The only multicultural psychology text that uses personal stories to apply and explain theory

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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Multicultural Psychology

FIFTH EDITION

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Understanding Our Diverse Communities

JEFFERY SCOTT MIO | LORI A. BARKER
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To my unofficial professional mentors, Joseph Trimble, Derald Wing Sue, and Stanley Sue, who have taught me by example and encouragement what it means to be a multicultural psychologist.

—JSM

For AZ, as you launch into the next phase of this amazing journey called life.

—LAB

To my maternal great-grandmother, paternal grandmother, mother, father, and two children. As individuals, you have enriched my life in innumerable ways. As members of one family, you have collectively helped me understand my place in the world.

—MMDR

To my wife Nanako: my life partner and my most influential multicultural teacher.

—JG

Brief Contents

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About the Authors

Dr. Jeffery Scott Mio is a professor in the Psychology and Sociology Department at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona (Cal Poly Pomona), where he also serves as the director of the MS in Psychology program. He received his PhD from the University of Illinois, Chicago, in 1984. He taught at California State University, Fullerton, in the Counseling Department from 1984 to 1986 and then at Washington State University in the Department of Psychology from 1986 to 1994 before accepting his current position at Cal Poly Pomona.

Dr. Mio has taught multicultural psychology since 1985. He is a fellow in Division 1 (Society for General Psychology), Division 2 (Society for the Teaching of Psychology), Division 9 (Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues), and Division 45 (Society for the Psychological Study of Culture, Ethnicity, and Race) of the American Psychological Association (APA) and a fellow of the Asian American Psychological Association (AAPA) and the Western Psychological Association (WPA). He was honored with the Outstanding Career Achievement for Teaching and Training award from APA's Minority Fellowship Program, the Outstanding Teaching award from WPA, and the Distinguished Contribution award from AAPA. He served as president of both Division 45 (2002–2003) and WPA (2010–2011) and was the executive officer of WPA (2016–2017). His research interests are in the areas of teaching multicultural issues, the development of allies in multicultural psychology, and how metaphors are used in political persuasion.

Dr. Lori A. Barker is a professor in the Psychology Department at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona (Cal Poly Pomona). She received her BA in psychology from Yale University and her PhD in clinical psychology from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). After receiving her degree, Dr. Barker spent one additional year at UCLA as a National Institute of Mental Health postdoctoral research fellow. Dr. Barker is a licensed clinical psychologist with a private practice in Riverside, California, called the Center for Individual, Family, and Community Wellness.

Dr. Barker is a fellow of the Western Psychological Association and a recipient of their Outstanding Teaching award. Other awards include Outstanding Advisor, Psi Chi Western Region; Outstanding Advisor, Office of Student Life, Cal Poly Pomona; Professor of the Year, Psi Chi, Cal Poly Pomona Chapter; and Cal Poly Pomona Diversity Champion. Her primary areas of interest include multicultural psychology and community psychology. Her research focuses on factors that influence the effectiveness of multicultural education and diversity training programs, as well as the psychological impact of multicultural factors on U.S. presidencies. Her most recent book is *Obama on Our Minds: The Impact of Obama on the Psyche of America* (Oxford University Press, 2016). Dr. Barker regularly gives presentations, workshops, seminars, and keynote addresses for community and professional organizations.

Dr. Melanie M. Domenech Rodríguez is a professor of psychology at Utah State University (USU); she began her appointment at USU in 2000. Dr. Domenech Rodríguez has been actively engaged in programs of parenting intervention research in Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Michigan, examining the effectiveness of GenerationPMTO. Her research has been funded by the National Institute of Mental Health and the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development.

At USU, Dr. Domenech Rodríguez teaches multicultural psychology to undergraduate students and diversity issues in treatment and assessment to graduate students in psychology. Dr. Domenech Rodríguez is a licensed psychologist in Utah. She obtained her doctoral degree at Colorado State University in 1999. She completed a postdoctoral fellowship with the Family Research Consortium–III at the University of Washington. Dr. Domenech Rodríguez is a fellow of the American Psychological Association and the Association for Psychological Science. She has received awards for mentorship (MENTOR award from the Society for the Clinical Psychology of Ethnic Minorities, APA D12S6), research (Emerging Professional award from the Society for the Study of Culture, Ethnicity, and Race, APA D45), service (Star Vega Distinguished Service award from the National Latina/o Psychological Association), and the advancement of diversity issues in psychology (Carol Atteneave Award for Diversity, Society for Family Psychology, APA D43). She is a past president of the Society for the Clinical Psychology of Ethnic Minorities and the National Latinx Psychological Association. She is president of Psi Chi, the international honor society in psychology. Dr. Domenech Rodríguez was born and raised in Puerto Rico and has two children.

Dr. John Gonzalez is Ojibwe from White Earth Anishinaabe Nation and a professor of psychology at Bemidji State University in northern Minnesota, where he also received his undergraduate degree in psychology. He received his PhD in clinical psychology from the University of North Dakota. He has taught multicultural psychology since 2005.

Dr. Gonzalez has served as program chair (2007) and then treasurer (2010–2014) for the Society for the Psychological Study of Culture, Ethnicity, and Race (APA's Division 45) and as historian for the Society of Indian Psychologists. Dr. Gonzalez was selected as a University Faculty Scholar in 2015 and was also honored as the American Indian Post-Secondary Teacher of the Year by the Minnesota Indian Education Association in 2017.

Dr. Gonzalez's professional interests are in cultural psychology, which attempts to understand people as cultural beings through their own indigenous psychological perspectives; multicultural psychology, which considers people's cultural, historical, and sociopolitical contexts; and community psychology, which actively works to enhance the strengths and quality of life in communities.

Dr. Gonzalez's research interests are in the areas of mental/behavioral health disparities for indigenous people and people of color. He has worked with indigenous communities utilizing local cultural knowledge and values in developing suicide and substance abuse prevention programs. Dr. Gonzalez also investigates microaggressions and racial experiences of American Indians in education and health care. He regularly provides presentations, workshops, seminars, and invited lectures in these areas.

Preface

Throughout the years that we have taught courses on multicultural psychology and attended conference presentations and workshops on this topic, what has stuck with us are the stories people felt compelled to tell. In fact, the genesis of this book was a student's reaction paper that was so moving we felt it had to be published. Thus, we planned this book around stories (narratives or anecdotes) that illustrate important aspects of scientific studies and other professional writings in the field of multicultural psychology. The personal stories from our students have generally not been edited for grammar, although some markedly ungrammatical phrases and sentences were modified to make them a bit more grammatical. We did this to maintain the flavor of their stories from the heart, which seemed to illustrate the academic points we are trying to make.

In general, science tells us that anecdotes are not sufficient evidence to prove one's point. Although we agree with that stance from a scientific perspective and do not substitute anecdotes for scientific investigation, we do use anecdotes as central points around which to build our case for multicultural issues based on science. In addition, multicultural psychology emphasizes the value of integrating quantitative and qualitative methods to accurately capture the richness of diverse cultures and communities. Thus, rather than substituting for science, our anecdotes are prototypes for scientific investigation. For example, science tells us that there are differences in the way in which men and women communicate. We illustrate those differences by presenting anecdotes highlighting the common experience women have of sometimes being shut out of conversations, particularly ones that are about "male" topics. Science tells us that there are various stages or statuses of racial identity, and we present some prototypical anecdotes that illustrate how those statuses of racial identity affect one's perceptions and life experiences. Science tells us that clients of color may have very different reactions to European American therapists, and we present an anecdote that conveys a typical reaction to a European American therapist who did not approach a family of color in a culturally sensitive manner. Again, these stories are meant not to replace science, but to enrich science—to add texture to the clean (and sometimes sterile) lines of science.

Organization of the Book

This book is organized around the emphasis that we place in our undergraduate multicultural courses and arose out of a perceived need we saw in the field. The initial books on multicultural psychology were written for graduate students, because organizations governing graduate curricula required that such courses be taught. As multicultural psychology began to become popular at the undergraduate level, several genres of undergraduate texts were developed. One genre adapted the basic structure of graduate texts to the undergraduate level. The result was a focus on therapy with specific populations of color. The more advanced texts in this genre also

had one or two chapters that dealt with other populations of diversity, such as women; lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations; and people with disabilities. Another genre of undergraduate texts was infused with international issues in psychology. Finally, other texts had more specific foci, such as multicultural communication or issues of racism. Our undergraduate courses focus more on many issues covered in other books (e.g., differences in worldviews, differences in communication, issues of racism, racial/cultural identity development, and immigration) than on therapy with specific populations of color or on international issues in psychology. We also have chosen to integrate issues specific to populations of diversity throughout our chapters rather than covering such issues in separate chapters.

In Chapter 1, we define relevant terms and discuss the overall importance of multicultural psychology and how it came into prominence. Historically, many researchers in the field have identified three forces in psychology: psychoanalysis, behaviorism, and humanism. Some feel that multicultural psychology is the fourth force in our field. Moreover, an understanding of the cultural context is essential as we view behavior from the biopsychosocial perspective. Initially, researchers in the field of psychology attempted to describe general issues of human behavior and treated all individuals as if they were the same. Because the field was overwhelmingly European American, individuals in communities of diversity saw these "general issues" as being imposed on them and at times irrelevant to their lives. Thus, they began to define themselves, and from their varied definitions emerged a deeper understanding of human behavior.

In Chapter 2, we explore issues involving research and testing. We build on the notion that the history of psychology was dominated by a European American standard by explaining that sometimes the European American standard is not relevant to communities of diversity and can even be damaging to them. For example, if we were to find that some groups diverge from a European American standard, we might describe those groups as deviant, deprived, or deficient. In one historical case described in this chapter, the researcher was interested in the differences between African Americans who performed well academically and those who did not perform well. That study was rejected by reviewers because it did not compare the African American students with European American students. The researcher wondered why one needed a European American comparison group when the entire purpose of the study was to examine African Americans. There is also a preference for quantitative analysis in science because it is believed that qualitative studies introduce too much bias or are not generalizable enough. However, bias can be introduced in quantitative analyses as well, through the choice of what to study, through the way in which one's measures are converted into numerical responses, through the interpretation of those results, and so on. Therefore, we discuss qualitative analyses, particularly as they apply to communities of diversity. Finally, we apply issues of research methodology to our understanding of psychological testing.

In Chapter 3, we discuss various kinds of worldviews. First, we discuss issues of etic versus emic perspectives. In multicultural psychology, the etic perspective attempts to develop theory by finding similarities across different cultures, whereas the emic perspective emphasizes meaningful concepts within cultures that may not translate across cultures. Among the most important distinctions in the multicultural literature is the distinction between individualism and collectivism. That is because these perspectives are infused in societies, so one's cultural context may be from an individualistic society or from a collectivistic society. Different cultural groups may also have different values, such as the importance of the past, present, or future. Again, we discuss how diverse communities can have very different worldviews from those of their European American majority counterparts. We added a section on the worldview of today's youth.

In Chapter 4, we examine differences in communication. We first present rules of conversation that have been identified by linguists and psycholinguists. There are some regularities in conversations within various groups, but there are many examples of differences among groups. For example, people in some groups feel more comfortable standing closer to their conversational partners than do people in other groups. Another key distinction in multicultural communication is the distinction between high- and low-context communication groups. In high-context groups, less is said because the context carries with it much of the communication, whereas in low-context groups, more must be said because there may be different rules governing contextual communication that may be applied to the situation. We explore differences in communication that have been identified in diverse communities. We pay particular attention to gender differences in communication: men tend to use more direct methods of communication, and women tend to use more indirect methods; women also use *softening* methods so that their opinions do not seem so harsh. We also present communication styles by older adults, and also communication styles by younger adults. We finish this chapter by discussing bilingual communication, including both cognitive and social consequences.

In Chapter 5, we discuss issues involving immigrants and refugees. Often, people do not make a distinction between these two populations. However, there can be some very important differences psychologically. For example, immigrants choose to come to the United States, and they prepare for that transition by studying this country and its traditions, learning English, deciding where to settle, and so on. In contrast, refugees come against their will. They often must escape from their countries of origin to save their lives, do not know where they will ultimately settle (often going from country to country until a final host country can be found), and encounter many hardships and even trauma in their transition. However, beyond those initial differences, immigrants and refugees can encounter many similar issues, such as language barriers, changing family roles, and problems with employment. We conclude this chapter by discussing models of acculturation, some of which may also apply to American-born individuals, such as some American Indian populations.

In Chapter 6, we focus on issues involving racism. First, social psychologists make a distinction among stereotypes, prejudice, discrimination, and racism. All of these are forms of group categorization, but stereotypes relate to similarities we perceive within the categorized group, prejudice relates to our feelings about the categorized group, discrimination relates to our behaviors toward the categorized group, and racism relates to our institutional practices against the categorized group. Racism is also related to other *isms* (e.g., sexism, heterosexism, ableism) in that they all involve institutional practices that systematically disadvantage those who are on the downside of power. Although overt racism is largely a thing of the past, modern forms of racism still exist. We apply these issues of racism to contemporary issues, such as the U.S. government's response to the Dakota Pipeline issue near the Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota and the government's response to Hurricane Maria, which devastated Puerto Rico. One way to overcome racism and other isms is to understand issues of European American privilege and other privileges of power. In so doing, one can become an advocate or ally for those who are unfairly disadvantaged by institutional practices.

