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A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE RESEARCH RELATIONSHIP IN COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY

RICHARD T. WALSH

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Graduate Programme in Psychology
York University
Toronto, Ontario

© December, 1985

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A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE

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by

RICHARD T. WALSH

a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of York University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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YORK UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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Abstract

Since the founding of their subdiscipline, community psychologists have espoused the values of active participation by community members and professional accountability and, on the other hand, natural sciences rigor. But several authors have asserted that in actual practice community members have played a subordinate role and researchers a dominant one in the research relationship. However, community psychology has lacked systematic investigation of the historical role of human subjects in its research.

In Study 1, trend analyses of research reports from the _American Journal of Community Psychology_ and the _Journal of Community Psychology_ for the years 1973-1983 showed that, according to authors' descriptions, the social and ethical matters intrinsic to community research, such as consent, feedback, and use of the data, were usually unreported and rarely described. Very few studies reported that human subjects played any research role other than data source.

In Study 2, comparison of trends in the _Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology_ for the years 1961-1963 and 1981-1983 showed that community psychologists have imitated the objectivistic report-writing conventions typical in mainstream psychology. But the question remained whether community psychologists actually practiced more cooperative research than their published reports suggest.

In Study 3, interviews of 22 community psychologists who have held key editorial and organizational positions confirmed that social

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historical factors markedly shaped incipient research practice and serve in fact to maintain subordinate status of community members. The informants' comments indicate that community psychology research has been a social product in conformity with the norms of more powerful psychologists as well as a form of scientific practice. Community psychologists' core values have been dynamically influenced by the interrelated realities of individual career advancement and the sub-discipline's credibility vis-a-vis mainstream psychology.

The informants unanimously agreed that journal policies should be changed to encourage authors to practice and describe a democratic research relationship. Furthermore, they identified specific ways in which to rectify the discrepancy between values and investigative practice, including training guidelines. But the conventions of hierarchical control associated with scientism and professionalism must be modified to actualize community psychologists' ideals. The dissertation concludes with suggested investigations of research practice in other fields.

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I dedicate this work to the memory of my mother and to my father and my sons.

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Introduction

Pioneers and practitioners in the field of community psychology in North America espouse certain basic beliefs and values, a shared ideology, about the goals of their work. This ideological framework encompasses such phrases as social systems change, the psychological sense of community, citizen participation, competent communities, collaboration, and empowerment. For example, early in their history U.S. community psychologists officially endorsed a set of policy guidelines for community mental health centres the first principles of which are community control over local programmes and professional accountability to local citizens (Smith & Hobbs, 1966).

Community psychologists' ideology also embraces allegiance to the natural sciences model of research adhered to by psychologists generally. Since the foundation of their subdiscipline, community psychologists have attempted to unify these two value-orientations in the following goal: the change of degrading community conditions through rigorous scientific inquiry (Bennett et al., 1966).

The question remains, however, whether these two ideals are in fact compatible, for there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that the one contradicts the other. That is, the very model of scientific rigor adhered to by community psychologists might well militate against both the actualization of their basic social values (i.e., collaboration with communities and professional accountability) and the attainment of ecologically valid knowledge (Argyris, 1980; D'Aunno & Price, 1984b; Trickett, 1984). The arena in which this ideological tension is played

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out is that of community psychologists' workaday experiences in the research relationship, that is, in the relationship they establish between themselves as investigators and the individual citizens, groups, or organizations they investigate. As in all human psychological inquiry, the research relationship in community psychology is a transactional process between social actors fulfilling specific role functions, such as researcher and data source, within an institutionalized context (Danziger, 1985). Like any other creation of scientists' culture, the research relationship can be empirically studied.

Unfortunately, the evolution of the research relationship in community psychology is a neglected topic, as it is in psychology generally. The flagship journal of the subdiscipline has published just one study on the subject (Billington, Washington, & Trickett, 1981), and the three content analyses of community psychology journals exclude investigation of this relationship (Lounsbury, Leader, Meares, & Cook, 1980; McClure et al., 1980; Novaco & Monahan, 1980). There are two recent sources explicitly addressed to the fact that information about the social processes intrinsic to community psychology research typically is absent from research reports; the authors contend that there is a lot more to the subdiscipline's research than first meets the eye in journal articles (Munoz, Snowden, & Kelly, 1979; Trickett, Kelly, & Vincent, 1985). Consequently, a comprehensive, documented overview of the social context in which community psychology research is conducted is lacking.

But psychologists as a whole have devoted little attention to systematically assessing the social history of their fields of endeavor

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in terms of changing socio-economic and political conditions (Bevan, 1982; Sarason, 1981). Thus, in addition to the micro context of the research relationship critical analysis of the macro, social context has, until recently, also been lacking. Aside from the newly emerging research area called the sociology of psychological knowledge (Buss, 1979), there is no tradition of systematic investigation of the reciprocal influence between social structures and psychologists' behavior. There have been a few studies on psychologists' personalities (e.g., Coan, 1973; Roe, 1953), their values (e.g., Krasner & Houts, 1984), and their organizations (e.g., Benjamin, 1977; Camfield, 1973); one survey (Shaffer, 1953) and a conceptual analysis (Chein, 1966) of their culture of training and work, and some opinion on the political economy and reward structure of their occupation (e.g., Dunnette, 1966; Wachtel, 1980). However, psychologists have not investigated the individual and institutional interests historically permeating their science (Morawski, 1982). For instance, Elias and his colleagues (Elias, Dalton, & Howe, 1981; Elias, Dalton, Franco, & Howe, 1984) examined the organizational characteristics of community psychology but did not relate them to the social historical context of the subdiscipline. Critical inquiry about the societal conditions shaping the research practices of community psychologists is similarly lacking.

Given this state of affairs, two central questions come to mind: What exactly has been the predominant mode of community psychology research? Has it involved collaboration with the community and professional accountability as the subdiscipline's ideology prescribes, or

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not? Secondly, is there any alternate model of research, one more suited to community psychology's values and goals?

In this dissertation I attempt to shed some light on these issues. Through the lens of the sociology of psychological knowledge (Buss, 1979) and critical emancipatory psychology (Sullivan, 1984) I investigate the evolution of the roles historically played by community psychologists and citizens as described in the subdiscipline's journals. By embedding the community psychology research relationship in its social history and in the philosophical and socio-economic context of psychology as a whole, one can better discern the nature of the relationship and the extent to which it is congruent with community psychologists' ideology. Critical history, after all, not only aids understanding but is a necessary condition for intervention in any social system (Reppucci & Saunders, 1977). Should community psychologists, for example, wish to change their research practices, they will require a longitudinal perspective to ensure the efficacy of their planned action.

In the following chapters I review the historical precedents and events, both scientific and cultural, that contributed to community psychology's development in Canada and the U.S. Then after surveying the main features in psychologists' conception of the research relationship, I evaluate its social history in community psychology. The orienting questions for the present investigation are generated within this perspective. But the reader should note that the topic of this dissertation is not a social history of community psychology as a whole, only of the research relationship in the subdiscipline.

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Chapter One

The Evolution of U.S. Community Psychology

Establishment of the Subdiscipline

Community psychology in the U.S. formally emerged in May 1965, when 30 psychologists associated with the nascent community mental health movement convened what is referred to as the Boston (Swampscott) Conference. According to the conference report, the participants defined their subdiscipline as "the study of general psychological processes that link social systems with individual behavior in complex interaction" (Bennett et al., 1966). During the conference the founders dubbed their specialty "community psychology"; however, the term is said by one author to have originated at his psychology department in 1958 (Newbrough, 1970), while a second author claims that the term is an earlier Canadian invention (Babarik, 1979). The founders clearly intended to distinguish the subdiscipline from its progenitor, clinical psychology, and to subsume community mental health (Hersch, 1969). They defined their social role as active "participant-conceptualizers" in community interventions rather than as detached consultants.

In a survey conducted nearly 15 years later, some of the conference participants identified three general factors contributing to the birth of community psychology: the social forces operating in contemporary society and influencing the helping professions; professional disenchantment with extant models of applied psychology and mental health care; the availability of U.S. federal funding for the

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community mental health movement (Moitoza & Hersch, 1981). The 1960s were characterized by waves of societal unrest in the U.S. due to the civil rights movement for racial justice, the federal government's heralded War on Poverty, and, subsequently, growing protests against the Viet Nam war and student rebellions. These forces converged on gestures of social and political reform aimed at existing institutional structures of power and control. The reform process was greatly stimulated by federal monies for expanding programmes, such as the 1963 Act establishing community mental health centres nationwide. This expansion attracted the services of academics and professionals, including psychologists. Community-minded psychologists in particular were already quite dissatisfied with the traditional mental health system of custodial hospitalization and domination by medical doctors. They questioned the efficacy and applicability of individual psychotherapy and identified a widening gap between societal demands for mental health services and available mental health personnel (Hersch, 1969; Iscoe & Spielberger, 1970). They regarded a new specialty as a viable solution.

The community psychology movement, aided by the legitimizing presence at the Boston Conference of influential psychologists acting as observers, soon received formal professional sanction. The American Psychological Association (APA) officially endorsed Smith and Hobbs' (1966) position paper on the community mental health centres act. Then in 1968 the newly recognized (1966) community psychology division (27) of APA also endorsed this seminal paper. Subsequently, Division 27 members stipulated social systems interventions as their domain in

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preference to clinical services, an orientation which APA then sanctioned. The movement was further strengthened by the appearance of two specialized academic journals in 1973, the American Journal of Community Psychology (AJCP), founded by the "fathers" of the movement, and the Journal of Community Psychology (JCP), an independent publication outlet.

Organizational Status of the Subdiscipline

Although community psychology is certainly established in U.S. psychology and has grown substantially since its founding, fundamental tensions continue to affect its organizational status. Its members remain ideologically divided between advocacy for social change and consultation regarding clinical services, and they are divergent with respect to academic or applied work-sites (Elias et al., 1984). The tensions are understandable, because community psychologists developed their subdiscipline from their primary training and work experiences, namely, the predominant model of modern clinical psychology programmes. Recent U.S. surveys have shown that for both the pioneers and current practitioners of the field clinical psychology is the chief training domain (Bachman, Smith, & Jason, 1981) and has remained the principal work area of many community psychologists (Elias et al., 1981).

Furthermore, an extensive investigation of community psychology as a community of professionals indicates that the subdiscipline lacks systems of internal communication and professional collaboration appropriate to a subdiscipline with a stable identity (Elias et al., 1981). Instead, academic community psychology seems to be a collection of Han Solos, that is, entrepreneurial researchers independently advancing

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their own careers. A follow-up study by Elias et al. (1984) demonstrates that there are actually three, not two sub-communities -- professionals in applied settings, academics, and the "exemplars" -- who significantly differ in terms of roles and values. The exemplars are quite distinct from other academic community psychologists and from their non-academic colleagues. Consisting of first and second generation community psychologists, the exemplars represent the most productive researchers and the most influential members of the subdiscipline. Nearly all male and academics, this core group has historically dominated the key positions in Division 27 and on the AJCP editorial board.

The Future of Community Psychology

The future is uncertain, partly because a conceptual framework unifying community psychology theory, practice, and research has been lacking. The ideological hallmark of the subdiscipline originally was its social systems orientation as opposed to the individual-centred focus of clinical psychology (Bennett et al., 1966; Bloom, 1973). But according to one of the founders community psychologists have used the term social systems quite loosely (Reiff, 1975), a criticism echoed by another influential community psychologist (Newbrough, 1970). In the past decade there has been movement toward an ecological orientation, an attempt to integrate person-environment interactions within a social ecology framework (Trickett, 1984). But this orientation has by no means achieved the status of a paradigm for the field.

In terms of community psychology practice, at the 1975 Austin training conference the participants identified three areas for their

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work: analysis of community problems, development and evaluation of community services, and participation in social action (Iscoe et al., 1977). But, contrary to the ideals of ecological theory and community practice, three different content analyses of community psychology journals have found the published research to focus on the use of traditional experimental designs to study individual behaviour (Lounsbury et al., 1980; McClure et al., 1980; Novaco & Monahan, 1980). This research concentration on the individual abstracted from social historical contexts confirms Reiff's (1975) perception that community psychology might have been mirroring psychology's own reflection of North America's individualistic ideology.

Moreover, the originators of the subdiscipline recently indicated a pessimistic view concerning community psychology's future (Moitoza & Hersch, 1981). Not only did they express disappointment that their original expectations for community psychology as a social movement were not met, but also they anticipated that the subdiscipline actually will expire within two decades, having outlived its usefulness.

Some of the reasons for these historical tensions in community psychology reside in the ideological and practical foundations on which the founding fathers constructed their field. After reporting on women community psychologists, I explore in the following chapter the subdiscipline's "pre-history", that is, the social historical antecedents contributing to its formal emergence.

Status of Women in Community Psychology

Until very recently the subdiscipline has been a man's world. At the 1965 Boston Conference the only woman involved was Lulleen Anderson

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who coordinated the committee planning the conference and co-edited the conference report (Bennett et al., 1966) but who apparently played no other role before or since. By 1972 women comprised only 11% of Division 27's membership, as compared to comprising over 18% of clinical psychologists (Division 12) and 18% of Division 9, the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI) (APA, 1972). However, the proportion of women in Division 27 rose to 25% in 1981 and 26.5% in 1984, still behind Division 9's membership (30.2% and 33.9% respectively) but ahead of Division 12's (21.1% and 22.5%) (APA, 1981, 1984). In addition, there has been a distinct increase in the number of women authors in AJCP and JCP, paralleling women's authorship in the Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology (JCCP) (Tryon, 1981).

But the evidence indicates that women have played a minor role to date in the evolution of U.S. community psychology organizationally. There have been two women out of 18 presidents of Division 27, one in 1977, the other in 1984. Secondly, no woman served as an associate editor of AJCP (the only two editors have been men) until 1983, when one was appointed; when the journal was founded in 1973 there were two women of 37 editorial board members, two of 42 in 1978, and nine of 43 in 1983. In JCP, which has a different editorial structure and became increasingly interdisciplinary, there were no women among 10 editorial consultants in 1978 and seven of 17 in 1983. (No woman has entered the inner editorial circle of the Canadian interdisciplinary journal, Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health (CJCMH), founded in 1982, although several have served on the larger board.)

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These presidential and editorial proportions parallel men's historical domination of the clinical division and JCCP. For example, there was not one woman serving as division president or in any formal editorial capacity for JCCP during 1961-1963; only recently have women become more visible. By contrast, in SPSSI and its journal, the Journal of Social Issues (JSI), women have played a somewhat more prominent role in recent years. In 1983 the division president and six of the 11 members of the editorial advisory board were women. However, no woman has served as editor of any of the aforementioned journals. This status is virtually identical to the history of women as editors in psychology since 1929 (Teghtsoonian, 1974).

