

The Assessment of Acculturation

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Introduction To Acculturation

It is evident from a review of previous research that the interrelationship of cultural and educational characteristics is central to answering questions about appropriate identification, referral and instruction of culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) exceptional children. It is also evident from a review of these studies that the results of acculturation research have not been considered in this interrelationship. The study of acculturation contributes to a better understanding of the issues related to the education of culturally and linguistically diverse students (Rogler, Cortes, & Malagady, 1991).

There is ample evidence that cultural, linguistic, and psychological changes occur among populations undergoing acculturation (Berry, 1980; Berry, 1994). The usefulness for education personnel of acculturation theory and the measurement of acculturation has been well-established (Atkinson et al., 1998). This is of particular concern for educators since the effects of acculturation are similar to and may be confused with some of the behaviors for which children are referred to special education. Knowledge about these characteristics and needs of the CLD population is incomplete without knowledge of the effects of acculturation upon this population and how these acculturation factors relate to exceptionality.

Children in need of special assistance will continue to be identified and placed in special education classrooms. It is important to identify their special needs, delineating those characteristics of exceptionality from those characteristics of acculturation, and to provide them appropriate services for their diverse needs.

Exploration of Acculturation Theory and Research

The common concept of acculturation or culture change is that of the melting pot, the complete assimilation of one group into another. However, assimilation is just one of the possible results of the complex process of culture change known as acculturation. Acculturation has been defined and redefined many times during the last seven decades. For example, Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936) define it thus: "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals sharing different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (p. 149). Four decades later, Szapacznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, and Aranalde (1978) proposed that acculturation

involved changes in two dimensions: behaviors and values. According to Szapocznik et al., the behavioral dimension of acculturation includes language use and participation in other cultural activities, and the values dimension reflects relational style, person-nature relationships, beliefs about human nature, and time orientation. Padilla (1980) further expanded this understanding of acculturation by suggesting that this process also included cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty. Recently, Cuellar et al. (1995) defined acculturation in terms of changes at three levels of functioning: behavioral, affective, and cognitive, encompassing language, cultural mores and expressions, and emotions that have cultural connections (p.281).

Although most social scientists would agree with Spicer (1962) that every contact (between cultures) involves some degree of social and cultural integration, there are several ways to look at what happens during this contact and integration process. Before one can understand the dynamic process of culture change, one must consider first what is changing, that is, culture. Culture is a very broad and complex term usually viewed as the shared concept of reality or patterns of interaction, communication, and socialization held in common by a particular group of people.

Education professionals express interest in other people's cultures while regretting that they do not have "a culture". They must first understand the impact of culture upon their own lives. All human beings are raised within a cultural context. Their language and cognitive development occurs within this cultural context. The process of learning this context is called *enculturation*. Enculturation occurs through the child-rearing practices of a group of people.

Another aspect of culture is that a group of people, in addition to sharing behavioral patterns and values, also share a common sense of identity. There is an identifiable boundary between members and non-members in the particular culture. This self and external identity becomes especially meaningful in the establishment and longevity of ethnic groups. For example, both members and non-members of the Navajo culture would recognize fluency in the Navajo language as one possible indicator of Navajo-ness, but probably only members would recognize a lack of speculation as a Navajo trait. Traditional Navajos rarely speculate about motives or past or future happenings. They generally report exactly what they see and hear without interpretation.

In a study by Henry (1947), Hopi and Navajo children were asked to make up stories about a set of ambiguous pictures. The Navajos described what they saw and did not try to explain the

pictured activity. The Hopi children explained what they thought the people were doing and why they were doing it. They also volunteered what they thought had led up to the activity and what might happen in the future. This type of different view of reality has implications in the use of particular curriculum materials or instructional techniques, or in the diagnosis of learning disabilities. For example, lack of apparent concern or speculation about past and future happenings is viewed in America as a normal child development stage passed at an early age and is used at times as an indicator of mental illness in older children/adults. It is inappropriate to reach such conclusions about Navajo students when this is not part of their cultural cognitive development.

Many cultural elements or indicators are shared by different cultures, especially those that occur at similar times or in geographic proximity to one another. This sharing is frequently a result of the process of culture change, a dynamic source of some elements within a particular culture at a particular point in time. Culture, itself, is dynamic and no two individual members of the cultural group share exactly the same system of cultural knowledge. Social scientists all have a slightly different view of culture, depending on their peculiar perspective. As used in this paper, culture is a cognitive construct; culture is whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to members of a group. Culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, behavior, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the form of things that people have in mind, and their models of perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them.

As used in this chapter, culture change, or acculturation, is an adaptation to the presence of two (or more) cultures in the environment. Just as goods and services may be exchanged by the two cultures, so may values, languages, and behavior patterns. Padilla (1980) proposes that there are three stages of culture change: *contact*, *conflict*, and *adaptation*. He states that any measurement of culture change must consider each of these three stages at both the group and individual level. The purpose of the contact must also be considered. The history, persistence, duration, purpose, and permanence of the contact, the nature of conflict and adaptations to this contact, as well as the individual's exposure to the second culture, interpersonal conflicts, and personal adaptations, must all be considered. This includes examining the different adaptation patterns of "voluntary" and "involuntary minorities" (Ogbu & Simons, 1994). For example, less culture change may be expected when the purpose of the contact is mutually desired trade, as in

the 19th century between the Tlingits and the British in SE Alaska, as opposed to the forced exchange between the Russians and Yup'ik in SW Alaska during the same time period. Voluntary minorities such as Chinese immigrants to America considered education to be an important route to making it in society and were less concerned with prejudice and discrimination as opposed to involuntary minorities such as African Americans (Ogbu & Simons, 1994).