In Chapter 7, we look at issues of identity. People who are familiar with developmental psychology know that this is one of the central questions that arises in adolescence. In multicultural psychology, one must explore not only issues of who one is and what aspirations one has, but also how those issues relate to one's racial/cultural identity. We discuss models of identity development, beginning with African American identity development, then European

American identity development, and finally a general racial/cultural identity development model. This final model also includes other forms of identity, such as multiracial identity development and gay/lesbian identity development. Our previous editions had not included an American Indian identity development model, but this has been corrected in this edition. We conclude this chapter by discussing issues of multiple identities. For example, an African American heterosexual woman who is a mother and a professor has a racial identity (African American), a sexual identity (heterosexual), a gender identity (woman), a parental identity (mother), and an occupational identity (professor). These are only a subset of potential identities; other identities include but are not limited to religion, ability, region, and marital status. At different times, one or a subset of these identities may come to the fore, and we need to understand how we can balance these different demands. Moreover, being secure within all our multiple identities means that when we emphasize one identity over another, we are not less of the other but rather are emphasizing the one identity in response to contextual demands.

In Chapter 8, we discuss health issues. Health and health behaviors are related to one's worldview and the context within which one develops. For example, different groups of people of color encounter differential care in a health-care system where policies and behaviors are still affected by remnants of racism. Much of that may be a result of poverty, because people with better health insurance are treated better than are those who are compelled to use public assistance programs. To the extent that there remain differences in socioeconomic status among different groups in this country, there remain differences in health-care opportunities. However, even with the barrier of poverty removed, structural barriers remain, such as language and access. Change can occur if we increase the number of health-care providers for people of color and address structural barriers in the health-care system. We finish this chapter with the example of sickle cell anemia, a disorder that affects primarily African Americans in this country and that is relatively ignored by the health-care system. Thus, there still appears to be racism within the system.

In Chapter 9, we deal with issues involving mental health, both diagnostically and therapeutically. We point out that the main classificatory system in the mental health field—*The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*—tends to ignore issues of culture. That is because this document is based on a medical model that emphasizes disorders existing within an individual as opposed to those in the environment. We describe how many large-scale studies that have examined mental disorders have underrepresented populations of color. Thus, although we can come to some conclusions about the prevalence and course of disorders in communities of color, those conclusions must remain tentative. Also, some disorders may be specific to some cultures. These are called *culture-bound syndromes* and may be fundamentally different disorders or different expressions of similar disorders across cultural groups. An example of culture-bound syndromes that may be unique to the United States (and European American women in particular) is eating disorders. In therapy, many people of color either underutilize mental health services or terminate treatment prematurely because of discomfort with their therapists. Their discomfort may be caused by various barriers to treatment, such as cultural (value) differences, class differences, and language problems. To overcome these barriers, we must develop culturally sensitive approaches to treatment. Development of such approaches began with the publication of the multicultural competencies by the American Psychological Association in 2003. We conclude by discussing the effectiveness of cultural matching between the therapist and the client and other forms of culture-specific therapies that have been developed over the years.

Finally, in Chapter 10 we discuss general issues in increasing our multicultural competence. We must be aware of our cultural attitudes and understand how they may be different from attitudes of other cultures. In coming to understand our differences, we may encounter what we call the *Five D's of Difference*: distancing, denial, defensiveness, devaluing, and discovery. The first four D's of Difference involve negative reactions we might experience in an effort to hold on to our own more secure patterns of behavior. However, the fifth D of Difference involves a positive reaction that we may experience by understanding how the difference expressed by the other culture may enrich our lives. Part of the reason for the four negative reactions to difference may be what we call the *Three S's of Similarity*, which are simple, safe, and sane. When we prefer our own more secure patterns of behavior to the different ones we might encounter in another culture, our secure patterns feel more simple, make us feel safe, and keep us sane as opposed to confused. We offer suggestions to help you improve your multicultural competence, such as learning about other cultures before you encounter them; knowing about basic values, beliefs, and practices; not being afraid to ask questions; traveling to other places; becoming an ally; and making a decision to develop an attitude of discovery and courage.

We hope that you enjoy this book and learn a little bit more about yourself and others. We have certainly learned a little about ourselves in writing this book and are excited about that discovery. The field of multicultural psychology is relatively new, and it will undoubtedly change with the demographics of our country and the emergence of new and important issues. We intended to give you the tools to address and understand these emerging issues. The rest is up to you.

New to This Fifth Edition

One of the additions we made to this edition is in how we identify ethnicities in our book. Although this may seem merely cosmetic to some people, it reflects important underlying issues. The ethnicity we referred to as *White* in the past is now identified as *European American* in the current edition. This is because all those who identify as White have European roots, much as the broad group we identify as Asian or Asian American has roots in Asia. Thus, European American, Asian American, African American, and Latin American have all been placed on equal status.

The second change we made to an ethnic group is to refer to Latinos and Latinas as *Latinx* or *Latinxs* in keeping with current trends. Part of the reason for this change is that this new term provides a gender-neutral way of referring to people of Latin American descent (Salinas & Lozano, 2017). When the terms American Indian, European American, Asian American, or African American are used, they do not identify a gender of the referent, so Latina or Latino stands in stark contrast to these other supposedly equivalent terms. Moreover, Latinx is a way of working against the heteronormative conception of a binary gender selection of male or female (Santos, 2017). There is a growing trend of individuals not wanting to conform to this binary choice. This stance is most associated with individuals who are transsexual and in transition from one gender to another, but it is also a growing trend among those whose sexuality is more fluid. For these reasons, the National Latino/a Psychological Association has announced that it has officially change its name to the National Latinx Psychological Association (National Latinx Psychological Association, 2017).

We have added a new author, John Gonzalez, an Ojibwe American Indian psychologist and member of the White Earth Anishinaabe Nation. His perspective and work on the racism and identity development chapters have improved the book.

We have added a new section on American Indian identity development.

The issue of worldviews of women is greatly expanded.

There is expanded coverage on the worldviews of people of color, those in poverty, and youth given the Parkland student protest movement.

There is expanded coverage of recent examples of racism, including the Standing Rock protest; the Neo-Nazi protest in Charlottesville, Virginia; the shooting of Philando Castile; the racist incident at Starbucks; and Hurricane Maria in Puerto Rico.

The concept of WEIRD has been added to the worldviews chapter.

There is a new section on social media in communication.

The health chapters have been updated with new research.

Acknowledgments

A book of this sort cannot be completed without the help of many people. First and foremost, we would like to thank students, family members, friends, and colleagues for helping to provide us with stories and anecdotes that illustrated theoretical and research points we made throughout the book. As we mentioned at the beginning of this preface, the genesis of this book was one such personal story, so we are grateful to those whom we have quoted. We would also like to thank the following reviewers for their helpful comments:

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We also thank those reviewers who choose to remain anonymous.

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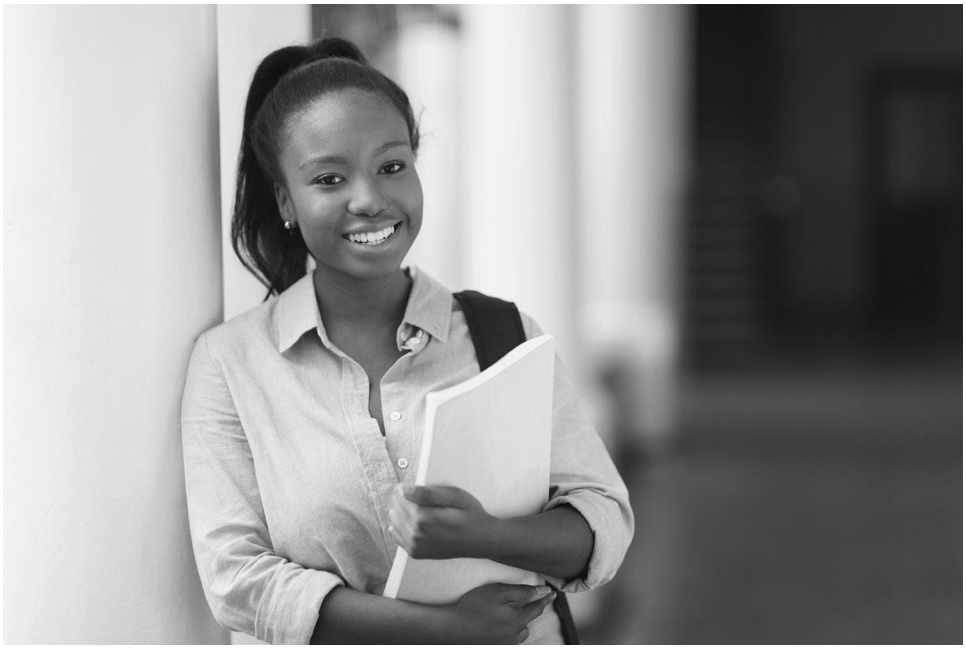
to Jenni Kolsky Goldman for her generosity in assigning her photography class to take most of the pictures in the first edition. Thanks to Tom Zasadzinski for numerous additional photographs in the second, third, fourth and fifth editions.

Jeffery Scott Mio
Lori A. Barker
Melanie M. Domenech Rodríguez
John Gonzalez

· CHAPTER 1 ·

What Is Multicultural Psychology?



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Learning Objectives

Reading this chapter will help you to:

- understand the general definition of multicultural psychology;
- identify basic tenets of multicultural theory;
- know which strategies are appropriate for applying equality versus equity;
- recognize the differences among the terms culture, ethnicity, and race;
- distinguish between tolerance for diversity and a true multicultural mindset; and
- know a basic history of the field of multicultural psychology.

My whole life is a multicultural experience. I first learned to love and appreciate different cultures from my parents, who immigrated to the United States from the island of Barbados in the West Indies. I believe their openness to people from all walks of life came from their experiences as immigrants to this country, and they passed that on to me, my brother, and my sister.

Growing up with parents from a different country automatically made me aware that there are different cultures. Although I couldn't hear it, other people often commented that my parents spoke with an accent. I noticed that we ate different food. The differences were also apparent in the various groups with which we socialized. For example, we lived in a predominantly White neighborhood, but on the weekends we drove across town to the Black neighborhood to attend a Black church. Every weekend our house was full of people. My parents often invited their West Indian friends over to eat, play games, and tell stories. They also often befriended immigrant students from the local university they knew were far away from their families. We entertained students from all over—Latin America, Asia, Africa—and everybody was treated the same.

I also learned to love and appreciate different cultures from our family vacations. My parents took us on trips to different countries. Of course, they took us back to Barbados to learn about our West Indian roots, as well as to other Caribbean islands. We also traveled to Canada and Mexico. Again, in all our travels, I never saw my parents look down on or belittle anything or anybody in another culture. It was always seen as an adventure, an opportunity to see, do, and learn something new. And that has stayed with me for life. When I was old enough, I started traveling on my own.

My next primary multicultural experience was in high school. I attended a small, private, parochial school. The population was predominantly White (60%), but 40% other. By "other" I mean Cubans, Filipinos, Samoans, Koreans, Chinese, East Indians . . . you name it, we had it. In my closest circle of friends, one girlfriend was African American, one Cuban, one Bolivian, one Filipina, and one Chinese

from Singapore. Talk about a United Nations! We all hung out together and everybody dated everybody else, no matter the background.

The utopia truly ended after high school. Some of the White people who were my friends throughout high school slowly distanced themselves from me and started hanging out only with other White people. I guess they saw that the rest of the world was not like our little oasis and succumbed to the pressure of the dominant outside culture, adopting its racist, prejudiced attitudes. I ended up feeling hurt and betrayed by them. Deep down, I learned not to trust White people. The innocence of youth was gone. But those few negative experiences did not outweigh the positives. I still feel most comfortable in a diverse environment, and my circle of friends, family, and colleagues continues to be very diverse. I notice that the similarities are not necessarily in the color of our skin but in our attitudes. I tend to associate with people who also value and respect cultural differences.

And now my love for other cultures has turned into a life mission. In my work as a teacher, researcher, and clinician, I try to teach others the value of learning about and interacting with people from different cultures.

—LAB

This story relates some of the life experiences of one of the authors of this book, Lori A. Barker (LAB). The experiences of the other three authors also reflect their multicultural backgrounds. Jeffery Scott Mio (JSM) is from a family whose grandparents immigrated to the United States from Japan, Melanie M. Domenech Rodríguez (MMDR) straddles life in the United States with her Puerto Rican roots, and John Gonzalez (JG) is Ojibwe, raised on the White Earth Indian Reservation in northern Minnesota.