Further evidence indicates the subordinate status of women in community psychology. Perusal of the report published on the 1975 Austin conference on training (Iscoe, Bloom, & Spielberger, 1977) shows that women's status was not a conference priority but was tabled for future discussion. This report includes an essay by one woman who participated in the conference and asserted that there was a lack of validation for women participants (Leidig, 1977). Secondly, the only published investigations of the community of community psychologists (Elias et al., 1981, 1984) ignore the historical status of women. However, a Division 27 task force is currently engaged in investigating women's status and a special issue of JCP on the matter is forthcoming.

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Chapter Two

Community Psychology's Heritage

The Community Mental Health Movement

At the time of its formal emergence community psychology rested on a basic assumption of community mental health, that strengthening the quality of community life reduces social stress and improves the competencies of individuals and communities. This social philosophy stems from the long tradition of American pragmatism that is at the root of applied psychology (Newbrough, 1970). As their discipline was initially legitimated in the early 20th century, North American psychologists strove to make psychology useful by promoting social policies and professional practices reputedly derived from objective scientific findings. But early applied psychologists were not the only professionals concerned about community life. Direct action on the environment and active participation by the disenfranchised was the approach taken by community workers in the settlement houses of urban centres in the first several decades of this century (Levine & Levine, 1970). Thus, community psychology was not a new idea, springing out of the 1960s. Rather, certain socio-political factors permitted the revival of preceding concepts and practices, such as direct community action by professionals (Rappaport, 1977).

For several years prior to the 1965 Boston Conference psychologists in community mental health identified the need for specific training to meet the changing requirements in mental health practitioners' roles. This recognition was stimulated in part by the 1963

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Community Mental Health Centers Act which created planning councils for all the states and afforded opportunities for psychologists to plan as well as provide community services. But the Act itself was the culmination of a series of U.S. federal initiatives during and after World War II, designed to deal with the impact of mental health on national security (Rossi, 1962). The government funded Veteran's Administration mental health services, National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) programmes, and other mental health facilities, provided training, and funded research from which the expanding profession of clinical psychology greatly benefitted (Cowen, Gardner, & Zax, 1967; Watson, 1953).

NIMH funding had a direct influence on the formation of community psychology as a subdiscipline. Several community-minded clinicians, destined to be luminaries in community psychology, entered a Harvard postdoctoral training programme in community mental health, funded by NIMH in 1955, under the leadership of the highly influential community psychiatrist, Erich Lindemann. He and another prominent colleague, Gerald Caplan, were already actively developing consultation services and primary prevention projects, two activities which a decade later the newly-founded subdiscipline adopted.

The next major federal contribution was the creation in 1955 of the Joint Commission on Mental Health and Illness. Psychologists were actively involved throughout the commission's deliberations and its reports. Its final report in 1961 delineated social and administrative policies for implementation of the earlier environmental philosophy and

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stressed the important role of the community (P. Mann, 1978). The stage was then set for President Kennedy's 1963 message to Congress concerning mental health services. The subsequent 1963 Act represented a very directive approach to the funding of programmes as opposed to the laissez-faire role played by previous governments. The new orientation was later strengthened by the 1980 Mental Health Systems Act.

But according to some community psychologists the ideals of community involvement and professional accountability have never been actualized in community mental health centres for political and professional reasons. The original programme "was shaped by the politics of medicine, by legislative compromise, and by the realities of the matrix of services and local government interests" (Levine, 1981, p. 77). Presently, the various levels of government have produced a web of "limited-purpose agencies" which deal only with select parts of an individual's troubles, obstructing service to clients and perpetuating bureaucratic self-serving and competition.

Professionally, as Chu and Trotter's (1974) inquiry showed, NIMH staff did not provide sufficient professional training for dealing with the major changes required in service delivery and excluded consumers from participating in planning and review. In the centres themselves professional staff, including psychologists, relied on an individual-centred, medical approach in which community residents passively received services (Denner & Price, 1973). It is this historical discrepancy between community mental health ideals and actual practice that is reflected in the on-going tension in community psychology between advocates

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of social systems change on the one hand and proponents of mental health services on the other hand.

The Influence of Clinical Psychology

While the founders of community psychology construed their field as subsuming community mental health and clinical psychology, most were socialized as clinicians. In fact, the Boston Conference was observed by several highly influential clinical psychologists who were attempting, with APA's support, to formalize the parent discipline's professional status in society (Bennett et al., 1966). Furthermore, many of the charter members of Division 27 were senior clinical psychologists with administrative power; as Iscoe and Spielberger (1970) pointed out, the professionalization of community psychology was not accomplished by "Young Turks". Clinical psychology concepts and practices, as well as role models, were the primary and continue to be among community psychology's foundations. For instance, the "scientist-practitioner" notion of clinical psychology, first put forward in 1947 and established as the "Boulder Model" in 1949, is the basis for community psychologists' original role definition (Rappaport, 1977).

Clinical psychology itself originates in the experimental tradition of academic psychology in North America, as can be seen in the development of psychometrics for clinical purposes (Garfield, 1965). But it also has been substantially influenced by psychodynamic theory (Watson, 1953) and the medical profession's control of mental health training and job settings (Hersch, 1969). As a result, since World War II clinical psychologists have regarded mental health intervention

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in psychiatric terms (Iscoe & Spielberger, 1970).

There were many conflicts for clinical psychologists in the 1960s when community psychology was founded (Hersch, 1969). Academic training emphasized abstract theorizing according to strict scientific principles, but clinical situations demanded practical theories whether validated or not. Clinical psychologists felt pressured by their medically-controlled positions to eschew the "scientist" portion of the Boulder Model and to provide direct clinical services. On the other hand, social agitation by oppressed groups in the 1960s forced clinicians to confront the shortcomings of society and of their professional roles in so-called community mental health centres; citizens were demanding greater accountability. The parent discipline lacked, as the founders of community psychology recognized, a role definition and a conceptual framework suited for effective intervention in social-community problems (Hersch, 1969). Nevertheless, some community psychologists wished to retain useful clinical insights in their attempt to develop their subdiscipline as "the social study of psychological issues" (Reiff, 1975).

<u>The Legacy of Academic Psychology</u>

In addition to these practical, professional, and ideological antecedents, community psychology is also indebted to academic psychology, principally the latter's heritage of laboratory science. As noted above, general psychology's emphasis on objectivity and quantitative methodology was expressed in clinical settings through formal psychological testing. Clinical psychology's offspring, community psychology, inherited this scientific ideology. The Boston Conference

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participants emphasized the indispensability of general psychology and prescribed an "ingrained commitment...to the scientific attitude" (Bennett et al., 1966). Clearly, the founders wished to inculcate the ideals of the natural sciences paradigm of human psychology. Enculturated in the scientist-practitioner model, community psychologists have followed the basic rules of orthodox psychology: the best means for ordering the world is the natural sciences paradigm; whenever technologically feasible, the experimental model of statistical control should be used; and community psychology interventions should be developed on the basis of the "universal laws of behavior" derived by general psychology (Rappaport, 1977).

However, this allegiance to academic psychology has had as much to do with the politics of survival in the socio-economic world of institutions of higher learning as with reputed principles of science. To ensure their very positions and establish the legitimacy of their field clinical psychologists, and later community psychologists, had to demonstrate research competence acceptable to their academic peers who retained power and control over promotion. These organizational dynamics created a climate of divisiveness and distrust (Chein, 1966) and served to entrench a highly questionable type of relationship between experimenter and human subject.

Historically, academic clinical psychologists have devoted little attention to the quality of the research relationship in their research practice, as the dearth of literature on the matter suggests. For example, the editor of the Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology

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(JCCP) published guidelines for the preparation of research manuscripts in which he required specification only of how informed consent was obtained and debriefing done with "subjects"; all other social processes in human research, such as the provision of feedback and the extent of collaboration, if any, were ignored (Maher, 1978). Several years later this prestigious journal published a special section on clinical psychology research practices that excluded reference to the research relationship. Despite the availability of a substantial body of literature on the research relationship (e.g., Friedman, 1967; Rosnow, 1981), there was no mention of the nature of the role structures and processes inherent in human research and very brief reference to ethical considerations (Barlow, 1981). The underlying assumption seemed to be that the prevailing mode of the research relationship, namely, authoritarian control, and the manner of reporting it were quite consonant with the discipline's core value of concern for the dignity and welfare of humankind.

One aspect of academic psychology that so far has had little durable impact on the evolution of community psychology is the social psychological tradition of Kurt Lewin in both its ideological and institutional forms. While a few authors have regarded the Lewinian integration of theory, practice, and research as the very foundation for the subdiscipline (e.g., Babarik, 1979; Newbrough, 1975), most community psychologists have given the Lewinian framework short shrift. Trained as clinicians in a psychiatric model, community psychologists did not stem from Lewin and his disciples, even though some of the

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latter have sought through SPSSI to promote values similar to community psychologists'. In fact, investigation of community psychology's organizational status indicates that SPSSI and Division 27 members know very little about each other's group. Although SPSSI members were also surveyed by Elias et al. (1984), their responses were so sparse that no comparison to the results obtained from Division 27 members could be made. Elias et al. reported that "most [SPSSI respondents] indicated they had no knowledge of Division 27 and no particular interest in community psychology" (p. 289). However, the two divisions did jointly sponsor a number of academic and social events at the 1984 APA meeting, suggesting at least tentative movement toward collaboration.

Interestingly, the precursor to the collaborative research model that some community psychologists have advocated for their field is Lewin's action research (1946, 1947). But, while a few have extolled its virtues (e.g., D'Aunno & Price, 1984a), most have ignored it. In action research the effectiveness of social interventions is empirically if not experimentally evaluated through a social process in which all parties actively cooperate for the duration of the evaluation (Chein, Cook, & Harding, 1948). The cooperative use of feedback from the beginning is the heart of action research (F. Mann & Likert, 1952). Contemporary variations of this explicitly collaborative model have been described by Campbell (1969; 1978), Fairweather (1967), Sanford (1970), and Zuniga (1975).

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Chapter Three

Community Psychology in Canada

Community psychology in this nation did not formally emerge as a subdiscipline until 1980, when a small group of academics and practitioners formed an organization that was then recognized by the Canadian Psychological Association (CPA) as the section on community psychology. Like its U.S. counterpart, community psychology in Canada has a substantial pre-history (Babarik, 1979). In addition, there are important differences between the two nation's subdisciplines despite the pervasive influence of U.S. psychology and Canada's quasi-colonial relationship to the U.S. The following historical account identifies the primary institutional and political antecedents in the Canadian evolution of the subdiscipline, describes its current organizational status, and indicates some of the issues involved in its future growth.

Antecedents

In addition to being influenced by developments also affecting U.S. applied psychology, such as the child guidance and mental health movements, Canadian psychology originally was characterized by a strong sense of social purpose (Line, 1951). For example, prior to World War II, Canadian psychologists faced the dilemma of great variations in the intellectual functioning of public school students not only with assessment tools, as was the U.S. custom, but also by interventions in classroom climate, curriculum development, and educational policy. Rather than adopting a philosophy of adjustment, early Canadian psycho-

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logists viewed individuals systemically as active creators of their environments. A practical illustration: The first head of the psychology department at Toronto, E.A. Bott, designed a rehabilitation apparatus that was not a conditioning device but relied on the principle of motivating the soldier by self-evaluation.

In 1939 Canadian psychologists created CPA to support the Canadian war effort more effectively. They subsequently served in many capacities, legitimizing the discipline's social role. Later some psychologists went on to "psychologize industry" in a manner analogous to the human relations movement in U.S. applied psychology (Barbarik, 1976).

A significant milestone in applied Canadian psychology, contemporaneous with the community work of Lindemann and Caplan, is the five-year demonstration project of primary prevention known as Crestwood Heights (Seeley, Sim, & Loosley, 1956). The impact of World War II on civilians and armed forces personnel inspired members of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene to conceive a "National Project" to demonstrate prevention for Canadian communities. This attempt at "social therapy" was organized by an interdisciplinary team as a blend of research, training, and direct service with the focus on school children in an established middle-class section of Toronto.

Another buried Canadian root of community psychology, in Barbarik's (1979) phrase, is exemplified by Line's (1951) embrace of such Lewinian concepts as action research. In addition, he used the term "community psychology" in 1951 and identified the core values of

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this applied psychology as self-determination and personal development in the context of professional-citizen collaboration.

But Line's community orientation never really flourished, because after World War II Canadian academic psychologists, particularly at Toronto and McGill (Montreal), had firmly established the preeminence of basic experimental research which they believed to be the royal road to scientific legitimacy (Barbarik, 1976; Conway, 1984). Building on the extant natural sciences tradition of British psychology and increasingly under the influence of U.S.-trained faculty and U.S. textbooks and paradigms, basic research prevailed over applied psychology (Babarik, 1979). Consequently, all forms of applied psychology entered a lengthy period of relative dormancy at least in English Canada where experimental psychologists, who held the reins of power, resisted the expansion of applied programmes. By contrast, francophone universities had long emphasized practitioner training in their graduate psychology programmes (Wright & Myers, 1982). In the 1970s the tide began to turn toward U.S.-style clinical psychology training in spite of the lack of federal and provincial funding and of CPA support (Conway, 1984). However, it was only in 1983 that academic clinicians could reach agreement on national (U.S.) standards for training. Meanwhile, community psychology was attempting a foothold at Wilfrid Laurier University (Waterloo, Ontario), yet elsewhere was virtually non-existent until a few individuals, mostly trained in U.S. community psychology programmes, took far-flung academic positions across Canada.

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Within the larger social context mental health services in Canada were undergoing significant changes that served to guide employment and training opportunities for clinical psychology (Davidson, 1981). These developments in terms of mental health services and the role of psychologists contrast sharply with the history of U.S. clinical and community psychology. In 1948 the Canadian federal government established health grants, the largest allotted for mental health, as a prelude to introducing universal health insurance. By 1957 hospital insurance began, then in 1967 medical insurance, controlled by each province. General health institutions in communities provided free mental health services, resulting in the rapidly diminished importance of provincial psychiatric hospitals. Accordingly, the historical role of clinical psychologists in Canada has been primarily in local institutions (Davidson, 1981; Line, 1951). Private practice was never a prime aspiration, although the Ontario Psychological Association in the past decade has endeavoured to facilitate clinical psychologists' entry into this domain. Canadian clinical psychologists have mainly worked in public agencies and practiced the kind of interventions associated with the community mental health movement in the U.S., namely, providing consultation and direct services (Davidson, 1981). Moreover, a major impulse for the evolution of community psychology in the U.S., namely, the existence of vast sectors of underserved populations who could not afford or were deemed unsuited for traditional mental health services, did not exist in Canada. Because there has been no nationally standardized training in Canada nor specified role expectations, as there

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have been in the U.S. for decades, clinical practitioners adapted their interventions to local conditions. Academics committed to professional training were fashioning a supportive alliance, focusing on the development of researcher-consultants.