Where there is deliberate extermination of beliefs over a long period of time we find even greater culture change. For example, the Moravian missionaries in Alaska engaged in a systematic destruction of Yup'ik culture. There is almost always some degree of resistance to change, as most cultural groups do not lightly give up valued practices, whether economic, religious, or communicative. This conflict may be manifested in many ways, whether as psychological stress or physical aggression, but will always lead to some form of adaptation. Adaptation is in this sense a reduction of conflict and may take several forms, to be discussed later in the chapter.

Another effect of culture change, of key importance to educators, is *acculturative stress*. This stress is common though not inevitable during culture change. Berry (1980) stated that acculturative stress is characterized by deviant behavior, psychosomatic symptoms and feelings of marginality. Berry (1990) also found that variations in stress and culture change patterns were dependent to some extent upon the cultural and psychological characteristics of the culture group, and the degree and nature of previous contact with culturally diverse groups. This type of stress has particular implications for educators, as the side effects look a lot like the indications of learning disabilities commonly noted for placement of children in special education classes.

The influence of child-rearing and training patterns is of special importance in the growth and development of children. Socialization and family interaction patterns are affected by culture change in the same way that language, economic subsistence, and other cultural elements are, and all have an interactive effect on children. There are effects upon their language, cognitive style, personality, and self-concept. These are of concern in the development of the child's full potential, especially when the child may have special learning and behavior problems in the mainstream school system.

In one study of Hispanic culture change, Szapoznik and Kurtines (1980) found that stress from the culture change process could result in emotional and substance abuse problems. This

was shown to be a continuing issue in a 1996 study by Short and Porro-Salinas. Stress occurred when family members adjusting to life in mainstream American culture did not integrate their home culture and language with that of the mainstream community. Although living in a community with two languages and cultures, parents and teenagers in the study rejected one culture and tried to identify exclusively with only the other incumbent culture. These families were compared with families where parents and teenagers were bilingual and developed cross-cultural methods of adapting to their new communities. The bilingual and cross-cultural families had fewer incidents of substance abuse and dysfunctional interactions than the "monocultural" families.

Acculturation is a type of culture change that occurs when an enculturated individual comes into the proximity of a new or different culture. This may occur by moving into a new environment or location populated by people raised with a different language or culture. It may occur by going to a new school or moving to a new region of the country. It may also occur to exposure through movies, television, and books.

Acculturation is initiated by the conjunction of two or more cultures or subcultures. The dynamics of acculturation include selective adoption of the value system, and the integration and differentiation processes. It refers to the process by which members of one culture or subculture adapt to the presence of another. This adaptation may take varied forms. The process of acculturation may be accompanied by some degree of shock depending upon how different the new situation is from that to which the individual is enculturated. This can be very deeply disturbing or only mildly uncomfortable but it is a normal part of our adaptation to things that are new to us. On the extreme end, for example, refugees can experience several different degrees of this psychological process when surviving and escaping imprisonment, adjusting to life in a refugee camp, and then immigrating to a new country unable to speak that country's language. On the milder end, all children who move frequently experience this "culture shock" whenever they must leave a school where they have made friends and know the teachers, to attend a new school in a new community. There is a recognized pattern of response to acculturation and those going through this culture shock may do so in a recurring cyclical manner. Educators who work with culturally and linguistically diverse students who have learning and behavior problems must address the effects of acculturation.

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Both enculturation and acculturation influence the diverse student's cultural identity. The common concept of acculturation is the "melting pot," the assimilation of one cultural group into another. However, assimilation is only one element of the complex process of acculturation.

Acculturation is the process of adaptation to a new cultural environment. *Assimilation* occurs when the native culture is essentially eliminated from the person's cognitive behavior as the second culture takes its place. This particular acculturative response is actually rather rare; a person more frequently integrates new cultural patterns into the cognitive and behavioral framework of the first culture. For example, a newcomer might assimilate in the sense that he or she learns and uses English in most communications, retaining, however the habits and speech patterns that reflect the heritage language(s) and how he or she was raised. This more common response to the acculturative process, *integration*, usually results in better mental health (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980).

As previously noted, of special concern to education professionals are the psychological responses to the acculturation experience that are very similar to indicators of disabling conditions. The side effects of acculturation include: heightened anxiety, confusion in locus of control, code-switching, silence or withdrawal, distractibility, response fatigue and other indications of stress response (Collier, 1989; Schnell, 1996; Short & Porro-Salinas, 1996; Padilla, 1980). Another effect of acculturation previously mentioned, is acculturative stress. Berry (1976) found that some Native American groups experience high stress when the traditional culture is less similar to the second or mainstream culture. Groups experience lower stress when their culture is more similar to the second culture and has greater contact with other cultural groups.

Since students who consistently demonstrate heightened anxiety or stress, confused locus of control, or lack of response are often referred for special services, it is imperative that teachers working with diverse students who are experiencing acculturation consider the psychological "side-effects" of acculturation in assessment and programming. Appropriate placement for these students may be in cross-cultural counseling or acculturation assistance programs rather than in a special education program.

In their 1983 study, Elliott and Argulewicz looked at the influence of student ethnicity on teachers' behavior ratings of normal and learning disabled children using the Devereux Elementary School Behavior Rating Scale (DESBRS). Sixty-four learning disabled (LD) or

non-LD Anglo and Mexican-American second-6th graders were analyzed to explore the influence of ethnicity and diagnostic label on behavior ratings by Anglo teachers and the relationship between the behavior ratings of a sample of Mexican-American children and the normative sample of the DESBRS. Significant multivariate factors were observed for the main effects of ethnicity and diagnostic label. Univariate analyses of ethnicity revealed that Mexican-American and Anglo students were rated as being significantly different on 3 factors: comprehension, creative initiative, and closeness to the teacher. The LD and non-LD students differed significantly on such DESBRS factors as Classroom Disturbance, Inattentive-Withdrawn, and Slow Worker (Elliott & Argulewicz, 1983). Similar findings occurred in a study sixteen years later (Masten, Plata, Wenglar, Thedford, 1999) where differences between teacher ratings of 87 Anglo American and 63 Hispanic fifth grade students were compared. Anglo students were rated higher on characteristics relating to learning, motivation, creativity, and leadership. Highly acculturated Hispanic students received higher ratings than did less acculturated Hispanics.

