scaffolding, and that building receptive communication skills is essential to utilizing scaffolded support.

Above all others, writing is the quintessential active communication skill prized by educators, including those who specialize in assessment. Writing not only allows one to communicate ideas clearly in a manner that can be shared by a broad range of people, but it also allows for the active construction of cultural knowledge. Technological innovations have sped the development and dissemination of culture, and as a result, modern communication skills must link reading and writing aptitude with technological literacy. Current demands on students include being able to communicate through email, chat rooms, via computer-generated magazines, and through cell phone text messaging. These various written modes of communication are shaping day-to-day existence and challenging long-standing cultural norms of communication. What was once private information is now commonly shared across an array of casual acquaintances, including those who exist only in the virtual reality of the internet culture. These technology-based shifts in communication bring formal education into relation with the larger world more pervasively and rapidly than ever before, raising new questions for educators regarding the nature

of effective and constructive communication, and how it should be taught.

The Collective Component of Educational Culture

The notion of collective norms—including values, beliefs, and behaviors—is central to most definitions of culture, and is highly applicable to education. From a multicultural perspective, schools are a locus of cultural intersections. In the United States (U.S.) (and in most highly industrialized countries) educators use age-graded standardized criteria for what should be learned within the general areas of literacy, mathematics, science, and social studies. Each subject area is organized around a coherent set of values regarding what should be learned by students at particular points in time. However, some question whether standardized educational criteria constitute fair assessments, since such criteria may be normed to one culture; this would give an advantage to students from that culture while putting students from other cultures at a disadvantage.

In addition, many question the rationale behind standardization altogether, arguing that standardization will always be inexact given the vast disparities between students, and thus, the majority of students' scores on standardized scales of aptitude are not representative of their true ability. Some examples of the vast disparities between students include the pace at which different students learn as well as the conditions under which they learn. Within any large urban school system, students come from dramatically differing family backgrounds, including differences marked by financial earnings, parent education levels, the home language of the family, and expectations regarding achievement. All these disparities affect students' ability to meet standardized educational goals.

The educational culture of the larger school system responds to these differences in a variety of ways. In some cases, students and families apply to and are assigned to schools that are deemed a proper fit culturally. This can mean assignment to schools in which academic achievement is a focal organizer, including magnet schools for high achievers, or exam schools in which students must meet particular academic benchmarks to be accepted. By definition, such schools reduce part of their cultural diversity by selecting only high achievers; these schools' definitions of what constitutes high achievement and the way that they organize their curricula and values may further narrow their cultural diversity. Other schools recruit and select students by theme, such as those that emphasize the arts or particular athletic excellence. Although both of the aforementioned school types have different school cultures that are organized around very different cultural norms, they share a selectivity that narrows their capacity for cultural diversity.

In contrast, many urban schools maintain strong values of cultural diversity by enrolling a full range of students that represent their communities, including students from different family backgrounds, linguistic backgrounds, socioeconomic experiences, and achievement values. Such schools, with their more diverse student body, are better able to recognize that students will learn at different paces. They understand that some students speak Spanish or Mandarin more fluently than English. Further, in some schools and school systems, differences such as these are embraced for providing experiential richness, while in others they might be viewed as obstacles to be overcome. There is currently debate about whether students whose primary language is not English should be integrated or separated from primarily-English-speaking students. Some school cultures push to integrate such students into "mainstream" classrooms as quickly as possible, while others endorse a more gradual transition. The approach taken reflects cultural values as much as it does educational ones.

One challenge for many schools is how to balance enrolling a diverse student body while at the same time maintaining a unified and coherent school culture. What are the collective norms that can be created and shared by students and families from differing backgrounds? When norms valued by the school leadership and teaching staff are not shared by particular students or families, how are the differences addressed? Do the school norms change in response to such differences, or are students and families expected to adapt? These are key multicultural questions rooted in collective notions of culture that are addressed by most schools either explicitly or implicitly. They are also questions that school psychologists can help make explicit in their work with school colleagues in an effort to expand multicultural awareness.

The Organizing Component of Educational Culture

To maintain a unified school culture, students and educators must share in collective experiences. These

experiences are often organized around commonly understood symbols, rituals, and behavioral practices (e.g., school athletic teams' symbols or mascots). School athletics provide perhaps the most common example of cultural organization. Most school athletic teams have a mascot such as a bulldog or warrior, around which a sense of collective identity is organized. This mascot is worn on athletic clothing, featured in school pep rallies, and sometimes even tattooed onto students' skin. It represents a pervasive symbol of unity, whether such unity is real or merely desired. Athletic teams also have common rituals, such as practice structures and regularly shared stories or team myths. Rituals can also be destructive, such as excessive hazing of new students or new athletic team members. Within athletic performance, common behavioral practices include style of play, history of regular winning or losing, and coaching behavior. Taken together, these symbols, rituals, and behavioral practices contribute to a team culture, or school subculture.

The unifying power of athletics culture may serve as a model for building other subcultures within schools, including gay-straight alliances and literacy clubs. It is much more challenging, of course, to organize on behalf of a gay-straight alliance than it is a football team. Nonetheless, some of the principles are similar. In some such alliances students embrace overt and subtle symbols such as clothing color, the location of ear rings and related piercings, and verbal constructions. Such symbols communicate commitment to the sub-cultural values and can be used to help organize supportive alliances. Rituals such as regular meeting times and places and consciousness-raising marches are also common. Other behavioral practices include writing proactive articles for the school newspaper and other publications, and organizing social gatherings that provide safe spaces for relationship building.

Schools built on multicultural principles must work to address the needs and interests of as wide a range of students as possible. This task requires the complex demands of valuing and supporting student differences, helping to share and appreciate those differences, while simultaneously striving to keep the larger student body safe. Schools must properly balance the tension of highlighting and appreciating difference while protecting the safety of students who might be threatened or demeaned by virtue of such differences.

The Culture of Power in Education

Many of the contemporary cultural issues in education can be classified as part of what some educational psychologists and sociologists have come to call *the culture of power in education.* The educational researcher Lisa Delpit has been among the most influential theorists and researchers in articulating the culture of power, specifically as it applies to Black youth who are being educated within educational systems organized by White middle class values. Delpit uses the concept of the "rules of the game" to argue that low-income Black students, and by extension other students of color, need to be taught the rules for success in White middle class society, given that this is the culture that dominates the economic opportunities for all students in U.S. schools. She argues that most school cultures are organized according to White middle class expectations for communication, behavior, and social interaction, and that students not of that culture need to be taught the rules of engagement if they are to succeed either with their White middle class teachers or others who have internalized these rules.

The rules-of-the-game concept holds important implications beyond immediate communication and behavioral expectations. At the center of these implications is the cultural meaning of education itself. For many youth whose families have not experienced the socioeconomic benefits of education, school success is sometimes not perceived as connected to real-world success. For such students, "school smarts" do not translate into tangible benefits. "Smart kids" who are exhibiting high levels of school success are viewed as bookworms, nerds, or even social outcasts rather than the future holders of social or economic power. Even in cases where excellent students are seen as future successes, this perception often is attenuated by the perception that such success is only for certain types of students, either those who are White or who are "acting White."

The sociologist John Ogbu's work investigates his theoretical conception of the "acting-White" phenomenon. Through their studies, Ogbu and his colleagues found that many students of color resisted educational success because they perceived success as "selling out," or giving in to the White power structure. He and his colleagues found that many African American and Latino students viewed resistance to the authority (typically White teachers) behind

educational success as more meaningful and powerful than acquiescing to that authority. For such students, present acceptance by peers was more meaningful than acceptance by teachers (this was true even if the students were told that teacher acceptance could lead to later acceptance and success by society-at-large), since the connections between academic success and later life-success seemed anything but guaranteed. Although Ogbu's findings have been hotly contested, they have inspired alternative views of the culture of power in education, including the importance of who holds power and authority in educational settings and how these issues and their implications for student success can be understood and addressed.

Unveiling the Opportunity Structure

The *ladder of opportunity* relates both to the rules-of-the-game and to the acting-White phenomenon. The ladder of opportunity argues that an opportunity structure is readily apparent to middle and upper-middle class (typically White) students whose parents have gone to college and succeeded at some level in the national economy. However, for students who do not have these examples in their lives, there is no visible ladder of opportunity where success at one rung leads to ascension to another. Middle school success is not viewed as a prerequisite for high school success, which in turn points toward a college degree, followed by a broader range of opportunities in one's professional career. Although this progression can be explained to low-income students and is understood on some level, it is not perceived as a reality grounded in examples from everyday life. The task for educators—teachers, counselors, and psychologists—is to help make the ladder of opportunity realistically visible.

A number of steps can be taken to address that task. First, it is important to clarify with students (typically middle and high-school students) the nature of their assumptions related to the relationship between educational success and future opportunities. Simply engaging in such culturally rooted discussions opens up opportunities for critical reflection and feelings of connectedness to the school culture. Students often do not feel acknowledged for their critical views of "the system," and providing such acknowledgement can be liberating. Following a clarification of assumptions regarding current academic performance and future opportunity, an ongoing process of explicitly articulating the relationship between secondary schooling and longer-term career development must be undertaken. This can take the form of outlining a range of career options, the educational preparation necessary for accessing such options, the financial rewards associated with particular careers, and ultimately, constructing a plan for helping students move from where they stand in the moment to where they would like to go. This process typically takes years to complete, and as such constitutes its own cultural norms; these are norms for the culture of opportunity. According to critical education theorists, too many educators assume that such norms already exist, that students are aware of and engaged in the culture of opportunity unless they choose to actively resist it. While such resistance might indeed be at play, it is usually accompanied by a dramatic lack of awareness of the ladder of opportunity and thereby is a resistance to a concept that is purely abstract and seemingly irrelevant to their real lives.

An additional step commonly taken to help make the opportunity ladder more realistically visible is to provide real-world experiences for potential first-generation college goers. At a modest level, such opportunities include internships or apprenticeships within professional career tracks. The medical profession, for example, provides a host of internship opportunities that allow students to better understand the range of options available in the medical field. Mock law and entrepreneurship programs in schools bring students into contact with lawyers and business innovators with whom they engage in interactive learning opportunities. Such processes allow students to gain first-hand exposure to real people engaged in real careers. To the extent possible, it is important for such models to include a diversity of professionals from different races, ethnicities, and genders because students need to feel that they are represented in these professions by people of their own and related backgrounds.

Partnerships between middle schools, high schools, and universities also help students from low-income families see the ladder of opportunity. Through such programs, middle school students regularly visit the college campus, take academic and career development workshops there, and are tutored or mentored by college students. This helps students get a feel for the culture of higher education, even though they are not ready developmentally to take college coursework. They learn about the symbols and rituals of higher education, including the social benefits and academic rigors. Such approaches help middle school students

begin preparing for college before beginning high school. At the high school level, such partnerships can help students actually take college courses and, in some cases even begin working toward a college degree. This can help students come to see college and college-related careers as realistic for them. Although the students view such programs as educational preparation, such initiatives are as much cultural preparation as academic preparation, because the programs make the opportunity structure, and the demands and expectations of it, real and reachable.

Peer Power—Peer Culture

When youth feel disconnected from school (often because they feel disconnected from the adults who are associated with school), they commonly seek and exercise power within peer relationships. Young people create subcultures inside and outside of school as a means of taking control of their lives. School cliques have their own cultural norms, similar in some respects to school organizations, teams, and clubs. Contemporary research on such social groupings suggests that youth utilize connections to one another to create cultural stories or myths. These stories are then used to bind the group together as part of a living legend. Central to this experience is the capacity to create a world in which adults have little to no power. Accordingly, the rules of peer games are kept outside the awareness of adult authority figures.

Power constructed within peer groups or conferred by such groups can, of course, be used in any number of ways. Parents and educators often experience enormous anxiety around concerns that the children they care deeply about might be engaged in "high-risk" behavior with friends. Such behavior—including excessive drinking and drug use, promiscuous sexual behavior, and dangerous driving—can indeed lead to destructive and even fatal outcomes. It can also, however, be used to construct youth subcultures consistent with traditional notions of *adolescent experimentation*. According to theories of adolescent experimentation, it is natural for youth to seek opportunities in which they can construct identities that are at least in part independent of adult norms. The *culture of adolescent risk taking*, as it has been framed by sociologist Cynthia Lightfoot, creates a context in which such experimentation takes place. It is a culture constructed by youth through shared risk taking, and a culture for youth in which different aspects of being can be tried out or witnessed.

When youth engage in high-risk behaviors, they can feel powerful because they perceive their own capacity to create shared meaning with their friends: this is a core aspect of adolescent cultural development. Without adults there to set the parameters, youth do it for themselves. They and their peers determine success and failure; they create their own codes of ethics; and they establish standards for aesthetic beauty and excellence. Through all of this, youth practice culture building through their risk-taking endeavors. A common question for educators and school psychologists is: How might we utilize such a process in school? Attempts to use this process in school activities have had mixed results. Efforts to create risk-taking in the classroom, for example, can yield positive results by engaging students and promoting student participation. However, adult-sanctioned risks are unlikely to replace youth-generated ones. Instead of trying to replace high-risk youth behaviors, educators should try to understand a fuller picture of risk taking and its importance to adolescent development, rather than just focusing on the potential dangers of high-risk behavior.

The nature and purpose of peer networks represent another facet of peer power. Youth who are engaged in meaningful relationships with a range of peers are likely to have access to a broader world of opportunity. Research shows that youth who engage one another in activities that are linked with supportive adults—educators, coaches, mentors—are more likely to experience future success as an adult. This means that when one's peer activities exist almost exclusively in realms devoid of adult involvement, those activities are more likely to be associated with future difficulties. The problem, it seems, is not necessarily one of engaging in high-risk behavior; it is, rather one of having little meaningful contact with valued adults. For example, youth who drink heavily with friends on the weekends, but also work together on educational goals supported by teachers or parents, are likely to feel empowered by both their peers and important adults. Such youth have a context of shared understanding that bridges the adult and peer worlds. In a sense, they have their own multicultural context. This experience is common for young people and can serve as a counterpoint to adult anxiety regarding youth risk-taking behavior, at least to a degree.

Immigration and the Culture of Power in Education

Students coming into primary or secondary school from another country face a number of additional cultural challenges. On top of the usual concerns about settling into a new school with a new set of peers, immigrant youth are settling into a new country. In many respects, the process of immigrant adjustment to school teaches us a great deal about cultural adjustment more generally.

Acculturation is the concept used by anthropologists and sociologists to depict the process of learning and being socialized into a new culture. It is a process that occurs through a combination of conscious learning and unconscious absorption. Immigrants gradually come to take on aspects of their new context, and in time find these aspects to become a part of themselves. What was once foreign becomes internalized. A similar process occurs with education as well: concepts that initially seem impossible to comprehend can eventually become second nature; approaches to learning that might be novel and confusing at the outset can become ritualized over time. Students, like immigrants, are acculturating to new norms and expectations every day. When students are immigrants, however, the complexity of the acculturation process is magnified by varying degrees, depending largely on the complexity of their immigration experience.

Students who arrive in U.S. schools as part of families that hold an instrumentalist attitude toward education, one in which education is viewed as central to building a better quality of life than existed in the country of origin, typically have a smoother transition to U.S. school culture than students from families who do not embrace such an attitude. The transition must be facilitated, however, by the receiving school culture. Schools that work to embrace students from other countries are more successful in supporting the acculturation process than those that are either neutral or unsupportive. The lack of support for immigrant students is at times associated with educators' attitudes toward English language acquisition. Students who have not had substantial exposure to the English language typically will take longer to function at grade level than students who have had more exposure. This reality requires the patience and support of educators and student support professionals. More highly supportive schools for immigrant students plan for language-based transition processes and facilitate the learning challenges accordingly.

Immigrant students who feel disempowered in school due to language challenges or a lack of support from adults and peers are likely to grow resistant to the educational and larger acculturation processes. These students increasingly begin to look outside of school for connection and support, and become progressively more at risk for longer-term educational failure. Such cases provide an unusual opportunity for school counselors and psychologists to play a pivotal role in student adjustment on multiple levels. Support can be provided directly to the student by building a warm and facilitating relationship; it can be provided by reaching out to the immigrant family to extend a welcome to the school and the country; and it can be provided by helping to build connections within the school to teachers, peers, and extracurricular opportunities.

An additional complex array of challenges face undocumented immigrants in U.S. schools, particularly in this age of heightened anxiety over such issues. These students can find it difficult to reach out for needed support due to their immigration status. They commonly hide concerns out of fear of being discovered and potentially sent home to their country of origin. Further, undocumented immigrants face barriers to pursuing postsecondary education due to the paper work required for the college application process. The real and perceived lack of opportunity for postsecondary education can be demotivating for such students and lead to educational underachievement and failure. School counselors and psychologists working with undocumented immigrants face unique challenges as they explore opportunities with their students. In many cases, school professionals do not know their students' immigration status and therefore struggle to make accurate assessments of educational and career-planning difficulties. However, whether documented or undocumented, the adjustment and developmental processes of immigrant students create unique cultural and developmental challenges.

See also: ➲ *Cross-cultural learning styles*; ➲ *Cross-cultural school psychology*; ➲ *Language needs in the multicultural classroom*; ➲ *Urban schools*

Suggested Reading

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Ogbu, J. U. (1990). Cultural model, identity and literacy. In J. W. Stigler, R. A. Shweder, & G. Herdt (Eds.), *Cultural psychology: Essays on comparative human development* (pp. 521–541). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Vygotsky, L. (1977). *Mind in society.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Suggested Resources

http://cultureandeducation.org/—The Center for the Study of Culture and Education promotes research on the connections between culture and education.

http://www.culturalpolicy.org/pdf/education.pdf—Center for Arts and Culture: Special issue paper on "Creativity, Culture, Education, and the Workforce."

http://unescoeducation.blogspot.com/—The United Nations Educational, Scientific, Cultural Organization (UNESCO) sponsors an informational blog on culture and educational initiatives.

