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**EMERGENCE OF  
A PSYCHOLOGY OF  
DIFFERENTNESS  
AND PLURALISM**



Multicultural Psychotherapy

# **EMERGENCE OF A PSYCHOLOGY OF DIFFERENTNESS AND PLURALISM**

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## e-Book 2017 International Psychotherapy Institute

From *Multicultural Psychotherapy: An Approach to Individual and Cultural Differences* by Manuel Ramirez

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# **EMERGENCE OF A PSYCHOLOGY OF DIFFERENTNESS AND PLURALISM**

## **The Multicultural Person-Environment Fit Paradigm**

The task facing the therapist trying to help a victim of the mismatch syndrome is a challenging one. This task is all the more difficult because mainstream theories and techniques of counseling and psychotherapy often ignore cultural and individual differences.

### **PSYCHOLOGY AND COLONIZATION**

Although psychology began as the science of individual differences, it has, over the years, abandoned its original mission and become the science of the mean and of the mode. In the years since the publication of the first edition of this book, psychology in the United States has taken a decidedly biological perspective as more emphasis is being given to behavior genetics, neuropsychology, and evolutionary psychology. For the most part, the uniqueness of people has been forgotten while the emphasis moved to what the people in power have

felt was the most desirable composite of personality or adjustment or on what was considered a standard of adjustment and health.

Because of the redefinition of its mission, psychology has been used by conformists and enculturationists to force those who are disenfranchised— the colonized, the recent immigrant, the poor—to become like the mythical ideal valued by those in power.

## **European Powers and Colonization**

The colonization programs of France, England, Portugal, and Spain made use of psychological theories, concepts, and techniques. These programs reflected the colonizers' belief that their culture and lifestyle were superior to those of the colonized (Collins, 1954). Detribalization and the accompanying enculturation were essential to European colonizing efforts. The detribalization and enculturation efforts programs attempted to break up old loyalties and allegiances of the members of colonized populations to families, tribes, religions, regions, and countries.

The principal objective of these efforts was to replace old loyalties with a total allegiance to the culture and religion of the

colonizer. The enculturation program adopted by the British government was particularly thorough. It involved sending members of the native populations to England, where they were taught English, trained in Christianity, instructed in British history, and introduced to British culture. After several years, these people were returned to their homelands to assist the British in the enculturation process. This emphasis on the use of psychology to ensure the success of colonization programs provided some of the early impetus for the development of cross-cultural psychology in Europe.

The colonization programs undertaken by European countries in general, and the application of psychological concepts to understanding the behavior of members of the colonized populations in particular, helped shape a worldview of those peoples whose cultures and lifestyles differed from those of the colonizers. This worldview has had a significant impact on the development of personality and clinical psychology, as well as of psychiatry, with respect to individual and cultural diversity.

## **The United States—From Inclusive to Exclusive Melting Pot**

In the early history of the United States, there was an initial acceptance of individual and cultural differences. Conditions unique to the American continent produced changes in the class-bound institutions brought by British colonists. Institutions brought by immigrants from non-British homelands were similarly modified by the new environment. The evolution of institutions, which were uniquely American in an environment that was more accepting of cultural and individual diversity than Europe, inspired the French writer Crèvecoeur (1904) to posit a new social theory: America as a melting pot. Crèvecoeur conceived of the evolving U.S. society not as a slightly modified England, but as a totally new cultural and biological blend.

The genetic strains and folkways of Europe mixed indiscriminately in the political pot of the emerging nation and were fused by the fires of American influence and interaction into a distinctly new American personality. This inclusive version of the melting pot was transformed into a more exclusive version as more people from Eastern Europe, Asia, and Latin America began to immigrate into the United States.



What finally emerged was a forced conformity model. The major principles of this exclusive melting pot are best described in the words of E. P. Cubberly (1909), a leading American educator. Describing the new immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe as illiterate, docile, and lacking in self-reliance and initiative, he identified the goals of the American public education system for immigrant parents and their children:

...Everywhere these people settle in groups or settlements, and...set up their national manners, customs and observances. Our task is to break up these groups or settlements, to assimilate and amalgamate these people as part of our American race, and to implant in their children, as far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order and our popular government, and to awaken in them a reverence for our democratic institutions and for those things in our national life which we as a people hold to be of abiding worth (pp. 15-16).