Throughout this book you will read many unique stories of people whom we identify by pseudonyms. Motivated by these and other personal stories shared with us over the years by students, colleagues, family members, and friends, we have woven this material as illustrations into the fabric of theories, concepts, and research findings to create a textbook that uses a narrative approach to multicultural psychology. The use of oral history and personal life stories has a long tradition in the field of psychology. Personal narratives are particularly important in the study of people from diverse groups (Ponterotto, 2010). Atkinson says, "Telling our story enables us to be heard, recognized, and acknowledged by others. Story makes the implicit explicit, the hidden seen, the unformed, formed, and the confusing clear" (as cited in Ponterotto, 2010, p. 7). That is what we hope the stories included in this book do for you: that they bring multicultural psychology to life. The book's topics include, among others, worldviews, communication, immigration, acculturation, racism, identity, and physical and mental health. We hope you enjoy this more personal approach.

> I am more convinced each day that telling our stories to each other is the way we learn best what our collective life is all about, the way we understand who we really are, how our stories are intertwined, what this reality means for us now, and what it portends for the future.
>
> —Dr. Terrence Roberts, psychology professor and one of the "Little Rock Nine" who integrated Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957 (T. Roberts, 2009, pp. 10–11)

What Is Multicultural Psychology?

In the story that opens this chapter, LAB describes how her experiences interacting with people from many backgrounds eventually led her to a career in multicultural psychology. Her story might give you some indication as to what the field of multicultural psychology is about, but

let us get more specific. In this chapter we introduce you to the field of multicultural psychology and to concepts that will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

Let us begin with a basic definition of the term **multicultural psychology**. First, let us define *psychology.* Most likely you already had a class in introductory or general psychology, where psychology was defined as the systematic study of behavior, cognition, and affect. In other words, psychologists are interested in how people act, think, and feel and in all the factors that influence these human processes. Therefore, you can probably guess that multicultural psychology involves examining in some way the effect of culture on the way people act, think, and feel. On the one hand, culture is an external factor because it influences the events that occur around us and our interactions with other people, but on the other hand, culture influences our internal processes, such as how we interpret the things going on around us.

multicultural psychology—the systematic study of behavior, cognition, and affect in settings where people of different backgrounds interact.

The prefix *multi-* means "many," and the suffix *-al* means "of" or "pertaining to." Therefore, the term *multicultural* means pertaining to many cultures. If we put the term multicultural together with the term psychology, we can conclude that multicultural psychology concerns the systematic study of behavior, cognition, and affect in many cultures.

That is a good place to start, but the term is more complicated. What about the final component? We have not yet defined *culture.*

> I am White and I have no idea about my culture. I am Polish, Dutch, Cherokee Indian, Mexican, Italian, and a couple of more things that I do not remember and have not discussed with my family since elementary school. There is not much religion on either side of my family. Even both of my step parents do not have that much religion on either side.
>
> Everyone in my different families (real parents and step parents) celebrates all of the basic big holidays on the calendar. We all get together and celebrate Christmas, Easter, and Thanksgiving. But without the religious aspect. It seems kind of weird to me to celebrate Christmas and Easter when we are not religious. But I guess any time you can get most of your family together it is worth a celebration.
>
> I got married five years ago to my beautiful Christian wife. We do not discuss religion that much. On holidays when we are with her family, we pray before eating and give our thanks. On Christmas and Easter we all go to church together. My wife's family shows culture this way. My wife and her whole family are Italian. It seems to me that they have a culture that is loud and a culture that wants everyone around them to know that they are Italian. I see a lot of culture with my wife's family. Whether it is because of their religion or their nationality that I did not grow up with.
>
> I still to this day do not see or know my culture. I always thought that White people did not have a culture because it seemed to be the norm. When I married my wife I saw that White people did have culture. Just not my family.
>
> —Vince, 30+-year-old European American (multiracial) student

Culture is a complex term. Defining it is difficult, because although we use it all the time, we use it in so many ways. For example, in describing his experiences with his different families,

Vince used the word culture to refer to countries, holidays, religions, family traditions, and interpersonal interactions. These represent many of the different meanings of the term culture.

You may also note that Vince described himself as *White*, although he had a very mixed heritage. At times, we will identify those individuals whose ancestors came from Europe as White, and at times we will refer to such individuals as *European American*. The terms may be seen as interchangeable in most cases. Our experience has been that when we refer to White students as European American, many say, "I am not from Europe." They do not make the connection that when we refer to people whose ancestors originated in Asia, we label them *Asian Americans* even if they were born in the United States. For those of us who teach and research topics in the multicultural domain, the term European American is more common, but we recognize that for most people, White is the more common term.

When someone asks what culture you are from, how do you reply? Do you tell them your nationality (e.g., Chinese, El Salvadoran)? Do you tell them where your ancestors were from (e.g., "I'm Polish on my dad's side, but Swedish on my mother's")? Do you refer to your racial group (e.g., "I'm Black"), or do you use a specific ethnic label (e.g., "I'm African American")? If you answer in one of these ways, you are like most people, who, when asked about culture, reply by stating their race, ethnicity, or country of origin (Matsumoto, Kasri, Milligan, Singh, & The, 1997, as cited in Matsumoto, 2000).

Sometimes we use the word culture to mean various types of music, art, and dance. For example, when people refer to the cultural life of a city, they usually have in mind artistic opportunities, such as access to a good museum and a good symphony orchestra or the quality of the plays that come to town. At other times we use the term culture to refer to such things as food, clothing, history, and traditions. For example, American Indian[1] culture is associated with powwows, sweat lodges, talking circles, and the like. These activities represent traditions that tribes have passed down from generation to generation and are ways in which the people connect with their cultural heritage, purify themselves, and express ideas and solve problems. At still other times we use the term culture in reference to the regular or expected behaviors of a particular group. We might use the term *teen culture* to refer to the particular way adolescents act, talk, and dress. It signifies that adolescents behave differently from people of other age groups.

Kroeber and Kluckholn (1952/1963) and Berry and associates (J. W. Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992) described six uses of culture in everyday language: (a) *descriptive*, the specific behaviors and activities associated with a culture; (b) *historical*, a group's heritage and traditions; (c) *normative*, the rules that govern the behavior of a group; (d) *psychological*, which emphasizes behavioral processes, such as learning and problem solving; (e) *structural*, which reflects the organizational elements of a culture; and (f) *genetic,* which refers to the origins of that culture.

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1 Various terms have been used to categorize indigenous peoples of the Americas. Common terms are *Native Americans*, *American Indians*, *Native American Indians*, and *aboriginals*. The two most common terms are Native Americans and American Indians. We have chosen to use the term American Indians because some European American people who want to resist classification based on racioethnic grounds have said, "I was born here in America, so I am Native American, too." Moreover, individuals of Mexican descent may also validly use the term Native American because many of their ancestors lived in the Western regions of the United States when those regions were still part of Mexico. According to our friend and colleague Joseph E. Trimble, the term American Indian is the least confusing and most accurate, so we have adopted that convention. However, we recognize that many American Indians still prefer the term Native American, and some prefer their specific tribal affiliation. We are using the term American Indian merely as a convention for this book.

Let us use Mexican culture as an example. To talk about Spanish as the primary language is a descriptive use of culture. To talk about the holidays the people celebrate, such as Cinco de Mayo and El Día de los Muertos, is a historical use. To talk about traditional gender roles and machismo is a normative use. To talk about the process of learning a new language or adjusting to a new culture is a psychological use. To talk about the importance of the extended family is a structural use. Finally, to talk about the combined influence of indigenous and Spanish (European) people on Mexican physical appearance is a genetic use.

culture—the values, beliefs, and practices of a group of people, shared through symbols, and passed down from generation to generation.

Culture refers to systems of knowledge, concepts, rules, and practices that are learned and transmitted across generations. Culture includes language, religion and spirituality, family structures, life-cycle stages, ceremonial rituals, and customs, as well as moral and legal systems. Cultures are open, dynamic systems that undergo continuous change over time; in the contemporary world, most individuals and groups are exposed to multiple cultures, which they use to fashion their own identities and make sense of experience.

—American Psychiatric Association, 2013

So far, our discussion covers the ways in which we use the term culture in our everyday language. How do psychologists define culture? Psychologists have struggled to develop a concise definition of culture. Atkinson (2004) summed up the debate by saying that culture "consists of values and behaviors that are learned and transmitted within an identifiable community . . . and also includes the symbols, artifacts, and products of that community" (p. 10). Matsumoto and Juang (2008) also listed several definitions of culture before presenting their own working definition. They defined *human culture* as "a unique meaning and information system, shared by a group and transmitted across generations, that allows the group to meet basic needs of survival, pursue happiness and well-being, and derive meaning from life" (p. 12). In other words, culture usually refers to a particular group of people and includes their values, or guiding beliefs and principles, and behaviors, or typical activities. Those values and behaviors are symbolized in the things that the group of people produces, such as art, music, food, and language. All those things are passed down from generation to generation. In summary, we could define **culture** as the values, beliefs, and practices of a group of people, shared through symbols and passed down from generation to generation.

Narrow and Broad Definitions of Culture

The field of multicultural psychology distinguishes between narrow and broad definitions of culture. A narrow definition of culture is limited to race, ethnicity, and/or nationality. This use of the term is probably the more common one.

In contrast, a broad definition of culture includes "any and all potentially salient ethnographic, demographic, status, or affiliation identities" (Pedersen, 1999, p. 3). In other words, any of the important or meaningful ways in which we identify ourselves can be viewed as a culture. D. W. Sue, Ivey, and Pedersen (1996) gave the following broad definition of culture: "any group that shares a theme or issue(s)" (p. 16). Therefore, language, gender, ethnicity/race, spirituality, sexual preference, age, physical issues, socioeconomic status, and survival after trauma all define cultures. Under this broad definition, we can have simultaneous membership in more than one culture.

Some psychologists argue that a broad definition of culture is not particularly helpful. Should something such as gender be included? Do men and women really have separate and

distinct cultures? If this definition is taken to its extreme, anything could be considered a culture. Let us use the deaf community as an example.

If we define a culture as a distinct group of people characterized by shared customs, behaviors, and values, would the deaf community fit that definition? Backenroth (1998) thinks so. She argued that deaf people share a common language (sign language); have their own schools, churches, and social organizations; have common experiences and a common way of interacting with one another and with hearing people; and therefore have a distinct culture. Other authors agree that persons with disabilities, such as individuals who are hearing impaired, besides being distinguished by their physical impairment, share other psychological and sociological characteristics (Clymer, 1995; M. H. Rose, 1995). Following is a description of deaf culture by a deaf person:

> Deaf culture for me is about the complexity of deafness. Life as a deaf person, life stories, and destinies. Deaf culture for me is not theatre, art and so on per se. These ways of expression are not particular for deaf people. However, the content in these different ways of expression can illustrate the Deaf culture, deaf people's lives. For example, the American artist Harry Williams, now deceased. He was painting violins without chords, separated violins, like two worlds. This example is a clear expression of the Deaf culture, not art per se but the content in art. The particular traits that deaf people in comparison to hearing people in society, for example the language, music, the pictures and so on, are typical deaf cultural expression . . . well, o dear it is so difficult to describe this in words but easy to experience.
>
> —Anonymous research participant (cited in Backenroth, 1998)

Do you agree with a broad or a narrow definition of culture? As we stated earlier, although some psychologists disagree, most multicultural psychologists subscribe to a broad definition of culture that includes statuses and affiliations such as gender, physical ability, religion, and sexual orientation. This broad definition of culture includes a wide range of **diversity** that encompasses differences beyond race, ethnicity, and nationality.

diversity—acknowledgment of individual human differences that go beyond race, ethnicity, and nationality, such as age, gender, sexual orientation, religion, socioeconomic status, and physical ability.

Culture and Worldview

S. Sue (1977) defines a **worldview** as "the way in which people perceive their relationship to nature, institutions, other people, and things. Worldview constitutes our psychological orientation in life and can determine how we think, behave, make decisions, and define events" (p. 458). In other words, different cultural groups perceive, define, and interact with their environment in different ways based on their past learning experiences (D. W. Sue et al., 1996). People from different cultures may see or experience the same thing but interpret it in drastically different ways. An example of this is seen in the differing ways in which the European American and African American communities reacted when O. J. Simpson was acquitted after his criminal trial of the murders of his ex-wife, Nicole Brown Simpson, and her friend, Ronald Goldman.

worldview—a psychological perception of the environment that determines how we think, behave, and feel.

Time Magazine calls October 3, 1995, one of "Eighty Days That Changed the World" (Poniewozik, 2003). At 10:00 a.m. that day the world paused to watch the verdicts in the O. J. Simpson criminal trial.

O. J., a former NFL football star and popular celebrity in both the White and the Black communities, was accused of brutally murdering his ex-wife, Nicole Brown Simpson, and her friend, Ron Goldman. The world was captivated by the case, and many watched the daily courtroom drama. When it came time for the jury forewoman to read the verdicts, some networks went to a split screen where on one side they showed crowds gathered at various spots in the African American community, and on the other side they showed groups gathered at popular spots in the European American community. When the "not guilty" verdict was read, African Americans jumped, shouted, and cheered as if they had won the Superbowl, while European Americans looked shocked and stunned. Some cried while others expressed outrage.