Cultural Measurement Equivalence

Joseph E Trimble

Cultural measurement equivalence refers to the possibility that interpretations of psychological measurements, assessments, and observations are similar if not equal across different ethnocultural populations. In principle, most cross-cultural psychological researchers agree that an analysis of cultural measurement equivalence occurs through the following concepts: functional equivalence; conceptual equivalence; stimulus equivalence; linguistic equivalence; and metric equivalence. Although five types of cultural equivalence are used to describe the dimensions of the concept there may upwards of 50 or more types that can be ordered into interpretive and procedural summary categories. On the surface the meaning of cultural measurement equivalence is straightforward yet it has created considerable discussion and debate in the literature as researchers and scholars struggle to disentangle its deeper meanings and applications.

In cross-cultural psychology debates also abound on the influence of one's worldview in understanding and interpreting standardized tests and psychosocial scales. Moreover, many cross-cultural psychologists contend that comparing elements from different ethnocultural populations can lead to distortions of their worldviews. Given this contention, ethnocultural comparative research using psychological measures may be burdened with problems of "incomparability" and, thus, may lead researchers to draw conclusions about a finding that may not be valid or justified. Indeed, with some exceptions, most of the psychological tests and assessment scales used with different ethnocultural groups cited in the literature have not considered cultural measurement equivalence and item bias possibilities. To avoid these possibilities, attention must be given to the cultural measurement equivalence concept and item bias in measurement studies.

In constructing and using psychological instruments and assessment tools in cultural-comparative or cultural-sensitive research, the investigator must give serious attention to equivalence matters. Embedded in the equivalence construct is the precept that comparisons between ethnocultural groups require that common, if not identical, measurement and assessment processes exist; in essence, the principle holds that a universal process must be developed to demonstrate and assess ethnocultural group comparability. Consequently, to achieve functionality, two or more behaviors must preexist as naturally occurring phenomena related or identical to a similar phenomena or circumstance; in essence, the behaviors serve a similar function for groups selected for study.

Conceptual and stimulus equivalence exist when the meaning of stimuli, concepts, methods, among other variables, are similar or identical for culturally or ethnically different respondents. Linguistic equivalence is similar although the emphasis is placed on the linguistic accuracy of item translations. Metric equivalence or scale equivalence, probably the most technical and the most difficult to evaluate, exists when the psychometric properties of data sets from different ethnocultural groups reveal the same or similar coherence or structure. Of the five equivalence types, metric or scalar has received the least amount of empirical attention, perhaps because it is the most technical and/or poorly understood. For the psychometrician it may be the most important concern. Before a measure can be used in ethnocultural comparative research, it must first meet standards within the ethnocultural groups; then and only then can it be used between two or more groups. For example, use of forced choice scale

alternatives laid out in a linear manner may not fit with the cognitive and evaluative preferences of certain cultural groups; a Likert-type format may work for one group but not for another; thus, the researcher must find a common metric or scalar equivalence to pursue comparative measurement studies.

Cultural measurement equivalence is similar to item bias. Item bias deals with the similarity or dissimilarity of scale outcomes across ethnic and cultural groups and thus is concerned with validity-threatening factors. In drawing a distinction between the two constructs, cultural measurement specialists typically assert that item bias is associated with construct, instrument, and method bias; item bias differs from cultural measurement equivalence because the latter deals more with the outcomes than with the factors that influence validity. Item bias deals with item contaminating factors and equivalence isolates bias and score comparability.

Use of conventional scaling procedures in cultural-comparative research has introduced a number of methodological problems, especially in the use of a structured response format. Mounting research evidence points to the following problems: (1) Researchers tacitly, and perhaps incorrectly, assume that the numeric intervals between choice alternatives on a continuum are equal and can be assigned an integer value; (2) The number of choice alternatives are presumed, also perhaps incorrectly, to represent the full range of categories that an individual would use to evaluate an item; (3) The dimensions of the scale items may not truly be comparable between cultural groups; (4) The effects and the outcomes of the categorization process, difficult to define in any group, may be confounded by the possibility that not all cultural groups respond to stimuli in a linear manner.

In the past decade, a few cross-cultural researchers and psychometricians have put forth a variety of interesting statistical algorithms for assessing the presence of forms of cultural measurement equivalence and culturally bound item bias. To assess metric equivalence, for example, some researchers have analyzed the scales or instruments with principal components or factor analysis. If the structural dimensions of instruments resemble one another then, presumably, the scales are equivalent across groups. Strength of the factor-based scales for the respective groups serves as partial criteria. Factor solutions have been expanded to include congruence coefficients and related manipulations to isolate the nature of the equivalence. For example, a few researchers have used factor solutions to examine the metric equivalence of personality scales administered to Asian and non-Asian populations and found that the factor solutions did not differ; item composition and the factor meanings varied appreciably as is often the case.

Use of factor analysis in psychometric research and testing equivalence is not without criticism. Based on the growing debate, three critical points should be made: (1) Factor solutions rarely fit the data completely in cultural-comparative research due, for the most part, to nonrandom measurement and translation error and unspecified conceptual contributions to the obtained weights; (2) Factor solutions are suggestive; (3) Data should be, at a minimum, at the interval level. Most scales and inventories use binary or ordinal level response categories with presumed equality of the numerical distances between the alternatives; distortions can exist thus eroding the strength of the correlation coefficients. But it is possible that variables with limited categories are not compatible with factor analytic models because at minimum correlations often are used to define unstable constructs.

A few cross-cultural researchers recommend use of covariance structural modeling or variants of confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to test for equivalence. There are limitations associated with the use of exploratory factor models; the advances in confirmatory factor modeling, however, appear to overcome them. For example, in testing for measurement equivalence a few researchers used CFA algorithms and found that many of the scales and corresponding items were unstable across different cultural groups.

Use of item response theory (IRT) to assess equivalence and bias has produced interesting findings. Use of IRT and corresponding differential item functioning (DIF) analyses can generate different item consistency outcomes where item bias is detected. The lines of research show promise for using IRT to assess equivalence of measures, scales, and tests.

A growing number of researchers recommend a form of latent trait analysis, especially when the scale contains binary scores. The Rasch one-parameter model can be used however some researchers remind us that the model should be used with other analytic models that treat the data in a slightly different manner. Use of Rasch modeling to assess cultural equivalence has not been that extensive. A few studies using the approach, for example, found that: (1) Use of negatively worded items with culturally unique

populations creates scale problems and item interpretation; (2) Item linguistic translation can create considerable variance in multinational focused scales; (3) Shorter versions of a scale can be constructed for use in cultural-comparative research however the longer version can be used with one cultural group without making any item adjustments; (4) and (5) Gender status and self-defined ethnic group respondents influence scale invariance and item nonequivalence of short scales originally believed to be reliable.

See also: *Cultural diversity*; *Cross-cultural competence in school psychologists' services*; *Stereotyping*; *Worldview*

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Suggested Resources

Institute for Objective Measurement—http://www.rasch.org: IOM's website offers information on a wide variety of measurement programs and services.

Cultural Perspectives on Trauma

Christina M Capodilupo · Derald Wing Sue

Traumatic events are usually regarded as extreme stressors that occur outside the range of normal human experience. A trauma is a frightening and horrific experience that is perceived to threaten the psychological or physical well being of the person. In most cases it is experienced as severe due to its unexpected, uncontrollable, and fearful nature. Trauma is associated with (a) natural disasters (hurricanes, floods, and earthquakes); (b) terrorism and war (the September 11th terrorist attack and combat trauma), and (c) individualized occurrences that place a person in harm's way (rape, physical assaults, domestic violence, and car accidents). A person or group can be traumatized from passive witnessing of destructive and violent events to actual personal and physical violations. In the field of mental health, response to such trauma has been called posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). To be diagnosed with PTSD, a person must have experienced or witnessed an event or events that involve actual or threatened death, serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of self or others. The individual (a) reacts with intense fear, helplessness, or horror; (b) experiences persistent, intrusive, re-experiencing of the event, such as flashbacks or nightmares; (c) avoids the trauma and subsequent emotions, such as forgetting important aspects of the event, or feeling distant and cut off from people; and (d) has increased arousal, such as an inability to sleep, or being easily startled.

There is not universal agreement as to what constitutes trauma. Emotional abuse does not fit the psychiatric standard of "threatened harm," yet has been tied to the subsequent development of mental health problems. Moreover, sexual and racial harassment that is not physically threatening in nature can be experienced as traumatic, and a burgeoning body of research supports the idea that racism can lead to acute distress and other mental health problems. Because the diagnosis of PTSD depends on the social context, it is striking that researchers have attempted to study and understand the disorder independent of culture and sociohistorical dimensions. Culture influences the way an individual or group responds to its environment, hence culture-specific attitudes and beliefs can also affect the abilities of ethnic groups to manage trauma and cope with its effects. It can be expected that culture influences the definition of what is experienced as traumatic, the processes through which traumatic events are experienced, the meaning one makes of the traumatic event, as well as the healing process. Therefore, understanding culture is integral to understanding the unique situations of trauma survivors.

Ethnic Group Differences

While a limited number of psychological studies have examined ethnic group differences across experiences of PTSD, one large-scale study has found that national rates of PTSD (7.8%) do not differ significantly between Latino/Hispanics, African Americans, and Whites. However, African Americans were more likely than Whites to develop PTSD despite fewer experiences of trauma. Similarly, studies indicate that African Americans are at a higher risk than Whites for developing PTSD in a natural disaster context, and a growing body of research suggests that Latino/Hispanics experience significantly more PTSD than any other ethnic group. Empirical investigations of the manifestation of PTSD among ethnic groups have yielded mixed results. For example, some researchers have found that Latino/Hispanics infrequently endorse symptoms of "avoidance" while others have found an increased level of reporting avoidance symptoms. It is likely that that the cultural and ethnic diversity among Latino/Hispanic groups accounts for this differential finding. It is also likely that experiences of acculturation will differentially have an impact on PTSD symptomology among Latino/Hispanics. For example, Salvadoran refugees (low avoidance) differ significantly from second generation Puerto Ricans (high avoidance). Cultures that promote avoidance as a general approach to managing distress, such as among some Asian American or Latino/Hispanic groups, are likely to experience higher rates of PTSD, as avoidance behavior interferes with the cognitive processing of trauma-related memories and emotional distress, which can facilitate the maintenance of PTSD symptoms.

Culturally Specific Reactions to Trauma

Research is limited with regard to ethnic differences in the presentation of specific PTSD symptoms. Some studies suggest that Latino/Hispanics and Asian Americans report higher frequencies of avoidance symptoms and lower rates of arousal than other ethnic groups, whereas African Americans have been shown to report low avoidance and high arousal symptoms. A possible explanation for the increase of arousal symptoms among African Americans is the history of racial oppression and continued experiences of racism. In fact, it has been posited that a healthy state of paranoia (which is associated with arousal symptoms such as being hyper-aware of one's surroundings) is actually an adaptive and normative reaction for African Americans, who experience daily racial discrimination and bias. Researchers have posited that intrusive thoughts about the trauma may transcend cultural experiences, whereas avoidance/numbing and hyperarousal may be highly influenced by cultural affiliation.

Culturally Specific Attitudes and Beliefs

There are several culture-specific beliefs and/or experiences that may interface with experiences of trauma and make ethnic groups more susceptible to PTSD: fatalism, somatization, and racial/ethnic discrimination. Fatalism, the belief that events are inevitable and unalterable, is held by many Latino/Hispanics. Fatalism results in a passive coping style to trauma that elevates risk for PTSD, as active or problem-solving coping has been shown to lead to better outcomes than passive or avoidant coping. Somatization, which refers to physical expressions of psychological distress, is common among Latino/Hispanics and Asian Americans. Research has found a strong association between somatic symptoms and PTSD, again because somatization can be viewed as a passive or avoidant coping style. Racism and ethnic discrimination have been repeatedly shown to be correlated with psychological distress and PTSD symptomology. Further, studies suggest that increased exposure to racism is a risk factor for developing PTSD. Interestingly, Latino/Hispanics, though they generally experience less racism than African Americans, experience higher rates of PTSD resulting from racism. It has been suggested that because Latino/Hispanics receive less preparation for facing and dealing with racism from community and family sources than African Americans, they are more susceptible to the negative psychological consequences of this experience.

Cultural Coping Strategies

While there are some culture-specific beliefs and values that render certain ethnic groups more susceptible to PTSD, there are also culturally-specific coping strategies to deal with stress that promote health and development. Unfortunately, these coping strategies can be misinterpreted and misconstrued as a pathological reaction to the traumatic event. For example, after

September 11th, the New York Asian community used cleansing (e.g., to clear away the evil) and other protection practices to reduce anxiety, which could be misinterpreted by a mental health clinician as "avoidance" because the person is engaging in a ritual as opposed to processing their emotional reaction. Similarly, the length of time it takes for a person to reveal details about the traumatic event varies by culture, which can be misread as avoiding the trauma-related events or emotions. In some cultures, expressing mental health problems is associated with shame or stigma. After September 11th, a phone survey indicated that although Asians were the most exposed to the terrorist attacks based on location proximity, they had the least symptoms of PTSD; however, a follow-up study revealed that in fact Asians were uncomfortable discussing anxiety on the phone with a stranger. What may have appeared as a suppression of emotions related to the trauma, or dissociation from traumatic events can actually be explained as a normative culture-specific reaction. The criteria for PTSD can potentially identify as pathology what may be normal, constructive responses to trauma that do not require specific professional help.

Understanding traumatic experiences through varied modes of psychological inquiry tend to reflect Eurocentric values of individualism, an internal locus-of-control, and self-efficacy. These underlying values and treatment goals may not always be well matched with cultural belief systems that emphasize collectivism, fatalism, or the interpretation of negative events as significant communications or lessons learned. Understanding culturally specific responses to trauma and stress is crucial for planning and delivering mental health services to communities and individuals. For example, men of color have unique needs and are often not well served in mainstream programs; therefore culturally competent interventions specifically designed for this population need to be developed. Understanding trauma requires a rebuilding of the individual or group's social world, which requires mental health professionals to learn the cultural nuances specific to the populations with which they work. Strategies and interventions must be developed through learning within a community, engaging community and religious leaders, and utilizing community resources. An appreciation of an individual's culture, historical roots, beliefs, and views of mental health and healing is a necessary first step to approaching understanding of trauma and culture.

See also: *Culturally competent crisis response*; *Disasters and disaster prevention*; *Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD)*

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Cultural Psychiatry

Renato D Alarcón

Culture, defined as a set of behavioral patterns, lifestyle, meanings and values, shared and utilized by members of a given human group, includes a series of variables from the material (diet, housing, tools, economic practices) to the purely social or epistemological areas such as collective knowledge, habits, customs, beliefs, traditions, language, religion, social relations, and ethical principles. Culture is a dynamic phenomenon that shapes a group's view of the world and is transmitted from generation to generation. The concept should be distinguished from two others, *race* (based on physical and biogenetic considerations that group individuals on the basis of physiognomic characteristics), and *ethnicity* that entails distinction and identification of groups on the basis of a common historical or geographic origins.

Against the background of a millenarian connection between health, disease, and culture, Cultural Psychiatry could then be defined as the sub-discipline that occupies itself with the definition, description, evaluation, and management of all psychiatric conditions inasmuch as they are both object and reflection of cultural factors in a biopsychosocial context. Cultural psychiatry utilizes concepts and instruments of

social and biological sciences in an effort to advance a global understanding of psychopathological entities and their treatment. It promotes clinically and culturally relevant care of every patient, recognizing both his/her unique cultural legacy and universally valid principles of the management of emotional suffering.

An inheritor of distinguished historical and anthropological traditions, Cultural Psychiatry is a relatively young discipline. Its origins can be located around the late 19th century with the first description of clinical entities found in exotic places, thanks to explorations of authors such as Deniker, Ellis, Hirsch, and Brill. Many authors consider Kraepelin as the founder of Cultural Psychiatry (which he called Comparative Psychiatry) when he reported in 1904 on his visits to Java and Borneo, where he studied presumed cases of schizophrenia. Later on, Freud's influence, and that of followers and dissidents of psychoanalysis, identified definite sociocultural factors (even though they may have not called them so) in the genesis of behavioral maladaptations and mental disorders. In the last three decades, the field of Cultural Psychiatry has expanded with contributions from other disciplines, particularly psychology, sociology and anthropology, that started with the seminal biopsychosocial concept proposed by Engel, and continued with the growth of multidisciplinary and multifactorial approaches to health and illness, pronouncements by international health organizations emphasizing the totality of the human being in the fields of health and healthcare, significant social and political changes across the world, and the development of study groups, social programs, and academic centers devoted exclusively to the field. It is interesting that this growth has taken place in the midst of another revolution led by neurobiology and neurosciences.

Cultural Variables

The following should be considered as important cultural factors that interact among themselves and with fields beyond culture to have an impact on diagnostic, clinical, and therapeutic processes in a patient.

Ethnic Identity

It includes elements such as country of origin, family structure, attitudes towards medicine, psychology and psychiatry, views of the world, crossing of systems (demographic, social, educational, economic), affiliations (familiar and religious), behaviors, expectations, and values.

Language

For many, it is the most significant cultural variable, powerful in the generation of identity, and a source and a vehicle of information, expressiveness, alienation, or support, protective or risk factors, and an essential element in the outcome of every clinical intervention. A variant, the so-called nonverbal language, includes physical distance among the interlocutors, visual contact, movements, and gestures.

Education

It influences notably the outcome of any clinical interaction, emphasizing the good or bad results of communication between professionals, patients, and families.

Gender and Sexual Orientation

These variables preside over connections and contacts, grouping and cultural responses that generate behaviors and have an impact on prevalence and severity of most clinical conditions.

Religion and Spirituality

Both are potential sources of information, support, and explanation of illness. They contribute to "make sense" out of symptoms and symptom-related emotions and feelings, with a subsequent beneficial effect.

Age and Socioeconomic Status

The ways in which society handles different age groups in the context of health and disease have an undeniable cultural basis. Similarly, socioeconomic status, as a reflection of levels of ability, opportunities, and collaborative or alienating connections between groups with varieties of financial and political power responds to important cultural sources.