## **Psychology as a Source of Tools for Enculturation and Conformism**

Psychology became a prime source of tools for educators and mental health professionals who forced conformity on "the different." One of the major tools borrowed from psychology by conformists and

enculturationists, and still widely used today, is the intelligence test. As Guthrie (1976) observed in his book *Even the Rat Was White*, tests of intellectual ability have been used by both psychologists and educators to try to prove that African Americans and Mexican Americans are intellectually inferior to European Americans, and that recent immigrants are of lower intelligence than mainstream Americans.

The first attempts to demonstrate that members of minority groups were intellectually inferior to Caucasians were encouraged by Terman, the psychologist who revised the original scales for assessing intelligence developed by Alfred Binet in France. Terman (1916) stated that mental retardation "represents the level of intelligence which is very, very common among Spanish-Indians and Mexican families of the Southwest and also among Negroes. Their dullness appears to be racial" (p. 92). In addition, Terman went on to predict that when future intelligence testing of the aforementioned groups is undertaken, "there will be discovered enormously significant racial differences which cannot be wiped out by any scheme of mental culture" (p. 92). More recently, in their book *The Bell Curve*, Herrnstein and Murray (1994) argue that the low intelligence of people of color

burdens all of society (*dysgenesis*). The authors state, "Latino and black immigrants are, at least in the short run, putting some downward pressure on the distribution of intelligence" (pp. 360-361).

The effort to use measures of intelligence to push enculturation conformity and the ideas of cultural and racial superiority extended to the so-called "culture free" tests such as the Raven Progressive Matrices (Raven, Court, and Raven, 1986). Cohen (1969) and Ramirez and Castaneda (1974) observed that even these tests are biased in favor of learning and problem-solving styles that are more characteristic of the culture typical of the European American middle class.

Another tool borrowed from psychology and used extensively for encouraging enculturation and conformism was the psychoanalytic theory of personality. Psychoanalytic theory was used extensively by European powers to justify their programs of colonization. Mannoni (1960), a French psychoanalyst, published a paper on the psychology of colonization in which he concluded that colonization was made possible by an inherent need in subject populations to be dependent. He believed that this need for dependency was satisfied by the high

degree of individualism and self-sufficiency characteristic of Europeans. In fact, Mannoni made it appear as though colonized populations were characterized by an unconscious desire for colonization: "Wherever Europeans have founded colonies of the type we are considering, it can be safely said that their coming was unconsciously expected—even desired—by the future subject peoples" (1960, p. 644).

Psychoanalytic theory has also been used to force conformity on women. The most widely used aspect of the theory was Freud's (1925) conceptualization of the sexual development of women that led him to conclude that women's superegos were not as highly developed as those of men and that women suffered from "penis envy" (Freud, 1961).

Still another tool borrowed from psychology by enculturationists and conformists was behavior-modification techniques and approaches. Going hand in hand with the misuse of behavior modification with "the different" is the misclassification of children, adolescents, and adults of minority groups (Malgady, Rogler, and Constantino, 1987) who are incorrectly diagnosed as having attention

deficit disorder, conduct disorder, oppositional defiant disorder, or as having learning disabilities. A person so categorized is subjected to "behavior shaping" or "behavior management" programs that attempt to change behavior and to make it conform more closely to the mythical mode of the mainstream middle class.

These enculturation-conformity programs are being widely used in schools, prisons, mental hospitals, and institutions for the mentally retarded or disabled. In her book *Black Children: Their Roots, Culture, and Learning Styles*, Hale-Benson (1986) observed:

The emphasis of traditional education has been upon molding and shaping Black children so that they can fit into an educational process designed for Anglo-Saxon middle-class children. We know that the system is not working because of the disproportionate number of Black children who are labeled hyperactive (p. 1).

In a similar vein, Snowden and Todman (1982) postulated:

In assessing assertiveness, some of the variety encountered will have cultural origins.... Those evaluating assertiveness are prone to standardize their conceptions of situations and behaviors, making unwarranted uniformity assumptions. As cultural differences are only dimly understood, they may be particularly easy to overlook (p. 221).

## ORIGINS OF THE PSYCHOLOGY OF DIFFERENCES

Despite the strong conformist and enculturation trends in the United States and Europe, voices of dissent began to make themselves heard in the early 1900s. A new psychology of differentness, of respect for individual and cultural differences, was being born.