Current and Future Status

At the present time community psychology in Canada is, with few exceptions, permeated with American-based structures of socialization (Tefft, Hamilton, & Theroux, 1982). Texts, journals, and other teaching materials are U.S. products; community psychology faculty were trained in U.S. community psychology programmes or by U.S.-developed faculty now at Canadian universities; and informal and formal support networks until very recently were centred on Division 27 activities. These factors maintain Americanization. Even though the CPA section was initiated in 1980 and in 1982 an interdisciplinary journal, the Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health (CJCMH), began publication, the size of the country in relation to its scattered populations and the existence of a major linguistic division contribute to a lack of active collaboration among Canadian community psychologists. They seek stimulation from their U.S. peers instead.

Ideologically community psychology in Canada is as divided as it is in the U.S. There are some who prefer to develop a clinical-community approach, focusing on consultation regarding clinical services, and others who prefer to practice primary prevention, develop variants of action research, and promote sotial change. These tensions surface not only among academics but also practitioners, as there has always been a

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conflict between community psychology concepts and the realities of mental health bureaucracies. Although public mental health facilities in Canada have used community mental health jargon to create the illusion of a change in policies, there was no shift in underlying values. In part this was due to organizational resistance by adherents to traditional service values (Pettifor, 1982). As a result, the 1974 federal position paper encouraging reliance on self-help, primary prevention, and changing systems to fit people's needs was never put into practice.

The future of community psychology in this nation is as uncertain as that in the U.S. As Kiely (1983) observed, the subdiscipline's ideology is diluted, because the socio-economic and political realities of the present era emphasize and support direct clinical services. Consequently, conflicts in values and roles are exacerbated for community psychologists, academics and practitioners alike. But there are other uncertainties as well. The CPA section on community psychology must expand its influence, if it is to provide the social support community psychologists say they need (Tefft et al., 1982). In addition, rapprochement seems required with francophone community psychologists, since they appear to be in large measure isolated from the anglophone organization.

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Chapter Four

A Critical History of the Research Relationship

While community psychology was being established, the presumed scientific basis for psychology and its applied subdisciplines came under increasing critical scrutiny. The questions raised in this context directly bear on the kind of research community psychologists have practiced, particularly with respect to the relationship between community psychologists as researchers and the community residents serving as human subjects. But the evolution of the research relationship can be best understood by first reviewing the social history of that relationship in psychology as a whole.

The Evolution of the Research Relationship

Prior to the establishment of the traditional experimental model as the paradigm for human psychological research there were three major types of research practice (Danziger, 1985). In the original mode practiced by Wundt participants in the various research roles of designer, research administrator (experimenter), data source, data analyst, and author were interchangeable; in fact, the role with the highest status was data source. The participants, who were students and faculty collaboratively serving in a senior professor's research programme, contributed to all phases of the inquiry. The terms used to designate the role participants varied, reflecting the flexibility of this approach to the research relationship, which predominated until World War I.

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In contrast, a contemporary model of experimentation based on medical science and practiced in Paris featured heavily formalized patterns of conduct. The participants' roles were rigidly fixed within a hierarchy of total investigator control of the process. Medical researchers studied compliant sujets, often their patients, as exemplified by experimental inductions of hypnosis; presumably individual data sources received the practical benefits of improved health for their participation. Subsequently, the term "subjects" was applied to individuals under any type of psychological investigation.

The Paris model bears a close resemblance to the model advocated by some North American psychologists at the turn of the century. Striving to produce a body of useful knowledge for the social control of a rapidly expanding society, founding American psychologists hoped to legitimize their enterprise in the eyes of established sources of social power (Danziger, 1979). They perceived the most effective means to achieve their goal lay in adopting the experimental model of the natural sciences. It is possible that this induced them to favour experimental situations which were closer to the Paris approach. Research roles were fixed and regulated. The principal investigator granted authority for the administration of the research to the experimenter whose role was to direct the "subject" to comply with the investigator's experimental procedures and elicit, in some instances, verbal reports. Humans in the role of data sources could not play the roles of experimenters and investigators. On the contrary, not only were the research roles hierarchical, but the research context was assumed to be

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devoid of any interpersonal influence (Friedman, 1967).

A significant social influence on research practice at this time was the expansion of public school bureaucracies, which provided the first important market for psychologists' products (Danziger, in press). Educational administrators were designing rationalized, efficient structures for sorting students to fit within a highly organized industrial system. Psychologists endeavored to supply normative, aggregate data suited to bureaucratic aims. In fact, examination of trends in research reports published in the Journal of Applied Psychology and the Journal of Educational Psychology shows that after World War I psychologists' focus shifted sharply to group not individual data; eventually, a corresponding but less dramatic shift occurred in traditional academic areas of psychological research. In this mode the research relationship consisted of investigators supervising brief classroom administrations of research measures to anonymous masses of student-"subjects". Consequently, the research transaction was not only hierarchical but impersonal (Danziger, 1985).

As the decades of psychological research unfolded, active participation by human subjects in other research roles and flexibility in the terms used to describe them rapidly diminished such that by World War II there is virtually no trace of the Wundtian model. It is as if no type of research relationship other than the familiar one ever existed. Psychologists have had no reason to think otherwise, since until now the history of the relationship has been forgotten. It is this model, of course, in which all modern psychologists have been trained and which

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most assume represents the only correct method, whatever the setting.

Critics of the orthodox relationship argue that human subjects are locked into a subordinate relationship in which the researchers possess far greater social power (e.g., Braginsky & Braginsky, 1974; Schultz, 1981). Human data sources allegedly receive no educative benefits from their participation in research (Carlson, 1971) and can experience impaired interpersonal trust (Warwick, 1982). Furthermore, the roles played by researchers and "subjects" seem to be analogues, if not by-products, of authoritarian management-labour relationships endemic to commerce and industry (Argyris, 1968; Brandt, 1975; Carlson, 1971). Human subjects have been compared to alienated workers in that they have no control over the conceiving and planning of the work they execute (Kvale, 1973).

But the critics have proposed constructive alternatives. Psychologists in the areas of personality, developmental, and social psychology (e.g., Carlson, 1971, 1972; Gergen, 1982; Kelman, 1972; Riegel, 1978; Sanford, 1982) and applied psychologists (e.g., Argyris, 1980; Tyler, Pargament, & Gatz, 1983) have suggested comparable reforms in terms of collaboration in the planning, data-gathering, and dissemination stages of inquiry. Sensitivity to the transactional processes intrinsic to human inquiry and active cooperation are also hallmarks of psychoanalytic (e.g., Maccoby, 1978) and phenomenological research (e.g., Giorgi, 1970).

Collectively referred to as a "new paradigm", these participatory alternatives are being practiced to a limited extent in various inter-

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national settings (Reason & Rowan, 1981). But their impact on mainstream psychology has been minor. Lewin's action research model has met a similar fate, such that Sanford (1970) was moved to ask whatever happened to it. This question is especially relevant to community psychologists, because they explicitly advocate collaborative values and goals as the foundation of their subdiscipline.

The Human Context of the Research Relationship

For several decades now psychologists have been raising penetrating questions about the nature of the research relationship (e.g., Bakan, 1967; Braginsky & Braginsky, 1974; Gergen, 1982). They point out that the natural sciences paradigm of human inquiry rests on the dubious assumption of an objectively detached relationship between observer and observed (Giorgi, 1970). According to the canons of objectivism psychologists have identified the human subject with the inanimate material physicists investigate (Friedman, 1967). However, modern philosophy of science posits a transactional model of physics (e.g., Manicas & Secord, 1983) in which observer and observed are engaged in an evolving system of mutual influence (e.g., Oppenheimer, 1956). That scientific inquiry is inherently a union of objective and subjective factors receives considerable support from the empirical study of scientists' actual work (e.g., Mitroff, 1974; Knorr, Krohn, & Whitley, 1981).

Unlike natural science, social knowledge is gathered within a relational context of human data sources and observers (Giorgi, 1970). But in the traditional view of social science valid knowledge is pur-

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portedly obtained by means of a hierarchical relationship in which investigators, believed to be objectively detached, keep human subjects in ignorance of their intentions (Gergen, 1982). Yet the natural sciences paradigm of rigorous control over the research enterprise can actually produce invalid data (Argyris, 1980), because, as the literature of the social psychology of the experiment has demonstrated, researchers and human data sources influence research outcomes in ways other than those which the investigators intended (Rosnow, 1981).

There are three sources of unintended influence on human research. First, investigators and their experimenters are prone to numerous pitfalls, such as inadequately specified protocols for the administration of a study, causing procedures to be variably administered (T. Barber, 1976). In addition, investigator and experimenter expectations for research outcomes and experimenters' biosocial characteristics can have a marked impact on human subjects' responses (Rosenthal, 1969). For example, the sex-role styles that classroom administrators of sex-role stereotyping measures present can significantly influence respondents' ratings (Walsh & Schallow, 1977). Thirdly, human beings playing the role of data sources generate their own hunches and dispositions about research hypotheses and act according to their personal constructions of the study (Adair, 1973). Thus, there are two potential studies in any one investigation: the one conceived by the investigator, the other perceived and constructed by the data sources (Carlopio, Adair, Lindsay, & Spinner, 1983).

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The traditional conception of the research relationship faces another substantive problem. Human psychological research is not purely objective but is an inherently value-laden process (Gergen, 1982). Indeed, the inseparability of values and research method is illuminated by psychologists' experience in struggling with the ethical nature of the research enterprise (Adair, Dushenko, & Lindsay, 1985; Rosnow, 1981). Although in theory APA ethical guidelines for research protect participants' rights, in practice it seems that psychologists perpetuate their traditional mode of relating to human subjects. For example, the proportion of deception in some reported journal research has substantially increased from 1948 to 1983 and psychologists have infrequently provided debriefing for their human subjects (Adair et al., 1985).

Meanwhile, in the applied context some psychologists have acknowledged the ethical limits and liabilities of the natural sciences paradigm (e.g., Sarason, 1978). People in the real world, such as ethnic minorities (Sue & Sue, 1972) and employees of organizations (Argyris, 1980), object to being treated as anonymous research material, since only the researchers gain anything from the process and products of the inquiry (Kelman, 1972). Research conducted in the schools illustrates this historical tendency; more than 50% of the school principals interviewed in one study indicated that even they as administrators seldom received feedback from researchers involved in their schools (Billington et al., 1981).

A recent comprehensive review of seven major social psychology and personality journals highlights the conflict between ethical ideals

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and actual research practices. Adair et al. (1985) found that authors seldom report ethical procedures employed in their investigations let alone describe them in detail. Adair et al. noted that authors might well be following ethical guidelines to a greater extent than the impression their articles create. But the historical fact of this absent information, sanctioned by editors and reviewers, indicates the low status of these ethical practices in the discipline. In response, Adair et al. urged that authors describe in detail "all potentially significant interactions with subjects" (p. 70) to improve both ethical practices and the quality of research, since matters of consent, deception, and debriefing all vitally influence research results.

The import for community psychology of the above investigation is twofold. First, even in the laboratory ethical procedures and methods of research are interrelated; that is, regardless of setting human research is intrinsically a transactional process. Secondly, authors of journal articles follow a heavily sanctioned tradition when in their research reports they give minimal information on the interpersonal processes and social ecology of their inquiries.

Adair et al. conclude that psychologists' conceptions of research method and research ethics are intertwined in actual practice and imply that these norms are interrelated with concrete standards for writing research reports. For generations psychologists have constructed their research reports according to specific standards published at first by journal editors and then by succeeding editions of APA's publication manual (APA, 1983). Perusal of these historical standards shows that

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human and animal data sources are to be designated as "subjects".
(For instance, sample research papers are illustrated in the manual with the subheading "subjects".) Authors are directed to describe in their papers only how data sources were selected and what agreements were made; transactions pertaining to consent, debriefing, feedback, use of the findings, etc., are ignored. Curiously, the norms stand in sharp contrast to the manner in which human data sources have been referred to in APA's recent versions of ethical standards of research (APA, 1982). In every paragraph only the term participants is used. Thus, psychologists seem to sanction a humanized role title in an idealized context, while in the workaday world they expect use of the dehumanized term.

A comparison with research practice in the natural sciences illustrates the complex interrelationship of scientific method and social context. Sociologists of science have demonstrated that natural scientists construct their publications as carefully as they do scientific inquiry itself; in their formal accounts they rely heavily on an institutionalized writing style of impersonality that minimizes the reality of the varied informal social processes influencing their thinking and behaviour (Gilbert & Mulkay, 1981). Natural scientists apparently choose to perpetuate this convention, because the formal medium of communication in research journals is linked to the promotion of individual scientists' career advancement (Whitley, 1981). Scientists employ the rhetoric of rationality and detachment in formally describing their work in order to attain peer recognition, accumulate institutional

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rewards, and advance their own careers.

Several psychologists have observed that the institutional context of university standards, funding sources, and journal guidelines has had a comparable impact on psychological inquiry (Bevan, 1982; J. Gibbs, 1979; Wachtel, 1980). The major evaluation criterion for individual academic survival has been the production of publishable studies, and "experimenter-dominated research is easier and permits quicker publication" (J. Gibbs, 1979; p. 137). Thus, employment of the natural sciences paradigm of hierarchical detachment seems to be related to researchers' careers. Moreover, choice of method and career advancement might be interrelated with ethical practices. A study of biomedical researchers, for example, found that lax ethical standards displayed by a significant minority were associated with their extreme productivity aimed at establishing their credibility in their scientific community (B. Barber, Lally, Makarushka, & Sullivan, 1973).

The Research Relationship in Community Psychology

Since the inception of their subdiscipline in 1965 community psychologists have identified their goals as the planned change of degrading social conditions through scientific inquiry (Bennett et al., 1966). They view a strong research base as crucial to the development of the subdiscipline so as to ensure adequate research funding and professional credibility (Cowen, Lorion, & Dorr, 1974). Community psychologists' ideology has always included reference to community participation, but according to official documents of the subdiscipline

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the quality of the research relationship in actual community practice has had a low priority.

At the 1965 Boston Conference the founders did not develop a notion of participatory research, only indirectly referring to Lewin's action research. Instead, they advocated the natural sciences paradigm, noting its importance to the enculturation of future community psychologists (Bennett et al., 1966). Several years later the Division 27 Task Force on Community Mental Health made no specific reference to collaborative inquiry or action research (Rosenblum, 1971). Similarly, in the division's commissioned volume on community psychology training and research, no contributor referred to these basic conceptions (Iscoe & Spielberger, 1970). Lastly, the published report on the 1975 National Training Conference indicates that the issue of community psychologists' accountability to communities for research projects was only "briefly considered" (Iscoe et al., 1977).