Diet

At a more material level, dietary styles, although closer to biological areas (e.g., metabolic processes, food composition), reflect also a variety of collective beliefs, habits, customs, traditions, occupations and community objectives and rules of strong cultural facture, and have an even stronger impact on personality and behavior.

Culture-Psychiatry Interactions

Culture plays different roles and interacts at various levels with psychopathology and therapeutics. It is an *interpretive and explanatory tool* that clarifies behaviors that, otherwise would be considered pathological. It is a *pathogenic and a pathoplastic agent,* that is, contributes to produce some clinical conditions, and shapes the symptomatic and syndromic presentation of clinical pictures, respectively.

Culture is a *diagnostic and nosological factor* recognized by official nomenclatures and utilized in instruments measuring psychopathology. In this sense, a cultural perspective prevents the commission of so-called categorical fallacies, that is the attempt to pigeon-hole clinical entities or behaviors with a powerful cultural basis (particularly in non-Western societies or ethnic minority groups) into labels sanctioned by purely Western taxonomy parameters.

Culture has also a *therapeutic and a protective role* on the basis of how families and communities deal with mental health and mental illness. Finally, it is an important component in the *management and provision of care* influencing interactions of the therapeutic dyad (patient and professional) as well as how society deals with mental illness, issues of stigma, tolerance, support and understanding, and the eventual direction that governments and bureaucratic structures take *vis-à-vis* the care of those with mental illnesses.

Cultural Aspects of Specific Clinical Entities

Cognitive and Substance Use Disorders

In spite of strong biological components, these disorders respond to undeniable social, cultural, economic, and ethnic factors. Poverty, low industrialization, strong or weak restrictive rules related to the use of alcohol and drugs, or sexual practices, and levels of acceptance and tolerance of behavioral disorders secondary to cognitive problems, are all culturally-based areas. As in the case of substance use and abuse disorders, their weight and impact vary from culture to culture.

Schizophrenia and Other Psychoses

Schizophrenia and other psychotic conditions show differences in prevalence and even outcome and prognosis in highly industrialized societies when compared with less developed, rural or agricultural communities. Similarly, their phenomenology varies on the basis of cultural complexities.

Mood Disorders

These disorders have clear symptomatic differences in different cultural settings. Conceptualization, symptom presentation, severity, and impact of acculturation are factors that distinguish depression and bipolar mood disorders in different cultural areas.

Anxiety Disorders

The high index of phobias in some ethnic groups (for example, African Americans in the United States) has been explained on the basis of stress resulting from discriminatory practices. The levels of anxiety and acculturative stress in newly-arrived immigrants and even in second or third generation of immigrant families, has a definite cultural basis related to adaptability, learning new cultural clues, educational and occupational opportunities, among other variables.

Somatization and Dissociative Disorders

These two types of disorders are, for many, the end result of what is called “idioms of distress,” a peculiar and unique way in which members of different societies externalize stress, or express a variety of personal and social predicaments through means more

acceptable than gross pathological presentations. If mood and anxiety disorders are considered manifestations of characterological weakness, then pain or seizures can be better defined as "medical" or "physical" conditions without the associated stigma or social criticisms of shame and guilt.

Posttraumatic Stress Disorder

A relatively new disorder in contemporary classifications, posttraumatic stress disorder has significant cultural connotations in terms of political oppression, response to natural disasters, war, interethnic conflicts, social isolation, migrations, international politics, and other factors that put to a test the way in which individuals or groups face adversity.

Other Disorders

Finally, eating disorders, psychosexual problems, adjustment and personality disorders do all have a strong cultural basis. Religion, life events, racism, resilience, creativity, and features such as individualism and competitiveness versus sociocentrism and altruism are cultural factors that play a role in the occurrence and presentations of these and many other conditions.

Cultural Aspects of Psychiatric Treatment

Patients and treating professionals do have cultural baggages that are non-transferable. Therefore, one must make an effort to understand the other's cultural background and agenda, eventually presiding over the very essential nature of the relationship. In this context, the topics of transference and countertransference in psychotherapy have a cultural basis, much stronger than unprovable unconscious phenomena. Since the use of language may be a source of comfort or conflict, interpreters may be extremely useful in several circumstances. Therapists play the role of cultural brokers, and the adequate connection between patient and therapist should prevent both unfillable gaps or the phenomena of fusion and overidentification or enmeshment, that would prevent a good therapeutic outcome.

There are numerous cultural models of psychotherapy. For instance, Morita therapy in Japan, for the treatment of moderate cases of obsessive-compulsive disorder, is based on periods of isolation and sociocognitive retraining. The use of heroes and heroins from the patient's culture of origin has been successful with minority patients in the United States. Art therapy, variants of psychodrama, game therapy, *cuento therapy* (story-telling) and other techniques are important considerations. Some authors postulate the possibility of standardized psychotherapists in multicultural contexts. This is certainly an area that, in the current climate of globalization, may deserve specific research.

Ethnopsychopharmacology is a growing field, based on the study of genetic profiles and the metabolic properties of enzyme sets over different groups of medications. Slow, intermediate, expansive (normal), and rapid and ultra-rapid metabolizers vary among different ethnic groups, with clear implications for the choice of medicines, doses, time and length of administration, and production of side effects. Similarly, the so-called nonpharmacological factors in pharmacotherapy do have a cultural basis, very closely related to the issues of doctor-patient relationship, beliefs and expectations, and social customs and habits analyzed above.

Conclusion

Culture has a multitude of implications in the theoretical and practical areas of psychiatry. Its consideration is critical for the translation of diagnostic categories and explanatory models into codes understandable across the globe. Its adequate use will attenuate potential discrimination and stigma. Culture and therapy with special subpopulations such as children and adolescents, couples and spouses, families, aging persons, and medically-ill patients are areas of growing importance. Social phenomena such as political and social changes, migration, refugee issues, minority groups, intercultural marriages, and the many different theories regarding etiology and pathogenesis of mental illness make of Cultural Psychiatry one of the most important areas of development in the future. These and other topics such as cultural epidemiology, cultural psychiatry and education, cultural formulation in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: Text Revision*, culture-bound syndromes, and the bio-cultural connections in psychopathology must be priority subjects of research.

See also: ➲ *Code switching*; ➲ *Diversity in higher education*; ➲ *Sociocultural factors*

Suggested Reading

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Cultural Resilience

Caroline S Clauss-Ehlers

Overview and History

Cultural resilience considers how cultural background (i.e., culture, cultural values, language, customs, norms) helps individuals and communities overcome adversity. The notion of cultural resilience suggests that individuals and communities can deal with and overcome adversity not just based on individual characteristics alone, but also from the support of larger sociocultural factors. In 2004, Clauss-Ehlers defined "culturally-focused resilient adaptation" as how culture and the sociocultural context have an effect on resilient outcomes. The question presented by this concept is to consider those larger environmental variables that help individuals overcome the obstacles they face. Culturally-focused resilient adaptation contends that adaptation to adversity is a dynamic rather than static process that includes character traits, a person's cultural background, values, and supportive aspects of the sociocultural environment (i.e., a relationship with at least one caring adult). A review of the early literature associated with resilience generally provides grounding to understand the trend towards considerations of resilience in a larger sociocultural framework.

The concept of resilience developed out of research in the field of developmental psychopathology. While first interested in studying parents with schizophrenia, for instance, Garmezy ultimately explored what helped the children of such parents thrive and do well. Much of the literature that followed from Garmezy's 1987 study focused on how individual traits in children helped them become "super kids" and overcome obstacles they faced.

The character-trait approach to resilience focuses on the extent to which youth have certain characteristics that promote resilience. If a child did have these traits, they were thought to explain the youth's coping ability. If the child did not, the idea was that practitioners, families, and systems were to help develop such individual traits to help him/her become more resilient. In 1999, Kumpfer organized resilience-promoting traits into five main groups: cognitive competence, spiritual/motivational capabilities, social competence, emotional stability, and physical well-being. Two years later, in 2001, Davis reviewed the literature to discern those individual traits found to foster resilience. She identified the following as individual traits that foster resilience: secure attachment, easy temperament, an internal locus of control (i.e., the sense within the individual that he/she can influence or change his/her environment), basic trust, active coping, sense of harmony, sense of meaning and purpose about one's life, strong language skills, sound reading skills, can make friends, can ask for help, a realistic sense of strengths and weaknesses, and an interest in helping others.

Incorporating Culture

Empirical Studies

Although this important work makes a significant contribution, the trait-based approach to resilience leaves it "way too much up to the individual child." Questions not answered by the trait-based approach include: How do protective processes interact with the environment? What about those children who are resilient in one situation but not in another? To what extent does resilience maintain itself over time? In other words, could a child show great resilience during the early years but a lack of resilience in young adulthood? These questions aim to explore the notion of context-dependent resilience that states resilience is a more dynamic concept than once imagined. Moreover, the trait-based approach to resilience research must be examined in its own context. Much early resilience research, for instance, was conducted on samples of primarily White participants. As a result, much needs

to be learned about how resilience plays out among communities of color.

Research is increasingly exploring how culture and diversity can interact with stress and protective factors at different developmental stages of life, the outcome being resilience. Several studies support the idea that culture can be incorporated into resilience and does, in fact, promote it. A 2000 study conducted by Belgrave et al. for instance, explored the effect of a culture-and gender-specific intervention program on the resiliency of 10- to 12-year-old African American girls. Adversities the girls confronted in their lives included adult responsibilities, early puberty, and being sexually active at an earlier age. The culture- and gender-based intervention was geared to promote the resources and positive relationships in the girls' lives.

The cultural component of the intervention focused on providing an Africentric worldview associated with the intervention. Thus, harmony, emotional awareness, and balance were some of the values included in the way that resources and relationships were developed. Findings indicated that culture significantly correlated positively with resilience. The intervention group, for instance, scored higher on the Africentric Values Scale, the Children's Racial Identity Scale, and the Physical Appearance subscale of the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale compared with girls in the control group. The authors concluded that having positive emotions about one's culture helps to decrease the presence of risky behaviors.

In a 2006 study, Clauss-Ehlers et al. found that having strong ethnic and gender identities directly correlated with greater resilience. This study primarily consisted of a college-aged sample of women who reported on their past trauma histories. The women indicated if they had been teased or bullied in school; verbally, physically, or sexually abused; had an unavailable caregiver; and experienced racism or sexism. The study found that having an androgynous gender identity (i.e., a gender identity that incorporates traditional male and female gender roles) and actively learning about one's ethnicity helped the women respond to and overcome these struggles.

Measurement Scales

In addition to empirical studies that highlight the link between culture and resilience, preliminary research has empirically measured cultural resilience through scale development. Social-science scales aim to measure concepts quantitatively. Scales have been developed to measure countless variables, and resilience is no exception. In 2008, Clauss-Ehlers reviewed several critical resilience measures to determine the extent to which they considered culture in their structure and development.

Scales reviewed included the Hardiness Scale, the Dispositional Resilience Scale, and the Connor-Davidson Resilience Scale (CD-RISC). Generally, the review found that these scales did not encompass cultural considerations. The Hardiness Scale did not consider possible relationships with sociocultural factors. Similarly, the Dispositional Resilience Scale defined resilience as a concept focused on hardiness and control. Cultural aspects of resilience were not included. Although some considerations were given with the CD-RISC (e.g., gender comparisons and some differences among racial/ethnic groups), such analyses were limited (i.e., comparing all non-White people with White people rather than looking at within- and between-group differences).

To address this measurement gap, Clauss-Ehlers developed a preliminary measure of cultural resilience entitled the Cultural Resilience Measure (CRM). CRM scales include Childhood Stressors, Global Coping, Adaptive Coping, Maladaptive Coping, and Sociocultural Support. These scales reflect the model of culturally-resilient adaptation presented earlier. One item in the measure also asks about when (e.g., at what developmental life stage) the individual gained insight about his or her problem, if he or she did at all. This item is referred to as Insight Timing. Investigation of the CRM indicated that Adaptive Coping was positively associated with Sociocultural Support and Global Coping. A factor analysis found these three scales to result in Factor 1, the "sociocultural aspect of coping." Factor 2 reflected "negative experiences encountered" (with high loadings for Childhood Stressors and Maladaptive Coping). Factor 3 suggested a possible "confluence among Sociocultural Support, Maladaptive Coping and Insight Timing."

An unexpected finding was that Insight Timing related to resilience. The earlier the individual was aware or had insight about her difficulty, the more resilience she reported. Finally, a regression analysis indicated the CRM captures cultural components of resilience.

Results also supported the idea that resilience occurs in an ecological context. There were vast differences, for

instance, reported by different racial/ethnic groups of women who participated in the study about the stressors they experienced as children. Respondents who self-identified as lower class or lower middle class reported greater overall childhood stress compared with their middle, upper middle, and upper class counterparts. Socioeconomic variables were very much associated with other scales as well. Participants who self-identified as middle, upper middle, and upper class, for instance, reported much more sociocultural support than those who self-identified as being in the lower and lower middle classes.

This study is a first attempt to develop a measure that integrates culture into how resilience is not only empirically investigated, but measured. Additional research can further develop reliability and validity data for the CRM.

See also: *Assessment of culturally diverse children*; *Educational resilience*; *Resilience*; *Resilience building prevention programs*

Suggested Reading

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Suggested Resources

Resilience Research Centre—www.resilienceproject.org: The Resilience Research Centre has partners from countries throughout the world that use diverse research approaches to understand how youth and their families overcome hardships in their lives. The International Resilience Research Project examines cross-cultural aspects of resilience from an international framework.

Community Planning to Foster Resilience in Children—This book provides an overview of research, practice, and policy initiatives as they relate to cultural resilience. General sections include: Foundations, Promoting Resilience in Diverse Communities, Areas of Special Need, and Promising Resilience-Promoting Developments (see Clauss-Ehlers and Weist, 2004).

Children, Youth and Women's Health Service Kids' Health Ages 6–12 Resilience Don't Let Things Get you Down—www.cyh.com/HealthTopicDetailsKids.aspx?p=335&np=287&id=1758: This webpage is written for children. As such, it presents information in a voice that is developmentally relevant for children between the ages of 6 and 12. Youth can click on questions and comments to learn more about resilience. These include: What is resilience? What helps you to become resilient? What you can do?

Cultural Studies in Schools

John Broughton

Culturalist Versus Scientific Paradigms

Cultural Studies (CS) is a complex, versatile, unorthodox and innovative field of scholarly inquiry into the dynamics of cultural and subcultural transformation and insubordination. It combines highly sophisticated developments in academic theorizing with detailed cultural analysis geared to local and global activist practices.

CS is studied directly in schools rarely, if ever. In this, it resembles Education (the discipline). However, CS has had a growing influence over the last 30 years in educational theory and practice, especially in alternative teacher preparation. Its critiques of professionalization and bureaucratization have challenged normative conceptions of what a teacher is and should be. For example, some in CS would argue that teachers are primarily "cultural workers," over and above their responsibilities to the various standard curricular areas.

CS is "post-positivist" in its approach to inquiry, meaning that it has distanced itself from the tradition of the natural sciences emulated by the social sciences, especially in North America and Britain. CS has mounted a thorough critical assault on experimental manipulations, clinical trials, variable-driven research, control-group comparisons, statistically based generalizations, the hypothetico-deductive model of inquiry, the assumption that knowledge is value-neutral, the notion of the centrality of science, the idea of theory-free observation, the emphasis on decontextualized information or "data," and the naïve belief in pure objectivity. In its own methodologies, CS has moved concertedly away from or beyond such traditional "scientific" approaches.

The origins of CS are arguably in British working-class and adult education, particularly in the areas of literary theory and cultural history, and CS retains much of the interpretive, conceptual orientation of those fields. Thus, it sits more comfortably with the arts and humanities than with the social sciences and so represents a major challenge to the knowledge and research bases of mainstream education, which for 60–70 years have been unequivocally and uncritically grounded in the social science paradigm.

Cultural Studies Versus Liberal Humanism

As a critical and radical project, CS has positioned itself in opposition to liberal-humanistic approaches, which emphasize natural, organic notions of human development, equality, and moral responsibility at the expense of any serious examination of prevailing political or economic conditions. Liberalism tends to confound the cultural with the social and to reduce society to face-to-face interpersonal relations governed by a social psychology of competing individual interests. It espouses an ethics of appeasement, a conciliatory "contract" economics by which such conflicts are resolved in a supposedly fair and balanced way. Such an approach tends to move toward the harmonizing of differences rather than respecting them, and so it is inclined to minimize and hence suppress opposition (e.g., student critiques of curriculum or school governance), and to trivialize conflict as a temporary nuisance soon to be eliminated. A matrix of abstract human rights is often invoked as arbiter, but ethical and political practices and decisions are typically structured by a broadly utilitarian system.

Traditionally, liberalism is committed to a piecemeal social reorganization through gradual, orderly change. Order itself is based on the natural individual acquisition of rational mastery, an assumption that sanctions the "skills" approach to education, the stress on achievement in schooling, and the foregrounding of standardized assessment (for teachers as well as students) as part of the burgeoning rhetoric of accountability. The liberal agenda, in education as elsewhere, tends to stress expertise and meritocracy, valorizing professionalism and putting its trust in established systems of advancement. Typically, it ignores relations of power and authority, and the domination sought by imperial and colonial states. Consequently, it unwittingly contributes to the conservative policies that the state employs to maintain social stratification and perpetuate structural or bureaucratic violence.

Because CS is grounded in post-war and post-Watergate critiques of illegitimate authority, it is sensitive to the ways in which state-sponsored schooling tends to serve as the armature of political socialization into state ideology. According to the CS critique of schooling, there is a pre-emptive vector in the apparatus of instruction that is directed toward ensuring the covert production of compliant citizens who channel their frustration and aggression into academic and co-curricular competitiveness, and who treat knowledge as private property. Not surprisingly, such an interpretation has fostered a burgeoning interest in techniques of "classroom management" as a way to ensure teacher control over this aggressive battle for supremacy.