### Founders of the Psychology of Differentness

**DuBois.** The first pioneer in the development of the psychology of differentness was W.E.B. DuBois, an African American sociologist who did extensive research with African Americans in urban and rural areas of the United States in the late 1800s. DuBois was the first social scientist to promote the goal of multicultural orientations to life. In his book entitled *The Souls of Black Folk*—first published in 1903—DuBois, in referring to African Americans, said (1989 edition):

One ever feels his two-ness—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings. Two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife—this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better truer self (p. 3).

DuBois went on to observe:

He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of White Americanism, for he knows the Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face (p. 3).

Thus, the research and writings of DuBois laid the foundation for a psychology of differentness and diversity.

**Horney.** Another early pioneer in the development of the psychology of differentness was Karen Horney, one of the first women psychoanalysts. Horney's story is truly a profile in courage. She grew up in Germany, and although she was reared in a traditional Victorian family with an authoritarian father, she succeeded in overcoming the conventions of her time by going to medical school and becoming an independent thinker. She emigrated to the United States in the 1940s and worked with many female patients whose problems centered around oppression in a sexist society. Her own personal experiences, along with what she learned from her patients, led her to conclude that Freud's emphasis on penis envy in the dynamics of women's

sexuality was inaccurate.

She also discovered that the biological orientation of Freud's theory ignored important cultural realities: the powerless position of most women in society and the central role of culture in personality dynamics. Horney (1937) wrote:

One can diagnose a broken leg without knowing the cultural background of the patient, but one would run a great risk in calling an Indian psychotic because he told us that he had visions in which he believed. In the particular culture of these Indians the experience of visions and hallucinations is regarded as a special gift, a blessing from the spirits (pp. 14-15).

**Sanchez.** George I. Sanchez, a Latino psychologist and educator, was another early contributor to the psychology of differentness. Born and reared in northern New Mexico, he received his doctorate from the University of California at Berkeley. Criticizing efforts by Caucasian psychologists and educators to prove that Latino and African American children were intellectually inferior to white children, Sanchez (1932) asserted that racial and ethnic superiority could not be claimed. In a review of the literature, he showed intellectual testing indicated that environmental and linguistic factors were related



significantly to performance on intelligence tests.

Sanchez objected to those who would simply translate a test from English into Spanish and expect it to accurately assess the intelligence of bilingual children. He repeatedly pointed out that the validity of any test was limited to the normative sample on which it was based. Sanchez also claimed that data on genetics and heredity were being garbled in order to champion the superiority of one group over others. He directed his efforts against those who blindly accepted the doctrine of genetic superiority while disregarding the importance of such fundamental factors as personal, social, economic, and environmental differences and their effects on intellectual assessment.

Sanchez's views were supported by the research findings of an African American educator, Horace Mann Bond. In a classic research study, Bond (1927) selected African American children from the professional and the middle classes rather than from the laboring class, the favored source of subjects for Caucasian psychologists. Using the Stanford Binet Test, he showed that 63 percent of the African American children achieved scores above 106; 47 percent had intelligence scores equal to or exceeding 122; and 26 percent had

scores of over 130. Bond concluded that these children "were not out of the ordinary .. the same sort of group could be selected in any Negro community" (p. 257) provided that the sociocultural backgrounds of the subjects were similar to the one he tested.

**Fanon.** The African Martiniquean psychiatrist Franz Fanon was another pioneer in the differentness movement in psychology. He emphasized the importance of sociocultural realities and especially the influence of racism and oppression in the personality development of colonized peoples (Bulhan, 1985). Fanon criticized the psychoanalytic theories of Freud, Jung, and Adler for their Eurocentric orientation. In his book *Black Skins: White Masks*, Fanon (1967) rejected Freud's ontogenetic perspective and Jung's phylogenetic speculations: "It will be seen that the black man's alienation is not an individual question. Beside phylogeny and ontogeny stands sociogeny" (p. 13). He also rejected the notion of the Oedipus Complex and sought to explain personality dynamics in terms of sociohistorical and cultural realities.

Fanon rejected Freud's argument that neurosis was an inescapable consequence of all cultures. He instead saw neurosis as

the expression of a given culture: "Even neurosis, every abnormal manifestation, every affective erethism...is the product of the cultural situation" (p. 152).