But in the texts, essays, and collections of readings produced mainly for students, treatment of the research relationship varies considerably. Of the seven textbooks reviewed only one (Zax & Spector, 1974) neglects the role of citizens in community research. The others include specific references to the problems inherent in imposing an authoritarian research model on communities and to a democratic alternative (Heller & Monahan, 1977; Heller, Price, Reinharz, Riger, & Wandersman, 1984; P. Mann, 1978; Murrell, 1973; Nietzel, Winnett, MacDonald, & Davidson, 1977; Rappaport, 1977). In addition, an extensive essay on community mental health by one of community psychology's

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founders takes a Lewinian approach (Klein, 1968), and action research is explicitly redeveloped by D'Aunno and Price (1984a, 1984b) in Heller et al. (1984). On the other hand, several collections of readings in community psychology contain very little material on the research relationship (e.g., M: Gibbs, Lachenmeyer, & Sigal, 1980; Golann & Baker, 1975; Martin & Osborne, 1980).

Interestingly, models of democratic alternatives for community psychology research were described in the early years of the American Journal of Community Psychology and the Journal of Community Psychology (see also Holahan & Wilcox, 1977; Zacker & Bard, 1977). Levine and Brocking (1974) reported a study of mental health consultation in which the authors engaged in a partnership with the data sources who contributed to the phases of research design, data administration, and analysis as well. Pilisuk and Becker (1974) described a consumer-designed evaluation of an alternative health service in which all the research roles were shared and the data fed back for service improvement.

Nevertheless, prominent authors have observed that community participation is not a tradition in community psychology research, but an ideal (e.g., P. Mann, 1978; Munoz et al., 1979). While they suggest that the research model of secrecy in the service of rigorous experimental control has become less popular, they imply that it has been standard practice. D'Aunno and Price (1984b) put it more strongly: "With few exceptions, researchers have simply contributed little to developing community members' knowledge or capacity to improve the quality of community life" (p. 56).

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Not all research in community settings, of course, is done by community psychologists. But common practice seems to be that investigators select a researchable setting, deciding a priori what the problems are and how to solve them without cooperatively deriving a decision in concert with the system's participants, and then make their interventions without establishing trust with front-line workers; this is a typical pattern in school settings (Billington et al., 1981; Cowen, 1978). From an organizational development perspective such intrusive research practices under the guise of rigorous methods are actually self-defeating scientifically in that human subjects will resort to strategies of counter-control, rendering the data invalid (Argyris, 1980).

The area of community mental health centre evaluation studies serves to illustrate standard researcher behaviour, although again not all such researchers are community psychologists. Recent investigations of consumer evaluations demonstrate that there is a very low incidence of active citizen involvement (Kinkel, Zinober, & Flaherty, 1981; Sorenson, Kantor, Margolis, & Galano, 1979; Windle & Paschall, 1981). In contrast to direct citizen participation in designing and conducting evaluations (e.g., Morrison, 1978), by far the most prevalent practice is for clients to respond merely to a written questionnaire, the aggregate results of which are rarely shared with them.

These patterns of community research appear to originate from the traditional mode of psychological investigations. The history of investigative practice in applied psychology shows that both individual

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and group administration of research measures was based on a relationship of hierarchical impersonality and secrecy about the inquiry's purpose. In this natural sciences tradition of objective detachment human subjects remain passive except to respond to experimenter directives, seldom receive meaningful feedback, and are excluded from the investigator's use of the data produced. The underlying epistemology is that the dispassionate act of gathering knowledge does not affect nor is affected by the human context in which the investigation occurs; accordingly, in this view applied research is not simultaneously an intervention in a social system.

By contrast, in the revised philosophy of science human inquiry is especially transactional in nature. It is distinguished by reciprocal influence between any given investigation and the particular social context in which it is embedded. As exemplified by the Lewinian tradition (Blum, 1955), knowledge-gathering is an inherently interpersonal process that enhances, not detracts, from objectivity, since a research relationship of exchange strengthens the ecological validity of the investigation. This epistemological foundation, therefore, is more suited to community psychology's framework than the natural sciences paradigm.

The subdiscipline's focus on social systems rather than individual change and the ideals of the psychological sense of community and professional accountability theoretically should generate a transactional process in all aspects of community investigations. Recently, several authors have advanced ecological and exchange metaphors to characterize

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community psychology research and its research relationship (D'Aunno & Price, 1984b; Trickett, 1984; Trickett et al., 1985). They argue that community development should be the generative spirit of the subdiscipline's research, the goals of the inquiry should be integrated with its social processes, and the research relationship should be equivalent in value to the theory and method of any investigation. They point out that pragmatically in giving as well as taking from communities researchers will facilitate collecting data and drawing reliable and valid conclusions.

The kind of community research that stems from these systemic and transactional notions can be outlined as follows. As community investigations typically occur in a variety of natural settings, the participants could consist of investigators and their assistants interacting with small or large groups of community members and their representatives. The research activities themselves could be administered by a team of investigators and community members who share control of the designing and implementing of the study. In this cooperative mode the results could be fed back for use in effecting social changes through group action. Although some authors regard survey research as appropriately minimizing such collaboration, even interviews of individuals could incorporate data source participation throughout the process. (See Appendix G for elaboration of this cooperative model.)

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Chapter Five

The Present Investigation

Statement of the Problem

Examination of essential documents in community psychology indicates that there is a substantial contradiction between community psychologists' ideals of collaboration with and accountability to host communities on the one hand and the nature of the research relationship on the other hand. Rather than a participatory, democratic partnership in which both partners share responsibility for planning and execution, for the most part community psychologists seem to have employed the natural sciences paradigm of authoritarian control. However, since a fully documented history of community psychologists' use of human subjects is lacking, it is an empirical question as to how widespread the contradiction actually is.

One way of investigating the matter would be to peruse research reports in relevant journals, as has been done in other subdisciplines of psychology (e.g., Adair et al., 1985; Carlson, 1971). Sociological studies of science have demonstrated that published research serves significant ideological and enculturation functions within any scientific culture (Whitley, 1981). As one psychologist put it, "Psychological journals play a major part in determining the content and methods of scientific inquiry, and thus bear a major responsibility for the quality of research" (Carlson, 1971, p. 217). Journal reports provide documentation of the formal and public features of human inquiry, the very

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characteristics that indicate the institutionalized nature of the participants' roles (Danziger, 1985). Thus, published research constitutes a primary source of officially sanctioned communication within psychologists' culture.

Another approach to investigating the research relationship is to employ other sources of data besides content analyses of journal reports. Films of experimenter-human subject interactions, participant observation, and interviews of the parties involved in research can demonstrate a substantial discrepancy between what investigators say they do as opposed to what informally and privately transpires in the social interaction of human research (Friedman, 1967). The interview contributions to the Munoz et al. (1979) volume, the inquiry by Trickett et al. (in press) on prominent community psychologists' research practices, and interviews of school principals who have had research done in their schools (Billington et al., 1981) show how politically complex and ethically and ecologically sensitive community research is. Consequently, data from the actors who perform various roles in community research can provide a valuable complement to social historical investigation. Thus, the views of influential community psychologists, who have served in editorial capacities for the field's journals, should prove illuminating.

The present investigation is aimed at the development of a social history of the research relationship in community psychology. The inquiry consists of two converging methods -- trend analyses of published research and interviews of influential community psychologists --

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applied in an action-oriented emancipatory manner. One of the investigation's goals is to contribute to a change in the subdiscipline's research practices. A critical history of a given social system is essential to any intervention's success (Reppucci & Saunders, 1977).

Theoretical Orientation

One theoretical approach that is congruent with community psychologists' concepts and values and actually employed by them (e.g., Rappaport, 1977) is Sarbin's role theory (Sarbin & Allen, 1968). This transactional role theory links the development of individual processes, such as personal identity, with the structure of groups, organizations, and institutions. The social structure is said to shape role formation and role relationships; thus, social actors enact roles in the context of complementary roles and of real or imagined audiences. Researchers, for instance, do not have identity as such until they have human subjects to investigate and an audience to judge their research.

However, this theoretical orientation tends to neglect fundamental power differentials between actors enacting complementary roles. The theory implies that role relationships, such as husband and wife, involve equal power. Moreover, such relationships are abstracted from the larger societal context. Accordingly, the concrete realities of oppression in human relationships are rationalized.

A modified role theory situates role relationships in a broader social context. In the present case the social roles enacted in psychological research are the historical products of a specific process of institutionalization. The recently uncovered history of the social

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features of psychological research shows that:

> The investigative situations in which knowledge about human psychology is gathered are highly institutionalized, involving a generally accepted distribution of role expectations among the participants, a clearly understood status differential, and an elaborate set of rules governing the permissible interaction among the role incumbents. (Danziger, 1985, p. 133)

Specifically, investigators wield hierarchical power over the research process through all its phases. They frequently assign the actual administration of a study and the task of data analysis to their subordinates, research assistants, who are absorbing the expectations of this social role in preparation for their elevation to the status of investigator. Meanwhile, the human beings serving as "subjects" only provide the data; they have no other function, being at the bottom of the research hierarchy; the only choice they can exercise is whether they wish to participate or not.

In community psychology research the historical evidence presented thus far demonstrates that citizens serving in community research projects have held a position of minimal choice. Their status has been devalued by the lack of participation in designing, administering, and communicating the study and by being labelled "subjects". According to community psychology ideology the consequences of this kind of role enactment in any social system is degradation. As one

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prominent community psychologist observed, "To degrade a person a society need only remove from him or her the opportunity to enact roles of choice" (Rappaport, 1977, p. 113). Yet this seems to be precisely the predicament of citizens participating in community psychology research. For their part, researchers need to maintain this construction of social roles to ensure their dominant position in the research hierarchy.

Basic Questions

Two general questions undergird the present investigation: (a) Do community psychologists' research practices contradict their espoused beliefs and values? That is, contrary to the ideals of collaboration, empowerment, and professional accountability, have community psychologists practiced a research relationship of alienation and domination? (b) Can this type of research pattern be related to the concrete demands facing community psychologists within the reward structure of their occupation?

The following are specific questions for the three studies undertaken.

Study 1. With respect to a trend analysis of research reports in the two community psychology journals for the period 1973-1983:

(1) Have the community members participating as data sources in these studies typically been referred to as "subjects"?

(2) What attention have researchers paid to the issue of voluntary, informed consent in specific research settings?

(3) What has been the level of citizen participation in the research

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process and what kind of feedback has been provided for community members?

(4) Has there been a status differential in the roles of researchers and human subjects in community psychology research?

(5) Has there been any change over time in these research practices?

Study 2. With respect to research reports in community psychology's parent discipline, clinical psychology, for the periods 1961-1963 and 1981-1983 two major questions arise: (a) What model of a research relationship have community psychologists had to emulate? (b) Will the same construction of research roles as in community psychology have prevailed?

The specific questions raised in Study 1 also pertain to this study.

Study 3. With respect to interviews of influential community psychologists there are three major questions: (a) How will they explain the historical status of the subdiscipline's research relationship? Will they relate the habitual use of the natural sciences paradigm to the socio-economic pressures of their occupation? (b) Will they support in theory the democratic reconstruction of roles in community research? (c) How optimistic will they be concerning the success of a concrete social action strategy to reconstruct the social conditions of the research relationship?

Process-Oriented Method

This social historical investigation combines empirical analysis with a social intervention in the community of community psychologists;

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in the language of critical emancipatory psychology it blends denunciation of questionable practices with annunciation of a democratic alternative (Sullivan, 1984). My intention was that the dissertation contribute to a process of organizational and institutional change in community psychology research practices through the integration in this project of theory, values, research, and action. My hope was that the inquiry would partially demonstrate the application of a democratic alternative to human inquiry (cf. Sanford, 1982) and thereby exemplify an alternative to the historical practices I am criticizing. However, the dissertation was not truly cooperative, because it was neither co-designed with the informants nor sponsored by the respective national organizations of Canadian and U.S. community psychologists.

Like other citizens, community psychologists are more likely to make productive use of studies of their own behaviour, if they have actively contributed to the inquiry process. This investigation began with my requesting a selected group of influential community psychologists to participate in an interview concerning the evolution of the research relationship in community psychology. I also requested the potential informants to identify the research journals most relevant to the subdiscipline and to nominate any topics they particularly wished to discuss with me. While making arrangements for each interview, I completed trend analyses of the construction of roles in the research relationship in the two community psychology journals. When conducting the interviews, I referred to the results of these analyses of research

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reports. I asked the informants to indicate how the results from both the interviews and the trend analyses should be used within the organizational structures of Canadian and U.S. community psychology. Then I completed a trend analysis of how the research relationship was described in the one non-community psychology journal judged relevant to the history of research practice in the subdiscipline. When I analyzed and interpreted all the findings, I sent each informant a summary of the results and recommendations for action. The action-oriented nature of the investigation subsequently stimulated a social process beyond the formal dissertation requirements, including the submission of a brief, preliminary report to the Division 27 president in January 1985. This was followed by a feedback report in May 1985 sent to all the informants and to the outgoing and incoming Division 27 presidents. Then at the 1985 APA convention the division executive committee endorsed the recommendations pertaining to editorial policy (see p. 186). By the October 1985 issue of AJCP the editor changed the journal's "Instructions to Contributors" to reflect these recommendations.

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Chapter Six

Study 1

Method

Content Analysis

The research method designed for systematically and objectively investigating such documentary evidence as research reports is content analysis (Berelson, 1954; Holsti, 1969). Primarily the tool of other social scientists, content analysis has also been used by psychologists, generally to assess trends in scholarship. For example, Bruner and Allport (1940) drew inferences about historical changes in content and method over psychology's first five decades by analyzing journal articles at ten-year intervals. Trend analyses of content and method have also been done in community psychology (Lounsbury et al., 1980; McClure et al., 1980; Novaco & Mohahan, 1980). As noted previously, these studies did not focus on the research relationship. Rather they showed how community psychology research reports have recapitulated in terms of the topics researched the ahistorical, individual bias of mainstream psychology.

Like any method, archival research in the form of content analysis involves several possible methodological pitfalls. Common errors include the selection of an unrepresentative sample of documents, construction of questionable categories for classification of documents, and projection of expectations (Holsti, 1969). Studies of trends in communication content, like the present investigation, are prone to

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particular types of distortion. If only a few journals are selected, trends in the discipline as a whole can not be discerned. Thus, changes in content might reflect changing professional interests or editorial policy or might indicate the establishment of separate journals to deal with the issues of concern to the archival investigator. Content analysts can protect against these distortions by sampling a range of journals, coding observations into multiple categories, and sampling from clusters of volume-years as data from single-volume years are not reliable.

Sample

Nine volumes of the two community psychology journals, the American Journal of Community Psychology (AJCP) and the Journal of Community Psychology (JCP), 1973-1975, 1977-1979, 1981-1983, comprised the sample of research reports. The sample begins with the year in which the two journals were founded and spans a decade of research. I excluded the Community Mental Health Journal from this sample, because a previous content analysis found that it is not a primary source of community-oriented research reports (Lounsbury, Roisum, Pokorny, Sills, & Meissen, 1979).