Arguably, such normalizing of strife as a natural part of student conduct has been generalized to the whole educational system by policy initiatives such as "No Child Left Behind," which tends to pit schools against each other in a struggle to stay afloat while others succumb. At first glance, this zero-sum game suggests a return to the premodern social philosophies of belligerence and manipulation articulated by Hobbes and Machiavelli. However, historians have tended to trace it instead to the concerted commitment of recent Republican administrations to the promotion of a sociobiological theory of society—a neo-Darwinian view prevalent in the corporate sector according to which quality of output can only be improved by promoting a mutual struggle for dominance that results in the "survival of the fittest."

For CS, only an educational system imbedded in a dominant cultural regime that erases its nation's social and intellectual history could sustain such a

commitment, at the level of either the collective or the individual. CS, in contrast, is dedicated to restoring a historical awareness and sophistication in our youth that works against the prevailing institutional amnesia, capitalizes on the collaborative potential of young people, fosters their opposition to possessive individualism, and restores a more participatory rather than merely representative view of democracy. It thereby situates itself far from the pragmatist and progressivist movements in education that put their faith in democracy construed as a competitive, individualist meritocracy.

Critical Social Theory

Much of the early purchase of CS on educational institutions was confounded with 70s "new sociology of education" drawing on the sociology of knowledge. Only gradually did CS in education wean itself from this paradigm, allowing humanities and arts approaches to gain credence. This trend typically has been characterized by skepticism about the supposed neutrality of knowledge or skills and about their privileged position in the grade school curriculum. CS brings to education a deep suspicion of cognitive intelligence as the primary cultivating instrument as well as an overall critique of technical rationality. CS situates itself in direct opposition to depersonalized notions of "information storage and transmission" that have been revived by the current popularity of both browser technology (the use of intelligent internet software to scan potential information sources) and human capital theory (the view that people can be characterized and assessed in terms of the sum of their marketable productive skills and technical knowledge). Instead, CS tends to focus on reinterpreting accepted and common sense cultural features and their formative processes from a position outside or at the margins of hegemonic structures.

The materialist version of CS (often under the rubric of "cultural marxism" or even "post-marxism") retains a strong commitment to the idea of social science but tempered by its passage through the Frankfurt School critique of positivism, which queried not only the epistemological assumptions mentioned above but also the way in which the positivist worldview stresses mastery over inner and outer nature as a route to political domination. The contemporary, post-Frankfurt marxian school has renewed interest in material social reality within the convoluted dynamics of digitally-mediated, global turbo-capitalism, and has spawned a number of substantial new fields of research relating to commercial culture, such as Consumer Studies. Given the increasingly invasive influence of power economics in education, this approach has much to say about the overall structuring of schools, their administration, their curricula, their implementation of policy, their systems of tracking and evaluation, and their connection (or lack of it) to surrounding communities and neighborhoods. Needless to say, this analysis has had most to say about urban school reform, although its critique extends to suburban schools as well, if not to rural ones.

According to critical social theory, the panicky post-Sputnik renaissance in U.S. science education that was geared to the Cold War arms race had the hidden agenda of fortifying technical reason as the core of schooling at the expense of moral and political awareness—an initiative uncomfortably reminiscent of the military and genocidal technologies of national socialism. Despite the recent shift of enemy from Soviet to Muslim, such a critique finds disturbing resonances in the contemporary era of educational conservatism, with its emphasis on reduced tolerance for diversity (especially for immigrant children); on organizational "efficiency" and vocational outcomes (especially earning potential); on constant surveillance of students through routinized, standardized, and decontextualized assessment; on the derogatory categories of "at risk" and "special education"; on the so-called "accountability" of teachers; and on judgmental "pass/fail" grading of schools. Typically, all of the above are justified in terms of a conventional statistical logic, which paradoxically tends to encourage schools to engage in surreptitious exclusion, demotion, or even social promotion of students who are performing poorly, in order to improve numerical appearances.

For critical theory, this increasing objectification through mandated cycles of "auditing"—with its reductive focus on "performance," "productivity," and "evidence-based planning"—represents an extreme, if not paranoid, form of social control via hypertrophied bureaucratization. In this regard, the Frankfurt approach is in the tradition of Max Weber's skepticism about the progressive rationalization of education as "training." It also shares the jaundiced eye of post-structuralists like Michel Foucault, whose social histories of control and "governmentality" have been applied to education more extensively in Europe than in North America. Some historians of education

have noted the parallels between contemporary U.S. educational policy and the bureaucratism of the erstwhile Soviet system.

Approaches such as that of the Frankfurt School have been criticized for fostering "conspiracy" theories, for homogenizing administrative logics and apparatuses across a heterogeneous range of instances, for paralyzing educational reform by massifying the problem to the point of intractability, for overestimating the power of vested interests, and for underestimating the potential of students, teachers, and other citizens for critical awareness and social activism. Critical theory certainly gained power by identifying the processes by which managerial systems and priorities tend to become internalized through students' participation in standard, taken-for-granted educational practices. However, in the process of accounting for the absence of widespread progressive change, the theory has tended to obscure actual and potential processes of resistance and emancipation. The latter are visible, for example, in the recent questioning of "No Child Left Behind" or in the increased popularity of community service programs and other "social justice" initiatives.

Race, Class, Gender

While the field of CS, in education as elsewhere, has benefited greatly from critical theory, CS scholars have argued that the key liability of the approach lies in its weak concept of culture, as a "lite" domain passively driven by economic and sociological factors. One area in which the traditional stress on sociology and economics has been modified is the field of "identity politics." This demographically oriented approach emerged on both sides of the Atlantic in the 70s and 80s, fueled by the feminist critique of academic inattention to domestic labor and gender hierarchy. It was also driven by the burgeoning influence of feminists of color who saw themselves as in double jeopardy and who were concerned about whiteness as ethnic privilege. The vigor of this movement was potentiated by the emergence of new kinds of governmental authoritarianism and, despite the gains of the civil rights movement, a resurgence of White supremacism.

The identity politics approach is colloquially referred to as "race/class/gender studies," implying, for education, that the traditional focus on social stratification in schooling (e.g., public vs. private and urban vs. suburban schools) needs to be broadened to include ethnicity and masculinity/femininity as primary determinants of success and failure in education, and as dimensions of radical difference in needs, talents, experience, and learning styles. Rather than accepting the bland liberal definition of difference as "diversity," such an approach focuses on the heritage of prejudice and discrimination, with education being one of the major sites at which exclusion and subordination are inculcated, rationalized, and acted out.

The race/class/gender approach has been directed largely by sociological perspectives and priorities, although critical race theory has added some interdisciplinarity, and the socio-political movement of "critical psychology" has started to make a contribution that stresses the side of subjectivity. The sociological paradigm has often confronted race and class, but it has had a particularly hard time accounting for gender. For the first two thirds of the last century the preferred option was typically a discourse of "male" and "female" as genetically and chromosomally determined opposition, fueling the argument for single-sex schools in the independent sector. Since that time, a wealth of powerful psychological discourses has emerged, the most popular of which arguably has been the one adopting the Jungian notion of personality individuation in the form of "gender identity." Departing from Jung, however, the contemporary approach to gender identity tends to treat it as something that only gradually takes shape in specific social contexts.

Much as feminist theory led to the replacement of biological sex with "gender" and eventually with "gender identity" in the last part of the last century, the notion of ethnic identity largely displaced the outmoded concept of biological "race." As both gender and ethnic identity ceased being seen as essential givens of the human individual, their crucial role in personality development and their variability and susceptibility to influence became more apparent, providing a place for ethnic and gender learning and teaching. As a result, attention has been drawn to the significance of teacher gender and ethnicity, as well as the discourses that suppress awareness of their role. To some extent, class too has been reconstructed as a process of identity formation, rather than an extrinsic, societally determined assignment.

Recently the identity politics of the race/class/gender approach have been extended to include other domains of prejudice and discrimination. Chief among these are "ageism," homophobia, and the disenfranchisement embodied in pejorative labels such as "dropout," "at

risk," and "disabled." The post-9/11 emboldening of Christian fundamentalists with visions of a new crusade, has drawn attention back to the phenomenon of "orientalism." The revival of 1960s anti-Arab campaigns in the form of a more specific anti-Islam sentiment, still related to fantasies around fossil-fuel dependency, has had marked effects on schooling in areas of the country with high proportions of muslim residents.

Another set of ethnocentric dynamics has followed upon the recent spotlighting of paradoxes in national practices around migrant labor and the injustices written into immigration law. The earlier, simplified notion of racism now has to take into account not only specific antipathies toward Mexicans, Chicanos, and even Mexican American citizens, but also a broader zenophobia of a paranoid kind, reminiscent of the cold war fears of an overt or covert Soviet invasion. The growing attention devoted to the education of immigrant children, and the post-Katrina scandals surrounding the provision of emergency education (or the lack of it), have further complicated the task of identity politics, challenging the scope and comprehensiveness of the race/class/gender approach.

The increasing awareness that such dimensions are not so much determinate variables of growth but equivocal, labile, and malleable ways of being has opened up a further possibility: "race," "class," "gender," etc. not only have their own biographical trajectory but are cultural formations, where cultural identity is highly variable and achieved only provisionally—often tentatively and precariously—through processes of cultivation. Where race/class/gender approaches are included in CS, these processes may depend less on the impact of shared values or the transmission of rules and rituals and more on active struggles, negotiations, and renegotiations, occurring at various levels, as a function of quite variable forms of cultural recruitment and participation, including practices of consuming and producing media and popular culture. CS has thus consolidated the representational status of ethnicity, class and gender as powerful regimes of mediation, opening up the potential for whole new ways of looking at curriculum and pedagogy.

Multiculturalism and the Culture Wars

Multiculturalism is one response to such a challenge. However, in most schools multicultural initiatives have tended to degenerate into "flags, food, and festivals," as insignia of a muted, depoliticized vision of human differences. Multiculturalism of this kind departs from and directly opposes a CS approach in construing difference as unproblematic, as though it consisted in little more than delightful variations on a basic theme. This celebratory view is not only perniciously relativistic but also denies both prejudice and the hard fought battles to overcome it. Identity politics and multiculturalism have been met with an uneven response in education, and the reaction has been even bumpier in society at large. They have been blamed for the so-called "culture wars," the policy clash between progressive and conservative traditions. This conflict used to focus on the urgency of women's claims, particularly abortion rights, but it is now typically centered on education—from grade school through college.

The culture wars are often described in pseudoneutral terms as though they represented a mere jousting between different value systems. However, they reflect much more basic political conflicts. These rotate around key issues of autonomy and heteronomy. In particular, conservatives have mounted the oddly but cleverly inverted accusation that they are oppressed and victimized by progressives who impose a rigid, compulsory paradigm of "political correctness," curbing basic freedoms of thought, speech, and choice, and preventing constructive social change. CS has mounted several energetic campaigns to reveal the contradictions in such a complaint.

CS scholars have been engaged in showing how the covert anti-intellectualism, sexism, classism, and White supremacism imbedded in such protestations have impacted schooling over a 25 year period, the beginning of which was marked by the Reaganist argument for a vigorous cleansing reform of our institutions of learning. The fusion of a corporate language of "excellence" with the civil defense rhetoric of a "war" on mediocrity was imprinted on the public in 1983 by *A Nation at Risk*, a government report of a national commission that called for a return to "basic skills," "standards-based curricula," and objective "achievement testing." The bipartisan *No Child Left Behind* Act of 2001 is arguably only the second phase of the earlier moralistic policy turn toward more fiscally conservative and disciplinary approaches to education.

Perhaps the most distinctive contribution of CS in education has been to identify the ways in which popular media have dealt directly or indirectly with such policy issues, becoming complicit with particular policy objectives, resisting them, pursuing their implications,

or even posing alternatives. For example, policy issues are often broached or dealt with tangentially in high school and teen movies, in hip-hop raps about schooling, or in popular adolescent literature, such as the satirical Harry Potter series. Such materials have been shown to be of utility in the secondary level classroom, raising the possibility of a degree of reflectivity about specific prejudices, about the notion of difference, about social justice, and even about education in general.

Popular Culture in the Classroom

The general issue of the role of CS in the schools is often confused with the specific practice of using popular culture in the classroom. The latter has recurred frequently in different guises, associated with student-centered or experiential learning, multiple literacies, and differentiated instruction. The question of what popular culture is or includes remains contested: is it folk culture, youth culture, mass media, commercial culture, leisure activities, the culture of "the people" (populism), common culture, the culture of the streets, or just the practices of everyday life? A favored idea in contemporary pop-cultural teaching is the romantic notion that popular culture is a grass roots phenomenon, a mobilizing of popular sentiment in counter-cultural form, which allows for a radical democratization of curriculum and pedagogy.

Those equating popular culture with commercial mass media and the entertainment industries have tended to argue against importing it into the classroom, or at least engaging it only opportunistically as a surreptitious means to the goal of instruction in high culture (using the movie "Clueless" to teach Jane Austen's "Emma" or "High School Musical" in a class on "Romeo and Juliet").

Then there are those who link popular culture to postmodernism. The historical significance in the U.S. and the U.K. of the pop art movement has encouraged not only an aesthetic wing of cultural studies (where it is connected to art history, visual culture, semiology, and "ways of seeing"), but a faction that sees the current dominance and generativity of popular culture as a primary symptom of postmodernization.

Culture

There is a variety of conceptions of culture abroad in CS, but most fall under one or more of the following rubrics, which deviate sharply from standard anthropological and sociological approaches, and in particular from the functionalist account so dominant in the Anglo American academy:

- Culture as a whole way of life, including everyday life or the "lifeworld"
- Culture as inherently heterogeneous
- Culture as a volatile field of creative formation and transformation rather than a heritage of entrenched traditions
- Culture as a highly political, contested terrain, negotiated between a variety of emergent, residual, and subcultural formations—not as "shared values," which tends to stress beliefs and ideas and to subordinate culture to society and hence to sociology
- Culture as exerting a "cultivating" influence, parallel but not reducible to processes of socialization
- Culture as a domain of power, typically organized hierarchically under a dominant or hegemonic coalition, "high culture," assuming an elite authority and claiming to represent the state as its precious "national culture"
- "Low culture" as holding the potential for various forms of insubordination, ranging from revolutionary tendencies to alternative cultural productions and discursive subversions
- Culture as a set of intersecting discursive and signifying practices associated with characteristic spatial and temporal ordering and compression
- Culture as a field of collective identity-formation that embraces immigration, global diasporas, the burgeoning refugee phenomenon, hybridization, and transnationality
- "Culture" as a profoundly contested conceptual issue, requiring academic scholarship in philosophy and cultural theory and a rigorous ongoing practice of "cultural critique"

Over time, the materialist and sociological economic paradigms, centered on an explicitly politicized project of radical social reform, have been supplemented with two additional types of CS, with quite divergent notions of culture: an indirectly political form, influenced more by continental theory, and a relatively depoliticized and often issues-based form. This last version is typically uninterested in alternative cultural production and is preoccupied instead with media, celebrity, and reified subdomains of popular culture (e.g., "girls gone wild," or social networking web venues).

Arguably six major turning points mark the history of the CS field, each of them involving some revision in the understanding of what culture is and how it works:

- The revision of notions of working-class culture through a semiotic analysis of youth-cultural style
- The encounter with literary criticism followed by a distancing from its linguistic and textual biases
- The merger of visual studies with cultural studies to form a hybrid sub-discipline of visual-cultural studies
- The challenging of subcultures work as too exclusively concerned with male populations and entrenched sexist objectives
- The revival of interest in psychoanalysis and the theory of the subject in culture
- The rapprochement with postcolonial scholarship (studying the cultural legacy of colonial rule) and critical race theory (espousing the culturally constructed nature of race) that has led to a decentering concern with cultural identities, ethnicities as cultural formations, and global diasporas

It would be safe to say that none of these changes has directly affected schools, but their indirect influence is detectible in a number of places where formal school curricula have undergone recent revision. For instance, Art Education has allowed itself to embrace the broader field of visual culture and has occasionally flirted with the issue of subcultural and youth-cultural style. Music Education has often stretched its boundaries to include the study of popular music, partly in response to the school band movement, itself strongly influenced by Japanese schools. English Education has been responsive to paradigm changes in criticism and literacy studies, while its academic wing has taken up some of the semiotic and post-structural concerns with "the subject." Social Studies has shown a trend toward what might be called "global studies," in reaction to many of the initiatives in post-colonial research.

Across the board, recent progressive initiatives in education—diversification in curricula, their renewed attention to difference and inclusiveness (despite the culture wars), the popularity of differentiated instruction, the growing state mandates concerning multiliteracies, and the erosion of the "high"/ "low" distinction—may all have been affected to some extent by the evolving concerns of academic CS, many of which have been highly publicized. On the other hand, there are counter-trends such as the popularity of "classroom management" and the fanatical Ruby Payne system for "understanding poverty," which mark the limited extent to which CS critiques have impacted North American educators.

Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony

A recurrent notion in CS that has exerted an influence on thinking about the politics of education is "hegemony." This concept has been central to much CS, implying the broad role that culture or lifestyle plays in relations of power and authority, especially in the way that

1. Dominance is sustained not by coercion but by enabling a relatively spontaneous consent of the populace
2. Consenting youth and adults express their support via a wide range of lifestyle features and cultural choices
3. Hegemonic control is never homogeneous but requires the constant formation and renegotiation of alliances between an (often motley) assortment of competing groups
4. Power is always relatively provisional, precarious, and subject to erosion due to the vicissitudes of public assent
5. The meaning, articulation, and operation of hegemony are always inflected by specific spatio-temporal conjunctures
6. The grip of hegemonies is regularly threatened by the emergence of broad-based counter-hegemonies—themselves made up of contingent, temporary alliances—that challenge and often usurp apparently entrenched power

One particularly relevant example from this generation of youth is hip-hop culture, which spans a broad front of music, dance, clubbing, DJing, MCing, fashion, jewelry, street art, postures, gestures, slang, and spoken-word poetry. Hip-hop has displaced mainstream, White, middle-class cultural forms such as rock and pop. It has roots in talking blues, poetry, reggae, and funk, as well as gang, pimp, and prison subcultures. It has generated major changes in the frequency and type of intertextual sampling and referencing. It has recently reached out to embrace other styles, such as trance, techno, and contemporary psychedelic music in the hybrid fusion termed "trip hop," and has been

adapted to Caribbean and Latino cultures through the hybrid of rap, dancehall, bomba, and plena called "reggaeton." It has assimilated aspects of improv.-theater, stand-up comedy, and performance art, and has influenced each of those in return. It has helped revive and reinvigorate busking, tap dance, and skip-rope games. It has generated specific genres of cultural events such as "beatboxing" and the "slam," modes of musical performance such as "freestyling," and particular kinds of textual design such as "wildstyle," as well as influencing formats of musical video, modern dance, sound recording, online communication, website design, and instant messaging.