These studies contrast with the Collier (1989) study which looked at 95 Hispanic limited English proficient elementary students enrolled in bilingual/ESL: 51 had never been referred to special education, 27 had been referred but not placed and 17 had been referred and placed in special education within the past two years. Students were compared on 15 acculturation and education variables: acculturation variables which focused on the effect of numerous cultural and linguistic factors upon the successful acculturation of CLD students (Alder, 1975; Juffer, 1983; Padilla, 1980), and education variables regularly considered in the referral and placement of any child in special education (Ysseldyke & Algozzine, 1981; Knoff, 1983; Smith, 1982). Padilla (1980) indicated that there should be only slight individual differences in acculturation variables within a population of the same age, socioeconomic status and ethnic background. However, Collier (1989) showed that, while CLD children referred to special education did not differ at a statistically significant level on their education profiles, they did differ significantly in acculturation characteristics. Students actually placed appeared to be even more highly acculturated, more bilingual, and more English proficient than either non-referred or referred/not placed students. Referred but not placed students appeared to be the least acculturated, least proficient in English, and had the lowest achievement scores.

Some literature had indicated that differences in education variables were to be expected between children referred to special education and those not referred (Haring & McCormick, 1986). However, other research indicated that differences in educational achievement and overall ability might not be as significant in referral as other education variables, such as reason for referral (Ysseldyke & Algozzine, 1981). The results of the Collier (1989) study confirmed that CLD children referred to special education do not appear to differ significantly from those not referred in achievement and ability, but do differ in the subjective variable of degree of teacher concern. Although they did not differ significantly on their educational profile, all children were referred for “academic reasons” rather than “behavior or other reasons”. Features of each student's education were evaluated, and only one reliable way of predicting a child's referral and placement in special education was found. This was the teacher's level of concern about what they saw as learning and behavior problems. Groups of children with different levels of cultural adaptation and culture change characteristics were referred to special education programs at different rates. Placed children more often came from schools with low minority enrollment. Those children who were referred to special education programs, but not placed, were the least culturally adapted and had the lowest achievement levels in all subjects, although they had generally higher means on educational variables.

Although academic concerns were cited as the primary reason for referral, there was no statistically significant difference in achievement test scores in any content area. However, a significant interaction was found between minority enrollment and educational achievement.

Studies of the effect of acculturation upon individuals have looked at the various steps involved and the degree of "culture shock" experienced (Adler, 1975; Juffer, 1983; Schnell, 1996). *Fascination* refers to the stage of acculturation where the newcomer or beginner finds the new environment or situation interesting and exciting. The newcomer puts a lot of energy into listening to the new sounds, intonations, and rhythms of the new language. They may try doing and saying things in the new culture, situation, and language that are interesting to them. They may try out new activities, words and attitudes with a lot of enthusiasm.

The more the newcomer learns about the new situation and tries to speak and act like others in the new environment, the more apparent differences between the new and the previous will become. This may lead to *Disenchantment*. This stage occurs as the newcomer encounters problems with being accepted, and with participating in the new environment. At first these

problems will be focused on getting basic needs met; later more complex problems will emerge. There are likely to be problems due to misunderstandings related to language, customs, and mannerisms. This disenchantment often leads to *Mental Isolation*. At this stage, newcomers experience a kind of “home-sickness”. They miss their “home” culture and feel more like an outsider in the new one. They may limit or avoid all contact with the new culture. They may spend more or all of their time with their own culture or language group. This progress of gradual adaptation, fascination, disenchantment, and mental isolation may continue on a repeating cycle for some time without full adjustment. This is especially true with students or young people whose families are moving them in and out of school situations, for example, migrant and seasonal agricultural workers.

Educators who were raised in highly mobile families know that gradually over time, adaptation strategies are learned -- ways to adjust to and deal with all the changes that help make the next change a little less traumatic.

Adjustment/Recovery refers to this stage of acculturation in the culture shock cycle. At this stage, basic needs are met and a routine has been established. There is a noticeable improvement in transition language skills and cross-cultural interactions. The newcomer experiences more positive experiences with the new culture and feels more comfortable communicating in the new language or dialect. The newcomer may experience some stress when interacting within their “home” or heritage culture. The adaptation cycle may be repeated as they “re-enter” their heritage community. This happens occasionally with foreign-exchange families and students. Refugees experience this when returning to visit surviving family after a change in regime.

It is important to remember that this cycle has no end per se. Any event that is new or strange or unusual can re-trigger the process for even the most accomplished participant in cross-cultural interactions.

Major variables that affect acculturation include the amount of time spent in the process, the quantity and quality of interaction, ethnicity or nation of origin, and language proficiency. These variables are especially relevant to assessment for placement in special education. Additionally, these variables form the basis of the acculturation screening device, *Acculturation Quick Screen* (AQS) (Collier, 2000) which is recommended for the assessment of culturally and linguistically different learners and is discussed later in the chapter.

A review of the literature shows several critical factors identified as relating to success in acculturation:

1. Presence of bilingual and English-as-a-second language programs
2. Strength in English language skills
3. Strength in one or both first and second language skills
4. Length of time in school
5. Amount of interaction with mainstream American students

Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) focused on the importance of strong language skills in both the first language (L1) and the second language (L2) as factors in mental health among diverse subjects. Juffer (1983) documented the importance of English language proficiency in determining degree of and success in acculturation. English ability was significant in three of four subcategories and in predicting a high composite score on the adaptation inventory. Some of the research in bilingual education also indicates the importance of proficiency in the native language as a foundation for proficiency in L2 acquisition and development, especially in the acculturation context. Cummins (1984) provides an extensive description of the relationship between L1 and L2 development and stresses the vital importance of L1 in promoting educational success and cognitive development in the diverse student in a cross-cultural learning situation. In his discussion of the psychological changes inherent in acculturation, Berry (1980) includes language and the types of adaptive changes that occur in both L1 and L2 as the two come into contact. Knoff (1983) also identified language ability as one of the most important elements in making referral decisions.