Pilot study of articles published in 1976 and 1980 in AJCP and JCP served to refine coding categories and to more precisely define those research reports included and those excluded from the sample. Basically, any study incorporating in-person contact between researchers and data sources was included; two or more studies appearing in a single research report were counted separately; reports of previously pub-

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lished research in which different aspects of the original material was focused on were included. As long as the preceding inclusion criteria were met, I sampled articles published under the journal heading "Brief Reports". I excluded reanalyses of previous data, archival studies such as clinical records, and telephone and mailed surveys. In addition, I excluded reports of routine assessment batteries and treatment-programme interventions in which the data sources received typical agency services, such as in psychiatric and military treatment centres.

Given these criteria, the research reports sampled represent a conservative evaluation of the research relationship as described in the journals. But community psychologists have published only a portion of their research in AJCP and JCP, as Elias et al. (1981) found; it is possible that researchers have published in journals with less traditional requirements than AJCP and JCP. Therefore, this study is not an evaluation of all research by community psychologists. Furthermore, the sample contains research produced by non-community psychologists who have published in the two journals.

Classification Scheme

The 10 categories for classifying the role structures and processes operative in the research relationship encompass all steps of human inquiry: planning, executing, and authorship and use of the results. The categories fall into two types: (a) those based on previous studies (Carlson, 1971; Danziger, 1981), assessing research-role structures and basic ethical procedures (Tables 1, 2, 4, 7, 9); (b) original categories assessing the social processes involved in role enactments (Tables 3, 5, 6, 8).

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five categories potentially had additional subcategories; there was a minimum of 13 observations per study.

Following is an explanation of the specific categories.

1. Role titles: In the early history of psychology the actors in the immediate research transaction -- research administrators (Ads) and data sources (DSs) -- were given a variety of titles. Noting the use of titles provides a socio-linguistic measure of how the research relationship has evolved in contemporary human psychology (Danziger, 1981). In the coding scheme I employed, authors' use of the caption-heading "Subjects" had to be accompanied by use of this term in the article's text to warrant recording as an instance of this role title's usage.

2. Conditions of informed consent: This basic issue needs to be addressed in light of psychologists' questionable attention to research ethics (Adair et al., 1985; Carlson, 1971) and of the ethically sensitive nature of community research. The subcategories include one referring to participation for course credit, a common condition for university-based research involving university students.

3. Level of DS participation: This issue is especially relevant to community psychologists' original ideals. Theoretically, human subjects could participate in any phase of a research project. It would be interesting, therefore, to compare community psychologists' practices in this regard with the parent subdiscipline. In making observations in this category I inferred passive participation, if the authors failed to describe the level of DS involvement.

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4. Interpretive feedback: Mainstream psychology has tended to neglect the provision of meaningful information about the study to which the DSs contributed. This transaction has educative potential for all the actors in human research. For community psychologists, providing feedback could stimulate further community interventions and facilitate productive social change; it would concretize the subdiscipline's values and goals.

5. Type of DS: Psychological research relies heavily on the responses of introductory psychology students. It would be interesting to see whether this trend has existed in clinical psychology and to what extent community psychology differs. Included in the subcategory "Combined" are studies in which both teachers and children provided data on children.

6. Setting: In view of the evidence that community psychology research has been shaped by the clinical-experimental psychology tradition, which relies on the social control provided by the laboratory environment, the ecological setting for research should be assessed. Again, the extent to which community psychology follows the general trend is important to observe, especially because its founders urged implementation of community-based research. If the subdiscipline's researchers have carried out this mandate, then non-academic settings will predominate.

7. Communication: The final stage of the research process involves the use to which the findings are put. In the natural sciences paradigm authors retain proprietary rights and ownership, using the

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results to produce publications for professional advancement. In the collaborative mode prescribed by community psychologists' ideology the results could be used as well for citizen planning and development, whether for individuals, groups, or agencies and institutions. Another aspect of communication is whether authors acknowledge the contributions of DSs and the hosts of the setting in which the research transpired. Hosts could include school principals and their staffs, hospital service-unit heads, etc. Acknowledgement of such input as opposed to the source of research funding is a significant social process by which community psychologists can practice their ideals of active participation by community members and professional accountability to them. In coding this category I checked the authors' footnotes as well as the text.

8. Gender: Given the historical predominance of men in psychological research, the gender of the actors in the functions of Ad and DS is an important factor to assess.

9. Transactional unit: This category refers to the number of role participants in the immediate research transaction. It would be interesting to compare community psychology's unit of investigation with clinical psychology's, since psychologists traditionally have studied the individual in a dyadic situation, that is, one Ad interacting with one DS at a time. But community psychology ideology calls for investigations of groups, organizations, and institutions, as well as individuals, implying a different set of transactions involving group dynamics. If theory has been practiced, then researchers of community interven-

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tions have been interacting with community-based groups of different sizes.

10. Use of deception: While deception of DSs as to the purpose and conditions of a particular study has become de rigeur in human experimental psychology (Adair et al., 1985), it is an empirical question as to what extent community psychologists employ it. The subcategories here are general, not specific in nature, since the overall incidence rather than the particular type of deception is the focus.

Results

In AJCP, 224 studies or 67% of all types of research articles met the inclusion criteria for sampling. Two hundred fourteen studies (59%) in JCP met the criteria.

The results are presented first in terms of the five main orienting questions. Then secondary analyses of the other coding categories and results on women and men authors are presented. No statistical tests were necessary, because the entire population of eligible studies was coded.

The following tables summarize the results in each category. The percentages indicated are calculated on the basis of the number of studies from a given time period coded into each subcategory; due to rounding, the percentages in a column do not always total 100.

Primary Analyses

1. Nearly 71% of the total AJCP studies and 56% of JCP used the term "subjects" to refer to DSs either exclusively or in conjunction

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Table 1

Percentages of AJCP and JCP Studies Employing Various Titles for Ads and DSs over Three Time Periods

	Years							
Titles	1973-1975		1977-1979		1981-1983		Totals	
Journals	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP
N	51	107	76	61	97	46	224	214
DSs								
Formal[a]	45	14	20	35	11	11	22	19
Subjects	4	15	14	0	16	4	17	8
Subjects et al.	51	66	57	21	53	41	53.5	48
Participants	0	1	1	8	3	2	2	3
Respondents	0	1	5	5	7	22	5	7
Varied less subjects	0	3	3	31	9	20	5	16
Ads								
Personal name	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Author	0	5	5	3	4	4	3.5	4
None	61	65	54	36	45	63	52	64
Interviewer	2	5	9	16	21	22	12.5	12
Experimenter	8	11	5	8	10	7	8	9
Varied	4	3	5	0	2	2	3.5	2
Other	24	11	20	8	18	2	19.5	8

[a] Formal titles refer to common social roles, e.g., teachers, therapists, students, etc.

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with other titles (see Table 1). By far the most popular title was the depersonalized one. Only a minority exclusively used formal titles, such as teachers, therapists, children, etc., and even fewer used the term "participants".

The trends were different in the two journals. In AJCP the frequency of the exclusive use of "subjects" actually increased from 4% in 1973-1975 to 16% in 1981-1983, while the use of a formal title decreased from 45% to 11% in the same time-frame. By contrast, in JCP the exclusive term "subjects" decreased in frequency from 15% to 4%. However, authors in this journal used "subjects" less and formal titles more in 1977-1979 than in 1981-1983, suggesting some regression in authors' practices.

2. Fifty percent of the AJCP studies and 62% of JCP did not provide information about whether voluntary, informed consent was obtained (Table 2); while there was a decreasing trend in AJCP there was no such change in JCP. Authors of AJCP studies have tended to provide increasingly more information about consent, ranging from 41% in 1973-1975 to 55% in 1981-1983, whereas authors' descriptions about consent in JCP ranged from 38% to 35% in the same time period.

Only a small proportion of authors indicated that their DSs were required in some academically-justified way to participate. Given the lack of information generally in this category, it is unknown to what extent consent to participate in research has been linked to course requirements and the like. But as indicated below psychology students recruited for research participation represented only a small percentage of DSs in the total sample.

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Table 2

Percentages of AJCP and JCP Studies Reporting Information about Consent to Participate

Conditions of Consent	Years							
	1973-1975		1977-1979		1981-1983		Totals	
Journals	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP
N	51	107	76	61	97	46	224	214
Voluntary	29	32	42	33	44	33	40	32
Required	10	3	4	3	6	2	6	3
Combined	2	4	5	3	4	0	4	3
No information	59	62	49	61	45	65	50	62

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3. Judging by the absence of descriptions to the contrary, both active citizen participation in the research process beyond the role of data source and provision of feedback (Table 3) have been extremely minimal. Only seven studies (3%) in AJCP and one in JCP reported that DSs contributed to the other role functions of research design, administration of measures, data analysis, and authorship. Furthermore, nearly 94% of the AJCP studies and 95% of JCP failed to indicate whether the DSs received or were promised any feedback on the results they had produced. No time trends were discernible.

I further analyzed these results to assess whether feedback, levels of DS participation, and type of DS and setting (see Tables 4 and 5) varied according to the type of research design employed. When I reviewed the 14 AJCP studies in which feedback was reported, 11 of them were questionnaire and survey studies, mostly done in community settings with adults. But only four of these 11 also reported DS participation in other role functions. None of the three experimental studies reported any active participation. But whether authors of experimental studies are less likely in general to employ collaboration and to provide feedback than authors of other empirical research is impossible to determine due to the overall quality of report-writing.

4. The results also demonstrated that researchers have held higher status roles, when the social process of communication of results is examined (Table 6). Communication consists of two dimensions: (a) ownership of the data in terms of their use for professional advancement and potentially for citizen and community development;

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Table 3

Percentages of AJCP and JCP Studies Reporting Level of DS Participation Beyond the Role of DS and Provision of Feedback

	Years							
	1973-1975		1977-1979		1981-1983		Totals	
Journals	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP
N	51	107	76	61	97	46	224	214
Participation								
Active	4	1	3	0	3	0	3	0.5
Passive	96	99	97	100	97	100	97	99.5
Feedback								
Given	10	4	3	0	7	2	6	3
Promised	2	0	0	7	0	1	0.5	2
No information	88	96	97	93	93	93	93.5	95

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Table 4

Percentages of Studies Reporting Type of DS Employed

	Years							
	1973-1975		1977-1979		1981-1983		Totals	
Journals	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP
N	51	107	76	61	97	46	224	214
Type of DS								
University students	14	14	18	18	13	9	15	14
Adults	37	45	53	49	60	72	52	52
Children and youth	14	15	9	7	8	2	10	10
Combined	35	26	20	26	19	17	23	24

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Table 5

Percentages of Studies Reporting Type of Research Setting

	Years							
	1973-1975		1977-1979		1981-1983		Totals	
Journals	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP
N	51	107	76	61	97	46	224	214
Setting								
University	10	7	22	18	13	13	16	12
Community	86	71	70	70	78	65	77	70
Combined	2	5	4	3	3	0	3	3
No information	2	17	4	8	5	10	4	15

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Table 6

Percentages of Studies Reporting Users of Research Findings and Acknowledgements of Community Participation

	Years							
	1973-1975		1977-1979		1981-1983		Totals	
Journals	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP
N	51	107	76	61	97	46	224	214
Users of Findings								
Authors alone	82	90	92	89	91	87	89	89
DSs	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	0.5
Agencies	16	8	5	11	8	13	9	10
DSs and agencies	0	1	3	0	0	0	1	0.5
Acknowledgements								
DSs	6	0	0	1	3	0	3	0.5
Hosts	22	13	17	13	8	9	14	12
DSs and hosts	4	6	6	7	4	0	5	4.5
None	69	81	77	79	85	91	78	83

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(b) author acknowledgement of the contributions to the research of DSs and/or the settings' hosts. In the overwhelming majority of studies there was no mention of both citizen use of and contributions to the data.

Only 11% of the sample from each journal described use of research results for citizen planning and development as well as for the authors' publication purposes. Moreover, only six studies made any mention of such usage for DSs; authors primarily noted institutional and agency development. There were no major time trends within the two journals and the journals did not substantially differ from each other.

The already low frequency of authors' acknowledgement of DSs and/or hosts has actually decreased over the years, although JCP authors have made even fewer acknowledgements. Overall only 22% of AJCP studies and 17% of JCP contained such acknowledgements. When mention *is* made, authors are more likely to acknowledge only the hosts. On the other hand, authors freely cited the source of their research funding.

Secondary Analyses

Some interesting findings pertaining to the social ecology of community psychology research practices can be obtained by examining the results of the other coding categories.

The present results show that in approximately two-thirds of the sample authors explicitly indicated the *gender* of the DSs (Table 7). Since the inception of the subdiscipline's journals the majority of DSs have been members of both genders with only a small proportion

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Table 7

Percentages of Studies Reporting the Gender of DSs and Ads

	Years							
	1973-1975		1977-1979		1981-1983		Totals	
Journals	AJCP-JCP[a]		AJCP-JCP		AJCP-JCP		AJCP-JCP	
N	51	107	76	61	97	46	224	214
Gender								
DSs								
Men	10	10	5	5	2	4	5	7
Women	8	7	4	8	13	13	9	9
Both	53	44	58	52	60	61	57	50
No information	29	39	34	35	25	22	29	34
Ads								
Men	53	5	11	5	5	0	18	4
Women	8	5	5	3	9	4	8	4
Both	31	3	9	8	9	7	14	5
No information	8	88	75	84	75	89	60	87

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exclusively men and boys. This finding places community psychology research in contrast to mainstream psychology.

But due to the lack of specific information in most of the reports no gender-characterization of Ads is possible. Ironically, AJCP authors provided information on Ads in 92% of the 1973-1975 studies but changed their practice in subsequent years to approximate the far less informative practice of JCP authors concerning Ads' gender. The predominant custom is for authors to remove human qualities from the persons responsible for the administration of community research. The results in the next category confirm this impression.

Information sufficient to infer a role title (Table 1) for Ads (e.g., experimenter, rater, therapist, etc.) is similarly absent in the sample; only 48% of AJCP studies and 36% of JCP used any title. But there are marked variations in frequency by year and journal. While AJCP authors have increasingly used a title over the years, JCP authors were much more likely to do so only in 1977-1979.

Looking at both journals, only a small percentage of authors used the traditional term "experimenter". However, less than 9% of the studies referred to the Ads personally, whether by name (two) or by the term "author" (17). In general, the impression created is that the data in these studies were collected by anonymous entities. The impression of detachment is reinforced by the fact that most of the reports were written in the passive voice.