## **NEW WORLDVIEW OF MENTAL HEALTH AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT**

In the 1960s and 1970s, new developments in psychology began to incorporate the ideas of DuBois, Horney, Fanon, and Sanchez. One of these movements was the development of community psychology as a legitimate area of study within psychology. Community psychology, seen as a true "psychology of the Americas" (Ramirez, 1998), reflected the unique ideology emerging from the experiences specific to peoples of the Americas. This ideology was reflected in the melting-pot philosophy in the United States and that of the *Mestizo*—the cultural and genetic mixture of Native Americans and Europeans in Mexico and other regions of Latin America.

Specifically, community psychology had its roots in the community mental health movement and in applied sociology. One of the major contributions of community psychology to the psychology of differentness was what Julian Rappaport (1977) referred to as the

paradigm of *person-environment fit*, rather than of incompetent or inferior people, or inferior psychological or cultural environments.

The major impact of this new paradigm on psychology was most felt in Latin America (Ardila, 1986; Ramirez, 1998), where psychologists began to turn to their own cultures and to the experiences of their own countries and peoples to develop new approaches to psychological research and intervention, as well as new conceptual frameworks for interpreting the data they collected.

The earliest developments in the psychology of differentness came in the area of women's psychology in the United States. The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s provided the impetus for the development of ethnic psychologies, as well as a psychology of women based on the writings of W.E.B. DuBois, Karen Horney, Franz Fanon, and George Sanchez. These perspectives were true psychologies of the Americas. These new approaches disclaimed the emphasis on universals in psychology, instead looking to the importance both of sociocultural environments and the effects of minority status and oppression on personality development and functioning. They emphasized values as reflected in socialization practices and examined

how these values affected personality development.

In addition, there was an emphasis on how oppression and minority status were related to the development of pathology and problems of identity. In the case of women, the emphasis was on development of self-in-relation—that is, the conflict between attachment and separation because of the way in which women are socialized and because of expectations placed on them by society.

These movements in psychology led to a new paradigm that now guides the work of the psychology of differentness—the multicultural person-environment fit paradigm. This paradigm represents an extension and amplification of the person-environment paradigm. It assumes that it is important to synthesize and amalgamate diversity to arrive at multicultural identities and perspectives on life and to new approaches to solutions of problems. These new outlooks can lead to understanding among different peoples and groups—the basis of peace and cooperation.

## **CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MULTICULTURAL PERSON-ENVIRONMENT FIT WORLDVIEW**

The multicultural person-environment fit worldview is based on a number of assumptions, as follows:

- There are no inferior peoples, cultures, or groups in terms of gender, ethnicity, race, economics, religion, disabilities, region, sexual orientation, or language.
- Problems of maladjustment are not the result of inferior peoples or groups, but rather of a mismatch between people, or between people and their environments.
- Every individual, group, or culture has positive contributions to make to personality development and to a healthy adjustment to life.
- People who are willing to learn from others and from groups and cultures different from their own acquire multicultural *building blocks* (coping techniques and perspectives) that are the basis of multicultural personality development and multicultural identity.
- The synthesis and amalgamation of personality building blocks acquired from different peoples, groups, and cultures occur when the person with multicultural potential works toward the goals of understanding and cooperation among diverse groups and peoples in a pluralistic society.

- The synthesis and amalgamation of personality building blocks from diverse origins result in the development of a multicultural personality and in psychological adjustment in a pluralistic society.

## **SUMMARY**

The struggle against the idea that some cultures, groups, or peoples are superior to others has led to the development of the multicultural person-environment fit worldview. In recent years, a model of psychotherapy and counseling based on this new paradigm has begun to evolve. This new model not only helps the victims of mismatch, but it also empowers them to help create a better world—a world in which individual and cultural differences will be respected and in which pluralism will be viewed as a resource for the development of mutual understanding, cooperation, and self-actualization.

## GLOSSARY

**Attitude of Acceptance** a nonjudgmental, positive, accepting atmosphere devoid of conformity or assimilation pressures. In therapy this enables the client to express his unique, or true, self.

**Bicognitive Orientation to Life Scale (BOLS)** a personality inventory composed of items that reflect the degree of preference for field sensitive or field independent cognitive styles in different life domains. Assesses cognitive flex by determining the degree of agreement with items that reflect preference for either field independent or field sensitive cognitive styles. A balance or bicognitive score is also attained.

**Bicognitive Style** a cognitive style characterized by an ability to shuttle between the field sensitive and field independent styles. Choice of style at any given time is dependent on task demands or situational characteristics. For example, if a situation demands competition, the bicognitive person usually responds in a field independent manner. On the other hand, if the situation demands cooperation, the bicognitive individual behaves in a field sensitive manner. People with a bicognitive orientation also may use elements of both the field sensitive and field independent styles to develop new composite or combination styles.