Argulewicz and Elliott (1981) examined national origin or ethnicity as a factor in school achievement and referral to special education and found a significant relationship between membership in an ethnic diverse group and likelihood of being referred to special education. In addition, Juffer (1983) identified national origin as a factor, which significantly predicted adaptation to a second culture.

The Juffer (1983) study also examined the relationship between degree of acculturation and length of time (a) in school, and (b) in orientation to the acculturation experience. This study found that the degree of adaptation (acculturation) correlated highly with the length of time in school and orientation. Juffer's findings of fewer problems in school cross-cultural social settings among more highly acculturated students coincide with Finn (1982) and Collier (1989). He

found that there were fewer referrals of culturally and linguistically different learners to special education in districts with bilingual programs. In addition, Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) demonstrated that as bilingualism or biculturalism increased, socioemotional problems decreased, and Finn (1982) and Collier (1989) affirmed that bilingual education improves educational achievement for all of these culturally and linguistically different children. Another factor, which Juffer (1983) identified as significant in acculturation, was the amount of interaction with mainstream American students. The number of diverse students enrolled in a school impacts the interactions between diverse and mainstream students. Finn (1982) indicates that there is a distinct relationship between diverse school enrollment and special education referral and placement. As diverse enrollment in a school district increases, the referral and placement of culturally and linguistically different students to special education becomes more consistent with mainstream referral rates (Collier, 1989; Finn, 1982).

Figure 1 Acculturation Matrix

<p>Assimilation Home/heritage replaced by school/new culture & language</p>	<p>Integration Home/heritage blended with school/new culture & language</p>
<p>Deculturation Acceptance of neither home/heritage nor school/new culture/language</p>	<p>Rejection Intentional rejection of home/heritage for school/new culture & language OR intentional rejection of school/new for home/heritage</p>

To conclude this general introduction to acculturation, it must be noted that it is extremely important to identify where and how children are acculturating to the mainstream school environment. A simple grid is discussed here that may assist educators in identifying at a very preliminary level, how particular students are handling the acculturation experience. More thorough tools available to the educator and counselor are discussed later in this chapter.

It is evident from a review of previous research that the interrelationship of cultural and educational characteristics is central to answering questions about appropriate identification,

referral and instruction of culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) exceptional children. It is also evident from a review of these studies that the results of acculturation research have not been considered in this interrelationship. The study of acculturation contributes to a better understanding of the issues related to the education of culturally and linguistically diverse students (Rogler, Cortes, & Malagady, 1991).

There is ample evidence that cultural, linguistic, and psychological changes occur among populations undergoing acculturation (Berry, 1980; Berry, 1994). The usefulness for education personnel of acculturation theory and the measurement of acculturation has been well-established (Atkinson et al., 1998). This is of particular concern for educators since the effects of acculturation are similar to and may be confused with some of the behaviors for which children are referred to special education. Knowledge about these characteristics and needs of the CLD population is incomplete without knowledge of the effects of acculturation upon this population and how these acculturation factors relate to exceptionality.

Children in need of special assistance will continue to be identified and placed in special education classrooms. It is important to identify their special needs, delineating those characteristics of exceptionality from those characteristics of acculturation, and to provide them appropriate services for their diverse needs.

The Acculturation Matrix shown in Figure 1 has quadrants illustrating the four types of adaptation to the acculturative experience. It is based upon models developed by Berry and his colleagues (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bajaki, 1989; Berry, Trimble, & Olmeda, 1986). In the upper left quadrant is *Assimilation*. As discussed above, assimilation occurs when the home or heritage culture and language are completely replaced by the second or new language and culture. An example of this is the student who stops wearing traditional garb and adopts the clothing of his mainstream peers or who stops attending church with his family and converts wholly to the religion of some new group and regards that replacement as a positive aspect of his or her life. The user should think about a student of concern and list all the things observed where he or she has completely substituted aspects from the mainstream for those in his or her home/heritage, for example, behaviors, words, clothing, manners, or other characteristic patterns.

In the upper right quadrant is *Integration*. In this box, the user will list all of the ways the student of concern has integrated language, behavior, clothing, food, religion, and other characteristic patterns from both the mainstream and his or her home/heritage. An example

would be a student who is learning to speak English and uses it appropriately in responses while still speaking his or her heritage language with family members and other members of the speech community, who dresses in American style for school functions but wears appropriate garb for his or her family religious activities, eats a Happy Meal® at McDonalds® and special ethnic dishes with equal pleasure.

The two quadrants on the top half of Figure 1 are the “positive” adaptation responses to acculturation. The two quadrants on the bottom half are negative and destructive responses to acculturation. It is important to identify ways in which a student has one or both of positive and negative elements so that appropriate interventions may be instituted.

The lower right quadrant is *Rejection*, which is similar to assimilation in its being an essentially monocultural response to acculturation, but differs in its intent and impact. Rejection is when a person intentionally, and by deliberate choice and action, chooses to adhere to only one pattern of behavior and language. On the one hand, the person may reject the new culture and language situation and while living in this environment keeps using only their home or heritage language, practicing only their traditional way of life, food, clothing, shelter, and so forth, with absolutely no attempt at integration. On the flip side of this, the person may intentionally cut themselves off from all contact with their home and heritage and reject all use of the language and culture, trying to assimilate to the new environment forcibly by rejecting and denying anything that is not part of the new situation or language. This has been the case as a positive tactic for many refugees whose homelands were destroyed, particularly those traveling to a new world alone and with no hope of ever returning to their past situation. An example is a new arrival temporarily cutting all ties with non-Americans and becoming very negative about “ethnic” activities. This state can be temporary, changing as the newcomer becomes more comfortable with being safe in the adopted country.