The results on the type of DSs (Table 4) show that community psychology research is hardly a science of (male) college sophomores or

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introductory psychology students; rather, university students in general historically comprise less than 15% of the DSs employed in both journals. The primary types of DS have been non-university adults, children and youth. The DSs in many studies included in the "Combined" sub-category were children and youth and their teachers.

Additional analysis of AJCP studies showed that originally children, youth, and their teachers were the main DSs, but the focus shifted in 1981-1983 to adults from the general population. In JCP, where the focus has always been on adults, this shift away from children is even more pronounced in 1981-1983.

Further analysis within the adult subcategory found that "captive adults", such as mental patients or prison inmates, have represented less than 10% of adult DSs in AJCP, but in 1973-1975 represented 25% in JCP with the remaining years comparable to AJCP. The most popular adult DSs by far initially were professionals and para-professionals, particularly in AJCP where the proportion was 63%; even in 1977-1979, 50% of adult DSs in AJCP came from these groups. But adults from the general population were much more frequently employed by 1981-1983, reaching a proportion of two-thirds of the adult DSs in both journals.

In contrast to the experimental laboratory, non-academic research settings (Table 5) predominated, representing 77% of the AJCP sample and 70% of JCP. Further analysis showed that only three studies were clearly identifiable as conducted in a university laboratory. Overall, while AJCP authors tended to give more information than JCP authors about the research setting (96% to 85%), authors in either journal were

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much more likely to note the setting than either the gender or title of Ads.

The two journals show different trends in the use of community settings. In JCP, research in the period 1973-1975 was more often conducted in such public agencies as hospitals than in schools or domiciles, but the locus shifted to a broader range of settings. In AJCP schools were the most popular research setting until the most recent era when studies done in DSs' places of residence were more prevalent.

Another aspect of the human ecology of community psychology research practice is the transactional unit (Table 8), that is, the number of role participants in the immediate interaction. Originally a large proportion of authors failed to provide sufficient information, especially in JCP, thus conclusions are tentative. The most frequently employed unit has been the dyad, one Ad interacting with one DS; this is the traditional unit of investigation in clinical-experimental psychology. Overall 37% of AJCP studies and 31% of JCP employed the dyad. In fact, its use peaked in 1981-1983, representing approximately 50% of all the studies. Small group, large group, and combined transactional units have consistently comprised less than half of the sample. Thus, it appears that the research literature in the subdiscipline's journals remains individual-centred.

Another common ethical consideration in human psychology is the use of deception (Table 9) in research. Insufficient information was available in a substantial proportion of the sample (30% in AJCP and 47% in JCP) and varied within years and across the two journals. But

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Table 8

Percentages of Studies Reporting Various Transactional Units of Investigation Between Ads and DSs

	Years							
	1973-1975		1977-1979		1981-1983		Totals	
Journals	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP
N	51	107	76	61	97	46	224	214
Transactional Unit								
Dyad	20	24	29	31	51	46	37	31
Small group	6	8	8	11	4	2	6	8
Large group	18	8	21	13	8	17	15	12
Combined	25	9	20	10	17	11	20	10
No information	31	50	22	34	18	24	23	40

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Table 9

Percentages of Studies Reporting

Use of Deception

	Years							
	1973-1975		1977-1979		1981-1983		Totals	
Journals	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP	AJCP	JCP
N	51	107	76	61	97	46	224	214
Deception								
None	53	39	65	38	45	59	54	43
Employed	16	10	14	11	18	9	16	10
No information	31	50	21	51	37	33	30	47

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of those studies in which sufficient information was available to judge (70% in AJCP and 53% in JCP) the far greater proportion did not employ any type of deception (77% of AJCP and 79% of JCP). However, in 1981-1983 the lowest percentage of non-use (45%) in AJCP studies is recorded, accompanied by an increase in no information (37%). Whether this finding indicates a trend toward more deception in this journal is difficult to assess on the basis of uninformative reports. But the issue bears further assessment in light of the acceptance of deception in psychology generally (Adair et al., 1985).

Women and Men Authors

Women were senior authors of 91 of the 438 (21%) studies sampled. Across the journal-years surveyed the percentage of women senior authors was 13%, 15%, and 35% respectively, which initially parallels and then exceeds the percentage of women's membership in Division 27. In the following analysis differences between the journals are identified first. Then women and men senior authors are compared in terms of this study's basic hypotheses.

Women senior authors of AJCP studies tended to use the term "subjects" more frequently (81% to 55%) but to give more information about how consent was obtained (63% to 40%) than their JCP counterparts. In addition, the proportion of women senior authors in AJCP not reporting use of results for citizen planning and development and not acknowledging DSs and hosts was less (79% to 93%) than the proportion of their women colleagues in JCP. Neither journal contained a single report senior-authored by a woman of active participation beyond the

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data source role, and only three studies in AJCP and two in JCP reported on feedback.

Due to the low proportion of women to men senior authors in 1973-1975 and 1977-1979, I made comparisons of the major research relationship dimensions by author gender for 1981-1983 only. In JCP women-authored studies comprised 30% of the sample for this time period; in AJCP, 37%. In JCP women authors tended to use the term "subjects" slightly more than men (50% to 44%) and to dominate the communication process more (93% to 84%). There were no gender differences on participation and feedback. But women tended to provide more information about consent than men (43% to 31%).

In AJCP women used the term "subjects" to an even greater extent than men did (82% to 61%) but to dominate the communication process less (86% to 94%). There were no differences with respect to feedback, but five men authors reported active participation while no women did. In addition, women provided less information about consent than men (49% to 58%).

Discussion

The results from these analyses provide cogent evidence in support of the central thesis of this inquiry. Despite some differences between the two community psychology journals, generally authors of research reports: have used the dubious term "subjects" to refer to data sources; have not described the process of obtaining voluntary, informed consent; have not reported feedback or active participation; and have dominated the communication of research results. Not only have

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these practices not improved over time, but women senior authors have exercised as much as men an a-communal model of community research. Therefore, on the basis of over a decade of research practice it appears that there is indeed a contradiction between community psychology's core values on the one hand and how researchers have reported the research relationship on the other hand.

The tradition of report-writing in the two journals apparently dictates that authors give no information about the human ecology of their community research, describe the research transaction in the passive voice as if the data were collected by non-entities, and acknowledge only the source of their research grants. The general impression created is that community psychology authors do not practice collaborative research with citizens and are professionally accountable only to the powerbrokers in the organizations, institutions, and agencies hosting the research. However, as noted in Chapter Four, there have been a few noteworthy exceptions to these practices. For example, Levine and Brocking (1974) described nearly all the social and ethical processes of the research relationship and even used personal names to identify the research administrators; the data sources served as "partners" throughout the entire research process; communication was shared by the authors and the data sources. But these exceptions prove the rule that contributors to community psychology journals have had few models of community-centred report-writing to emulate.

While the results suggest that community psychology research is probably very similar to mainstream psychology in its disregard for the

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social context of human research, they also indicate distinct differences. The picture of research emerging from this study is not that of coerced, male, introductory psychology students deceived in experimental laboratories. In fact, as mandated by the subdiscipline's founders, the research is community-based. However, it remains primarily individual-centred, as Reiff (1975) predicted, thus recapitulating the traditional focus on the individual as the prime unit of analysis. This finding corroborates the results from previous content analyses of the community psychology literature (Lounsbury et al., 1980; McClure et al., 1980; Novaco & Monahan, 1980).

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Chapter Seven

Study 2

Method

The only research journal outside of community psychology which the informants I contacted agreed was relevant to the field was the Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology (JCCP). This APA journal, founded in 1932, is the scientific organ for clinical psychology, which is community psychology's parent and primary source of training in scientific and professional behaviour patterns. Community psychologists have been socialized in JCCP material and some have published in the journal.

I sampled a total of six volumes of JCCP in three-year clusters: 1961-1963 and 1981-1983. These years parallel the origins and present status of community psychology research. I coded every eligible study according to the same inclusion criteria and categories as in Study 1. Two hundred thirty-six studies met the inclusion criteria in 1961-1963, 219 in 1981-1983, each representing 63% of all types of research studies published.

Results

1. Regardless of era sampled, authors used the role title "subjects" to refer to data sources (Table 10) at a very high rate, 85% in 1961-1963, 86% in 1981-1983. However, exclusive use of this title has decreased over the years. Nevertheless, only 15% of the

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Table 10

Percentages of JCCP Studies Employing Various Titles for DSs and ADs over Two Time Periods

Titles	Years 1961-1963	1981-1983	Totals
N	236	219	455
DSs			
Formal[a]	10	9	10
Subjects	34	23	29
Subjects et al.	51	63	57
Participants	0	1	0.5
Respondents	0	0	0
Varied less subjects	3	4	3.5
Ads			
Personal name	3	1	2
Author	5	5	5
None	66	56	61
Inverviewer	1	3	2
Experimener	19	11	16
Varied	2	7	4
Other	5	16	10

[a] Formal titles refer to common roles, e.g., therapists, students, etc.

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entire sample eschewed "subjects" in deference to formal titles or "participants".

2. While there has been a rather substantial improvement over the years in the degree to which authors reported that voluntary, informed consent (Table 11) was obtained, this social and ethical process remains neglected in the research reports of the majority of the sample. No information was provided in 79% of the 1961-1963 studies, 54% of 1981-1983. Only 1% indicated that research participation was required in some way.

3. If DSs played any other roles in the research sampled, not a single instance of such active participation (Table 12) was reported across the entire sample. Similarly, only eight studies, four from each era, reported the use or promise of feedback (Table 12) to the DSs.

4. There was not a single report of authors' facilitating the use of the data (Table 13) for citizen planning and development. In addition, acknowledgement of DS and host contributions occurred in only 11% of the 1961-1963 studies and 19% of 1981-1983; hosts were much more likely to be acknowledged.

To summarize, the results of Study 2 clearly demonstrate that, insofar as JCCP authors have described their work, researchers have maintained their hierarchical status in the research relationship, made no provision for active participation and information-sharing with DSs, have paid highly questionable attention to issues of consent, and perpetuate the use of the label "subjects". Furthermore, practices of the present era do not substantially differ from 20 years previously.

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Table 11

Percentages of JCCP Studies Reporting Information about Consent to Participate

Conditions of Consent	1961-1963	1981-1983	Totals
	Years		
N	236	219	455
Voluntary	19	41	29
Required	1	4	3
Combined	1	1	1
No information	79	54	67

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Table 12

Percentages of JCCP Studies Reporting Level of DS Participation and Provision of Feedback

	Years		
	1961-1963	1981-1983	Totals
N	236	219	455
Participation			
Active	0	0	0
Passive	100	100	100
Feedback			
Given	2	2	2
Promised	0	0	0
No information	98	98	98

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Table 13

Percentages of JCCP Studies Reporting Users of Research Findings and Acknowledgements of Citizen Participation

	Years		
	1961-1963	1981-1983	Totals
N	236	219	455
Users of Findings			
Authors only	100	100	100
Dss	0	0	0
Agencies	0	0	0
DSs and agencies	0	0	0
Acknowledgements			
DSs	0	0	0
Hosts	8	13	11
DSs and hosts	3	5	4
None	89	81	85

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Secondary Analyses

JCCP authors have been far more likely to report the gender (Table 14) of DSs than Ads. The most popularly employed DSs have been from both genders and this proportion has increased from 46% to 64%. This finding marks the clinical psychology literature as distinct from mainstream psychology's reliance on men and boys.

The tendency to cloak Ads in anonymity is also evident in the fact that in most studies no role titles (Table 10) were given to these social actors in the research transaction (66% in 1961-1963, 56% in 1981-1983), although there is a recent trend toward more information. JCCP authors personally identified Ads by name or the title "author" in only a few studies, 8% in 1961-1963, 6% in 1981-1983. While earlier the most popular title for Ads was "experimenter", the current popular titles (subsumed by the subcategory "Other" in Table 9) are "examiner" and "therapist"; however, it should be recalled that in the majority of studies Ads are untitled.

There has been a pronounced shift in the type of DS (Table 15) employed by JCCP authors. Earlier, university students predominated (40%) with other adults ranking second in frequency (31%), but recently authors have employed non-university adults most frequently (53%). This finding again distinguishes the clinical literature from mainstream psychology's practice.

Further analysis of the adult DSs employed in JCCP showed that the highest proportion of them came from "captive" populations, such as hospitalized patients and inmates, in both eras: 51% in 1961-1963

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Table 14

Percentages of JCCP Studies Reporting the Gender of DSs and Ads

Gender	Years 1961-1963	1981-1983	Totals
N	236	219	455
DSs			
Men	24	15	20
Women	9	7	8
Both	46	64	55
No information	21	14	18
Ads			
Men	11	4	8
Women	5	7	6
Both	1	10	5
No information	83	79	81

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Table 15

Percentages of JCCP Studies Reporting

Type of DS Employed

	Years		
	1961-1963	1981-1983	Totals
N	236	219	455
Type of DS			
University	40	16	29
Adults	31	53	42
Children and youth	14	18	15
Combined	12	12	12
No information	1	1	1

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and 41% in 1981-1983. There has been a very large shift to adults from the general population, from 4% of the 1961-1963 studies to 33% of 1981-1983. Correspondingly, authors shifted away from reliance on professional adults as DSs: 20% to 3% currently.

There has also been a shift in the type of research setting (Table 16). Researchers have moved away from reliance on the university such that community settings now predominate (42% in 1961-1963, 53% in 1981-1983). But closer examination of these results found that clinics and hospitals have been the most popular settings in both the earlier and present era.

As expected from mainstream psychology's tradition of studying individuals in a dyad, the most popular transactional unit (Table 17) reported by JCCP authors in both eras is the dyad, 46% in 1961-1963, 50% in 1981-1983. But a substantial portion of authors failed to give adequate information.

Previous assessments of the use of deception (Table 18) (e.g., Adair et al., 1985) have not examined JCCP. The present findings indicate that deception was used nearly twice as much earlier (36%) than currently (17%). But recent studies (72%) provided much more information from which to evaluate the use of deception than earlier studies (50%) did; hence the above finding needs to be viewed cautiously.

Women and Men Authors

Women were senior authors of 87 of the 455 (19%) studies sampled. They constituted 12% of authors in 1961-1963, then increased to 28% in 1981-1983, which exceeds the proportion of women members of Division

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Table 16

Percentages of JCCP Studies Reporting

Type of Research Setting

	Years		
	1961-1963	1981-1983	Totals
N	236	219	455
Setting			
University	46	25	36
Community	42	53	47
Combined	5	3	4
No information	7	19	13

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Table 17

Percentages of JCCP Studies Reporting Various Transactional Units of Investigation Between Ads and DSs

	Years		
	1961-1963	1981-1983	Totals
N	236	219	455
Transactional Unit			
Dyad	46	50	48
Small group	4	7	5
Large group	18	10	14
Combined	11	9	10
No information	22	25	23

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Table 18

Percentages of JCCP Studies Reporting

Use of Deception

Deception	Years 1961-1963	1981-1983	Totals
N	236	219	455
None	14	54	34
Employed	36	17	27
No information	50	28	40

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12 (clinical psychology) of APA in 1981 and 1984.