The media commented on the differing reactions of the two communities in the weeks and months following the verdict, including a documentary on CBS called *O. J. in Black and White* (CBS News, 1996). Many struggled to explain the drastically different reactions. Reactions to the O. J. verdict for both African Americans and European Americans go all the way back to slavery. In the South, Black slaves far outnumbered White slave owners. Therefore, White slave owners used violence, fear, and intimidation to keep Black slaves in line. Once slavery was abolished, Whites, fearing for their safety, developed new tactics to keep large numbers of ex-slaves in line. The Ku Klux Klan accomplished this task through the continued use of violence, fear, and intimidation, but so did the justice system. African Americans were often falsely accused and convicted of crimes for which they were not guilty or given harsher

What is culture? *Photograph by Tom Zasadzinski*

sentences when they were guilty. Even today, statistics indicate that African Americans are more likely to be arrested, imprisoned, shot and killed by the police, and given harsher sentences, including the death penalty, than are European Americans (Sampson & Lauritsen, 1997; P. B. Smith, 2004).

Backtrack to 1992 and the verdicts in another famous trial of four European American police officers accused of beating Rodney King, an African American. The beating was caught on videotape and aired on television over and over in the following weeks. African Americans hoped that for once the system would work in their favor. After all, hadn't everyone seen the videotape? When a majority European American jury found the four European American officers not guilty, all hope was lost. African Americans reacted, not just to the verdict, but to centuries of unjust treatment. The Rodney King beating verdict was simply the straw that broke the camel's back, the match to the gasoline. African Americans (and others) in Los Angeles and other communities expressed their hurt, disappointment, pain, and rage by rioting for three days.

In 1995, when O. J. was acquitted, with the help of an African American defense lawyer and a predominantly African American jury, many African Americans said, "Finally! We beat them at their own game!" Hope was restored. In contrast, when the system they invented no longer worked in their favor, European Americans cried foul and said the system was flawed. (adapted from Barker-Hackett, 1995)

The drastically different responses of the African American and European American communities to the verdicts in the O. J. Simpson trial illustrate the different worldviews of these two communities. Remember, worldviews are shaped by past experiences. The jubilation of the African American community and the outrage of the European American community can truly be understood only in the historical context of centuries of unjust treatment of African Americans by European Americans, particularly within the justice system.

In the following excerpt, an African American woman describes reactions to the O. J. Simpson case among the clients in her beauty salon.

I remember how people divided, so much that I couldn't even express myself for fear of losing clients. I'm sure it was because he was so famous that it got the notoriety it did, but for the White and Black people, it was more than that: it was a Black man, killing a White woman, and the possibility of him not getting a fair trial.

At the time, all my clients were White, and each day, with the TV on, we all watched the proceedings. I think what blew me away was how everyone had decided so quickly that he was guilty. But what really shocked me was how people were angry because he was financially able to afford a good defense team, which was not usually the case in past trials involving Black defendants who usually ended up with public defenders. I'll never forget when I spoke up and stated that it's great that he can afford a good attorney, someone responded, "It doesn't matter, he's guilty." That client never booked with me again, and it was at that time I decided that I would not discuss my thoughts with my clients, or react to their statements. When they'd ask me point blank, though, I would say, "He's innocent until proven guilty." Of course they would say, "Yes, but what do you think?" "I don't know, like they don't know. I need to hear the evidence before I can make such a judgment."

If O. J.'s wife would have been a Black woman, I don't think it would have been as publicized, and I don't believe the White world would have even watched the trial. Racism

Individuals from different backgrounds perceive and interpret events in dramatically different ways.
Photographs courtesy of Eric Draper/Associated Press; Rena Schild/Shutterstock; Karl_Sonnenberg/Shutterstock

> and discrimination against all (cultures, women, gays, etc.) will always play a role in judgment in a society where "White privilege" is placed as what is right. White people will act as though they love you, but when it boils down to it, if you piss off the White man . . . you're just another Black man, woman, etc.
>
> —Cecelia, 50+-year-old African American student

Two more recent cases demonstrate the different worlds in which people of color (particularly African Americans) and European Americans live. On July 6, 2016, in a routine traffic stop for a broken tail light, a police officer shot and killed Philando Castile, who was reaching for his driver's license as the officer had instructed (Louwagie, 2016). Castile initially alerted the officer to the fact that he had a license to carry a gun and did not want the officer to be alarmed if he saw one. This case gained national attention because Castile's girlfriend captured the immediate aftermath of the shooting and posted it to social media. Later, footage from a police dashboard camera revealed that Castile was indeed being calm and cooperative, yet the officer quickly escalated the situation and shot Castile to death. Moreover, the officer indicated by police radio before the stop that he was stopping the car because he thought that the driver looked like a robbery suspect (Mannix, 2016). Governor Mark Dayton was shaken by this incident and said, "Would this have happened if the driver were White, if the passengers were White? . . . I don't think it would have" (Louwagie, 2016). The officer was acquitted in the ensuing trial, despite clear evidence that contradicted the officer's account of the incident (Stahl, 2017).

Most African Americans do not experience such dramatic circumstances as the ones surrounding Philando Castile's case. However, most African Americans see the world quite differently from their European American counterparts. On April 12, 2018, two African American men (Donte Robinson and Rashon Nelson) were waiting for a business associate for a meeting at a Starbucks coffee shop. They had been in the Starbucks for less than 5 minutes when one of the men asked for the key to the restroom. The manager of the Starbucks said that the restroom was for customers only and she called the police, saying that the African American men were causing a disturbance (Madej, DiStefano, & Adelman, 2018). The business associate, Andrew Yaffee, who is European American, arrived to see his associates being taken out of the Starbucks restaurant in handcuffs. He tried to explain that the men were waiting for him for a business meeting, but the police took the two men to the police station for processing (Horton, 2018). Even after the details of this case were made public, the Philadelphia police chief defended his officers for following proper procedures. It was only after a massive nationwide outcry of the

underlying racism of their actions that the chief apologized (Calvert, 2018). As Melissa DePino, who posted the video of the police arresting the two men, stated on Twitter,

> @Starbucks The police were called because these men hadn't ordered anything. They were waiting for a friend to show up, who did as they were taken out in handcuffs for doing nothing. All the other white ppl are wondering why it's never happened to us when we do the same thing. pic.twitter.com/oU4Pzs55Ci
>
> —Melissa DePino (@missydepino), European American activist

All three cases—O. J. Simpson, Philando Castile, and the Philadelphia Starbucks incident—illustrate differences in worldview, where individuals from different backgrounds perceive and interpret events in dramatically different ways.

These stories demonstrate differences in worldview between communities. This next story illustrates how an individual's worldview can change over time and with varying experiences.

> A topic that stuck with me this week was the example of how different people perceive law enforcement through worldview. The example in class mentioned how differently someone in a White neighborhood might react to a police officer as opposed to someone in an African American neighborhood. I found this topic interesting because, as a young Latina, I was raised in a predominantly African American neighborhood, but also attended school and spent a great majority of my time as a teenager in a predominantly White neighborhood, allowing me to witness both sides of this spectrum. The example in class stated that while people in White neighborhoods would most often associate law enforcement with good aspects and helpful qualities, people in an African American neighborhood would most often associate them with bad qualities and making a situation worse, for themselves and in general. I personally feel that I have witnessed and experienced both.
>
> I grew up in a neighborhood where most people were in a gang and, as in most gang run towns, I witnessed many people get arrested or get in trouble with the law. At such a young age, I did not fully get the concept of having to pay for your crimes. From my view, I just saw it as taking away people I knew and cared for. Whenever a fight would break out, most people would just let it play out because the police were seen as making it worse. If someone did call the police, they were seen as a "traitor" or a "snitch" for most likely getting someone arrested. Avoiding the police at all costs was just a known practice among everyone in the neighborhood, not a piece of advice we said out loud to each other.
>
> At eleven years old I started school in a predominantly White neighborhood where I would spend the day from seven in the morning until four in the afternoon. After a few years I would often sleep over at a friend's house on weekends to hang, or so that I would not have to wake up so early on Monday morning for school. As a result, I started to spend much time with my White friends and their families, some weeks even more time than I spent with my own family. The more I started to associate myself with them, the more I felt like them, and my view of law enforcement changed. A memory I associate with this is when one weekend while at a friend's house, my friend and I were playing in her front yard when a man who appeared to be drunk and homeless walked by and attempted to talk to us. Her mother ushered us inside and

> proceeded to call the cops. They arrived quickly, arrested the man, and I could not help but actually feel relieved as her mother thanked them for their service.
>
> —Lucy, 30+-year-old Latinx student

These differences in worldview—whether between communities, between individuals, or within an individual—all illustrate the need for a field like multicultural psychology. We hope that further reading of this book will increase your understanding of these different perspectives and how they occur. Worldview will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

What Is Race?

Previously we said that most people use the word culture to refer to their race, ethnicity, or nationality. The terms culture, race, and ethnicity are often used interchangeably, but their meanings are distinctly different and their usage is often confusing. Atkinson (2004) calls them "three of the most misunderstood and misused words in the English language" (p. 5). Since they are vital to a discussion of multicultural psychology, we must try to define them and clear up some of the confusion. Let us begin by defining *race.*

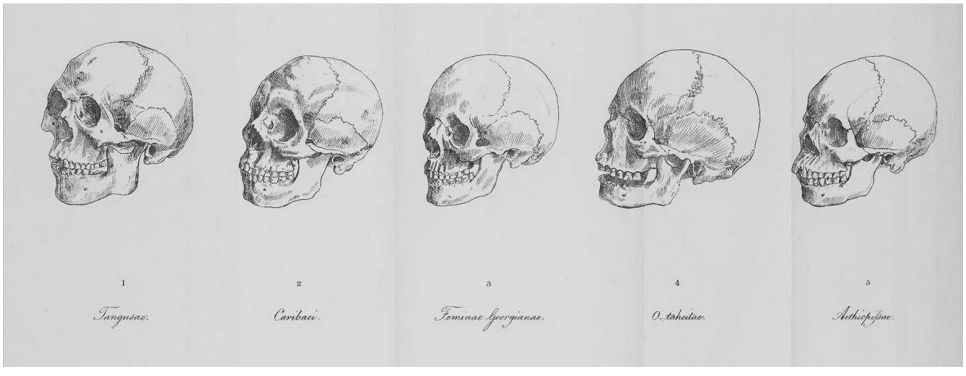
biological concept of race—the perspective that a race is a group of people who share a specific combination of physical, genetically inherited characteristics that distinguish them from other groups.

sociocultural concept of race—the perspective that characteristics, values, and behaviors that have been associated with groups of people who share different physical characteristics serve the social purpose of providing a way for outsiders to view another group and for members of a group to perceive themselves.

The term race is used in two main ways—as a **biological concept** and as a **sociocultural concept**. Zuckerman (1990) said, "To the biologist, a race, or subspecies, is an inbreeding, geographically isolated population that differs in distinguishable physical traits from other members of the species" (p. 1297). Biologically speaking, a race is a group of people who share a specific combination of physical, genetically inherited characteristics that distinguish them from other groups (Casas, 1984). From this biological perspective, human beings are divided into the main racial groupings used in the United States today—Black, White, Asian, Latinx, and American Indian.

As long ago as ancient Egypt, human beings attempted to describe and classify themselves ("Historical Definitions," 2011). The scientific notion of race as a biological construct was first developed during the Age of Enlightenment. It became very popular during that time and in the centuries that followed to create taxonomies of the human species. By the late 19th century, several of these classification systems existed, the simplest with only 2 categories and the most complex with 63 (Darwin, 1871).

Most of these early taxonomies placed humans in categories based on superficial phenotypic characteristics, such as skin color, hair texture, shape of nose, shape of eyes, and size of lips. One of the most influential categorizations, which still influences conceptualizations of race today, came from Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840), who placed human beings into five categories based on the shape of the skull: the Caucasian, or white race; the Mongolian, or yellow race; the Malayan, or brown race; the Ethiopian, or Negro or black race; and the American, or red race. Blumenbach believed that physical factors such as skin color and skull shape interacted with environmental factors such as geographic location, exposure to the sun, and diet to produce the different racial groups (Blumenbach, 1775/1795/1865).



Blumenbach's five races, from *De generis humani varietate nativa* (*On the natural varieties of mankind*, 1775).

By the 18th century, scientists began to include behavioral and psychological characteristics in their classifications of race. The Great Chain of Being, an idea from Christian Western Europe in the medieval era, was the belief in a hierarchical structure of all life. Those nearest the top of the hierarchy were considered closest to perfection, or to God ("Great Chain of Being," 2011). This idea crept into racial categorizations in which Christian Europeans were placed at the top of the chain. Characteristics assigned to groups lower in the chain were often derogatory and demeaning. Thus, society assigned a value to these characteristics, which eventually led to notions of racial inferiority and superiority and to justification of the unfair treatment of different racial groups ("Historical Definitions," 2011), such as the enslavement of Black Africans. Such beliefs were widely spread and passed down from generation to generation, so that today, groups such as African Americans still struggle to combat stereotypes about their racial inferiority.