An example of rejection is illustrated by a family learning activity, addressing how to assist children with the adaptation process and to facilitate school achievement when the parent or caregiver speak little or no English. A father asked what he could do to help his four-year-old son who had recently announced that he would no longer speak Spanish and would use only English. The parents spoke only Spanish at home and neither the parents nor grandparents were English proficient. He had tears in his eyes as he described his pain and feeling of helplessness. This was a classic case of rejection, an intentional choice to abandon the home language and

culture, to erase the connection with his heritage. There can be a serious long-term psychological price to pay for such rejection as indicated in Padilla's 1980 research cited above. The family was provided with specific strategies for working through this crisis and for restoring their child's comfort with being bilingual and bicultural. It is critical to respond with interventions for students who show rejection in either direction, as both are not healthy long-term responses to acculturation.

Of even more serious long-term impact upon an individual is *Deculturation* or *Marginalization*. Deculturation is the loss of connection to the traditional, home or heritage culture and language while not making the transition to the new culture or language. This can result from marginalization. Marginalization represents the attitude of an individual with no interest in maintaining or acquiring proficiency in any culture, native or host. Both of these can result from not responding with effective interventions to rejection behaviors, but can also occur when children, students, or families are cut off from supportive community interactions within their home or heritage community and are not given assistance to transition into effective participation in the new language, culture, or community situation. An example of this is the gang affiliation and criminal behavior among Mexican American teenagers noted in the research by Szapocznik and Kurtines (1980) cited above.

The user should study a student of concern and make note of indications of either deculturation or rejection in his or her behavior. List these in the two lower quadrants in the diagram. These are the priority areas for intervention and are indications of learning and behavior needs that must be addressed to reduce the degree of risk for the student.

Acculturation Screening Tools

Overview of Range of Tools

Early acculturation studies conceptualized acculturation as a process taking place along a single, or unilinear, continuum (Szapocznik et al. 1978). "According to the unilinear model, acculturation occurs when a person moves from one end of a continuum, reflecting involvement in the culture of origin, to the other end of the same continuum, reflecting involvement in the host culture." (Kim & Abreu, 2001). Many of the current instruments used to measure acculturation are dual-cultural unilinear measurements based on a single continuum, with one

end reflecting high adherence to the indigenous culture and the other indicating high adherence to the dominant culture. Szapocznik and his colleagues (Szapocznik & Kurtines, & Fernandez, 1980) developed the first bilinear measurement model of acculturation in which one continuum represented either cultural involvement or marginality while the other continuum reflected either monoculturalism or biculturalism. There have been several formal and informal screening tools developed to measure and monitor the level and rate of acculturation. In the United States these tools have been primarily developed to study the adaptation of Spanish-speaking students from Mexico, Cuba and Puerto Rico. There are also specific tools to assess the acculturation of individuals from Asian, African American and Native American backgrounds. Table 1 compares the most recent of these tools by language focus, age range, and other factors. Most of these focus on the psychological impact of acculturation upon youth and young adults adapting to American society and have been used to identify students at risk for dysfunctional sexual relationships and substance abuse problems.

Acculturation of Asian Americans

The reliability and validity of the *Orthogonal Cultural Identification Scale* (OCIS) was evaluated in a sample of Asian American university students (Johnson, Wall, Guanipa, Terry-Guyer, Velasquez, 2002) using the OCIS to measure the strength of the students' ethnic identification and the degree of this strength as a factor in the students' level of acculturation. In this study, the OCIS was compared with the *Suinn-Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale*. The OCIS and the Suinn-Lew scale were found to measure related but separate constructs. The Suinn-Lew scale is a dual-cultural unilinear model of measurement. A monocultural unilinear system of measurement is the Asian Values Scale (Kim, Atkinson, & Yang, 1999) used to measure an individual's adherence to Asian cultural values endorsed more highly by Asian Americans than by European Americans.

Acculturation of African Americans

The *African American Acculturation Scale* (AAAS) is used to measure changes in and retention of beliefs, practices and attitudes within the African American population. A shorter version has been developed and validated (Landrine & Klonoff, 1995). Another tool for measuring the acculturation of African Americans is the SAAAA, Scale to Assess African

American Acculturation (Snowden & Hines, 1999). Both the AAAS and the SAAAA use a dual-cultural unilinear model of measurement with a continuum of scores ranging between immersion in the African American culture to immersion in the White culture.

Acculturation of Hispanic/Latino Americans

As part of a substance abuse prevention project, a tool was developed in both English and Spanish to measure levels of acculturation among members of a Latino youth population for later comparison of acculturation with high-risk behaviors. The *Latino Youth Acculturation Scale* (LYAS) appears to measure levels of acculturation in terms of four factors: family identity, self/peer identity, customs, and food (Pillen & Hoewing-Roberson, 1992). The *Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanic Youth* (SASH-Y) is a modification of an existing acculturation scale for Hispanic adults and provides a means to measure the impact of language use within and outside the family settings as well as ethnic social relations (Barona & Miller, 1994). The *Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans* (ARSMA) has been used several times to examine the acculturation of Mexican students at the college level, especially in conjunction with the *Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory* (MMPI). The ARSMA consists of 20 questions measuring preferences and behavioral tendencies on a five-point continuum from Mexican to Anglo orientation (Orozco, 1991; Orozco & Freidrich, 1992; Dana, 1996). There is also a revised version available (Cuellar, 1995), which provides multifactorial assessment. The *Bicultural Scale for Puerto Ricans* (BSPR) is a bilinear tool using factor analysis which examines reference culture, language preferences and usage, values, child-rearing practices and more (Cortes, Rogler, and Malgady, 1994).