The paradox, which CS scholars study in detail, is that counter-hegemonic formations, originally oppositional in stance, in time often become full-blown, consolidated hegemonies, with their own pattern of dominance. These, in turn, are challenged by emerging alliances whose subcultural style subverts, more or less intentionally, the entrenched persuasion.

For example, hip-hop stands in direct opposition to emerging alternative movements such as "post-pop," "emo," "goth," and "techno." It also duels with mainstream pop and rock, which at several points have intersected to form a forceful "pop rock" alliance, spawning "soft rock" and "Hot AC," as well as the emergence of a distinct "tweeny" genre of preadolescent girls' music, the contemporary "boy bands," and the renaissance of the "power ballad."

Hip-hop competes for space with these other stylistic formations not only in the peer culture of North American high schools but also in the increasingly accepted popular culture curricula that have been developed for middle and high schools in areas as diverse as English, media studies, social studies, math, and the arts.

The multimedia range of hip-hop and the opposition it represents to mainstream White culture in North America (and elsewhere) have challenged a wide array of secondary school educators to take it on as content in their classrooms, providing students with opportunities to explore its kaleidoscopic complexity, to criticize its shortcomings (e.g., hyper-materialism and rampant gender-bias), and to understand the cultural context of people of color, who are so poorly represented in most standard public school curricula. In addition, the emergence of alternative cultural and subcultural styles provides opportunities to study the dynamic historical flux of cultural change, close-up and in process, with all the overtones of ethnic strife that they both reveal and conceal.

CS work in education has argued that since much of the energy behind these shifting movements comes from adolescents and young adults, the study of the tides and cross-currents in popular culture can empower youth, encourage their creativity, capitalize on their subjective involvement, and allow them to exercise and develop what expertise they already possess in this area. As a result, new levels of academic motivation may be fostered, forging new connections between work and leisure activities, and breaking down the boundary between curricular and extracurricular activities as well as among different ethnic groupings in educational institutions. However, the extent to which this pedagogical agenda has been taken up in public and independent schools, the seriousness with which it has been pursued, and the degree of awareness of CS as the scholarly grounding for such endeavors all remain quite unclear and in much need of further research.

Misperceptions

Since its inception a half century ago, CS has expanded in salience, popularity, and productivity. Nevertheless, as a field, it remains largely outside the mainstream. Whatever incorporation into higher education has taken place, including graduate schools of education, has tended to be premised on the notion that it is an integrative, interdisciplinary field, akin to American Studies. Its relevance to secondary education has often been couched in terms of its supposed resemblance to Social Studies (a contingent amalgam conventionally adopted for the purposes of certain grades of formal schooling) or Media Studies (a recent concession to technological and social-policy pressures associated with claims about the growing importance of multimedia and multiliteracies).

CS, when it is pursued inside the field of education, is often confused with the Freudo-marxist tradition of Critical Theory and the postmarxist project of Critical Pedagogy stemming from the work of Freire. These two related but distinct endeavors tend to hold to a modernist project of emancipation from oppression, heteronomous interest, and false consciousness. CS has been critical of theories of ideology, domination, and exploitation, since they systematically a) ignore the richness and the complexity of unthematized everyday

experience; b) minimize the independent, productive role of populist cultures, overestimating the power of the state and commercial interests; and c) underestimate the active and autonomous potential of audiences, fostering a counter-productive fatalism and paralysis. Nevertheless, critical pedagogy has made a valuable contribution in its depiction of educators as "cultural workers."

Unlike critical pedagogy, CS conceptualizes culture in a rich, dynamic, non-linear way and (especially recently) tends to be influenced heavily by post-structural, post-colonial, postfeminist and queer theory approaches that draw on semiotics, deconstruction, and discourse analysis. CS has provided several conceptual, historical and empirical refutations of the critical attack on popular culture as capitulating to late capitalist mass media consumption. It thereby occupies the peculiar position of exercising its critique even within the spectrum of radical education, making the formation of solidary counter-hegemonic alliances difficult.

The Social Studies model does not fit Cultural Studies well. CS is not taught in schools, for example. It seems to be much more seriously concerned with establishing itself as a legitimate part of the core university curriculum. It has developed academic orientations and standards of its own and, in fact, shuns the uncritical mix-and-match pluralism of interdisciplinarity. While by no means conforming to a single, homogeneous paradigm, and in no way committed to a unified methodological approach, CS has emerged as a domain with the coherence, boundaries, and political dynamism of an academic discipline in its own right. However, at the same time, it has borrowed from postmodern thinking a profound critique of disciplinary integrity and legitimacy. It claims to be reflexively transdisciplinary or metadisciplinary in character and scope, spanning the disciplines—not only defying their boundaries but also providing a cultural-historical account of their various processes of formation and differentiation.

Likewise, the Media Studies rubric does not do justice to CS. Given the above approaches to culture, CS departs from the social scientific "communications" model of culture, being concerned less with mass media and the effects of their influential messages than with the meaning of popular cultural formations, emergent subcultures, modes of representation, and improvisatory identities. For example, the emphasis on the role of print and news media and the preoccupation with new media technologies are typically far less in CS than in Media Studies.

However, CS approaches frequently share the political fate of Media Studies, often being relegated to optional remedial classes or to programs in ESL, community service, or extramural after-school and summer settings. Evaluations of such programs typically indicate that they show favorable outcomes along social as well as intellectual dimensions, with positive implications for performance in regular academic classes as well. However, often, the popularity of such classes with students and the high levels of motivation observed have been taken as cause for suspicion, serving to delegitimize and further marginalize such initiatives. There are ways, then, in which CS, like Media Studies, gets aligned with special rather than general education.

Institutional Location

There are probably upwards of 150 university or college based CS programs around the world. However, it is hard to estimate this number with any reliability. For example, at the University of California in Santa Cruz, there have been three programs vying for the domain of CS: one more anthropological and postmodern, one post-structural/literary/historical, and one specifically feminist. At the University of Warwick, UK, CS is split into Cultural Policy Studies and Comparative Cultural Studies. CS is often pursued under different names, having to do with the particular biographies and exigencies of the academic and practical contexts in which they have arisen. For example, at New York University, CS falls under the American Studies program. At Parsons School of Design in New York it falls under Critical Studies. York University in Toronto has a program called Fine Arts Cultural Studies. At the University of California, Berkeley, the Department of Rhetoric engages in research and teaching that elsewhere could be called CS. At Wesleyan College, in Connecticut, CS finds a place under the aegis of the Institute for the Humanities. At Princeton, much CS research is housed in the progressive Institute for Advanced Studies. At the University of Western Sydney, Australia, CS is incorporated into the Centre for Cultural Research and, for a period, was also pursued under the umbrella of Critical Psychology. In other places, the business of CS may be disguised as Comparative Literature, Film Studies, or Queer Theory.

In graduate schools of education, while there are still "Foundations" programs that include CS—often with hybrid names such as "Social and Cultural Bases of Education" – it is often the program in English Studies or English Education that sponsors academic CS theory and practice. English departments in colleges and universities often have been most welcoming to CS faculty and activities as, for instance, at Columbia University. It remains unclear whether the limited penetration of CS into schools of education is attributable to the prevalence of conservative, exclusive policies of traditional cultural literacy or to its own resistance to the individualism, technicism, and bureaucratic anti-intellectualism of most approaches to schooling practices.

Where CS is positioned in relation to education, there is often more emphasis on teachers and teaching than on curriculum. For example, some CS faculty at the University of Western Sydney are located in the program on Narrative Discourse and Pedagogy, while the Institute of Education in London, UK recently instituted a new division of Culture and Pedagogy. However, CS can and should contribute to curricular work as well: it not only provides its own content but is well poised to afford a metadisciplinary perspective on curriculum theorizing as a scholarly practice. The increasing convergence of cultural theory with policy studies suggests that CS also may have a great deal to offer policy work. Although CS may not have offered much in the way of a vision of school administration or a critique of testing, it still provides a broad critical perspective on practice, failing to fit the common stereotype of a purely academic endeavor.

Conclusion

While CS is broadly represented in colleges and universities, and has a distinct presence in graduate schools of education, it may be the case that we have yet to see realized any systematic impact of CS on schooling. On the other hand, it could be argued that CS has cleverly sustained a "stealth" approach to education, infiltrating it systematically at the level of graduate education in the area of teacher preparation, and thereby indirectly and invisibly influencing a wide array of grade school students. Nevertheless, there are many promising, innovative projects initiated in schools here in the U.S., in the U.K., Canada, Australia, and now other countries such as France, Sweden, Denmark, and Japan, which may serve as prototypes for broader educational change.

Rather than lamenting the propagandist effects of mass media, CS has tended to see popular culture as a potentially transformative and emancipatory domain of engagement for our youth. It has stressed active audiencing, creative consumption, and extended periods of what might be called "post-consumption," which allows commodities to be revised, metabolized and integrated into everyday life and social relations (which thereby become cultural relations). The image of education implied by such a paradigm is one in which the role of the subaltern student is enhanced and foregrounded, while cultural forms indigenous to youth are allowed or even encouraged to challenge and subvert dominant codes.

Some interpret such an intersubjective or dialogical rather than monological view of pedagogy as implying a constructivist epistemology, but CS has been largely critical of the individualistic relativism and even solipsism that such a view of knowledge implies. It has also been skeptical of the general overemphasis on education as knowing, preferring to view it as a set of potential lines of cultivation, where culture always contains moments of activism and insurgency. Because of the opposition to both conservative and liberal education that CS entails, it is unlikely to find a comfortable home in established institutions of schooling in the near future. However, it may in time establish itself as a legitimate oppositional or counter-hegemonic formulation of the educational project. Meanwhile it continues to make considerable inroads into independent, extramural, and experimental forms of schooling.

See also: *Multicultural education*; *Multicultural teacher training*

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Culturally Competent Assessment of English Language Learners

Becky Pérez · Bryn Harris · Rebecca S Martínez · Charles R Ridley

Culturally competent assessment is more than the adequacy of tests to measure the abilities of culturally and linguistically diverse student populations. It is a comprehensive process involving the implementation of various strategies to identify and remedy educational conditions that systematically disadvantage particular student groups. School psychologists develop skills in culturally competent assessment by becoming familiar with background knowledge of their students' community, understanding the group's unique abilities, and using this information in the collection and interpretation of assessment data.

Assessment of English Language Learner (ELL) students can be challenging. Due to their limited English proficiency, ELL students should be assessed cautiously when using traditional assessments created for their English speaking peers. Many assessment instruments rely heavily on language; as a result, the validity of these instruments may be influenced by a child's level of acculturation. If the child's acculturation is not taken into consideration, results of these assessments may not reflect the child's true abilities. Furthermore, scores on these assessments can lead to inappropriate expectations or misdiagnoses. Therefore, in identifying the special needs of ELL students, school psychologists are encouraged to use an array of culturally competent strategies that accommodate the diverse needs and abilities of ELL students.

Assessment Considerations

Before a psychological evaluation can be initiated, preliminary steps should be implemented that account for the student's unique language abilities. School psychologists first should note that seemingly proficient verbal communication in English does not imply proficient comprehension in English. ELL students develop varying language abilities can be described by the concept of Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). CALP refers to formal academic learning skills in listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Language abilities should be evaluated for levels of proficiency prior to selecting assessment methods. New ELL students and their parents should be given a language survey (in the native language), collecting information about the child's native language usage and other information about their previous education. When students have a native language other than English, language proficiency in the child's native language as well as in English should be assessed by a trained professional. Both formal and informal procedures are to be employed, helping students to transfer prior language knowledge to learning their new language. If students have low abilities in both languages, additional evaluation should be conducted to rule out possible problems in hearing, learning, or language usage.

Because ELL students are assessed in both their native language and English, a more accurate picture of the student's abilities can emerge. Interpreters trained in psychological measurement may be used during this stage. Interpreters must be familiar with evaluation procedures, specific test instruments, and administration guidelines. Interpreters who do not possess knowledge of the assessment process are not encouraged to be included in this process because the validity of the results can be undermined. Nevertheless, if an interpreter is considered the best option in certain cases, school psychologists can be involved in and assist in the assessment session.

Use of Formal Assessment Procedures

Both academic achievement and cognitive assessment batteries (e.g., Woodcock-Johnson-III, the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children-IV) are examples of formal assessment procedures. These assessment procedures require knowledge of the norm-sample used for standardizing the assessment. Moreover, assessments given to monolingual students should generally *not* be translated into the ELL student's native language. Under some circumstances; however, qualified bilingual examiners may administer subtests that have been translated as long as results are interpreted with great caution. Tests that have been translated may not reflect the individual student's specific dialect and may not be representative in the norm sample. Translated tests can lose standardization and produce results that often are inaccurate and invalid. Therefore, attention should be given to assessments that have been

normed and standardized on the representative sample. The Wechsler's Intelligence Scale for Children-Fourth Edition in Spanish is an example of a formal cognitive assessment tool that included a representative ELL norm-sample. Unfortunately, finding assessment tools with a representative norm-sample can be difficult. Nevertheless, these tools are important for making eligibility decisions.

When formal assessments are not available in the child's native language, assessments may be modified and used informally to collect additional information. School psychologists can use less verbally loaded sections of a formal assessment tool to capture abilities such as processing speed, working memory, or visual-spatial abilities. Assessment directions can be modified to allow a teaching opportunity, where the school psychologists can teach the student the task and observe how the student responds. These techniques are more appropriate for ELL students who have higher levels of English proficiency. Information collected from these assessments should be used in combination with information gathered from other procedures. Otherwise, the information likely will not be valid and may be an inaccurate reporting of the unique abilities and needs of the student.

Nonverbal tests are another form of formal assessments that have been used to assess ELL students. Given the seemingly less need for verbal skills in English, nonverbal assessments have been used to collect information about other cognitive processing abilities. However, nonverbal assessments require receptive and effective communication abilities, suggesting these procedures should only be used with children who have not achieved CALP in either their native language or English.

An additional formal assessment tool is curriculum-based assessment and measurement (CBM). This technique involves monitoring and assessing curriculum skills to indicate mastery of content. CBM allows educators to monitor progress on specific tasks each week based on instructional content. Standardized probes can be given in the child's native language as well as in English.

Use of Informal Assessment Procedures

Assessments given to ELL students should allow them to demonstrate their knowledge regardless of language ability. Additional assessment methods that can capture a wider array of abilities include classroom observations, checklists and rating scales. These assessment techniques target individual student behaviors in the classroom as well as collect information about the educational environment and social interactions of the classroom context. Parent interviews also can provide valuable information about the home environment and previous education.

Both dynamic assessment and performance assessment procedures can be used informally to collect progress information on an ongoing basis. These assessments are used to capture the student's potential for learning. Dynamic assessment allows school psychologists to apply teaching opportunities to additional knowledge and skills the ELL student is able to learn. One example of a dynamic assessment would be testing the limits during an exam, where an examiner might ask the student to elaborate on an answer. On the other hand, performance-based assessments collect information about the student's current knowledge and abilities. Portfolios are an example of performance-based assessments where students are evaluated on what they produce in the classroom over time.

Another informal strategy is to enlist the assistance of school staff, family members, and community partners in assessment procedures. School psychologists are encouraged to work collaboratively with a multidisciplinary team to collect and interpret data from multiple sources. Individuals who have knowledge about ELL students and second-language acquisition as well as speech pathologists can be integral to the data collection process. Interpreters also can be used to assist in inviting ELL student parents for interviews, case conferences, and Individualized Educational Plan (IEP) proceedings. Assistance also might be sought from local community partners, such as social services, to assist in developing recommendations and providing additional resources that may be unavailable at the school level.

Summary

As the population of ELL students in American schools increases, educators should take appropriate measures to ensure that these students receive the educational services they need. Culturally competent assessment practices can assist in collecting information and evaluating the needs of these students. In initiating the assessment process, a school psychologist should consider the educational backgrounds and challenges

experienced by ELL students. In addition, careful consideration of the limitations and applicability of traditional assessment tools to evaluate the needs and abilities of ELL students is essential. Therefore, modifying the procedures for collecting and interpreting data is an important consideration. ELL students should be assessed using a multifaceted evaluation, and no single assessment procedure should determine eligibility or placement. Finally, various stakeholders should be included in the assessment process. Their various perspectives help to increase the validity of assessment, eligibility, and proper recommendation decisions.

See also: ➲ *Bilingual school psychologists*; ➲ *Interpreters*; ➲ *Language and educational assessment*; ➲ *Language proficiency*; ➲ *Limited English proficiency*

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Miranda, A. H. (2002). Best practices in increasing cross-cultural competence. In A. Thomas, & J. Grimes (Eds.), *Best practices in school psychology IV* (pp. 353–362). Bethesda, MD: The National Association of School Psychologists.

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Suggested Resources

http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/—The National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs (NCELA) provides a comprehensive website of resources for educators, parents, and community partners.

http://www.nasponline.org/culturalcompetence/ell_educators.pdf—The National Association of School Psychologists (NASP) presents *English Language Learners: An Introductory Guide for Educators*, which provides information, guidance, games, resources and links to relevant websites for educators.