Considering all reports by women senior authors, 83% of their studies used the term "subjects", 61% gave no information that voluntary, informed consent was obtained, only one study reported feedback was given, and 79% did not acknowledge the contribution of DSs and/or hosts. As in the men's studies, none reported active participation for DSs and citizen use of the findings.

I then compared women to men for the 1981-1983 era. Women senior authors were more likely than men to use "subjects" (90% to 84%) and to provide insufficient information about consent (61% to 52%), but they were more likely to make acknowedgements (23% to 17%). Only three men and one woman senior author reported on feedback.

Discussion

Whether the earlier or present era is considered, for the past two decades JCCP authors have relied heavily on the term "subjects", almost never reported feedback, seldom acknowledged citizen contributions and use of the findings obtained, and never reported an active role for DSs. A minority of authors are reporting information about consent more frequently, but not the majority of them. These report-writing patterns are manifested by both women and men senior authors. The overall impression conveyed is that of total researcher control of the research relationship.

On the other hand, the research relationship as reported in JCCP differs from human psychology generally in several significant ways. JCCP research seldom has consisted of coerced (male) university

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students deceived in laboratory experiments. In fact, in comparison to the authors in the Adair et al. (1985) study of social psychology and personality journals, JCCP authors have been far more likely to provide information about consent and far less likely to use deception. Therefore, an empirically-based distinction can now be made between clinical and social-personality research.

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Chapter Eight

Study 3: Part I

Method

The purpose of the interviews was to ascertain the opinions that the most influential community psychologists hold with regard to the origins and future of the research relationship so that through dialogue alternatives to current research practice could be identified. I selected a sample of 16 U.S. community psychologists on the basis of two criteria. Participants qualified if, by 1983, (1) they had been a Division 27 president or received a distinguished award from the division, and (2) they served on the editorial board of AJCP or JCP. The criteria blended organizational and editorial positions of influence, but this sample was not precisely identical to the "examplars" studied in the aforementioned written survey by Elias et al. (1984). Sixteen men met the criteria; the only eligible woman had died. Of the 16, seven had attended the 1965 Boston Conference.

In July 1984 I sent the potential participants a letter (Appendix A), requesting their participation in a semi-structured interview of approximately 90 minutes on the evolution of the research relationship. I indicated my willingness to travel to the individual's location, if arrangements could not be made to complete the interview at the APA meeting in Toronto in August 1984. The letter also contained a guarantee of confidentiality and anonymity of quotes and notification of my intention to deposit the audiotapes of the interviews at the Archives of the

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History of American Psychology with the individual's permission. I also requested that the potential participants identify the most relevant journals for community psychology research and suggest particular topics for discussion during the interview.

Of the 16 eligible U.S. informants, 13 responded promptly with one declining to participate. I interviewed these 12 personally: four at the APA meeting, seven in their locations in September and October 1984, and one in Canada in November 1984. Prior to the interview with the eight latter informants I sent them a brief outline of the topics to be discussed (see Appendix B). Of the remaining three eligible informants all responded at a later date, agreeing to participate in a telephone interview. But only one of these three actually completed the telephone interview by February 1985. In this and the other telephone interviews described below I used a set of questions limited to the research relationship itself, which I sent beforehand to these participants (see Appendix C).

The 13 U.S. informants included 10 academics, one retired academic, and two practitioners; six of them had participated in the founding conference, and three were "second-generation" community psychologists. All three men who served as editor of AJCP and JCP participated. Four informants identified relevant journals and one of these four, but no others, suggested topics for discussion.

I also selected a sample of eight Canadian-based community psychologists (seven men and one woman) on the basis of their historical involvement in the CPA section on community psychology and service

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on the editorial board of CJCMH. All were second-generation. I sent an identical letter to them as I did to the American informants with the exception of seeking permission to send the audiotapes to EPA for deposit in the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa. Only one individual declined to participate. I interviewed five informants, all academics, in September and October 1984, in person, and the remaining two participants, one a practitioner, on the telephone in January 1985. Three informants are bilingual; one of these is affiliated with a bilingual university, the other two are at francophone universities. In their written replies to my invitation three Canadian informants indicated topics they wished to discuss (the three bilinguals), but no one identified relevant journals. I then sent the participants the same outline as I did the Americans prior to the interview.

To gather additional information and expand the potential impact of the study I conducted two interviews of other influential members of the subdiscipline: a personal interview of an American woman in October 1984 at her location (the only U.S. woman in the study) and a telephone interview with an American man in December 1984. Both are academics and met the selection criteria for 1984 but not 1983.

In each personal interview I asked the informant to complete a release form concerning disposition of the interview audiotape and granting permission to quote anonymously (see Appendices D and E). My approach in conducting the interviews was to disclose my purposes and values and to invite the informants' criticisms of the inquiry, in the mode of Maccoby's (1978) sociopsychoanalytic dialogues. I attempted to

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balance coverage of the entire set of specific questions with attention to the subtle transactional processes occurring between the individual informants and me. As a result, not all the interviews covered every question. (See Appendix H re: interview methodology.)

The interview content (see Appendix F), which I constructed on the basis of my literature review, covered four main areas: the origins and future of the subdiscipline; the epistemological, ethical, editorial, personal, and socio-economic status of the research relationship; prospects for the future development of the research relationship; and evaluation of the interview itself. I tested the questions in August 1984 on three other participants, all from Ontario universities; two identify themselves as community psychologists and the third practices prevention research and was a member of the dissertation committee.

I used the same questions for all the informants except for the historical background of the subdiscipline, substituting for the Canadians several questions on the evolution of community psychology in Canada (see Appendix F). During the American interviews I asked the U.S. informants what they knew about Canadian community psychology.

Results

To compile a data-base I listened to each interview tape in its entirety, extracting in written form general themes and potential quotes. I did not employ a detailed coding scheme but rather collected information pertaining to each area of questions, as in the clinical interpretation of test protocols; often the interview content was unpredictable in terms of the particular interview phase when the informants

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made their remarks. For the telephone interviews I took notes during the discussions which then served as data.

The interview results are presented according to main topic areas, intertwined with the generational and national status of the informants, where these factors are relevant. Since only three of the 22 participants were practitioners, I made no comparisons by work-site. The informants are identified in the following manner: FA to FF refer to the six first-generation U.S. community psychologists in this sample who attended the founding conference; AG to AJ to four others from the first generation; BK to BM refer to three second-generation U.S. informants; CA to GG to Canadian-based participants all of whom are second-generation; EA and EB refer to the two additional informants.

Overall, the results clearly indicate that the informants endorse a democratic research model and that they regard the contradiction between ideology and the way authors describe the research relationship in journal reports as related to the political economy of the subdiscipline. However, the informants were somewhat more optimistic about the potential for institutional change than I expected.

Origins and Future

For the 13 U.S. informants interviewed personally the first set of questions dealt with their identifying the most important factors contributing to the formal emergence of community psychology. All these participants have written about the subject, and their accounts to some degree recapitulated the influences described previously. But most informants emphasized personal factors stimulated by the Zeitgeist,

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intra- and interdisciplinary struggles, and the climate of the Boston Conference. First-generation informants generally alluded to the historical conflicts among professional groups, whereas the second generation focused on the macro social-political context and the subdiscipline's relation to applied psychology in general. The second set of questions pertained to the informants' views on future development of the field. Their responses suggest some inter-generational tension but overall implied an optimistic outlook.

The social context. Four informants (AH, FF, BK, and BM), only one a founder, specifically identified the clamour of oppressed U.S. citizens demanding full societal participation as a key aspect of the social context for the subdiscipline's founding. FF explained that, because psychologists as psychologists were isolated from, for example, the civil rights movement, this divorce from societal events precipitated community psychology's emergence: "80% of the people who came [to the conference], came with a single mind...we had to do something to participate in society as psychologists." The founders, mostly clinicians, were developing concepts of social justice that they wished to see directly actualized. Informant AJ, today still strongly committed to clinical psychology, described the general mood: "With the emergence of community psychology, and I think this is the exciting thing...there was a recognition that you need to adjust communities to fit the needs of people"; later he echoed FF's sentiment concerning the idealism characteristic of the era: "Community psychology was a way of expressing some of my idealistic interests."

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The impulses to express "ideological solidarity" and "professional responsibility", in BM's phrases, were similarly noted by another second generation informant. BL reported that the social-political climate enabled him and his peers to join the community psychology movement "without excessive cost to their professional careers", because federal funding for community interventions and research provided an outlet for the expression of the second generation's social consciences.

However, when I asked ten of these informants about what overlap there was between political activists of the 1960s and 1970s and community psychologists, only one (BL) indicated that there was definite cooperation in his personal experience. All the others, including the one whom most identified as the likeliest participant in such activity, reported that there was sympathy but little active cooperation. In addition, FD noted the generational differences, pointing out that the graduate students of the time were activists and were attracted to community psychology, because, as BL also observed, they could integrate their political ideals with a professional career. But FD pointed out that the founders were from a different generation and did not speak in public about the burning issues of the day. (In fact, in their interviews only two of the nine first-generation participants directly addressed these issues, whereas three of the four second-generation did.) Another second-generation informant (BM) averred that while there was some overlap ideologically there was little behaviourally for the following reason: "I don't think revolu-

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tionaries and academics really always get along very well, because they have very different styles of acting."

In this latter comment lies the heart of the matter, namely, the dialectical relationship between community psychology and general academic psychology. The lack of cooperation between political activists and community psychologists is not merely attributable to the fact that, as AH observed, the latter were unfamiliar with confrontational strategies such as Saul Alinsky's. Rather, as FE contended, psychologists were in the political "closet", having been "indoctrinated" for generations in orthodox conceptions of science and its canons of objectivity, skepticism, and political detachment. The involvement of Alinsky and black radicals as personal resources for community psychology programmes was inconceivable, probably because, as FD argued, it would have been "maladaptive" in terms of the subdiscipline's status in psychology departments. FD put the situation thus:

> In those days the issue was, is this a field, is it respectable, does it have a scientific basis... The press for socialization was always to use the field to develop research, because you can't get tenure, you can't get eminence unless you go the research route. The power structure in departments of psychology would fear the worst that the community psychologist was a revolutionary.

This worst-case scenario actually happened to one of the founders who remarked, "I couldn't get a job at the University of ______ because

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my views were too radical."

But only two of the 22 informants in this study, FF and CA, suggested that what revolutionaries and reformists confront overtly, community psychologists ignore, namely, political power. Trained at a leading U.S. centre of community psychology theory and practice, CA asserted that the subdiscipline in the U.S. has since its inception basically ignored power structures in society. And FF noted how challenges to the political status quo inherent in community psychology's core ideology were co-opted:

> I personally believe that community psychology, although it started with some very worthwhile and responsible social goals, became a job-opportunities movement, because of the availability of jobs in community mental health. And the idea of community psychology became a symbol, earmark of somebody who was supposedly trained in community mental health, but the reality was that the only similarity was the word community and nothing else.

Frustration with the individual-centred model of mental health service delivery and with psychologists' place in the system was much more important for the formal emergence of community psychology than was any political activism, according to AJ. The professional restlessness among the clinicians who founded community psychology was also reported by FB, FC, and AG, while six others (FA, FD, FE, BK, BM, and

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EB) noted that the burgeoning community mental health movement broadened clinical psychologists' roles. The founders were disenchanted with the illusion of long-term individual treatment as the panacea for society's ills for several reasons. As FB and AG observed, psychologists recognized that mental illness was not the same as a communicable disease and that the social problems created by the deinstitutionalization of chronic mental patients were not alleviated by individual psychotherapy. In fact, FB and FC reported that clinicians were discouraged and burnt-out by the failure of their primary method of intervention, the practice of which they had only recently wrested from psychiatrists. Consequently, there was an assault on the dogma of orthodox clinical psychology which predisposed some clinicians to change their focus to the prevention of mental illness and to the modification of the social conditions believed to contribute to mental health problems.

The Boston Conference. The 1965 Conference was initiated to train psychologists for community mental health work for which, in the opinion of FA and FC, clinicians were poorly prepared professionally and personally. Middle-class psychologists would have to work with ethnic minorities and lower-class people but lacked the skills and framework to meet these needs. Interestingly, the findings from the present interviews shed new light on the origins of the conference.

Two non-clinical founders in this sample (FB and FE) were instrumental in laying the foundation for the conference. FE referred to FB as the most experienced community psychologist prior to the conference, having brought a social science perspective rather than a clinical one

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to his work in a metropolitan health department. FB confirmed this report, indicating that, on the basis of his sponsoring annual conferences and publishing monographs for at least six years previously on such community mental health problems as childhood distress and mental hospitals as social systems, NIMH officials approached him to organize a conference about changing role-definitions for psychologists. FB was not able to do so, but a group in the Boston area already involved, like FA, in community mental health, took on the task.

There were other underlying stimuli to the Conference. According to FE, certain faculty at Boston University, who had been influenced by the community psychiatrists Lindemann and Caplan, applied to NIMH for funding of a graduate training programme in community psychology; after the conference their application was granted. Secondly, FE reported that the director of the clinical psychology programme at Boston University, Chester Bennett, although initially doubtful, fully supported the conference by participating in its discussions and co-editing its published report (Bennett et al., 1966). His involvement lent the nascent movement considerable legitimacy within the political context of clinical and academic psychology and APA.

The conference itself, in FE's recollection, was organized along small-group, Lewinian lines to facilitate discussion about varying possible perspectives, clinical, social, and ecological. Like FE, FD viewed the differences of opinion expressed at the conference as opportunities for forging a new integration; to paraphrase FD's remarks, congealing and enthusiasm occurred, not dissension. On the other hand,

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FF reported that there were major differences over the role of community mental health, some regarding it as the instrument for changing degrading social conditions, others viewing this broad goal as realizable only outside of community mental health. Thus, as FF and FD noted, the founders debated whether to abandon psychology altogether or to develop a clinical-community training model, whether to become involved in advocacy and public policy thereby sidestepping the snares of bureaucratic limitations on psychologists' roles or to promote prevention as the goal of social change.

By the end of the conference the founders' focus was not limited to community mental health but encompassed a broader conception of social interventions. According to FF, the founders agreed that community psychologists would serve as proponents of the concept of community in community mental health work, advocates for the poor and minorities, and active participants in and contributors to social and political life. But, as FC observed, the new subdiscipline lacked a coherent theory base, since neither clinical psychology ideology nor contemporary social psychology was of any conceptual help. Moreover, another first-generation informant, AJ, asserted in his interview that community psychology did not fundamentally differ from its parent; rather, "it's simply an expression of the evolutionary development of clinical psychology."