Acculturation of Native Americans

The Navajo Family Acculturation Scale (Boyce & Boyce, 1983) is a dual-cultural unilinear system of measurement designed to measure the modernity of the physical home environment, involvement of the family in the elements of a traditional lifestyle, and the extent of family contact with the Anglo world. The Rosebud Personal Opinion Survey (Hoffman, Dana, & Bolton, 1985) is a dual-cultural unilinear model which measures the behavioral dimension of acculturation. The *Acculturation Quick Screen for Native Americans* (Collier,

2000) is uses a modified bilinear model to measure the adaptation of indigenous people in the Americas to public schools.

Table 1 Comparison of Acculturation Measurement Tools

Title/ Author	Source	Range	Purpose	Ethnic Focus	Language Focus	Results	Research Example
Acculturation Quick Screen (AQS)/ C. Collier	2002/ 1985 CCDES	6-20 yrs/ 1st-12th	Measures level and rate of acculturation to public schools in US & Canada.	All indigenous, immigrant, refugee, & migrant groups in US & Canada.	English and all languages and dialects	5 levels of acculturation with specific recommendations for strategies to facilitate integration	Compared differences among Hispanic students who were or might be referred and placed in special education.
Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans (ARSMA) Rev./ I. Cuellar (original author S. Orozco)	1995/ 1991 Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences	College age	Measures psychological adjustment on cultural orientation range - MA to Anglo	Mexican American	Bilingual Spanish/ English	Revised scale generates multidimensional acculturative types	Compared adjustment to college.
Scale To Assess African American Acculturation/ L. Snowden, A. Hines	1999 Journal of Black Psychology	Adults	Measured psychological acculturation characteristics	African American	English	Ethnic orientation within sample indicated, with notable variations on 10 scale items	Assessed reliability and validity social integration measures.
Behavioral Acculturation Scale/ J. Szapocznik	1978/1975 Westview Press	Adults/ High school	Measures adherence to home culture vs. transition to N. American culture.	Cuban American	English	Intergenerational differences shown to develop as younger family members acculturate faster than older ones	Used to study Chinese-Canadian youth in Manitoba, Canada.
Latino Youth Acculturation Scale (LYAS)/ M. Pillen, R. Hoewing-Roberson	1992	5th-8th	Measures level of acculturation for Latino youth	Puerto Rican/ Mexican Latino	Spanish/ English	Four key factors appear to drive acculturation: family identity, self/peer identity, customs, and food.	Used to compare with high-risk behavior rate.
Orthogonal Cultural Identification Scale (OCIS)/ Oetting & Beauvais	1991	All	Measures identification with a traditional culture vs. identification with other cultures.	All ethnic groups	English	Has been validated for: Native American youth and adult Mission Indians, as well as other populations	Compared ethnic identification of Asian American university students vs. acculturation using the Suinn-Lew Scale
Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanic Youth (SASH-Y)/ A. Barona, J. Miller	1994 Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences	5th-8th	Modification of an existing acculturation scale for Hispanic adults	Hispanic youth	Spanish/ English (assumed)	Analysis indicated relevance of Extrafamilial & Familial Language Use, & Ethnic Social Relations	N/A
Societal, Attitudinal, Familial, & Environmental Acculturative Stress Scale (SAFE) – Rev./ D. Chavez (original author A. Padilla)	1997/1985 Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences	8-10 yrs. old	Measures level of acculturative stress	Latino	Spanish/ English (assumed)	U.S.-born Latinos experienced significantly more acculturative stress than mainstream peers	Compared US- born Latino & Euramerican children age 8-10 - Has also been specifically adapted for Korean American adolescents)
Suinn-Lew Asian Self-identity Acculturation Scale (SL-ASIA)/ R. Suinn	1992/1987 Educational & Psychological Measurement	Students	Modeled after a successful Hispanic scale to apply to Asian subjects	Asian	English	Reliability & validity data reported for 2 samples of Asian subjects	Re-validated with Chinese- and Filipino-Americans 18 years and older

The Acculturation Quick Screen

The AQS is discussed in depth here because it is not specific to any one language or ethnic group and is used to measure the relative level and rate of acculturation of students to public school culture throughout the United States and Canada. It is a specific tool for school psychologists and general education personnel, which measures adaptation to academic instructional settings. The AQS is based on research (cited above) on the factors that predict the degree of successful integration for those who are experiencing “culture shock”.

Since students acculturate to new environments at different rates it is often difficult to tell who is still experiencing difficulty and who is not. The AQS measures this acculturation and leads directly to strategies to address culture shock. The AQS can also be used to monitor the rate of acculturation of diverse students. Most diverse students will acculturate gradually over several years and at a steady rate relative to the elements measured on the AQS. Those who do not show change year-to-year may have some unidentified difficulty or may be having some other destabilizing stressful experience. Thus the AQS can be used to separate difference from disability concerns when diverse learners exhibit learning and behavior problems. It can also be used to monitor the adaptation progress being made by migrant, immigrant and refugee students and provide an early warning system for education personnel when something is not working correctly or most effectively for these students within the building or district. In one study in a school district in Washington State, an evaluation team used the AQS to monitor individual students participating in the English as a second language (ESL) service program (Collier & Pennington, 1997). When data was disaggregated by language population, it was found that the Spanish speaking ESL students were not adapting at the same rate as the Russian speaking students in the program. Russian speaking students showed gains on average over 11% each year whereas Spanish speaking students on average were making only 8% per year. These AQS scores added to the body of evidence that Hispanic students in the study population were not doing as well in school as the Russian, Ukrainian, and Georgian refugee students. The performance and achievement differences were also found in an increased referral and placement rate of Hispanic students into Special Education in relation to Russian speaking students. Using the AQS data as an indication of some system weakness rather than assuming there was some

inherent disabling element among the Hispanic students, the researchers found that the intervention program available to non-Spanish speakers within the ESL and general education program was more intensive and comprehensive. Spanish speakers did not have access to the same level of support both during and after school that Russian speakers were receiving. The district used this information to modify their service plans; research is continuing.