Culturally Competent Crisis Response

Arlene Silva · Ted Feinberg

School psychologists are increasingly involved in providing crisis response within multicultural communities. Those who are committed to enhancing their skills in cultural competency are more likely to be effective caregivers when challenging situations arise. For example, reports from a 1989 Stockton, California schoolyard shooting in a predominantly Southeast Asian community found that school officials had difficulty communicating with parents, and that police and medical crews were transporting unidentified children to the hospital, resulting in unnecessary confusion and anxiety for the frightened parents. As a result, parents were forced to wait for several agonizing hours before learning the location and status of their children.

In another tragic example of the impact of culture on crisis, a Pakistani American teenager unsuccessfully attempted suicide in her school's bathroom following an arranged marriage orchestrated by her single mother. School officials then had the arduous task of notifying her mother, who had not assimilated with American culture and spoke no English. Suicide attempts among minority students are not uncommon; data indicates that African American, American Indian, Mexican American, and gay and lesbian youths may be particularly at risk.

Culture can influence what type of threat or event is perceived as traumatic, how individuals interpret the meaning of crisis, and how individuals and communities express traumatic reactions. These factors, along with the scenarios listed above, illustrate the importance of considering culture in crisis response.

Developing Culturally Competent Crisis Plans

There are many ways that school psychologists can incorporate cultural competence into their overall crisis plans and preparations. To begin with, crisis plans should identify and address the diverse needs within the school community. These would include:

- Identifying specific culture-related needs of the community, such as access to interpreters, religious figures, and healers.
- Maintaining a current profile of the cultural composition of the school/district community including specific or unique rituals or practices that would be important to know in advance of a crisis event.
- Identifying formal and informal community resources that can help meet diverse mental health needs.
- Developing a list of community resources able to lend assistance as interpreters and translators in the event of a crisis.

- Identifying the meaning of suffering, pain, and death relevant to the norms of the community's cultural groups.
- Anticipating and identifying possible solutions to cultural problems that may arise in the event of a crisis.
- Identifying the full names of the parents and guardians of all children in the school, since last names can differ within families.

The Role of the Crisis Team

The school- or district-wide crisis team plays an integral role in multicultural crisis response, and team members should be selected and trained accordingly. Ideally, team members should represent the cultural and linguistic makeup of the school community. When this is not feasible, the team should train and develop strong working relationships with outside cultural brokers, interpreters, and relevant community members willing to assist in a crisis.

Ongoing team training topics can include awareness of cultural values and traditions, linguistics and literacy, immigration experiences and status, help-seeking behaviors, cross-cultural outreach techniques and strategies, and avoidance of stereotypes and labels. Crisis team members should also examine their own cultures, worldviews, and biases, including how these may affect the provision of mental health services. For example, cultural issues such as communication (decision and way to communicate verbally and nonverbally), personal space (appropriateness of physical contact and proximity), social organization (the influences of family, kinships, tribes, and religious, political, and economic organizations), time (variability in interpretation and measurement), and environmental control (belief about external versus internal control) can affect responses to crisis.

In addition, crisis teams should establish relationships with community resources, including trusted organizations, service providers, cultural and faith-based community leaders, multicultural television stations, radio stations, and newspapers. Gathering information from and establishing working relationships with these community resources can speed up and improve effective response efforts before, during and following a crisis.

To ensure continuing cultural competence, crisis teams should conduct regular evaluation of their crisis response efforts. This can include a needs-assessment of the school and community, and investigation of any barriers that are present when providing services during a crisis.

Reactions to Crisis

When a crisis occurs, school psychologists and other responders should keep in mind that survivors may be reluctant to seek out mental health services and they typically react to and recover from crisis within the context of their individual backgrounds, viewpoints, and values. Expression of emotion, description of psychological symptoms, help-seeking behaviors, natural support networks, and customs in dealing with trauma, loss, and healing often vary by culture. It is also important to consider historical influences such as racism and discrimination, war, and interment, as well as social and economic inequality when preparing a crisis response. These factors may cause minority groups to distrust offers of assistance, face majority anger and blame, and have limited access to resources. In addition, groups who have previously experienced trauma (e.g., refugees) as well as those who have limited access to resources may be more susceptible to harm from crisis.

Including Cultural Brokers

School psychologists should ensure that the crisis response is tailored to the population in need to the extent possible. One way to do so is to include crisis responders and cultural brokers (e.g., community leaders) from the affected minority group(s) before, during, and in the aftermath of any crisis situation. In addition, community-based groups can provide an important communication link with the cultural groups they represent. It is worthwhile to consider involving civic associations/social clubs, neighborhood groups, faith-based organizations/interfaith groups, mutual aid societies/voluntary organizations, health care and social service providers, and nonprofit advocacy organizations in the crisis planning and response plan, as well as in training with school crisis teams. To ensure an organized response, crisis responders should coordinate their work with each other, as well as with public and private service providers and agencies.

Communications Following a Crisis

When a crisis occurs, disseminating timely information to the affected community is of utmost importance.

To reach all members of the community, oral and written communication should be made available in languages other than English, including sign language interpreters as needed. Form letters prepared in advance for predictable tragic events (e.g., student deaths) in multiple languages can be adapted quickly when such events occur. In addition, written material should always be supplemented with other forms of information, such as radio, television, or announcements in the communities.

Ideally, the primary language of crisis survivors should be used in delivering outreach and notification of other services. When native speakers are unavailable, interpreters with basic knowledge of crisis response who are also trained to accurately convey the tone, level, and meaning of the information presented in the original language should be recruited. However, it is usually inappropriate to use survivors' friends and relatives as interpreters, and all interpreters should be informed of and sensitive to confidentiality issues. On an interpersonal level, responders should remain aware of culturally specific communication techniques such as the use of eye and physical contact and physical proximity, the integration of food and drink in discussions, the pace of conversation, and body language.

Providing Culturally and Linguistically Competent Services

Following a crisis, care should be taken to provide services that are accessible, appropriate, and equitable. Here are some tips for achieving these goals:

- Always convey respect and good will by dressing appropriately, participating in access rituals, and saying "please" and "thank you." Keep in mind that cultural conventions can vary significantly.
- Be aware of cultural social status and gender conventions. Try to match responders to students and families such that they will have a high status/level of acceptance within the culture in question.
- Help reestablish customs, rituals, and social relationships to enable survivors to cope with the impact of a crisis.
- Ask survivors to describe what they need for the responder to be of assistance to them. The responder should then tell survivors truthfully what is within his/her capacity to lend assistance.
- Acknowledge one's own limitations and differences. These may include the inability to speak or understand the language, as well as confusion over certain customs, rituals, or spiritual understandings. The responder should try to convey a sincere desire to learn about these customs to be able to more effectively offer support.
- Ask survivors if they would like to go to a place of worship or a cultural center or if there are any ceremonies or rituals that are particularly directed at crisis in their culture.
- Refer parents to culturally appropriate post-crisis resources, such as "*An activity book for African American families: Helping children cope with crisis.*"
- Organize culturally appropriate commemorations and anniversary activities as well as informational handouts to explain these rituals and customs to the greater community.
- Use cross-cultural interventions such as group work, reduction of isolation, relaxation techniques, meditation, education about crisis in culturally relevant terms, and development of individual control.
- Monitor access to services, including crisis counseling, and design specific strategies to reach the unengaged as well as those whose traditions discourage seeking help.

See also: ➲ *Crisis intervention*; ➲ *Cultural perspectives on trauma*; ➲ *Cultural resilience*

Suggested Reading

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Jimerson, S. R., & Huff, L. C. (2002). Responding to a sudden, unexpected death at school: Chance favors the prepared professional. In S. E. Brock, P. J. Lazarus, & S. R. Jimerson (Eds.), *Best practices in school crisis prevention and intervention* (pp. 449–485). Bethesda, MD: National Association of School Psychologists.

Suggested Resources

National Association of School Psychologists (NASP)—http://www.nasponline.org/: This website provides resources for

addressing different crises such as natural disasters, war/terrorism and suicide, which are available in several languages. It also defines cultural competence and provides resources and presentations for running a culturally competent practice.

In Mental Health: A Report of the Surgeon General—http://www.surgeongeneral.gov/library/mentalhealth/chapter2/sec8.html: This website offers an overview of cultural diversity and mental health services as well as an introduction to cultural diversity and demographics. It discusses both barriers and improvements in work with minority groups.

Culturally Competent Practice

Debra Mollen · Charles R Ridley

The purpose of public education for children and youth generally is multifold: to provide students with the basic skills in reading, writing, and computing; to serve as an agency of socialization; and to help create the next generation of citizens who will shape, guide, and constructively have an impact on our society. Historically, the role of culture in United States (U.S.) education has navigated a complex path, reflecting the zeitgeist of the times through war, political upheaval, social change, and shifts in nationalized values. In response to and consideration of increased awareness and growing diversity, it is incumbent upon school personnel, particularly counselors, to ensure the provision of culturally competence practice.

A Historical Context

The educational system has reflected the nation's ideals of rugged individualism and steadfast patriotism, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Embedded in these ideals were racist, sexist, heterosexist, and ethnocentric assumptions that remained largely unquestioned for the better part of the twentieth century. For example, Native American children often were educated in boarding schools apart from mainstream schools. Children whose native language was not English often were punished for speaking in their dominant language. Prior to the landmark case of Brown v. the Board of Education in 1954, African American children in particular were relegated to separate and inferior schools. The needs of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) students were ignored. Girls often were treated unfairly, praised for sitting quietly, overlooked in class, and discouraged from pursuing math and science coursework and careers.

With the advent of World War I, the educational system in the U.S. reflected the larger national values of a mono-cultural society. Racism, anti-Semitism, sexism, and homophobia were touted as hallmarks of nationalistic pride. It generally was believed that children ought to adopt these nationalistic standards which reflected the dominant groups' values and beliefs. The civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s ushered in a new frontier for the educational system in this country. Values of pluralism and diversity began to permeate the climate of schools, and entrenched ideas came under question and challenge. Gradually but persistently, the lionizing of a monoculture diminished, giving way to recognizing, honoring, and celebrating differences. These changes have not been easily attained or swiftly accomplished, but the efforts make the outcome worthwhile.

Research has provided convincing support for pluralism and multicultural education in the schools, from the structure of schools to the availability of support services for students with varying needs. For example, both White and African American students fare much better in desegregated schools as compared to being educated separately. African American students who are educated alongside their White peers are more likely to attend and complete majority-White colleges, have better jobs, live in interracial neighborhoods, have higher incomes, hold more positive attitudes toward Whites, and have more White friends than those who do not. Similarly, White students also benefit from integrated schools and report more positive attitudes toward African Americans than those educated separately. Similarly, as strides have been made concomitantly in the women's movement, girls are now making substantial progress in education, narrowing the gap in math and science education and pursuing both college and graduate school at rates equal or even higher than those of their male peers. Although progress for improving the educational system for GLBT students is markedly slower, programs, such as the Safe Zone Foundation, designed to increase teacher and administrator sensitivity and GLBT student groups, show great promise for making U.S. education increasingly accessible to all students.

Demographics and Considerations

It now is incumbent of all school professionals, including teachers, administrators, and school counseling personnel, to ensure that current and future educational practices are inclusive and respectful of the rights of all students. Groups that historically have been neglected should be given priority. In many instances, the term *minority* no longer captures accurately the experiences of traditionally marginalized students because individuals from these groups often outnumber people from the dominant culture. For example, nationally the population now is comprised of about one-third people of color, and about 45% of students in public schools are non-White. In certain states such as California, Florida, and Texas, students of color already outnumber their White peers, and it is expected that people of color will outnumber White Americans by 2050. Students of color may face both overt and covert racism in schools, including tracking practices that yield placement in less challenging classes, disproportionately referring students of color for special education assessment and services, and failing to create and update inclusive curricula that address the needs, accomplishments, and contributions of people of color. Students who are non-native-English speakers also are ubiquitous in public schools and have special needs to be addressed by educational personnel.

Similarly, while girls have made significant strides in their educational attainment and in their overall achievement, concerns remain about their well-being and adjustment in light of the disadvantages that befall them. For example, sexual abuse, sexual harassment, eating disorders, date rape, and depression disproportionately affect girls and produce enduring effects that have an impact on educational, social, and emotional functioning. Likewise, GLBT students make up approximately 10% of schools' populations, yet systematic programming and services for them are sorely lacking. Of serious concern, GLBT students are at risk of both verbal and physical harassment, violence, suicide, and homelessness.

The Emergence of Culturally Competent Practice

Culturally competent practice is the purposeful, goal-directed delivery of services that consider, incorporate, and honor diversity. Ensuring the attainment of culturally competent practice in school settings is a critical component for successful educational outcomes. Professionals who work in school systems must take steps to address the unique needs of all students with an aim toward achieving a safe and inclusive environment. Among the key personnel who can make strides toward creation of this environment are school guidance counselors and school psychologists. As identifiable helpers outside the purview of the classroom, counselors and psychologists can engender trust, identify and address both individual and systemic problems, and help foster a school environment that is welcoming and supportive of traditionally marginalized and oppressed groups.

Historically, as schools were one of the common places where racism, sexism, and heterosexism were manifested, training for counselors and psychologists emerged from models steeped in Eurocentric values of individualism and personal responsibility. For example, Freudian theory, one of the earliest and most influential theories to the practice of counseling and psychotherapy, has been criticized for an over reliance on individual pathology, misogynistic implications, and cultural encapsulation. The work of Carl Rogers is also replete with references to selfhood, individuation, and self-actualization, failing to take into account cultural, systemic, and gender considerations that significantly have an impact on people and their problems. Other classic theories of psychology such as cognitive behavioral, existential, and Gestalt followed suit, advancing concepts that are inconsistent with the values of collectivistic cultures. Consequently, the need for culturally-contextualized practice became a necessity.

Psychological theories provide a systematic framework to guide counseling practice. Sue and colleagues did pioneering scholarship which began to address the gap in psychological theories. They proposed a tripartite model of multicultural counseling competencies, focusing on the attitudes/beliefs, knowledge, and skills for which counselors should strive. In 1982, Sue's group gave a general description of the three competencies. In 1992, Sue's new group challenged the profession to implement multicultural counseling competencies and standards in counseling practice and education. In 2003, Arredondo reflected on the landmark work, stating the multicultural competencies addressed the importance of culture, race, and ethnicity in research, education, and practice.

Since the publication of the two seminal articles, the counseling profession has witnessed an explosion

of interest in the topic of cultural competence. Hundreds of publications and resources now are available. One of the most influential documents was commissioned by the Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development (AMCD) and authored by Arredondo and colleagues. Entitled "Operationalization of Multicultural Counseling Competencies," the article extends the work of Sue and colleagues. The authors organized the competencies into three domains—counselor awareness of own cultural values and biases; counselor awareness of client's worldview; and culturally appropriate intervention strategies. Overall, there are 31 Competency Statements and 119 Explanatory Statements described in the article.

In 2001, Sue expanded on his earlier work and conceptualized a multidimensional model for developing cultural competence. The model has three primary dimensions. The *components* of cultural competence are essentially the same as those of the tripartite model, namely awareness, knowledge, and skills. The *foci* of cultural competence are individual, professional, organizational, and societal levels of intervention. The *racial and culture-specific attributes* of cultural competence revolve around five target groups: African American, Asian American, Latino/Hispanic American, Native American, and European American. Sue discussed members of these races in terms of universal, group, and individual levels of personal identity. He also explained that cultural competence is the multifactorial combination and interaction of the dimensions of the model.

Although the two models provide an initial foray into culturally competent practice and move beyond Eurocentric ideology, they have been criticized on a number of grounds. First, neither model offers sufficient direction for culturally competent practice. For example, the multicultural competencies are descriptive: they describe *what* culturally competent practitioners should do. However, multicultural competencies are not *prescriptive:* they provide no guidance on which multicultural competencies are useful, why they are useful, when to use them, or how to put them into practice. Second, both models limit their scope to race and ethnicity, whereas most cross-cultural practice encompasses complex intersections of identities of race, gender, sexual orientation, social class, age, and other variables. The five racial categories included in Sue's second model fail to take into account the fuller array of races and ethnicities with which people identify. The groupings also ignore the phenomenon of multiracial individuals who do not fall neatly into just one category of race or ethnicity.

Understanding Oneself as a Change Agent

Counselors and psychologists can easily overlook the role culture plays in their own lives. This oversight can interfere with their overall effectiveness as agents of change. Self-exploration is critical for addressing areas such as personal resistance, prejudice, and stereotyping.

Why is cultural self-awareness critical to culturally competent practice? Self-awareness can aid professionals in appreciating the complexity of culture and its role in the lives of their students, their students' families, the school, and the community. It can help prevent professionals from projecting their racial and cultural biases, stereotypes, and unresolved issues onto their clients. Cultural self-awareness also can provoke professionals to commit themselves to ongoing professional development. In as much as the exploration of cultural self-awareness is always a work-in-progress, the experience can be daunting and humbling.

The necessity of specialized training is apparent, especially for counselors and psychologists trained prior to the advent of the multicultural movement. In addition to developing skills in intervention, they need to examine the role of culture in their lives. Readings, reflective exercises, and peer or supervisory support can help contribute to becoming more culturally competent.

Major Themes and Issues

The many topics in the literature pertaining to cultural competence may be subsumed under five general categories:

1. *Assertion of Importance.* The literature is replete with claims that cultural competence is integral to training, supervision, and practice. Noted scholars and professional organizations have argued cogently of this necessity. The rationale used to bolster this argument include several converging ideas: the dramatic increase among the non-White population in the U.S., the ethical issues associated with systematically disregarding culture in research and practice, promoting social justice, departing from an oppressive history in counseling, and continuing the multicultural dialogue in the profession.

2. *Definitional Challenge.* The foremost challenge in advancing cultural competent practice among professionals is defining the construct. The construct lacks a unified and coherent definition, despite the proliferation of scholarship and research. Furthermore, although the case for cultural competence is well-established, fundamental questions regarding its actual usage remain unanswered: How do professional manifest cultural competence in their practice? Is cultural competence culturally-specific or culturally-universal? How does cultural competence lead to positive outcomes for clients? How is cultural competence differentiated from cultural incompetence? These unanswered questions make it difficult to state definitively when professional practice is truly culturally competent.