The inclusion of behavioral and psychological characteristics in the taxonomies, along with the value judgments placed on these characteristics and the resulting differential treatment of various human groups, led to the sociocultural construct of race. The assignment of dispositional and intellectual characteristics to the racial groups was not completely arbitrary. It came from observations (albeit biased ones) of the behavior of the different groups. The sociocultural meaning of the term race also came from the migration of various groups to different parts of the globe. Because of the resulting geographic isolation and inbreeding, these groups developed not only similar physical characteristics, but also their own unique set of values, beliefs, and practices—in other words, different cultures.

Today, results of genetic studies indicate that the physiological differences among racial groups are superficial and that as human beings we have far more genetic similarities than differences (Latter, 1980; Zuckerman, 1990). Variation within different racial groups is far greater than is variation among the groups (Jorde & Wooding, 2004). Estimates indicate that 88–90% percent of genetic variation occurs within local populations, whereas only 10–12% is between populations (Angier, 2000). This means that two people from different groups may share more similarities than two people from the same group. Most respected scholars currently acknowledge that human beings came from the same beginnings in Africa and that genetic differences among groups can be explained by patterns of migration and adaptation as groups moved farther away from that point of origin (Angier, 2000; Begley, 1995; Diamond, 1997). The American Anthropological Association concluded that "race is not a legitimate biological or genetic

construct; rather, it is an ideology used to justify the domination of one identifiable group of people by another" (American Anthropological Association, 1999, as cited in J. Miller & Garran, 2008, p. 15). In other words, there really is only one biological race . . . the human race (Atkinson, 2004; Fish, 2002).

Although a biological definition of race has little evidence to support it, once the broad categories were drawn and the idea of significant genetic differences among groups was propagated, the term took on sociocultural significance.

> The concept of race has taken on important social meaning in terms of how outsiders view members of a "racial" group and how individuals within a "racial" group view themselves, members of their group, and members of other "racial" groups. . . . Thus, the *term* race survives despite the lack of a scientific basis because it continues to serve one purpose or another for those who use it. (Atkinson, 2004, p. 8)

Helms (1990) called such purposes the psychological implications of racial group membership.

Thus, race, rather than being a biological fact, is a sociocultural concept. This means that the term exists because it has become useful in our interpersonal, group, and societal relationships. Atkinson (2004) noted that its sociocultural use continues because it provides people a way of organizing the world and reducing complexity, and for some groups it provides a vehicle for identity and empowerment. Because of confusion between the two definitions of race, there has been much debate in the psychological literature about the appropriateness of its use (e.g., Helms & Talleyrand, 1997; Yee, Fairchild, Weizmann, & Wyatt, 1993; Zuckerman, 1990).

The term **ethnicity** is often used interchangeably with race and culture. Technically, ethnicity refers to the combination of race and culture, because ethnicity is determined by both physical and cultural characteristics (Atkinson, 2004; Phinney, 1996). Individuals may be from the same racial group but come from different cultures, leading to their particular ethnicity. For example, Black people are all of African descent but now live all over the world in various cultures. Racially they are *Black*, but depending on what part of the world they grew up in, they are from different cultures, leading to separate and distinct ethnic groups. Thus, we have Afro-Cubans, Afro-Brazilians, and African Americans. That is why racial categories can be confusing. If a Black person from Cuba is filling out a survey in the United States and is asked to check his or her race, which one does he or she check—Black or Latinx? He or she is both. To select just one is misleading and inaccurate. The following story illustrates this dilemma:

ethnicity—a combination of race and culture.

> In my country, we also have lots and lots of ethnicity groups, and one ethnicity group may physically look like another group (e.g., Javanese and Sudanese), or very different (e.g., Chinese and Javanese). It is considered very rude, even it may be interpreted as a racial slur, to directly ask a person, "What are you? Are you Chinese?" We are expected to be able to infer a person's ethnicity from the person's physical appearances, or the dialect he/she speaks, or the accent he/she has. I rarely, if ever, encountered a form in Indonesia where it asked me to fill in my ethnicity. Yes, it is an issue, but we never think it should be explicitly put on paper.
>
> The first few weeks after I got here [to the United States], I was in this class where a student handed out a survey questionnaire for us to fill in. I filled out all questions

> in the demographic sheet without any problem, except the question that asked about my ethnicity. There were several choices there (Asian, African American, Caucasian, Chinese, Hispanic, etc.). I was quite confused to have a question like that in front of me. I think of myself as "Chinese-Indonesian" . . . what's the difference between "Chinese" and "Asian?" . . . Besides, I don't see myself as either of those, I'm Chinese-Indonesian. I remember thinking at that time, "Wouldn't anyone in this room get offended with this question?" I felt quite weird because I never had to put "what I am" on a piece of paper, in a category. Luckily one of the choices was "Other," so I just checked that one. Although thinking that I am an "Other" was quite unsettling, but I just didn't think I fell into any other categories. I suppose I can always put myself as "Chinese," but "Chinese" is different from "Chinese-Indonesian." I don't even speak Chinese fluently.
>
> —Maya, 20+-year-old Chinese Indonesian student

It should also be recognized that people have more than one identity. We have an identity related to each major demographic characteristic—race, ethnicity, social class, gender, age, religion, sexual orientation, and so on. We are simultaneously members of each of these groups, and each identity influences the other. For example, the experiences of a Black, gay male cannot be fully understood by examining each of these identities independently. As a male, he is in the dominant group, but by being gay and African American he may experience both homophobia and racism. Navigating each of these identities constitutes a unique experience. Change one identity and you change the person's experience (a European American gay male versus a European American heterosexual male, etc.) To fully understand a person's experience, we must look at the interactions between these identities. This is known as the *intersection of identities*, or **intersectionality** (see Chapter 7) (Crenshaw, 1989; Gopaldas, 2013).

intersectionality—the meaningful ways in which various social statuses interact (e.g., race, gender, social class) and result in differing experiences with oppression and privilege.

To some people, the concept of race is biological, whereas to others, it is a social construction.
Photographs by Daxiao Productions/Shutterstock

Multicultural Psychology and Related Fields

Our goal has been to define *multicultural* psychology. So far, we have broken the term down into its components, stating that psychology is the systematic study of behavior, cognition, and affect; multi- and -al mean pertaining to many; and culture refers to the values, beliefs, and practices of a group of people that are shared through symbols and passed down from generation to generation. If we put all that together, we can define multicultural psychology as the systematic study of all aspects of human behavior as it occurs in settings where people of different backgrounds interact. Multicultural psychologists are concerned with "the psychological reactions of individuals and groups caught up in culturally heterogeneous settings" including the "behaviors, perceptions, feelings, beliefs, and attitudes" that result from living in such conditions (Bochner, 1999, p. 21).

Our definition of multicultural psychology states that the field is interested in what happens when people of different backgrounds interact with one another. Bochner (1999) defined **culture contact** as "critical incidents where people from different cultural, ethnic, or linguistic backgrounds come into social contact with each other" (p. 22) and described two broad categories of contacts: (a) contacts that occur between members of a culturally diverse society or between people of many different backgrounds who live and work together on a daily basis; and (b) contacts that occur when people from one society visit another country, for purposes such as business, tourism, study, or assistance (e.g., Peace Corps). Multicultural psychology is interested in both types of cultural contact, although it emphasizes the first type.

culture contact—critical incidents in which people from different cultures come into social contact with one another either (a) by living and working with one another on a daily basis or (b) through visiting other countries on a temporary basis, such as for business, tourism, or study.

Several terms in the literature are similar to multicultural psychology. **Ethnic minority psychology** is the study of "issues relevant to racial and ethnic groups that have been historically subordinated, underrepresented, or underserved" (para 1, American Psychological Association, 2018). Although this term is still used, there was movement in the field away from ethnic minority psychology to multicultural psychology sometime during the 1990s (Iijima Hall, 2014). This shift took place for several reasons. One reason was to strengthen ties and develop allies across the various racial/ethnic groups. Another was to move beyond race and ethnicity and be more inclusive of other identities related to gender, religion, sexual orientation, etc. (Franklin, 2009). In addition, the term *minority* has come to have a negative connotation when referring to people of color. This is not statistically accurate. When looking at the global population, people of color make up a statistical majority. Even within the United States, in five states people of color constitute the majority, and census projections predict that by the year 2044, the United States as a whole will be a *majority-minority* country (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). The term minority also carries a negative connotation and implies that one group is of lesser status than another, which can lead people in these groups to feel less powerful. In short, the term multicultural psychology is seen as more inclusive, more accurate, and more empowering.

ethnic minority psychology—the study of issues relevant to racial and ethnic groups that have historically been marginalized, oppressed, and underserved.

Other related terms represent different subdisciplines within the field of psychology. **Cultural psychology** is concerned with how local cultural practices shape psychological processes. In other words, cultural psychology studies what

cultural psychology—the study of how unique practices within a culture shape behavior, cognition, and affect.

is unique within a culture. In contrast, **cross-cultural psychology** is interested in cultural comparisons and searching for the universality of psychological processes, or what is similar or different across cultures (Heine & Ruby, 2010). Although some might disagree, multicultural psychology can be seen as the broad umbrella under which these other areas fall.

cross-cultural psychology—the search for universal principles of human behavior, cognition, and affect, or for what is common across cultures.

Multiculturalism as a Philosophy

The idea of multiculturalism goes beyond the field of psychology. The term applies to settings in which more than one culture exists and represents a set of beliefs about how those groups should coexist (Heywood, 2007; Parekh, 2000). As a philosophy, multiculturalism has influenced a wide range of disciplines, including education (e.g., Banks & Banks, 2004), political science (e.g., Parekh, 2000), and medicine (e.g., Wear, 2003). It is a complex concept that has been discussed in many ways, without consensus about what it entails (Fowers & Davidov, 2006; Parekh, 2000). Nonetheless, the basic assumptions of multiculturalism can be summarized as tolerance, respect, inclusion, sensitivity, and equity (see Table 1.1).

Today, the term *tolerance* has come to mean a fair, open, and objective attitude toward people and ideas that differ from yours (Dictionary.com). This often refers to religious tolerance, or allowing individuals of different faiths to practice their beliefs freely and openly. However, many people believe that simple tolerance is not enough and that there is a need to move beyond tolerance to other ideals. One student expressed some of the limitations associated with using tolerance as a goal of multiculturalism.

> I thought it was interesting that we talked about the word "tolerance" in class because I have always thought that the word "tolerance" is not a very good word for creating and encouraging equality among people. I feel like you have to deal with it, stand it, but you don't have to understand or like it. It is interesting to think that we want to create "equality" in our country but there is still a lot of racism and prejudice, and not a very good attitude toward fixing it, especially if we are using terms like "tolerance"

TABLE 1.1 Multiculturalism as a Philosophy: Basic Assumptions

Tolerance: A fair, open, and objective attitude toward people and ideas that differ from yours
Respect: To value, appreciate, and show regard or consideration for differences
Inclusion: Active efforts to reverse the historical exclusion of certain groups in society
Sensitivity: Awareness that cultural differences exist and taking these differences into account in our interactions
Equity: Equal access to opportunities and resources; this includes providing extra assistance to those who have historically not been given equal access
Empowerment: Helping members of marginalized and mistreated groups stand up for their rights
Social justice: Efforts aimed at providing equal distribution of rights, privileges, opportunities, and resources within a society
Social change: Widespread change in the institutions, behaviors, and relationships within a society

> rather than respect. I think we should be teaching respect of people's culture, and choices rather than "tolerance." To me, that word is just a half-hearted attempt to make good.
>
> —Shelby, 20+-year-old mixed European American/Latinx student

As Shelby points out, tolerance implies putting up with something we really do not like. What would the world be like if we simply tolerated one another? Tolerance should be the minimum goal, a starting point. Dr. Joseph White (2001) stated the goal should not be tolerance but *mutual enrichment*. Putnam (2007) agreed: "Tolerance for difference is but a first step. To strengthen shared identities, we need more opportunities for meaningful interactions across ethnic lines where Americans (new and old) work, learn, recreate, and live" (p. 164). Although tolerance is a basic value of multiculturalism, we must move beyond it and learn to respect, value, and appreciate differences.

Inclusion refers to the realization that certain groups have historically been excluded from participation in mainstream society. Therefore, active efforts must be made to reverse this exclusion. For example, the purpose of the Americans with Disabilities Act (1990) is to prevent discrimination against individuals with physical and mental challenges. Under this law, public buildings must include structural accommodations so people with disabilities have access, and employers may not discriminate against individuals with disabilities in their hiring practices. Multiculturalism also stresses the importance of *sensitivity* to the values, beliefs, and practices of varied groups. For example, sensitivity to issues of gender means using gender-inclusive language, such as chair of the board instead of chairman, or understanding when a woman misses work because her child is sick. Finally, *equity* means that all people should have equal access to the same resources and opportunities, such as quality housing, food, education, and health care.