The AQS measures the student's approximate level and rate of acculturation to mainstream American school culture. It is not intended for use in isolation nor as a predictive tool, but provides a useful piece of supplemental assessment information when students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds enroll in a school district. It should be part of the screening routinely done to determine eligibility for newcomers or other special language/culture assistance services. In addition, it is recommended for use as part of the information gathered to make instructional decisions during the "pre-referral intervention" period or for "prevention/intervention" instructional activities. It may be used to plan the selection of specific intensive learning and behavior interventions for culturally/linguistically diverse students rather than referring them to an evaluation and staffing. The AQS is also useful for substantiating decisions to modify testing evaluation and assessment procedures. In general, students scoring at the lower acculturation levels should not be assessed with standardized assessment instruments without case-specific modification of administration and interpretation. The AQS provides documentation and guidance to school psychologists and other evaluation specialists working with culturally/linguistically diverse students.

The AQS should be administered at least four weeks after students have entered the school. This will allow the user to assess their language abilities and to obtain previous school records. This first AQS will be the baseline from which to measure rate and level of acculturation. Students should be assessed every year at the same time to obtain an ongoing record and documentation of their rate of adaptation to the school system. The results map against a range from less acculturated to more acculturated on a 48-point scale. The AQS measures five levels of acculturation: Significantly Less Acculturated, Less Acculturated, In Transition, More Acculturated, and Significantly More Acculturated. The average rate of acculturation is between 10% to 12% each school year, depending upon type of program offered to students. Students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds will vary in their rate and

level of acculturation to public school culture, but all are affected by various factors. These include individual characteristics of the students and their school.

Although any student may be measured with AQS, it is most useful for students who come from a cultural or linguistic background that differs significantly from the mainstream of his or her particular public school. For example, the AQS will be useful with an American student from an ethnically, linguistically or racially diverse background who may be demonstrating learning or behavior difficulties. It also provides a significant profile for placement of refugee or immigrant students.

The AQS is based on research conducted in rural and urban school districts concerning the referral and placement of limited English proficient children of migrant, refugee and immigrant families. The original study population was a random sample of students in grades K-8 who were identified as Hispanic and limited English proficient by their districts. The results of the study showed that perceptions of acculturation contributed to decisions to refer and place these students. Additionally, it was found that student characteristics could be used to accurately identify and monitor level and rate of acculturation among at-risk students. Later the AQS was modified for use with other linguistically and culturally diverse populations. The AQS has been used by school systems to monitor and plan assistance to at-risk students from Native American, Asian American, African American, and other culturally and linguistically diverse populations.

The information needed to complete the AQS is as follows:

1. ***Number of years the student has been in the United States.***
2. ***Number of years the student has been in the current school:*** This should be actual cumulative time in this school to the extent possible.
3. ***Number of school years the student has received direct instruction in bilingual or English as a Second Language classes:*** This should be actual cumulative time in this instruction to the extent possible. Using school records, interviews with parents or other teachers, identify how much time, if any, the student has spent in direct instruction in bilingual education or English as a second language (ESL) classes. For example, a student in a dual language program receiving at least an hour each day of direct instruction in ESL in the content area would have received a full year in ESL/Bilingual instruction by the end of the school year. On the other hand, a student in an English-only instructional program, receiving a half hour or less pull out assistance in language transition once or twice a week is clearly not receiving a year's instruction

in a year's time. Determining the extent of cumulative time may be difficult, but the rule of thumb is that pull out, limited time assistance, accumulates at about half the rate of longer time, daily assistance. This may be "Newcomers" classes or classes for students of limited English proficiency.

4. ***Degree of language proficiency in the native language or dialect:*** Using formal or local language tests, observations, informal assessment instruments, and interviews with parents and school personnel, identify the relative level of proficiency the student has in the native language or dialect. This may be a recognized linguistic variation of English, distinct for this student's ethnic background and/or traditional community.

5. ***Degree of proficiency in English:*** Using standardized or local language tests, observations, informal assessment instruments, and interviews with parents and school personnel, identify the relative level of proficiency the student has in "standard" English or the English used in a school and by the majority of school personnel. This represents the "second language" or secondary communication modality to which this student is acculturating.

6. ***Degree of bilingual proficiency:*** Using formal or local language tests, observations, informal assessment instruments, and/or interviews with parents and school personnel, identify the relative level of balanced proficiency the student has in both English and the student's native language or dialects. This may be a recognized linguistic variation of English, distinct for this student's ethnic background and/or traditional community.

7. ***Ethnicity or national origin:*** Using information from intake personnel, or intake information, interviews with the student, parents and teachers, identify how the student views his ethnicity or national origin. This gives an indication of his or her cultural awareness and self-identity. The multiple terms reflect differences in self-identification to some extent, though due to economy of space, only a few of the many variations of self-reference are included. East Asian refers to populations and countries around or to the north and east of the Bay of Bengal and West Asian refers to populations and countries around or to the north and west of the Arabian Sea. Moreover, this item gives an indication of how prepared the school system is to adapt to the needs of this particular student and how likely it is that the curriculum/system is to be effective for this student. Research has shown that, in general, public schools and school personnel are less prepared to work effectively with particular groups of diverse students, particularly when their presence in the schools is infrequent or of "low incidence". This does not

mean an individual teacher, specialist or school is not doing as well as possible, but curricula and teacher training programs show measurable differences in their responsiveness to particular ethnic/linguistic populations. This item is a broad indicator of issues that make acculturation more stressful for particular students in mainstream public school systems.