In light of these definitional concerns, culturally competent practice can be defined as the beneficial incorporation of cultural considerations in mental health and school counseling treatment to facilitate therapeutic change. The incorporation of cultural data must be intentional, and it must occur during all phases of treatment, including alliance building, assessment and diagnosis, treatment planning, goal setting, and evaluation of outcomes. The overarching purpose of culturally competent practice is therapeutic change, which is constructive, second order transformation in a student's cognitions, emotions, and behaviors, enabling them to move beyond dysfunction to well-adjusted lifestyles.

3. *Training and Supervision.* Suggestions to enhance training in cultural competence are multifaceted. Learning objectives include the following: displaying culturally responsive behaviors, having ethical knowledge pertaining to multicultural issues, cultural empathy, ability to critique counseling theories for cultural relevance, development of a theoretical orientation that is culturally relevant, knowledge of normative characteristics of cultural groups, knowledge of within-group differences, multicultural concepts and issues, and respecting cultural differences. Instructional strategies include the following: didactic methods, experiential exercises, supervised practica/internships, reading assignments, writing assignments, participatory learning, observational learning, technology-assisted training, introspection, and research experiences. Six program designs are traditional designs, workshop designs, separate course designs, interdisciplinary designs, area of concentration designs, integration designs, and combining program designs. Specific suggestions to enhance supervision include the following: evaluation of supervisors' cultural competence, work with diverse populations, and supervisors getting feedback from supervisees.

4. *Evaluation.* The evaluation of multicultural competence is essential to reach the goal of quality practice. Unfortunately, systematic evaluation is seldom conducted, and the efforts that have been enacted pose unresolved problems. For instance, several self-report instruments on cultural competence contain problems like content validity or having a social desirability confound. As a result, portfolios have been proposed as an alternative means of evaluation. Professionals and trainees can assemble materials that support their multicultural competence development over time. Portfolios have the advantage of empowering individuals to continually update evidence of their competence, but concern remains as to their reliability and validity.

Another problem in evaluating cultural competence is the failure to link practice with intervention outcomes. Even though professionals may demonstrate proficiency in the identified skills and behaviors of cultural competence, a double inference must be made about the competence. First, it must be inferred that mastering the defined behaviors actually makes a professional or trainee competent. Second, it must be inferred that positive outcomes with clients are linked to the training in the defined behaviors rather than other factors. Neither inference may be correct.

5. Specialized Applications. Culturally competent practice has been applied to a number of specialized areas, providing further evidence of the ubiquity of cultural competence in the field. Several areas of application stand out as particularly relevant: managed care, health care, counseling children and families, school counseling, and treating clients who are HIV-positive and their families.

Culturally-Specific Guidelines for Guidance Counselors and School Psychologists

Guidance counselors and school psychologists are in a unique position to be agents of change for a variety of constituents. Foremost, they serve the developmental and academic needs of the students. They may engage in testing and assessment, placement services, course planning, disciplinary interventions, academic and personal counseling, and advocacy. In each domain, the

culturally competent practitioner can and should purposefully and consistently consider and incorporate culture. For example, tests and assessment instruments that have been normed on White, English-speaking children—or those which fail to provide these data—ought to be avoided or, at a bare minimum, cautiously interpreted in light of cultural considerations.

In terms of diagnostic indicators, whether for academic placement or mental health concerns, clinical interviews that include culturally relevant information can help supplement testing batteries. Open-ended questions that access data about family constellation, acculturation, language acquisition, community ties, and social support provide a more complete picture of a student than do traditional paper-and-pencil measures. Counselors and psychologists also can exercise caution regarding placement services, particularly in light of data that show how certain groups (i.e., African American children) are over-represented in special education services while others (i.e., girls) are often overlooked.

Guidance counselors and school psychologists also can integrate culture into their recommendations of courses, extracurricular activities, and book and media selections. While an array of culturally-relevant courses might not be available in traditional kindergarten through 12th grade school settings, professionals can recommend supplemental materials to classroom teachers, students, and parents that help provide a richer cultural perspective than a traditional curriculum allows. In secondary schools, guidance counselors often serve as information brokers and can help identify colleges and universities that offer academic programs that have an emphasis on cultural studies as well as those catering mainly to students of color for those who are interested. Helping to identify programs that offer coursework in Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender (GLBT) studies, Cultural Studies, and Women's Studies could be a substantial aid, especially if students feel isolated during middle and high school. If there are local universities that have these emphases, resources might be available for counselors to access on behalf of their students.

Oftentimes, the designated guidance counselor or psychologist is the sole provider of mental health services available to an entire school or district. A school employee in this position can help identify troubled students, provide counsel and support, and intervene at the classroom, school, and district levels. In all roles, culture ought to receive careful consideration in formulating diagnoses, treatment, and remediation. For example, a school psychologist can take culture into account when working with a child who has been referred for an evaluation for Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), asking how the child's gender, race, and ethnicity might result in a tendency to either over- or underreport.

In counseling students, guidance counselors can ask how the student's sexual orientation might have an impact on her or his scholastic adjustment, friendships, and mood. Counselors can lend support for a gay student's coming out process, acknowledge and validate an international student's experience of cultural management, and address the ways gender stereotyping in the media influences a girl's sense of herself.

At the school and district levels, guidance counselors and psychologists can identify and address covert and overt racism, sexism, and heterosexism. They can help ensure that schools are safe for marginalized students, accessible for students with disabilities, and welcoming for international students. In addition to providing individual counseling as warranted, school psychologists and guidance counselors can also arrange for social groups and clubs and facilitate therapy groups that appeal to the needs of the students. Advising cultural groups or facilitating a school's gay-straight alliance can go a long way in honoring students' experiences and helping students identify culturally sensitive adults in the school.

While some recommendations for guidance counselors and school psychologists are focused on direct interactions with students, much can be done to ensure that an environment is created that readily engages students from a variety of cultures and backgrounds. For example, the décor of offices, the kinds of reading materials on one's bookshelves, and language used send clear and powerful signals to those who may choose to access these services on campus. Books and other reading materials that celebrate a range of cultures can be displayed, having depictions of both White and people of color around the office, and using gender-neutral language around dating and partnering can all help identify the school psychologist or guidance counselor as a safe, accessible adult.

Finally, culturally competent practice entails an emphasis on prevention, advocacy, and outreach. Romano and Hage pointed out that prevention stops, delays, and reduces the impact of problem behaviors while promoting psychological and physical well-being by strengthening individual knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors and

supporting institutional, community, and governmental policies. These initiatives require professionals to take a systems perspective, move outside their comfortable offices, and function as agents of social change.

Important Questions

Is a universally accepted definition of cultural competence necessary? Scholars differ on the utility of a universally accepted definition of cultural competence; some argue for the need for a variety of definitions. However, the lack of consensus on meaning of such an important construct may hinder the communication of ideas among scholars, interdisciplinary collaboration, the formulations of testable hypotheses for research, the advancement of knowledge, and ultimately putting theory into meaningful practice.

Is cultural matching a prerequisite for culturally competent practice? Some professionals believe that clients are most effectively served by counselors of similar ethnic, racial, or cultural backgrounds. Implicit here is the assumption that cultural competence derives from the common experiences that counselors and clients share. Presumably counselors are able better to identify and empathize with their clients than counselors who do not share these experiences. Two secondary assumptions follow: (a) cultural competence is independent of training and (b) cultural competencies require counselors to be members of the client's race, ethnicity, or culture.

Research on cultural matching is inconclusive. On the one hand, ethnic minority clients prefer to be matched with counselors from similar backgrounds, and matched dyads yield better utilization and benefit certain types of clients. On the other hand, no unequivocal evidence demonstrates that matched dyads yield better outcomes than unmatched dyads. These findings suggest that other factors affect cultural competence. In fact, counselors may show certain problems counseling clients from their own race or culture. They may over-identify with their clients, thereby incorrectly attributing the client's problems to racism and minimizing the client's psychopathology. On the other hand, counselors may deny identification with their clients, thereby discounting clients' realistic reaction to racism and over-pathologizing the psychological presentation. Therefore, the profession is advised to adhere to this rule: *cultural competence first and cultural matching second.*

Is culture-specific knowledge a prerequisite for culturally competent practice? Culture-specific knowledge is a necessary but insufficient condition for culturally competent practice. There is value in learning about the predominant norms, values, belief systems, and characteristics of other cultures, especially for trainees who have had limited contact with individuals from other cultures. Seasoned professionals also may benefit such as in improving their responsiveness to clients' subtle cultural cues.

However, there are several reasons why culture-specific knowledge is insufficient. Professionals may not be able to translate their knowledge into meaningful practice. The fact that some professionals are ineffective with members of their own cultures suggests cultural competence requires more than having intimate knowledge of the client's culture. Also, professionals who are armed with culture-specific knowledge run the risk of stereotyping their clients. In trying to match their clients against cultural norms, professionals may inadvertently overlook their uniqueness and individuality. The scientific finding that within-group differences are greater than between-group differences bears reiteration. Professionals who are not cognizant of the rich variability among peoples are more prone to make invalid assessments and select inappropriate interventions.

Is cultural competence different from counseling competence? The literature implies that cultural competence is either a subset of counseling competence or an altogether different domain of practice. The assumption underlying this point of view is that culture is not always relevant to counseling. By implication, certain awareness, knowledge, and skills are integral to cultural competence but not to counseling competence in general. By further implication, professionals can develop competence through traditional training, and considerations of culture are merely add-ons to traditional training.

A different view is presented by stating that cultural competence *is* counseling competence, and these are not mutually exclusive domains of practice. Counseling that fails to account for the impact of culture is invalid, for truly competent practice beneficially incorporates cultural data into the process of therapeutic change. Five fundamental propositions underscore this position: (a) culture always participates in counseling; (b) culture is broadly defined to include the full range of human experiences, and these experiences play a critical role in clients' psychological presentations;

(c) cultural considerations are relevant to all counselor-client relationships, including dyads with counselors and clients from majority groups; (d) the ultimate goal of counseling is therapeutic change; and (e) all human beings change in identical ways because of common psychological processes.

Is cultural competence a realistic expectation for most professionals? Professionals should regard cultural competence as a necessity. In light of our increasingly diverse society and the consequential rise of inter-group contacts, most professionals are destined to work with clients from other cultures. Even the few professionals who do not practice cross-culturally are not excluded: they might engage in professional activities that indirectly have an impact on clients from other cultures such as teaching, supervising trainees, conducting research, administering programs, managing agencies, and setting policy. Furthermore, professional codes of ethics such as those of the American Counseling Association and the American Psychological Association mandate competent practice with clients of various races, cultures, ethnic groups, and sexual orientations. Finally, as previously mentioned, culture's ubiquity in society suggests that it always expresses itself in the content of clients' psychological presentations, the norms and values of treatment settings, and the dynamics of the relationship between the counselor and client.

Is cultural competence incompatible with evidence-based practice? Culturally competent practice and evidence-based practice are two major movements in applied mental health. Although both movements share the same ultimate goal—the successful treatment of clients—a growing controversy has emerged, pitting these movements against each other. On the one hand, evidence-based practice has been criticized for inadequately addressing multicultural issues and the relevance of treatments to diverse populations. On the other hand, cultural competent practice has been criticized as being more ideological and political rather than scientific and knowledge based.

The authors of this contribution assert that the conversation between these movements is misdirected, for it rests on a set of flawed presuppositions and conceptual underpinnings: (a) the movements are mutually exclusive; (b) the centrality of therapeutic change is understated; (c) the aim of science in interpreting, predicting, and controlling natural events is applied inadequately; (d) key constructs such as cultural competence are not carefully operationalized; and (e) an overarching theoretical foundation in forming a dialectic between the two is conspicuously missing.

See also: ➤ *Cross-cultural competence in school psychologists' services*; ➤ *Cross-cultural school psychology*; ➤ *Cultural diversity*; ➤ *Cultural issues in education*; ➤ *Demographics*; ➤ *Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender (GLBT)*

Suggested Reading

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Culture

Sara Unsworth · Megan Bang · Douglas Medin

Introduction

There are a host of ways to think about culture and learning and almost all of them are interesting and relevant to education. To give but one example, cross-national studies comparing the math and science achievement of students in the United States (U.S.) with those of students from other countries have

received much attention and are an impetus to school reform. The focus below is on the question of the extent to which cultural experiences outside formal classroom settings have an impact on the ways in which students engage with and learn material taught inside the classroom.

"Cultural experiences" is a fairly broad term that the current authors aim to use in an encompassing sense. Creating a bridge between in-school and out-of-school cultural practices may operate at a number of different levels, ranging from facts to framework theories for approaching the world. At the level of facts, for instance, a Native American child may be taught that all of nature is alive only to be told in school that geographical features like rocks, clouds and water are inanimate. At a slightly more general level, even the same knowledge base may be associated with differing conceptual organizations and/or differing methods of expression (e.g., communication styles including discourse and narrative) among members of different cultural groups, leading to differences in fluency, as a function of how this information is organized in curricula.

At the level of framework theories and epistemologies there may be cultural differences in the (often implicit) assumptions about the nature of the world and where human beings fit with the scheme of things. Finally, there may be cultural differences in practices associated with interaction styles, discourse styles, and cultural identity that may affect the perceived legitimacy of formal educational systems.

Over the past several decades informal or out-of-school learning has received a great deal of attention. One major line of work examines learning in designed environments, as may be the case in museum visitor studies; another investigates non-designed settings or structured contexts where the learning outcomes are indirect (e.g., learning addition in the context of playing Dominos). The former line of research has (unfortunately) tended to neglect culture but the latter line has strongly embraced it. Given that minorities are particularly under-represented in science and mathematics this review will often draw on examples from these disciplines.

A Very Brief History

Although studies of culture and learning have a long history, much of current research in this area can trace its roots to Michael Cole and Sylvia Scribner who were responsible for stimulating American educational researchers' interests in the cultural side of learning. Cole and Scribner's early efforts focused on cross-cultural comparisons and had an enormous impact—their empirical and methodological innovations served as a strong critique of the "differences as deficits" aura that had plagued much of comparative research. The founding of the Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition (LCHC) marked a shift to a focus on how cultural practices and activities shape cognition within communities of learners. This work was inspired by research and theory associated with Russian psychology and eventually it led to the founding of the journal, *Mind, Culture and Activity*. This orientation to the cultural context of learning continues to thrive and broaden in contemporary research.

Definition of Culture

One might define culture as the knowledge, values, beliefs and practices among a group of people typically living in geographical proximity who share a history, a language, and cultural identification. Importantly, knowledge, values, and beliefs are viewed as causally distributed patterns of mental representations, their public expressions, and the resultant behaviors in given ecological contexts. People's mental representations interact with other people's mental representations to the extent that those representations can be physically transmitted in a public medium (e.g., language, dance, signs, artifacts). These public representations, in turn, are sequenced and channeled by ecological features of the environment (including the social environment) that constrain interactions between individuals. It is also important to emphasize that ideas do not circulate in a vacuum without context—ideas are embedded within framework theories or epistemologies that are sometimes explicit but which also may be implicit. These epistemological orientations are an important aspect of the relation between in school and out of school cultures.

Conceptions of Nature

Culture affects learning and knowledge construction. The potential for variation in conceptual knowledge across cultural communities is mediated by universal constraints on learning and the ways in which they interact with community-specific experiences. Several

constraints have been hypothesized to mold concept formation in different domains, including biology, psychology, mathematics, and physics. It is well-known that the prior knowledge that children bring to the classroom is important to learning- therefore it is important to understand which forms of knowledge are likely to be universally shared and which may be culturally variable.

The domain of people's understanding of plants and animals (folk biology) represents a particularly rich source of data on classification systems and concept formation. The term concept refers to a mental representation. The term category refers to the set of entities or examples picked out by the concept. Biological concepts are believed to be processed and organized according to evolved cognitive structures that are functionally autonomous with respect to biological information and for this reason are thought of as belonging to a separate domain of cognitive processing. Building on decades of work in ethnobiology, research has shown that a few key principles guide the recognition and organization of biological information in similar ways across cultures, although important variation is produced by differences in expertise and other cultural factors.

First, there is marked cross-cultural agreement on the hierarchical classification of living things, such that plants and animals are grouped according to a ranked taxonomy with mutually exclusive groupings of entities at each level. For instance, across cultural groups, the highest level of taxonomic organization includes the most general categories, such as the folk kingdom rank (which includes groupings such as plants and animals), and lower levels distinguish between increasingly greater degrees of specificity (e.g., life forms such as tree or bird; generic species level such as oak or blue jay). Furthermore, the generic species (in local settings the vast majority of genera are mono-specimic, hence the use of this term) level appears to be consistently privileged for inductive inference when generalizing properties across plants and animals (it is the most abstract level for which inductive confidence is strong and only minimal inductive advantage is gained at more subordinate levels). There is also cross-cultural agreement in the assumption that the appearance and behavior of every generic species is caused by an internal biological (and usually unspecified) essence that is inherited from the birth parents and is responsible for kindhood persistence in the face of physical and developmental transformation.

But there is also considerable variability within these universal constraints in concept formation as a function of both experience with the natural world and cultural salience (two highly related factors). For instance, the basic level (the level at which they possess the greatest knowledge) for urban undergraduates is the life form (e.g., bird, fish, tree), but for groups that have more direct experience with the natural environment and greater expertise, the basic level corresponds to the generic species level.

The remarkable cross-cultural agreement in the structure of folk biological organization is, at the same time, culturally variable. Correlations across groups of 0.70 appear quite strong but explain less than half the variance. Although some of these differences might be attributed to experience, other findings implicate cultural differences. For instance, when asked to sort biological kinds into categories, individuals from different communities vary not only in their taxonomic sorting but also in the degree to which they spontaneously sort along ecological dimensions. This difference is not as predictable on the basis of expertise alone. For example, Menominee Native American fisherman and European American fishermen, who both live in rural Wisconsin and have equivalent expertise about fish and fish habitats, differ in that Menominee fishermen are significantly more likely to sort in terms of ecological relationships.