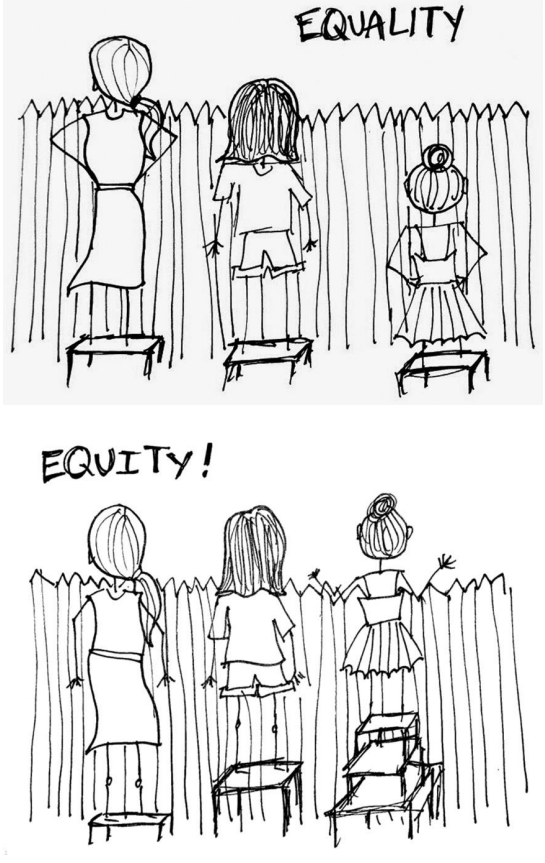
> I have learned that the language we use to promote multiculturalism can be problematic and that we must replace terminology as "teaching tolerance" with the words "fostering appreciation." You see, people who sense that they are being "tolerated" don't feel welcome, but people who know that they are being "appreciated" feel that they have an honored place at the table.
>
> —Dr. Mark S. Kiselica, psychology professor (as cited in D. W. Sue & D. Sue, 2013, p. 14)

Equity and *equality* are not the same thing, although both are related to the idea of fairness. The concept of equality harkens back to the basic American ideal that all men are created equal. It is the belief that everyone has equal access to resources and opportunities and can take advantage of them if they choose. Equality assumes everyone starts at the same level. Equity, however, recognizes that not everyone has equal access. Historically, some individuals have been excluded or lack the knowledge, finances, or training necessary to take advantage of these opportunities. Therefore, equity means providing remedies for the past injustices to level the playing field. Examples include providing classes in English as a second language in schools and targeting scholarships to students from poor families. Equality says that per-student funding at every school should be the same; equity says that students who come from less should get more to help them catch up. Equality is fairness as uniform distribution, whereas equity is fairness as justice (Kranich, 2005; Mann, 2014).

Multiculturalism as a philosophy goes beyond simple belief in concepts such as inclusion, sensitivity, and equity. It is also important to take action to ensure these ideas become reality. In other words, it is not enough to talk about the issues; we must actively work to reduce behaviors such as discrimination and oppression. From this action-oriented perspective,

multiculturalism also involves the ideas of *empowerment*, *social justice*, and *social change* (Banks, 2010; Gorski, 2010).

Empowerment means helping individuals from marginalized, disenfranchised, and mistreated groups stand up for their rights and fight for equal treatment. It means putting pressure on people in power to share that power. Social justice means working toward equity, where every citizen is treated fairly and has equal access to the rights, privileges, opportunities, and resources available within society. Achieving these goals requires widespread social change. Gorski (2010) noted that social change occurs through transformation of the self, social institutions, and society. In terms of self, this means individuals work to reduce and eliminate personal prejudices and discriminatory behaviors. On a social institutional level, this means implementing policies and practices in schools, corporations, government, etc., to ensure everyone receives fair treatment. On a societal level, it means creating an environment that is inclusive, in which differences are valued and respected, where all members can live, work, and thrive side by side. In other words, multiculturalism is more than a philosophy; it is a "social, intellectual, and moral movement" (Fowers & Davidov, 2006, p. 581), where these basic values are seen as goals to be achieved.



Equality treats everyone the same, regardless of circumstances, whereas *equity* considers differing needs. We must have equity before we can achieve true equality. *Illustration by Mary Quandt*

These values—respect, inclusion, sensitivity, equity, empowerment, social justice, and social change—represent core values in the field of multicultural psychology, and you will see them infused throughout this book. In considering these values, you might ask, as scientists, aren't psychologists supposed to be objective? If psychologists espouse certain values, doesn't that make them biased? Yes, as scientists, psychologist do their best to reduce the effects of bias on their research. However, multicultural psychologists acknowledge that complete objectivity is impossible and believe that scientists should be open about the values that drive their work. (This idea is discussed further in Chapter 2). All fields of study are founded on a core set of values, but the values are not always explicitly understood or communicated. For example, physicians take the Hippocratic oath to do no harm. Lawyers in the United States operate under the motto "innocent until proven guilty." Even in science, the goal of being objective includes

a value judgment. Therefore, multicultural psychology is explicit about the values it espouses and how these values guide theory, research, and practice in the field.

Do We Still Need the Field of Multicultural Psychology?

After the election of Barack Obama as the first African American president of the United States, a question arose as to whether we now live in a postracial society (e.g., Cillizza, 2014; Mio, 2016; S. Steele, 2008; Thernstorm, 2008). In other words, did Obama's election prove that race is no longer a significant issue? Have we progressed to the point where differences such as race, gender, and sexual orientation no longer matter? If so, would that mean we no longer need a field like multicultural psychology? Research results confirm that people's belief in the racial progress of America increased following Obama's election (Kaiser, Drury, Spalding, Cheryan, & O'Brien, 2009), but let's take a closer look at the evidence.

Although he never said so directly, Obama essentially portrayed himself as a postracial candidate (Cillizza, 2014; Mio, 2016; S. Steele, 2008). This message was first conveyed in his keynote address at the Democratic National Convention in 2004. Obama said that, as the son of a White mother from Kansas and a Black father from Kenya, he embodied the diversity and opportunity of America. He also expressed the belief that America no longer had to be a country divided along political and racial lines and in the values of unity and equality.

> Tonight we gather to affirm the greatness of our nation not because of the height of our skyscrapers or the power of our military, or the size of our economy; our pride is based on a very simple premise, summed up in a declaration made over two hundred years ago: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." . . . It is that fundamental belief—I am my brother's keeper, I am my sister's keeper—that makes this country work. It's what allows us to pursue our individual dreams, yet still come together as a single American family: "E pluribus unum," out of many, one. . . . There's not a liberal America and a conservative America; there's the United States of America. There's not a Black America and White America and Latino America and Asian America; there's the United States of America. . . . We are one people, all of us pledging allegiance to the Stars and Stripes, all of us defending the United States of America. (Obama, 2004)

Obama embodied a *racial idealism* and his election signaled a hope that America could put its racist past behind (S. Steele, 2008).

Even as Obama painted himself as a unifying force for the country and as his election was touted as proof of racial progress, other evidence indicated that race (and other forms of diversity) continued to be a major dividing factor in the United States. There were many reports of racist incidents during Obama's campaigns and presidency, including racial epithets scrawled on homes, racist campaign slogans and signs, figures of Obama hung from trees, crosses burned on lawns, death threats against Obama supporters, and chants of "assassinate Obama" (e.g., Associated Press, 2008; Goodale, 2012; Merida, 2008). Other evidence comes from statistics regarding the continued disparities between groups in education, income, employment, health, civic engagement, and social justice (National Urban League, 2014). Additional signs of discord include the cases of Philando Castile discussed earlier in the chapter, as well as those of Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Freddie Gray, and Sandra Bland. Tensions in the United States were also illustrated by the racist remarks that flooded the Internet after a Mexican American boy sang the national anthem at the finals of the National Basketball Association (C. Rodriguez, 2013), a

Cheerios commercial depicted an interracial family (Goyette, 2013), and an Indian American woman won the Miss America pageant (Botelho, 2013; Judkis, 2013). These events signify that the United States still has a way to go in embracing its multicultural identity.

Events during the campaign, election, and presidency of Donald Trump also provide evidence of continued tensions around issues of diversity in the United States. When Donald Trump first declared his candidacy, most people did not take it seriously. He was an unconventional, controversial candidate who broke all the rules. However, Trump defied the odds and went all the way to cinch the Republican nomination and beat Hillary Clinton for the presidency. Social analysts and research results indicate Trump won by appealing to poor and working-class European Americans who felt disenfranchised during Obama's presidency. Trump appealed to people's economic anxieties, cultural fears, and class rebellion (Cox, Lienesch, & Jones, 2017; Wead, 2017; Zakaria, 2017). Author, activist, and CNN commentator Van Jones called it *whitelash*, or the backlash of European American voters against a Black president, against minorities in general, and against a changing country (Patel, 2016).

This whitelash was vividly illustrated when one of the largest White supremacist rallies in decades took place in Charlottesville, Virginia, in August 2017. The Unite the Right rally was organized by Jason Kessler, a White nationalist, and advertised as a protest against the City of Charlottesville's decision to remove a statue of Robert E. Lee, a civil war hero. The rally promotors said the protest was about free speech and the freedom to honor and preserve the history of the Confederacy. Right-wing groups from all over the country gathered in Charlottesville, including Neo-Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan. On Friday night, they marched on the University of Virginia's campus, carrying burning tiki torches and chanting slogans such as, "White lives matter" and "blood and soil." The next morning, the alt-right groups gathered again for their planned rally and were met by a large group of counterprotesters. Violence erupted between the two sides throughout the morning while local law enforcement allegedly stood by and did nothing. The violence went on for two hours and culminated when 20-year-old James Alex Fields drove his car into a crowd of counterprotesters, injuring 19 and killing 1, 32-year-old Heather Heyer (Faucet & Feuer, 2017; Moskowitz, 2017; Pearson, Cloud, & Armengol, 2017). People in the United States and across the globe were astonished and disturbed to see images harkening back to the postslavery Jim Crow era and the civil rights movement. Individuals who were alive at that time expressed dismay that the United States seemed to be moving backward instead of forward (Carey, 2017; Mitchell, 2017).

Some people have critiqued Donald Trump's campaign slogan, Make America Great Again (McGirt, 2016; Smiley, 2016). Radio and television host Tavis Smiley (2016) asked,

> To what specific period of American greatness are you wanting us to return? When Black folk suffered segregation after slavery? When women had no right to vote or control their own bodies? When gay brothers and lesbian sisters felt ceaseless hate? When we stole land from the Native Americans? When we sent Japanese families to internment camps? When America lynched Mexicans? I just need Trump to give me some clarity on the time period he wishes to travel back to. (para. 5)

Overall, the policies of the Trump administration communicate a lack of support for multicultural issues, including anti-immigration, eroding protections for the LGBTQ community, support of police brutality, and dismantling of affirmative action (BBC News, 2017; J. Keller & Pierce, 2017; On the Issues, n.d.). His attitudes and beliefs are evident not only in his political agenda, but also in statements he has made, such as saying Ghazala Khan, the mother of slain

U.S Army captain Humayun Khan, did not speak while standing beside her husband at the Democratic National Convention because she was forbidden to do so because they are Muslim, or insinuating that federal judge Gonzalo Curiel was biased in the case against Trump University because he was Mexican (even though Curiel is an American citizen, born in the United States). Trump consistently argued that Obama was not born in the United States. He initially refused to denounce the support of White nationalist and former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke during his campaign. He stated that a Black Lives Matter protester deserved to be beaten and that Trump supporters who beat up a Latinx man were simply passionate and got carried away. He was caught on tape making sexist remarks about women, such as commenting that when you are a star you can grab women "by the p***y . . . you can do anything." He has referred to women as fat pigs, dogs, and slobs and he admitted that women made it on his show *The Apprentice* because of their sex appeal (Lusher, 2016; O'Connor & Marans, 2016). In response to the violence in Charlottesville, he claimed responsibility lay with "all sides," equating hate-mongering right-wing groups with antiracism counterprotesters (Faucet & Feuer, 2017; Moskowitz, 2017; Pearson, Cloud, & Armengol, 2017).

Some may dismiss Trump as a single individual or the alt-right as a fringe group that does not represent the majority of people in the United States. Nonetheless, enough people agreed with Trump's views to vote him into office and an atmosphere was created in which extreme right-wing groups have become "emboldened, angrier, and more militant" (Moskowitz, 2017, para. 7). Thus, it seems we need a field like multicultural psychology now more than ever.

Population statistics confirm the United States is a multicultural society. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (Cohn & Caumont, 2016), the population of the United States is currently 61.3% European American (not Hispanic or Latinx), 13.3% Black or African American, 5.7% Asian, 1.3% American Indian or Alaska Native, and 0.2% Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. The census no longer includes Hispanic as a racial category in acknowledgment that people from all racial groups may have Hispanic or Latinx origins. As a result, 17.8% of the population responded that they were Hispanic or Latinx. Although the population of most groups increased since the 2010 census, the largest increases were in the Asian and Hispanic/Latinx groups. Census projections indicate that the European American population will decline and the other racial/ethnic groups will grow to the point where all groups of color combined will outnumber the European American population. According to the Pew Research Center, this change will occur by the year 2055 (Cohn & Caumont, 2016), but the U.S. Census Bureau (2015) projected it will happen even sooner, by the year 2044. In other words, sometime in this century, the United States will become a majority-minority country. Five states already have majority-minority populations—California, New Mexico, Hawaii, Texas, and Nevada—and several more are poised to do so in the near future, including Maryland and Georgia (DeVore, 2015; Maciag, 2015; D. Poston & Saenz, 2017). The youngest members of the U.S. population—those under the age of 1—reached majority-minority status (50.4%) in 2011 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012a).