8. ***Percent in school speaking student's language/dialect:*** Using information from district and building level personnel, identify how many of this student's particular cultural community are enrolled in the school. This is specific to the student, i.e. if the student is Navajo, how many other Navajo students are in the school. If this is the only Navajo student in the school, the evaluator would note a nearly 0% enrollment even if there are several students from other American Indian tribes in the school. In other words, counting "Native Alaskans" or "Native Americans" is incorrect here; how many students come from this student's *particular* cultural/linguistic community is important. This will also give an indication of the degree to which this student is at risk for stress factors such as alienation and isolation, and possible discrimination by other students. However, the primary reason for this and item number 7 is as an indication of how prepared the school system is to adapt and acculturate to this particular student.

Summary

The key learning of this chapter is that students who are in the process of adapting to a new culture/social environment may behave in a manner that is similar to learning disability or other inhibiting factor. Examples and preliminary strategies are provided. The evaluation of diverse students for eligibility in special education programs must include the assessment and consideration of these observable consequences of culture shock that may be confused with the commonly used criteria for learning or emotional disabilities. Where students are significantly less acculturated as measured on any of the various tools described in this chapter, assessment and evaluation personnel must modify their evaluation procedures, and choice of assessment tools to reflect the level of acculturation. The interpretation of evaluation findings must include discussion of the impact of the students' level and rate of acculturation as a factor contributing to all evaluation findings. This will help optimize the allocation of limited resources within the school and the district, while providing each student with the most appropriate assistance.

A Brief Glossary

Acculturation....Acculturation is the process of adaptation to changes in our social, cultural, linguistic environments.

Adjustment/Recovery.... At this stage of acculturation, basic needs are met and a routine has been established. There is a noticeable improvement in transition language skills and cross-cultural interactions.

Anxiety.... One of the manifestations of culture shock is increased or heightened anxiety. This may be manifested by increased worry, concern, or nervousness in anticipation of new, unknown interactions or events.

Assimilation.... Assimilation is one type of adaptive, acculturative response to changes in our sociocultural environment. It usually occurs over time and is manifested by a complete substitution of the new culture and language for the existing culture and language and the elimination of all aspects of the previous culture and language.

Code-Switching....One of the manifestations of culture shock and a stage in second language acquisition is code switching. This is apparent as an insertion or substitution of sounds, words, syntax, grammar or phrases from existing language or communication process into new, emerging language or communication process.

Confusion in Locus of Control....Locus of control is one of the manifestations of culture shock. Locus of control may be either internal or external and refers to how the individual ascribes control or responsibility for events. Stating “I failed the test because I did not study hard enough,” is an example of internal locus of control. “I failed the test because the teacher or the fates were against me,” is an example of external locus of control. Under the stress of culture shock, established patterns of control and responsibility can become confused and the separation of internal and external circumstances no longer clear.

Culture Shock....Culture shock is the common name given to a set of psychological conditions that accompany the process of acculturation. These are normal, typical, temporary side effects of the acculturation process and not manifestations of innate, chronic psychological states. The conditions often reoccur in a cyclical manner, gradually decreasing in intensity over time. They may recycle in intensity when the adapting individual is moving frequently among unfamiliar groups of people.

Deculturation....Deculturation is one type of adaptive, acculturative response to changes in our sociocultural environment. Research shows that this psychological response has the most negative long term consequences of adaptive responses. It usually occurs when the individual is removed or isolated from interaction with his or her existing family, community, or cultural group and not provided with adequate transition assistance into the new, unfamiliar environment. Indications of alienation, isolation, and marginalization from home and community are signs that a student is at risk for deculturation particularly when there is limited access to intensive transition and adaptation assistance in the school environment. These students can end up with very maladaptive behavior patterns, substance abuse problems, gang affiliations, and other extremely hazardous learning and behavior profiles.

Disenchantment... This is the stage of acculturation that occurs as the newcomer encounters problems with being accepted, and with participating in the new environment.

Distractibility....Distractibility is one of the manifestations of culture shock. It can easily be confused with attention deficit disorder or other neurological attention problems. However,

Silence or Not Responding....This is a common stage in second language acquisition and is also one of the manifestations of culture shock. The individual is spending a lot of energy listening and observing, processing what is occurring before feeling comfortable responding to a situation or interaction.

Integration.... Deculturation is one type of adaptive, acculturative response to changes in our sociocultural environment. Assimilation is one type of adaptive, acculturative response to changes in our sociocultural environment.

Fascination....Fascination is sometimes referred to as the “honeymoon” period and refers to the stage of acculturation where the newcomer or beginner finds the new environment or situation interesting and exciting.

Mental Isolation.... This is the stage of acculturation where newcomers experience a kind of “home-sickness”. They miss their “home” culture and feel more like an outsider in the new one.

Rejection.... Rejection is one type of adaptive, acculturative response to changes in our sociocultural environment. The individual experiencing acculturation may make an intentional choice to reject his or her home language and culture and attempt to use only the new modes of interaction. Rejection can also occur the other direction, i.e. the individual rejects the new

language and culture and attempts to only interact within their home language and culture community.

Response Fatigue.... One of the manifestations of culture shock is a pattern of response fatigue. The individual is expending a great deal of energy attending to all that is going on, sights, sounds, movements, objects, etc. Without a filter to identify important and critical stimuli from unimportant, the individual must attend to all. This can be exhausting and overwhelming. Response fatigue is often cyclical, i.e. the individual becomes overwhelmed with continual interaction with their environment and ‘shuts down’ periodically to recover and regain control.

Withdrawal.... This is a common stage in second language acquisition and is also one of the manifestations of culture shock. The individual is not yet comfortable interacting or responding and withdraws from situations where a response is expected of them.

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