Similar differences in ecological orientation were found for children from these communities, such that Menominee children are more likely to reason about shared properties between living things using ecological relations, relative to rural European American children. In turn, rural European American children were more likely to employ ecological-based reasoning for shared properties than were urban children. In short, differences in ecological orientation reflect a confluence of experience-based and culturally-based factors in folk biological thought.

Cultural differences in cognitive processing, concept representation, and behavior can be thought of as reflecting *routines* of practices or "habits of the mind." Cultural groups establish practices over time, and the history of these practices may lead to regularities in the ways groups participate in the everyday activities within their communities. These practices may be associated, implicitly or explicitly, with different epistemologies that determine what sorts of things are presupposed, go without saying, and seem natural. For example, European Americans tend to conceive

of nature as something external, to be cared for and respected; in contrast, Native Americans are more likely to see themselves as *part of nature*. These sorts of presuppositions are likely to be embedded in curricula and school practices and represent a challenge to students from culture and communities that do not share them.

Cultural practices are not immutable, static traits that are attached to participants (a view which can lead to deterministic perceptions of cognition), but exist in tension with emergent goals, practices and situationally-specific affordances. Thus, one might design a biology curriculum for Native American students emphasizing ecological relationships, but then build on this base to suggest the value of other forms of organization (e.g., taxonomic). There is increasing evidence that taking advantage of the cultural practices that children bring to the classroom leads to better motivation, identification with learning, and academic performance.

Culture and Mathematics

Folk biological research has tended to compare different cultural groups and to identify robust similarities (and differences) in reasoning and representation. Studies of mathematical concepts have expanded on this strategy by using developmental comparisons and analyzing similarities between human and nonhuman species to identify universal or "core" principles. The domain of mathematics spans a wide variety of concepts, including numerosity, geometry, trigonometry, and so on.

We will limit our review to numerosity, counting, and calculation. A great deal of evidence suggests that for humans and other species there are evolved principles that assist in the representation of numerosity and that different principles can constrain representations in particular ways, depending on the set size of elements. Importantly, however, it has been proposed that the systems for large and small numerosity can interact for humans in ways not possible for nonhuman species. Number words and verbal counting may link together systems for small and large numerosities so that, through counting, distinctions can be made between large numerosities that differ in as little as one element.

The flexibility in concepts of numerosity afforded by natural language leads to questions about variability in representations of numerosity and counting as a function of language and other cultural inputs. Some innovative research has examined the different counting systems that have emerged in different cultural communities throughout the world. For instance, Saxe reported that before contact with western culture in 1940, the Oksapmin people in the West Sepik province of Papua New Guinea used a 27 body part count system, beginning with the thumb on one hand and enumerating discrete points along the upper half of the body (including head and shoulders) and ending on the little finger on the other hand. Counting past 27 involves moving back along the same 27 points until the desired numerosity is reached. In addition to documenting this counting system, Saxe has tracked shifts in its use over time as individuals become more involved in the cash economy. He has found that the system becomes co-opted for arithmetic calculations in addition to or in the place of enumeration, and in some cases is even transformed to a base-10 system. Although cultural differences in counting systems are well-established, little work has examined the impact of these systems on the representation of numerosity.

Other research has examined the ways in which mathematical concepts, such as calculation processes and representations, are shaped by context-specific goals and culture-specific practices. For instance, Jean Lave has found that grocery shoppers engage in mathematical calculations in response to specific shopping-related goals, and these calculations depend on the resources and environmental tools available to the shopper in the grocery store. In one example, Lave reported activities of a shopper who, upon suspecting a price error for a block of cheese, sorted through a bin of cheese to find a block of similar weight and noted the difference in price that confirmed his suspicions. Had the bin of cheese not been available, the shopper would have had to mentally calculate the correct price based on listed price per weight information.

An important issue is the relation between these sorts of out of school goal-related strategies and in school mathematics learning. Saxe has found that community-specific goals lead to a greater frequency and therefore greater proficiency for some calculations over others. He found that 10–12 year old children in Brazil with little or no education who sold candy in urban streets were highly likely to use ratio calculations during vending activities and were better at ratio comparisons than same-aged children with formal educational experience.

As one final example, Nasir has found that African American middle school and high school students vary in the extent to which they engage in mathematical calculations to evaluate basketball performance because of differences in the structure of the practice of basketball and level of commitment to basketball. High school students were more likely to calculate formal statistics (such as average and percent) of their own and others' basketball performance and these calculations were higher when ways of keeping and reporting basketball statistics were increasingly available to students.

Nasir's work points out that the players' use and approach to mathematics during their everyday cultural practice may differ dramatically from the approach taken to school mathematics—the use of mathematics in a students' own cultural context is often more engaging. Related work with the children of sugarcane farmers found complementary tendencies to approach mathematical problem solving in different ways depending upon the value ascribed to the context or practice in play.

Epistemologies and Worldviews

Another approach to understanding issues of teaching and learning from varying perspectives has been through the lens of epistemology and worldview. The literature tends to focus on the impacts of knowledge and orientations derived in out of school experiences on in-school learning and it tends to examine students' views of knowledge and learning in the world at an abstract, domain-general level.

Roughly speaking, *worldview* refers to an organized set of beliefs concerning how the world works. Much of the research on worldview and science education has been particular concerned with what happens in cases when students' worldviews, derived from the cultures in which they live their everyday lives, clash with the worldview of science as carried out in science instruction. For example, Nancy Allen has suggested that some Native American students tend to view the world holistically and to reason in terms of cycles, in contrast with science classrooms, which tend to be more linear and reductionist in worldview. Other researchers have explored the ways in which students' worldviews are aligned or different than teachers' worldviews.

Epistemology is closely related to, if not a synonym for, worldview. *Epistemology* refers to beliefs about the nature, validity, and scope of knowledge. Some researchers have explored the cultural differences in epistemology by comparing students' cultural epistemologies with the epistemological assumptions made in in-school learning.

Epistemological issues have been especially salient in research in science education. For example, there is a line of research that has been concerned with students' epistemological beliefs about the nature of science itself. Some researchers have claimed that successful science education will require students to learn or replace the personal epistemologies they bring with them to the classroom with an epistemology that is aligned with a western scientific epistemology. Other researchers have challenged this idea of a monolithic epistemology by demonstrating the inconsistencies of students' personal epistemologies across domains. This work suggests that it is reasonable to expect that epistemological beliefs for the domain of biology might differ from beliefs for the domain of math or art. Other work has shown that individuals' epistemological beliefs are not consistent across contexts (classroom versus a doctor's office versus in the context of family or work) even within a given domain.

In short, a number of researchers argue that student epistemologies are not robust, coherent or stable theories of knowledge and learning. An alternative view emerging from this premise, proposes that rather than stable robust epistemologies, students have "epistemological resources" that are developed in everyday lives and appropriately employed in specific contexts. The resources are not part of a stable, context-independent theory or belief about knowledge and learning; they vary across settings depending upon the appropriateness of fit. Conceiving of epistemologies as potential resources rather than as deficits is an important development, but, to date, this work has not been concerned with cultural differences. It is commonly assumed that students' epistemological resources are developed in the routine practices of students' everyday lives, which no doubt varies significantly with cultural contexts.

Culture and Interaction Styles

There is considerable evidence suggesting that interaction styles and engagement with particular activities and objects varies across cultural communities, and that this variation can affect the ways in which children engage with each other and with adults in

the classroom. John Uzo Ogbu and Barbara Rogoff have had a large influence in this area, providing important empirical contributions and reviews of research endeavors relating to culture, family interaction, child rearing, and learning. This body of research has shown that children from other cultural communities (for example, rural Senegalese children, Navajo children, and U.S. Mexican heritage) spend more time observing other people than do middle class White children. In addition, children from farming communities in East Africa are likely to spend more time doing work on chores, and children in an Efe foraging community in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Mayan children in Guatemala are likely to spend less time involved in explicit lesson and scholastic play activities and more time observing productive adult work. Rural Indian and Mayan parents were less likely to impose their own agenda on children through mock excitement, praise, and rejection of children's expressed wishes.

This research supports Barabara Rogoff's distinction between intent participation, a learning process in which children listen and observe carefully with the intent to participate when capable, and assembly-line instruction, a learning process in which information is transmitted by experts independent of relevant activities and context. Rogoff has argued that although both kinds of learning are important in the lives of all children, there are differences in the value and emphasis placed on either model across cultural communities.

There is also an extensive literature comparing interaction styles between East Asian and European American family members which suggest a number of cultural differences in interaction styles. Marc Bornstein and Qi Wang, among others, have shown that European American mothers are more likely just to label objects when communicating with their children about objects and Japanese mothers are more likely to use objects to help children learn about social relations. European American mothers are more likely to respond encouragingly to infants when they engage with the physical environment; Japanese mothers are more likely to respond encouragingly when infants are engaging with the social environment. Finally, Japanese and Chinese parents are more likely to engage in recounting and elaboration of children's experiences with their children.

Cultural differences in child rearing and socialization can often be linked to the overarching goals of the community. The is evidence that middle class parents from bureaucratic/professional communities are more likely to practice reasoning, enforcement of isolation, and appeals to guilt when engaging with their children so that children could learn to manipulate interpersonal relations, ideas, and symbols in professional occupations, whereas working class parents are more likely to practice physical punishment and enforcement of compliance when engaging with their children so that children could learn respect for authority and conformity for more blue-collar type positions.

The ways in which interaction styles affect learning spans a broad range. Take, for example, attentional patterns and attributional reasoning. Research has shown that children from communities that place a greater emphasis on intent participation in learning appear less distracted during practices that call for focused observation, and that children and adults from such communities are more likely to attend simultaneously to competing events that arise spontaneously rather than alternating between these events, as is the case for adults and children from communities emphasizing more assembly-line instruction. Other research indicates that Chinese and Japanese individuals are more likely than European Americans to describe themselves with respect to the context and the family (e.g., I am friendly at home), to make situational (rather than dispositional) attributions in causal explanations of events, and to possess less numerous and less detailed autobiographical memories. These differences likely map onto cultural differences in interactions and social relations. Additional research is needed to explore the implications interaction styles might have for classroom learning.

Culture and Discourse Styles

There is also a large body of research relevant to culture and school that has focused on discourse practices, language, and literacy more specifically. Discourse refers to behaviors, ways of speaking, modes of interaction, and styles of reading and writing that characterize particular roles in socioculturally grounded contexts. Discourse practices can provide insight into the cultural values, beliefs, routines, and ideas that have become institutionalized in a community. Knowledge about culturally-specific narratives can provide teaching and learning tools.

At least some of the structure and function of narratives and discourse styles varies systematically across communities. For example, several researchers (e.g., Susan Phillips) have examined narrative styles in Native American communities and have found differences in participation structure, rhythm of interaction, time for talking and listening, degree of comfort associated with speaking in front of an audience, and structure of narratives. Other researchers (e.g., Carol Lee) have examined African American English (AAE) vernacular and have found that (relative to American English) AAE involves sophisticated understandings of metaphor and analogy, as when individuals engage in "signifying" practices such as insult and rapping.

Ethnographic research comparing communities consisting of Black working class people, White working class people, and racially mixed middle class people have revealed interesting community-specific literacy practices. In this research, families in the White working class community collected more reading and writing material within the home but rarely read this material and used reading and writing specifically for functional purposes (e.g., to help remember events). Families in the Black working class community collected less material but were more likely to engage in reading and writing practices that weren't strictly functional (e.g., reading together for social reasons). When children from all three communities entered the school system, children from the racially mixed middle class community were the most successful, likely because of a greater similarity between their language use and that of their teachers. This research, and research like it, has led to a call for educational reform in which community processes and practices provide the starting point for curriculum and classroom design. In school versus out of school differences in discourse practices can lead to miscommunication and failure to recognize and make sense of students' ideas and contributions in school.

It is important not to essentialize culture. Culture is not a trait or homogeneous body of knowledge possessed by some community but rather (highly variable) the way in which people live. People live culturally and school systems are cultural systems, often developed largely from a middle/upper class European American perspective. Understanding the ways in which schools intentionally or unintentionally privilege particular discourse styles may be critical in improving schooling for children from non-dominant groups. Discourse styles are a means of identifying with one's cultural group, and so can be actively engaged as negotiation strategies in different contexts, for example, as a form of resistance or as a form of openness to dominating hegemonic structures. One such practice may involve choosing African American English or American English, depending on the desire to indicate cultural solidarity in particular contexts.

Implications for Formal Education

Cultural values, routines of practice, and "habits of the mind" play an important role in learning. Cultural "ways of knowing" influence what is learned and are an important part of what students and teachers bring to bear on the learning context. For instance, in the classroom the traditional western positivist "worldview" associated with science represents a cultural model that may be alien to members of some cultural groups. Science may often be presented as an a-cultural body of "truth" rather than as a socially-constructed meaning system and that in itself may create a cultural divide. Culture also likely influences what is integrated into background knowledge to form new or expanded "ways of knowing."

A number of education and social policy researchers argue that education must be multicultural in several senses, including forms of social organization that may variously match and mismatch the classroom teaching style and organization. These mismatches may affect student motivation for school success as students fail to see *their* ways of knowing in the classroom and are not engaged by conventional instructional strategies. Indeed, research suggests that maintaining cultural identity, traditions and practices is associated with better school adjustment and academic achievement.

Education projects have been developed in response to a call for educational reform designed around culture-specific epistemologies, concepts, and practices described above. Educational programs such as the Cultural Modeling Project for African American literacy (designed by Carol Lee), Project KEEP for Native American science (designed by Roland Tharp), and other culturally-based curricula developed by researchers such as Glen Aikenhead and Barbara Rogoff, among others, have been successful in developing

pedagogical practices that are sensitive to the fact that students come into the classroom with different perspectives and approaches to learning, and in scaffolding learning by engaging students through familiar ways of thinking and knowing. Culture matters.

See also: *Cross-cultural families*; *Cultural diversity*; *Worldview*

Suggested Reading

Medin, D. L., & Atran, S. (2004). The Native mind: Biological categorization and reasoning in development and across cultures. *Psychological Review*, *111*(4), 960–983.

Nasir, N. S., Rosebery, A. S., Warren, B., & Lee, C. D. (2006). Learning as a cultural process. In R. K. Sawyer (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of the learning sciences*. (pp. 489–504). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Curanderism

Michael Kelly · Christian Griffin

Curanderism is the term used to refer to the folk healing practices found in many Mexican American communities. The term derives from the Spanish verb "*curar*" which means "to heal." Curanderism views illness as comprising both natural and supernatural elements. Thus, curanderism intervenes on various levels, depending on the nature of the illness being healed.

The historical influences of curanderism can be traced back to the folk-healing practices of early Aztec and pre-Columbian cultures. Eventually, these practices would fuse with Spanish Judeo-Christian beliefs as well as the practices of other European countries. Elements of the witchcraft practiced in Germany, for example, can be seen in certain forms of modern curanderism. The curanderism that is currently practiced in the United States (U.S.) and Mexico, then, is a unique amalgamation of beliefs and practices produced by both the Old and New World.

The practitioners of curanderism are *curanderos* (healers). These individuals are believed to have been given a divine gift (*don*) for healing. They act as instruments of God, and their faith provides them with the power to bring about healing. They are trained through apprenticeships conducted under the supervision of older and more experienced curanderos. The most common forms of curanderism are practiced by *yerberos* (herbalists), *sobadores* (masseurs), and *parteras* (midwives).

The primary enemies against whom curanderos employ their gifts are Satan and the *brujas* (witches/sorcerers) who work for Satan. It is believed that *brujas* may take the form of certain animals and cause people to suffer from ailments ranging from prolonged physical illness to uncontrollable love for another person. Many times, if an illness does not respond to a medical doctor's treatment, it is assumed to have its origin in *brujería* (witchcraft).

Curanderos intervene against their enemies on one or more of the following three levels: material, spiritual, and mental. Each of these levels may require a natural and/or supernatural approach to the curandero's intervention. On a material level, curanderos may provide such services as herbal treatments and folk massages. However, if a physical ailment is viewed as having been engendered by a supernatural force—"soul loss" (*espanto*) and "evil eye" (*mal de ojo*), for example, are believed to be material ailments brought about by the supernatural—the curandero will intervene for the patient on a supernatural level. Spiritual healing can be performed by a curandero in a manner similar to that performed by practitioners of Shamanism. Often times, spiritual healing seeks to cleanse the electromagnetic field around an individual and fill him/her with positive energy. Some curanderos also intervene on a mental level. *Mentalistas* often begin their training after something extraordinary happens to them as children. They are believed to be able to effect healing from a distance by simply wanting to heal someone, and are used to treat both physical and mental conditions.

Since it is sometimes practiced without a medical license, curanderism is viewed by some Americans as an inherently suspect practice. Yet there is evidence suggesting that the use of curanderism is growing in some parts of the U.S. for many Hispanics and non-Hispanics alike, especially in the Southwest. Curanderos can procure licenses and work in

established healing centers. Moreover, modern curanderism is incorporating newly gleaned insights from psychology and biomedicine, which may lend more credibility to the practice. The faith-based aspects of curanderism persist, however; one of the most revered curanderos in Texas history Pedrito Jaramillo (1829–1907) claimed that many of his patients were Anglos, and that his work with them, as well as with his other patients, was successful only when accompanied by their faith in God. Like other forms of alternative health care, curanderism does not appear to be threatened by the more empirical methods of treatment that have historically influenced Western medicine.

See also: *Cultural perspectives on trauma*; *Culturally competent practice*; *Mexican American youth*; *Worldview*

Suggested Reading

Garza, M. (1998). Healing spirits. *Hispanic Magazine*, *11*(6), 30–34.

Torres, E., & Sawyer, T. (2005). *Curandero: A life in Mexican folk healing*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Trotter II, R. (2001). Curanderismo: A picture of Mexican-American folk healing. *Journal of Alternative and Complementary Medicine*, *7*(2), 129–131.

Suggested Resources

The Handbook of Texas Online—www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/CC/sdc1.html: This website provides a definition and description of curanderism.