**Bicultural/Multicultural Style** a cultural style characterized by an ability to shuttle between the traditional and modern cultural styles. Choice of style at any given time is dependent on task demands or



situational characteristics.

**Change Agent** a person who actively seeks to encourage changes in the social environment in order to ensure acceptance and sensitivity to all cultural and cognitive styles.

**Cognitive and Cultural Flex Theory (or Theory of Multicultural Development)** the theory that people who are exposed to socialization agents with positive attitudes toward diversity, participate in diversity challenges, interact with members of diverse cultures, maintain an openness and commitment to learning from others, and are more likely to develop multicultural patterns of behavior and a multicultural identity. People who have developed a multicultural identity have a strong, lifelong commitment to their groups of origin as well as to other cultures and groups.

**Cognitive Style** a style of personality defined by the ways in which people communicate and relate to others; the rewards that motivate them; their problem-solving approaches; and the manner in which they teach, socialize with, supervise, and counsel others. There are three types of cognitive styles: field sensitive, field independent, and bicognitive.

**Cultural and Cognitive Flex (Personality Flex)** the ability to shuttle between field sensitive and field independent cognitive styles and modern and traditional cultural styles.

**Cultural Democracy** (1) a philosophy that recognizes that the way a person communicates, relates to others, seeks support and recognition from his environment, and thinks and learns are products of the

value system of his home and community; (2) refers to the moral rights of an individual to be different while at the same time be a responsible member of a larger society.

**Cultural Style** an orientation to life related to or based on traditional and modern values or a combination of these values. Assessed by the Traditionalism- Modernism Inventory and the Family Attitude Scale.

**Diversity Challenges** a catalyst for multicultural development such as cultural and linguistic immersion experiences, new tasks, and activities that encourage the process of synthesis and amalgamation of personality building blocks learned from different cultures, institutions, and peoples.

**Empathy Projection** the process whereby a person tries to understand the point of view and feelings of others whose cognitive styles and values are different from his own.

**False Self** the identity developed as a result of attempts to conform to cultural and cognitive styles of authority figures, institutions, and majority cultures.

**Family Attitude Scale** a personality inventory to assess a person's degree of agreement with traditional and modern family values.

**Field Independent** a cognitive style characterized by independent, abstract, discovery-oriented learning preferences, an introverted lifestyle, a preference for verbal communication styles, and an emphasis on personal achievement and material gain. People with a preferred field independent orientation are likely to be analytical and

inductive and focus on detail. They also tend to be nondirective and discovery-oriented in childrearing, and in teaching, supervising, and counseling others.

**Field Sensitive** a cognitive style characterized by interactive personalized learning preferences, an extroverted lifestyle, a preference for nonverbal communication styles, a need to help others. People with a preferred field sensitive orientation tend to be more global, integrative, and deductive in their thinking and problem-solving styles, and they tend to be directive in childrearing, and in teaching, supervising, and counseling others.

**Life History Interview** focuses on the development and expressions of cultural flex during different periods of life: infancy and early childhood, early school and elementary school years, middle school years, high school years, and post- high school period. The life history interview also focuses on the extent of an individual's actual participation in both traditional and modern families, cultures, groups, and institutions. The life history identifies the type of cultural flex by examining the degree to which a person has been able to combine modern and traditional values and belief systems to arrive at multicultural values and worldviews.

**Match and/or Mismatch** refers to person-environment fit with respect to the degree of harmony or lack of harmony between cultural/cognitive styles and environmental demands. Two types are cognitive mismatch and cultural mismatch.

**Mismatch Shock** an extreme case of the mismatch syndrome.

**Mismatch Syndrome** a lack of harmony between a person's preferred

cultural and/or cognitive styles and environmental demands. This occurs when people feel at odds to the important people and institutions in their lives. They feel alone, hopeless, and misunderstood; they may exhibit a number of symptoms, including self-rejection, depression, negativity, rigidity, and attempts to escape reality.

**Model** a person whom the client admires and who is dominant in the cultural/ cognitive styles the client wants to learn.

**Modeling** the process whereby people learn unfamiliar cognitive and cultural styles through imitation and observation of others, through reading and through travel.