This increasing diversification is a result of two primary forces—immigration rates and differential birthrates (Cohn & Caumont, 2016; D. W. Sue & Sue, 1999). Since the Pilgrims arrived at Plymouth Rock, the population of the United States has been greatly influenced by immigration. According to the Pew Research Center, approximately 14% of the U.S. population is foreign born, up from just 5% in 1965. In the past 5 years, nearly 59 million immigrants have come to the United States, most from Latin America and Asia (Cohn & Caumont, 2016). Unlike the early immigrants to this country, mostly White Europeans who easily assimilated into mainstream culture, current

immigrants are from more visible racial and ethnic groups that are not as easily assimilated (Atkinson, 2004).

People of color also have higher birthrates. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2016), in 2015 the average number of births per 1,000 women was 9.7 for American Indians or Alaska Natives, 10.7 for European Americans (not Hispanic/Latinx), 14.0 for Asians or Pacific Islanders, 14.2 for Blacks (not Hispanic/Latinx), and 16.3 for Hispanics/Latinxs. In addition, the number of babies born to parents from different racial backgrounds is also on the rise; multiracial births went from 1% of all births in 1970 to 10% in 2013 (Pew Research Center, 2015). These statistics indicate that the numbers of people of color are increasing at a faster rate than that of European Americans and help explain what R. Rodriguez (2002) refers to as the *browning of America*.

The first Indian American to win the Miss American pageant, Nina Davuluri, was the target of racist attacks. *Photograph courtesy of Nick Lisi/AP/Corbis*

I have always viewed Miss America as the girl next door, but the girl next door is evolving as the diversity in America evolves. She's not who she was 10 years ago, and she's not going to be the same person come 10 years down the road.
—Nina Davuluri, Miss America 2013 (Botelho, 2013)

Multiculturalism as the Fourth Force

Paul Pedersen (1990, 1991), a leading multicultural psychologist, proposed that multiculturalism is the **fourth force** in psychology. What does he mean? In psychology, the term *force* is used to describe a theory that has a huge influence on the field and precipitates a **paradigm shift**, or major change, in the way people think about human behavior.

The notion that multiculturalism is the fourth force suggests that this perspective will have just as big an impact on the field of psychology as the first three forces—psychoanalysis, behaviorism, and humanism (Table 1.2). Pedersen (1990, 1991) does not see multiculturalism as replacing the other three theories, but as adding a fourth dimension to psychology to supplement and, ideally, to strengthen the other three. According to Pedersen, labeling multiculturalism the fourth force "explores the possibility that we are moving toward a generic theory of multiculturalism that recognizes the psychological consequences of each cultural context, where each behavior has been learned and is displayed . . . and calls attention to the way in which a culture-centered perspective has changed the way we look at psychology across fields and theories" (1999, p. xxii).

multiculturalism as the fourth force—the idea that multicultural psychology is so important that it will fundamentally change the direction of the field of psychology, as psychoanalysis, behaviorism, and humanism did.

paradigm shift—a major change in the way people think about a field.

The notion that multiculturalism is the fourth force [creating a paradigm shift in psychology] suggests that this perspective will have just as big an impact on the field of psychology as the first three forces.
—Paul Pedersen, a leading multicultural psychologist

TABLE 1.2 **Multicultural Psychology as a Fourth Force**

Force	Name of theory	Key theorists
First force	Psychoanalysis	Freud
Second force	Behaviorism	Pavlov, Thorndike, Watson, Skinner
Third force	Humanism	Rogers
Fourth force	Multiculturalism	Sue, Pedersen, White, Ivey, Bernal, Trimble

In other words, calling multiculturalism the fourth force challenges us to acknowledge that (a) all behavior occurs in and is impacted by a cultural context; (b) until recently, this fact has virtually been ignored by the field; and (c) once we understand the nature and contribution of culture, this understanding will dramatically alter and expand the way we study and understand behavior. Pedersen and other multicultural psychologists believe it is no longer possible for psychologists to ignore their own culture or the cultures of their clients and research participants. A multicultural perspective makes our understanding of human behavior more clear and meaningful, rather than more obscure and awkward. According to Pedersen (1999), "The main goal of [multicultural psychology] is to convince general psychology that culture is an important contributor to the development of human behavior, and to our understanding and study of it" (p. 6). Thus, identifying multiculturalism as the fourth force in psychology attempts to place it at the center of the field.

Understanding the Cultural Context of Behavior: The Biopsychosocial Model

One of the major tenets of multicultural psychology is that all behavior occurs in a cultural context. Therefore, to fully understand human behavior, we must understand its cultural context. Culture influences everything.

The **biopsychosocial model** helps explain the effect of culture on behavior. This model grew out of behavioral medicine and health psychology and focuses on an understanding of the psychological, social, and biological factors that contribute to illness and that can be utilized in the treatment and prevention of illness and the promotion of wellness (Engel, 1977; G. E. Schwartz, 1982). Although the model originally focused on an understanding of physical illnesses, it is also very useful in understanding psychological illnesses. Let us take a closer look at this model.

biopsychosocial model—a model of human behavior that takes into consideration biological, cognitive-affective, social-interpersonal, social institutional, and cultural factors.

> On the morning of May 5, 2004, David Reimer retrieved a shotgun from his home while his wife, Jane, was at work, took it into the garage, and sawed off the barrel. He then drove to the nearby parking lot of a grocery store, parked, raised the gun, and shot himself. He was 38 years old. What led David to such despair that he decided to end his own life?
>
> Press reports cited an array of reasons for his despair: bad investments, marital problems, his twin brother's death two years earlier. Surprisingly little emphasis was

given to the extraordinary circumstances of his upbringing. This was unfortunate, because to truly understand David's suicide you first need to know his anguished history, chronicled in the book, *As Nature Made Him: The Boy Who Was Raised as a Girl,* by John Colapinto (2000).

David Reimer was one of the most famous patients in medical history. He was 8 months old when a doctor doing a routine circumcision accidentally removed his entire penis. David's parents were referred to a leading expert on gender identity, psychologist Dr. John Money, who recommended a surgical sex change from male to female and the administration of female hormones to further feminize David's body. David became the ultimate experiment to prove that nurture, not nature, determines gender identity and sexual orientation. His twin brother, Brian, provided a perfect matched control.

Dr. Money continued to treat David and, according to his published reports through the 1970s, the experiment was a success. David, who had been renamed Brenda, was portrayed as a happy little girl. The reality was far more complicated. "Brenda" angrily tore off dresses, refused to play with dolls, beat up her twin brother, and seized his toy cars and guns. In school she was relentlessly teased for her masculine gait, tastes, and behaviors. The other children would not let her use either the boys' or the girls' restroom, so she had to go in the back alley. She complained to her parents and teachers that she felt like a boy. Brenda was also traumatized by her yearly visits to Dr. Money, who used pictures of naked adults to "reinforce" Brenda's gender identity and who pressed her to have further surgery on her "vagina." Meanwhile, Brenda's guilt-ridden mother attempted suicide, her father lapsed into alcoholism, and the neglected twin brother, Brian, eventually descended into drug use, petty crime, and clinical depression.

David Reimer was raised as Brenda after a botched circumcision. *Photograph courtesy of Reuters/CORBIS*

When Brenda was 14, a local psychiatrist finally convinced the parents to tell Brenda/David the truth. David later said about the revelation, "Suddenly it all made sense why I felt the way I did. I wasn't some sort of weirdo. I wasn't crazy."

David went through the painful process of converting back to his biological sex, yet was still very troubled and attempted suicide twice in his 20s. He eventually married, but he was not easy to live with, given his explosive

anger, fears of abandonment, feelings of sexual inadequacy, and continued depressive episodes. At about the age of 30, David received help from a rival psychologist of Dr. Money, Dr. Milton Diamond at the University of Hawaii, but he continued to have difficulties. In the spring of 2002, his twin brother died of an overdose of antidepressant medication. Then, in the fall of 2003, David was cheated out of $65,000 by an alleged con man. The last straw seemed to come on May 2, 2004, when after 14 years of a difficult marriage, David's wife told him she wanted a separation. Two days later, David ended his own suffering. (adapted from Colapinto, 2004, and "David Reimer," 2004)

Many factors contributed to David Reimer's suicide. The biopsychosocial model helps put those factors into perspective. The biopsychosocial model says that behavior can be understood on many levels (see Figure 1.1). The first is the *biological level.* At the most basic level, our behavior is influenced by our physiological and genetic makeup. When we lack certain nutrients, our body sends us signals that something is out of balance and must be corrected. For example, if we do not have enough fluids in our body, we feel thirsty and are motivated to drink. If our body lacks fuel, we feel hungry and we eat. The behaviors of eating and drinking are linked to basic biological needs. Our behavior is also influenced by our genetic makeup.

There was evidently a strong genetic component to David Reimer's depression. His mother and brother suffered from depression, and his father may have as well. It is possible that his father was self-medicating his depression through alcohol abuse. Research clearly indicates that depressive disorders tend to run in families (M. D. Keller et al., 1986). Perhaps David Reimer inherited a biological predisposition to depression from one or both of his parents. His unusual life circumstances brought it out for him and for his brother.

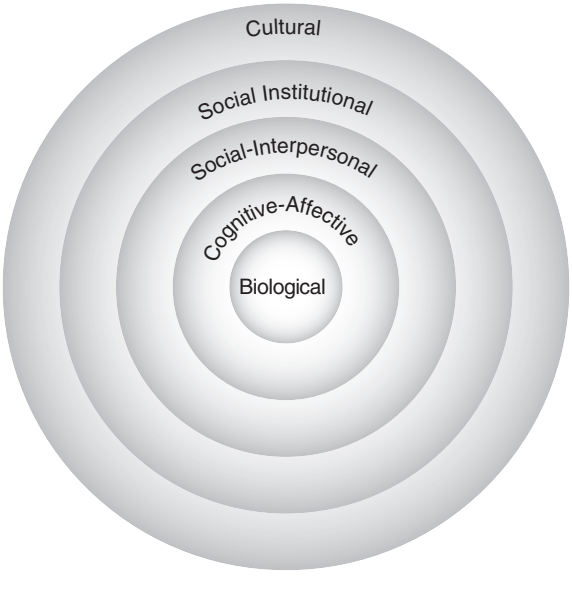


FIGURE 1.1 The biopsychosocial model. Adapted from Engel (1977) and Myers (1986).

The second level of the biopsychosocial model is the *cognitive-affective level.* Cognitions refer to our thoughts but include all our basic mental processes, such as memories, perceptions, and beliefs. *Affect* refers to feelings or emotions. This level examines the effect our thoughts and feelings have on our behavior. The connection between one's mental or psychological state and physical health has long been established. For example, we know that when we are stressed, our immune system is weakened and we are more likely to get sick. You have probably had the experience of coming down with a cold during or immediately after a particularly stressful week at school.

The cognitive-affective level is the level at which most people understand and think about mental disorder, because most of what we know and study in the field of psychology occurs at this level. Currently, the most popular theory of depression is the cognitive theory, proposed by Aaron Beck (1967, 1970). Beck proposed that depression is associated with and maintained by negative thinking patterns. Beck noticed that depressed people exhibited what he labeled the **negative cognitive triad**, or a negative view of the self, the world, and the future. He also noticed that depressed people made many *cognitive errors*, or distortions of reality. One example of a cognitive error is *overgeneralization*, wherein a person draws global conclusions about his or her worth, ability, or performance on the basis of a single fact.

negative cognitive triad—Beck's label for the negative view depressed individuals tend to have of themselves, the world, and the future.

For instance, David Reimer may have concluded that because he did not have a penis, he was less of a man and would never be able to have a normal, happy, satisfying married life. According to Beck, such negative and distorted thoughts lead to negative or depressed feelings. Once people get caught in this negative cycle, it is very hard for them to get out. Even after David met and married Jane, he was still plagued by feelings of low self-esteem and sexual inadequacy.

The third level of the biopsychosocial model is the *social-interpersonal level*, which focuses on the impact of social relationships on our behavior. For example, the various approaches to marriage and family therapy emphasize that the problems of individual family members are the result of the interpersonal dynamics of the entire family system, or the unique pattern of interactions among family members. There was an interpersonal component to David Reimer's depression. His family relationships likely influenced his depression as he interacted with his alcohol-abusing father, his guilt-ridden mother, and his neglected brother. In addition, David was the recipient of relentless teasing and cruelty from his peers, which likely also had affected the development of his depression.

The fourth level of the biopsychosocial model is the *social institutional level.* Social institutions are large, complex, relatively stable clusters of social relationships that involve people working together to address some basic human or societal need (Sullivan & Thompson, 1994). Examples of social institutions include the military, the government, the educational system, and large corporations. At this level of analysis, psychologists try to understand how behavior is influenced by our interactions with these large organizations. For example, a man may become depressed because his company downsizes and he loses his job. A businesswoman may become depressed because she is juggling the demands of both career and family.

David Reimer's case was influenced by the family's interactions with the health-care system, first with the botched circumcision and then with the referral to and advice of Dr.