**Modern** a value orientation that emphasizes and encourages separation from family and community early in life. It is typical of urban communities, liberal religions, and of North American and Western European cultures. People who are identified as having a modern value orientation tend to emphasize science when explaining the mysteries of life; they have a strong individualistic orientation; they tend to deemphasize differences in gender and age roles; and they emphasize egalitarianism in childrearing practices.

**Multicultural Ambassador** a multicultural person who promotes the development of multicultural environments which encourage understanding (multicultural education) and cooperation among different people and groups.

**Multicultural Educator** a multicultural person who educates others about the advantages of cultural and cognitive diversity and

multicultural orientations to life.

**Multicultural Experience Inventory (MEI)** an inventory that assesses historical and current experiences. It focuses on personal history and behavior in three areas: demographic and linguistic, socialization history, and degree of multicultural participation in the past as well as the present. The MEI consists of two types of items: historical (reflecting historical development pattern—HDP) and contemporary functioning (reflecting contemporary multicultural identity—CMI). Includes items that deal with degree of comfort and acceptance.

**Multicultural Model of Psychotherapy** a model of therapy that emphasizes multicultural development by maximizing the client's ability to flex between cultural and cognitive styles when faced with different environmental demands and development of a multicultural orientation to life characterized by serving as a multicultural educator, ambassador, and peer counselor.

**Multicultural Peer Counselor** a multicultural person who provides emotional support and facilitates change and development of empowerment in those of his or her peers who are suffering from mismatch.

**Multicultural Person-Environment Fit Worldview** a worldview that is based on the following assumptions: (1) There are no inferior people, cultures, or groups in terms of gender, ethnicity, race, economics, religion, physical disabilities, region, sexual orientation, or language; (2) problems of maladjustment are the result of mismatch between people, or between people and their

environments rather than of inferior people or groups; (3) every individual, group, or culture has positive contributions to make to personality development and to a healthy adjustment to life; (4) people who are willing to learn from others and from groups and cultures different from their own acquire multicultural building blocks (coping techniques and perspectives), which are the basis of multicultural personality development and multicultural identity; (5) synthesis and amalgamation of personality building blocks acquired from different people, groups, and cultures occur when the person with multicultural potential works toward the goals of understanding and cooperation among diverse groups and peoples in a pluralistic society; and (6) synthesis and amalgamation of personality building blocks from diverse origins contribute to the development of multicultural personality development and psychological adjustment in a pluralistic society.

### **Preferred Cultural and Cognitive Styles Observation Checklists**

observational rating scales that list field sensitive and field independent behaviors in five domains: communications; interpersonal relationships; motivation; teaching, parenting, supervising, and counseling; learning and problem solving. The checklists can be used to assess modern and traditional cultural styles and values.

**Preferred Styles** the dominant cultural and cognitive styles of a person.

**Scriptwriting** a therapy strategy used, along with role-playing, to promote cultural and cognitive flex development by matching the cultural or cognitive styles of a person or institution.

**Theory of Multicultural Development** see Cognitive and Cultural Flex Theory.

**Traditional** a value orientation that emphasizes close ties to family and community throughout life. It is typical of rural communities, conservative religions, and of minority and developing cultures. People identified as having traditional value orientations tend to have a spiritual orientation toward life, are strongly identified with their families and communities of origin, usually believe in separation of gender and age roles; and typically endorse strict approaches to child-rearing.

**Traditionalism-Modernism Inventory (TMI)** a personality inventory that assesses the degree of identification with traditional and modern values and belief systems. The instrument yields scores indicating the degree of agreement with items reflecting traditionalism or modernism. The degree of flex can be determined by examining the differences between the total traditionalism and total modernism scores (balance score) as well as by looking at the degree of agreement with the traditional and modern items across the different domains of life: gender-role definition; family identity; sense of community; family identification; time orientation; age status; importance of tradition; subservience to convention and authority; spirituality and religion; attitudes toward issues such as sexual orientation, the death penalty, the role of federal government in education, benefits to single mothers and noncitizens, and abortion. Type of flex can be determined by examining the degree of flex within each domain.

**Tyranny of the Shoulds** an individual's perception of the self based on what

she believes others expect the person to be like. The pressure to conform could contribute to psychological maladjustment—the individual develops a false self based on the "shoulds" of parents, important others, and societal institutions.

**Unique Self** a person's preferred cultural and cognitive styles before he has been subjected to the pressures of conformity.



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