Money. At the time of the accident, David's parents were described as "teenagers barely off the farm" (Colapinto, 2004). It is not hard to imagine their fear and confusion and the influence that a powerful authority figure such as Dr. Money, with the backing of the medical establishment, had on their decision-making. Anyone who has had a serious medical problem and had to navigate the health-care system can attest to how stressful this can be.

The final level of the biopsychosocial model is the *cultural level.* At last! You may have been wondering when culture would factor into this model. As we have discussed, culture reflects the values, beliefs, and practices of a group of people, and all behavior occurs in a cultural context. Let us go back to our previous example of the depressed businessman and let us say he is African American. He may feel that he was let go because of racism, a belief about the inferiority of African Americans that continues to pervade our society. What about the businesswoman? Although our cultural beliefs about the role of women have changed to incorporate the idea that women can have careers outside the home, we have not entirely abandoned the belief that women should be the primary caretakers of children. Women in America are caught between these two sets of beliefs.

David Reimer's case was influenced by the cultural attitudes of the time. In the 1960s and 1970s, when David was growing up, traditional gender roles still predominated in our society. The belief was that David had to be either male or female, which could be dictated by his genitals and how he was treated. However, when Brenda/David did not fit the traditional ideas of how a girl ought to behave—wearing dresses, playing with dolls, walking and talking a certain way—he was ridiculed by his friends. As an adult, David equated masculinity, or being a "real man," with having a penis and being able to sexually satisfy his wife. Where did his ideas about masculinity and the proper husband role come from? They came from the larger society. What would have happened to David if he had been born into a different culture? Do you think his circumstances would have been different? What do you think would happen to him if he were born today?

Figure 1.1 depicts the biopsychosocial model as concentric circles, with the biological level in the center and each level a larger ring until the last and largest, the cultural level. The biological level is the most basic level at which we can analyze and understand behavior, and the levels become larger and more complex, with each level influencing the last. As the final level, culture influences all levels. Thus, the biopsychosocial model reminds us that all behavior occurs within a cultural context. A complete analysis of David Reimer's suicide must consider on all levels, from his biological predisposition to depression, to his negative thinking patterns, to his family dynamics and treatment by peers, to the health-care system and cultural beliefs about gender roles. All of these worked together, seemingly against David, to lead him to that moment when he raised a shotgun and took his own life.

After learning about the biopsychosocial model, a student shared the following:

> During the first two years of college, I was struggling with family issues as I found myself hard to get along with my parents. The constant bickering had made me feel stressed and overwhelmed. I was not able to concentrate on school work and was automatically put into a bad mood when I returned home from work or school. This got in the way of making time to do my assignments and readings as I would just want to go out and be with my friends instead of being at home. As time progressed, studying became less important to me and in a way I hated it as well. This would be an example

> of an effect on behavior on a social-interpersonal level, because I feel that a good relationship with my family and support would have had a more positive effect on my grades.
>
> Another reason why I feel I did poorly is because I was working more than thirty hours a week, and my work environment was stressful. I had problems with employees and going to work became stressful as I was dealt more work. I feel like my progress in school was affected on a social institutional level as well because constant thoughts of work and stress would be on my mind while in school. Not only did family and work have an effect on school grades but also my cultural background was an issue, as there were many pressures put upon myself for begin born in a Korean family. Many Asian parents pressure children into hard work and good grades, and if these expectations were not met, you would be looked down upon. Being born in the States it was hard for me to understand this type of mentality, but as I grew older, I began to understand more and more why many Asian cultures are this way. Sometimes I felt like if I wasn't pressured so much by my family and friends, I would have done better in school.
>
> —Lily, 20+-year-old Korean American student

Lily does a nice job of analyzing her academic struggles using the biopsychosocial model. She begins at the social-interpersonal level and then moves to the social institutional and cultural levels. The first two levels could also be used to explain her situation. From a biological point of view, some people would say perhaps she struggles in school because of a learning disability. At the cognitive-affective level, the difficulty she experienced studying for classes could be attributed to her internal feelings of stress, pressure, and being overwhelmed. Lily went on to say that the biopsychosocial model increased her understanding of how behavior is influenced by relationships with others, the institutions in which we function, and cultural attitudes. She said, "The next time I feel or do a certain thing, I think that this model will help me break down the reasons to my behaviors, and to become more positive within each level." We hope it does the same for you.

The Basic Tenets of Multicultural Theory

One major premise of multicultural psychology is that all behavior occurs in a cultural context. What are some other major ideas that shape the field?

The field of multicultural psychology evolved primarily from the areas of clinical and counseling psychology and work that was done on conducting counseling and psychotherapy with diverse populations. D. W. Sue et al. (1996) outline the basic tenets of a theory of multicultural counseling and therapy (MCT). Although some aspects are specific to treatment, the theory includes general principles that are the foundation of multicultural psychology.

D. W. Sue et al. (1996) laid out six basic assumptions of MCT, which are summarized in Table 1.3. The first proposition says that MCT theory is a *metatheory* of counseling and psychotherapy. This means that it is a generic theory that provides a framework for understanding all other therapeutic approaches, both the traditional ones (i.e., psychoanalytic, behavioral, humanistic) and the nontraditional ones, such as indigenous forms of healing. No one approach is viewed as inherently good or bad; each simply represents a different worldview.

TABLE 1.3 Basic Assumptions of a Theory of Multicultural Counseling and Therapy (MCT)

Proposition 1	MCT is a metatheory of counseling and psychotherapy.
Proposition 2	Both counselor and client identities are formed and embedded in multiple levels of experiences (individual, group, and universal) and contexts (individual, family, and cultural milieus). The totality and interrelationships of experiences and contexts must be the focus of treatment.
Proposition 3	Development of cultural identity is a major determinant of counselor and client attitudes toward the self, others of the same group, others of a different group, and the dominant group. These attitudes are strongly influenced not only by cultural variables but also by the dynamics of a dominant–subordinate relationship among culturally different groups.
Proposition 4	The effectiveness of MCT theory is most likely enhanced when the counselor uses modalities and defines goals consistent with the life experiences and cultural values of the client.
Proposition 5	MCT theory stresses the importance of multiple helping roles developed by many culturally different groups and societies. Besides the one-on-one encounter aimed at remediation in the individual, these roles often involve larger social units, systems intervention, and prevention.
Proposition 6	The liberation of consciousness is a basic goal of MCT theory, which emphasizes the importance of expanding personal, family, group, and organization consciousness of the place of self-in-relation, family-in-relation, and organization-in-relation. This emphasis results in therapy that not only is ultimately contextual in orientation but also draws on traditional methods of healing from many cultures.

Source: Sue, Ivey, and Pedersen (1996).

The second proposition says that both client and counselor have multiple identities at the individual, family, group, and cultural levels. These identities are dynamic, and the salience of one over the others varies across situations and across time. For example, LAB is an African American, female, Christian, heterosexual individual. These are four of her primary identities, and they are listed in their most typical order of importance. However, in some situations the order switches and another identity becomes more salient; for example, when she is with only African Americans, her gender may become more important. To fully understand a person, we must understand all layers of his or her personal identity. (The concept of multiple identities is discussed further in Chapter 7.)

The third proposition of MCT theory says that cultural identity plays a major role in one's attitudes toward the self, others in the same group, others in different groups, and the dominant group. One's cultural identity is shaped by a variety of forces, and it typically develops as one progresses through a series of stages, moving from a lack of awareness of culture and its impact, to encountering cultural issues and reflecting on oneself as a cultural being, to some form of internalization and integration of multiple cultural perspectives. (We discuss issues of cultural identity in detail in Chapter 7.)

The fourth proposition says that therapy is most effective when the therapist takes into account the culture of the client when defining issues, setting goals, and developing treatment strategies. One of the main goals of multicultural training is to help therapists expand their repertoire of helping skills so they can find the best match between the client's culture, the client's presenting problems, and the interventions.

Proposition 5 expands on this idea by saying that therapists must go beyond the traditional helping role of one-on-one therapy and be willing to integrate other things, such as indigenous forms of helping and community resources. Going to therapy carries a great stigma in some cultures; therefore, many people who need help do not seek services. Many people are more comfortable going to their pastor or priest. Perhaps psychologists could coordinate with clergy in making referrals, provide training for clergy to enhance their counseling skills, or provide counseling in church settings where individuals feel more comfortable. Consider a Chinese person who comes to a Western therapist for help but who is also seeing a traditional Chinese herbalist. By opening the lines of communication and cooperation, the therapist and the herbalist could work together to coordinate the client's treatment. (The issue of culture and mental health treatment is discussed further in Chapter 9.)

Finally, Proposition 6 of MCT theory discusses the *liberation of consciousness*. Multicultural counseling and therapy emphasizes that psychologists must break out of the traditional mode of thinking, open their minds, and expand beyond a Western, individualistic perspective to incorporate aspects of the family, group, organizations, and society. That means placing the person in context and understanding self in relation to all these other groups. These ideas should sound familiar because they were discussed in connection with the biopsychosocial model.

critical consciousness—the ability of individuals to take perspective on their immediate cultural, social, and political environment, to engage in critical dialogue with it, bringing to bear fundamental moral commitments including concerns for justice and equity, and to define their own place with respect to surrounding reality, constitutes an important human faculty.

—Mustakova-Possardt's (1998, p. 13) interpretation of Paolo Freire (1973)

Some aspects of MCT theory are specific to counseling and psychotherapy. Nonetheless, the theory also includes general principles that form the basis of multicultural psychology. One principle is the idea that culture provides the context for all behavior. Another is that each person has a cultural identity that is made up of many dimensions and layers. This cultural identity is shaped by larger cultural forces and by interactions with other groups, particularly the dominant group, and influences an individual's attitudes, feelings, and behaviors. We must expand our minds beyond traditional Western ways of thinking and try to understand and incorporate non-Western concepts and ideas. These premises are the meat and potatoes of multicultural psychology. The following quotation captures the essence of multicultural psychology:

> Indeed, cross-cultural and multicultural literature consistently indicates that all people are multicultural beings, that all interactions are cross-cultural, and that all of our life experiences are perceived and shaped from within our own cultural perspectives. (American Psychological Association, 2003, p. 382)

Breaking away from traditional Western ways of doing things may give one insight into treating clients from other cultures. *Photograph by FS Stock/Shutterstock*

Historical Background

In this section, we highlight some historical events that influenced the field of multicultural psychology. This is not a comprehensive historical review but simply a description of a few key events to give you a sense of the way the field developed and the primary areas of theory, research, and practice in multicultural psychology. This section will give you a background for topics covered in more depth in the rest of the book. (For a more in-depth history of multicultural psychology, see Leong, 2009.)

Dubious Beginnings

The birth of psychology as a scientific field of study is traditionally regarded as having occurred in 1879 with the founding of the first psychological laboratory in Leipzig, Germany, by Wilhelm Wundt (Goldstein, 2005). Wundt's laboratory soon became a magnet for individuals wanting to become psychologists. Individuals who studied there went on to establish their own laboratories in countries around the world, including the United States. Wundt and his colleagues studied psychophysiological processes they called **structuralism**. Through a process called **structural introspection**, research participants reported on their own mental experiences. The researchers measured things such as sensation, perception, reaction times, imagery, and attention (Wade & Tavris, 2003).

structuralism—the first formal approach to psychology that attempted to examine the contents of people's minds.

structural introspection—the method that structuralists used to examine the contents of people's minds.

ethnical psychology—the study of the minds of "other races and peoples."

The intense examination of individual differences and quest for heritable traits leading to greater survival of the species eventually led to research on racial group differences. Early names for this area of research included *ethnical psychology* and *racial psychology* (Guthrie, 1998). Haddon (1910) defined **ethnical psychology** as "the study of the minds of other races and peoples, of which, among the more backward races, glimpses can be obtained only by living by means of observation and experiment" (p. 6). Robert Guthrie (1998), in his book *Even the Rat Was White,* argues that this research was highly influenced by the popular notion of racial superiority and an underlying desire by White Europeans to lend scientific credibility to such beliefs. Early studies compared racial groups not only on psychophysiological measures but also on intelligence and personality.

Guthrie (1998) described an early joint expedition by anthropologists and experimental psychologists sponsored by the Cambridge Anthropological Society to the Torres Strait in the South Pacific in 1889. The researchers used Wundtian methods of psychophysics to examine hearing, vision, taste, tactile acuity, pain, motor speed and accuracy, fatigue, and memory in native peoples of that region. The researchers concluded that the inhabitants were far less intelligent than their examiners. Guthrie also described another early psychophysiological study that took place at the World's Congress of Races, which convened at the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904. Several prominent psychologists in attendance tested approximately 1,100 individuals from 22 groups. Again, the researchers concluded that some of the racial groups made many errors and took a long time to perform the tasks and looked similar to people with mental deficiencies. Guthrie cited other early researchers who drew similar conclusions about the racial inferiority of certain groups.

Alfred Binet and Theophile Simon are credited with the development of the first standardized intelligence test in France in 1904. The most famous revision of the Binet–Simon test was done in the United States in 1916 by Lewis Terman of Stanford University. Although the test has