Another historical phenomenon brought to light by these interviews was the presence at the conference of the only woman, Lulleen Anderson. Her participation there exemplifies the status of women in the early

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history of the subdiscipline. The sole informant who knew about her was FA. Although she is listed as the second of six editors of the Bennett et al. report, one of her co-editors (FE) stated, "I don't even remember her"; in addition, the only U.S. woman in the sample (EB) had never heard of her. FA reported that Anderson, while entitled conference coordinator, "in effect was staff to the conference planning committee". FA indicated that Anderson had served as liaison between South Shore Mental Health Center, where FA worked, and Boston University, but she was not integral to the original network and made no known contribution to community psychology before or after the conference.

Professional and academic antecedents. A significant portion of the subdiscipline's pre-history comprises the relations between clinical psychology and government support and between clinical psychologists and psychiatrists. The V.A., as we have seen, provided training and jobs for clinical psychologists by virtue of its massive institutional complex spread across the U.S. But the V.A. system was dominated by psychiatrists, and, as three founders (FB, FC, and FD) but no one else, observed, psychologists had to battle with their medical colleagues to win the right to expand their professional practice from psychodynamic testing to psychotherapy. Although clinical psychologists won the battle, they did not win the war in the sense that mental health services remained under the hierarchical control of psychiatrists. In the view of these founders, clinical psychologists' desire to overcome psychiatrists' domination found expression in the

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community mental health movement which provided the former with opportunities for greater role flexibility, since most psychiatrists tended to be uninterested in community mental health positions. Thus, a basic impulse culminating in the formation of the subdiscipline was clinical psychologists' search for a new framework, both ideological and professional.

The Joint Commission reports, the 1963 Kennedy Act, and NIMH funding all set the political stage for aspiring community-minded clinicians to join the community mental health endeavour. But a related latent factor in the development of a more palatable ideological framework were interdisciplinary studies in prevention, such as the Crestwood Heights project to which FE referred in his account of community psychology's pre-history. FE reported that some psychologists were involved in these early collaborative efforts but not in leadership positions. Four other informants noted, as did FE, the seminal influence of Lindemann and Caplan who integrated public health and mental health. In fact, informants FC, FD, FE, and AI all had significant association with these two community psychiatrists, and FE affectionately described Lindemann's experimental community mental health project in Wellesley, Massachusetts, as "an adventure in community psychiatry". These accounts strongly suggest that Lindemann and Caplan had a more powerful influence on some of the most influential members of community psychology's first generation than extant histories of the subdiscipline indicate.

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Earlier I briefly reported the finding that most of the U.S. informants, from both generations, specifically referred to the historical problem of community psychologists' tenuous status in academic psychology departments. The following material expands this point and illuminates another facet of the subdiscipline's foundations. The founders strove to maintain a well-integrated relationship with the science side of psychology, because, in FD's words, "that's where the power was and the long-term promotion of the field would come." In other words, the culture of psychologists demanded that its subdiscipline conform to established norms of traditional science. Yet, while psychologists remained the professional identification-group for community psychologists, according to FB, the founders were ambivalent about university affiliation, since a comfortable niche in academic psychology departments was elusive. Academics for some time had been at odds over the place of clinical psychology in general psychology (Chein, 1966), rendering the status of clinical psychology's progeny even more insecure. Indeed, as BK contended, clinicians themselves were ambivalent about such affiliation. BK further observed that, although community psychology was part of the first wave of the expansion of psychology in general, which diversified into many distinct APA divisions, mainstream psychologists tended to regard Division 27 members as "people who didn't behave themselves in various ways...who made the establishment uncomfortable." But BL asserted that clinicians themselves maintained a skeptical view of community psychology as a legitimate scientific subdiscipline, thus accounting for the founders' drive

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to establish credibility by adopting the trappings of rigorous science.

Besides inquiring about the relation between community psychology on the one hand and clinical and general psychology on the other, I also asked the U.S. informants to comment on the subdiscipline's relation to the Lewinian tradition and SPSSI. As FE pointed out, prior to the advent of community psychology the only overlap between psychology as a science and the concrete realities of the social world was through membership in SPSSI. The nine informants who discussed this topic all agreed that there was no historical cooperation between the two groups, because the founders' training in clinical psychology did not incorporate social psychology. The informants offered additional explanations for the lack of collaboration. FE, long a promoter of Lewinian concepts and action research, noted that there was very little value attached to divisional cooperation, rather, considerable distrust and a simple lack of awareness of each other's existence between clinicians and Lewinians. AJ pointed out that the Lewinian tradition had never won favour with the behaviourist majority and consequently was segregated from the mainstream of psychology, with which clinical psychology was anxious to integrate.

Interestingly, as noted in Chapter Two, action research is resurfacing in community psychology, and there are current moves afoot toward active organizational cooperation. But, according to AH and FD, community psychologists as a group are not aware of their Lewinian antecedents. Both devoted to intra- and interdisciplinary collaboration, AH and FD attributed the lack of awareness and absence of colla-

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boration to the ahistorical nature of psychology in general and to the "closed system" within which community psychologists work.

Evolutionary anticipations. The 13 informants identified several directions in which community psychology will likely evolve and indicated potential pitfalls. But while the first generation tended to focus on the relation to the parent subdiscipline, clinical psychology, the second generation discussed the future of the field in terms of other allied subdisciplines. In addition, four of the six founders and two second-generation informants perceived dangers to community psychology's prosperity, whereas the rest expected it to thrive.

Concerning theoretical focus, the informants specified a few future directions. FB and FE predicted that, in FB's words, "the slow, almost laborious movement away from the individual unit of analysis" to larger social units would continue, because community research projects, which in effect are social interventions, have systemic consequences that modify the original designs. However, FB contended that the systems concept needs to be more adequately concretized than it has heretofore, and FE argued that understanding communities systemically can not be achieved through the individual-centred conceptual and methodological tools traditionally valued by community psychologists. A second direction was prevention and competency-development programmes for children as exemplified by the interpersonal problem-solving literature. AG observed that these concepts will need to be changed to suit evolving social conditions, and EB asserted that prevention programmes must be founded in "well-controlled research". Thirdly, three infor-

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mants identified law and public policy and the development of citizen empowerment programmes as other areas of expansion.

A fourth likely trend is the area of stressful life-events, which FB noted is becoming increasingly popular in community psychology. As AJ stated, "Stress is the most important concept for community psychology, because it focuses upon the effects of environmental pressures on people and the emotional reactions of people to these forces." In his view, only "de-stressed" people can change institutions. FD and BM noted the probable convergence of stress-management and prevention with organizational health and quality-of-work-life programmes for all levels of employees. While AJ regarded community psychology as coalescing with behavioural medicine in the study of life-style changes and the prevention of life-style diseases, FF related this movement to the new opportunities for jobs in corporate mental health. He identified the major area of the future as "corporate health, because the whole country is moving toward the corporatization of health services." BK concurred, noting that current changes in employment conditions for graduating PhDs dictate that specialists in behavioural medicine are performing community psychology activities because of employment availability; he attributed this increasing trend to community psychologists having pioneered the establishment of links with community settings that other psychologists are now pursuing. However, according to FC and AG, job opportunities for community psychologists are also opening up in the fields of social policy and law and in community programmes developed by criminal justice, educational, as well as mental health systems.

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As the employment and research opportunities for community psychologists become increasingly differentiated, so will the organizational structure of the subdiscipline, according to the informants. BK anticipated that his colleagues will hold multiple identities, just as clinical psychologists in the past doubled in community psychology. In fact, most of the informants commented on both the vanguard role the subdiscipline played in the past, influencing developmental, social, health, as well as clinical psychology, and the current trend toward diffusion of community psychology principles among other subdisciplines. Thus, BK predicted that some of the features that attracted people to community psychology in the past will be present in other APA divisions, such as gerontologists' interest in the housing needs of elders. In addition, AH noted that community psychology because of the nature of its conceptual framework has the capacity for showing how other applied subdisciplines of psychology are interrelated. Consequently, several informants expected that their field would continue to serve, in BL's phrase, as "the social conscience of applied psychology".

Six informants directly addressed the evolutionary relation of their subdiscipline to clinical psychology. They observed that community psychology has had a lasting impact on the training of clinical psychologists, since most such programmes now incorporate some exposure to community psychology concepts. As to the parent discipline's expropriation of the progeny's focus, for example, on prevention, BL characterized this development thus: "The Greeks were conquered by the Romans but their culture was adopted." Implicit in this comment is

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the notion that the nature of the subdiscipline's programmes is changing. As BM put it, "pure" community psychology training, independent of clinical, is on the wane, and some community psychologists have become directors of clinical programmes. Another view of professional training was offered by AJ: "I see community psychology as becoming more useful as a point of view but more limited as an exclusive training experience." However, FC contended that community psychology "has got to break its hold on clinical". His remark in comparison to the others suggests an on-going tension between the two fields and within the subdiscipline itself.

Five informants identified some conditions deemed necessary for the above ideological and professional anticipations to materialize. AH joined EB in emphasizing the importance of legitimated scientific underpinnings. Three founders (FC, FD, and FE) all exhorted their colleagues to practice collaboration with other disciplines such as law, community development, and social policy, in training programmes, research, and community practice. To effectively apply a systems perspective, for instance, community psychologists must collaborate with community sociologists and cultural anthropologists. FD indicated other essential intradisciplinary preconditions, including the end of professionalism and guild-building, and the promotion of think-tanks or similar structures for the exchange of ideas and enhancement of cooperation. As to the larger political context, only two U.S. participants made any reference to necessary social conditions. FA observed that the current laissez-faire federal administration serves to streng-

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then community psychologists' resolve to promote their founding values of citizen participation, competency development, and the psychological sense of community. By contrast, FF argued that community psychologists will continue to accommodate themselves to the prevailing social defense of North American society, namely, co-optation of impulses for basic changes. He stated, "We have reached the point where affluence has produced a psychological frame of mind in people where individual rights have a higher priority than social responsibility." In his view the social-political implications are anarchy, the antithesis of communal values.

FF's comments underscore at a macro level of analysis some of the dangers facing the subdiscipline as it evolves. Five other informants identified related dynamics operating at an organizational level that vitally affect the future growth and identity of community psychology. One development that, in FA's phrase "could rattle the underpinnings of community psychology", is the expansion of APA divisions, such as health psychology (Division 37) that are practice-specific or research-specific and are absorbing community psychology's concepts. In contrast to AJ's optimistic view, cited above, concerning the marriage between behavioural medicine and community psychology, FA and BK referred to the considerable potential for diminution of their subdiscipline's avant-garde role in applied psychology. BK observed that some of the field's uniqueness has been diluted as a result of the diffusion of its principles across other subdisciplines, and FA asserted that community psychology has always represented more a

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commitment to a set of values than to a population or to research dollars. These comments signify an ongoing identity problem for the subdiscipline which is compounded by the paucity of jobs available for "pure" community psychologists. As FC stated, "It's very hard for beginning community psychologists to find identity, because there are very few positions open." FC's remark pertains to the shrinking opportunities for graduates of the subdiscipline as opposed to the expansion of positions in corporate health which graduates of other subdisciplines will fill, if AJ's expectation is borne out.

The second set of organizational dangers for community psychology relates to generational change, since as FA observed the first generation is not as active in Division 27 and the second generation inevitably redefines the field. Another first generation informant, FD, situated the intergenerational tensions in community psychology in a societal context: "So many of the leaders in community psychology are males who grew up in a very entrepreneurial, competitive world", indicating that their rugged individualism historically fixed a non-collaborative tone for the subdiscipline. But one leader of the second generation, BK, regarded the prospects for the life of the organization as quite healthy, being impressed by a vital third generation and a strengthening women's section. Furthermore, he characterized the pessimistic responses about the future of community psychology given by some participants at the 1965 Conference to the Moitoza and Hersch (1981) survey as typical of what historians of social movements would find in generational changes. He asserted that while the parents cry

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"things ain't the way they used to be", it is the responsibility of subsequent generations to evolve. However, BL, another leader of the second generation, placed the generational issue in the context of the present conservative socio-economic climate, implying that social conditions will have a major influence on the evolution of community psychology. He indicated that integrating personal values with professional development is much riskier for the third generation than for his, due to different societal circumstances. Aspiring community psychologists "pay a status-reduction price" for pursuing the practice of the field's concepts, given the current general devaluation of communal goals, social change, and advocacy for the poor and minorities.

At several points in this section I indicated that the U.S. informants, whether first or second generation, generally were optimistic about their subdiscipline's future. No one flatly predicted that it would decline, as many of the participants at the 1965 Conference believed (Moitoza & Hersch, 1981). However, FF asserted that it _ought_ to die as an entity and merge with another subdiscipline in psychology, because he believes that community psychology is now _re_active instead of _pro_active, hence will not contribute anything new to psychology. By contrast, BK responded "absolutely not" to the question of his field's potential demise, contending that "people confuse change with demise". Echoing his optimism, AJ expected the subdiscipline to "vitalize" all areas of psychology, and AH stated that in terms of value to society "it's just getting itself ready to be useful". Besides, according to AG and FE, community psychology is an institutionalized feature of

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psychology training programmes and has generated a healthy textbook market.

In considering the issue of the subdiscipline's life-span, three informants reflected on community psychology's core values in relation to its history as a formal organization. FA observed that the decline of community psychology as an entity would not be negative "as long as the value-frame continues". Drawing an analogy with the dialectical tension that exists between a transcendent religion as a corpus of values and a formal religion as an organized entity, BL argued that, while reality and ideals are interrelated, it is the ideology that inspires the organization. Thus, community psychology will expire only if its ideological core is contradicted by the creation of "an institutionalized form of training with a guild mentality...a technological specialty". Lastly, BM stated that, just as the folk music of the sixties diminished but remains viable, so in community psychology "the core of commitment is still there". Nevertheless, he warned that the changing relation of the subdiscipline to others in psychology will shape community psychology's survival. In his opinion very powerful interests like clinical psychology can co-opt his field, since the former have the institutional power to dominate; his admonition, therefore, echoes the comments, reported earlier, of first-generation informants FA and FF concerning current and anticipated organizational and socio-economic pressures on the field.

Canadian Community Psychology

In Chapter Three I reviewed the history of community psychology in

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Canada, showing that the subdiscipline here preceded to some extent its formal emergence in the U.S. But the Americanization of Canadian psychology that swelled in the sixties and seventies had a pronounced impact on the subsequent development of community psychology. Therefore, when eliciting the views of the Canadian informants on the history and future of their subdiscipline in terms of the Canadian social context, I also inquired about the nature and extent of U.S. influences. In addition, I asked the 13 U.S. informants whom I interviewed in person to indicate their knowledge of Canadian community psychology.

Canadian origins. As a group, the Canadian informants gave little information about the formal emergence and pre-history of their field, tending to regard the most significant event as the establishment of the CPA section in 1980. No one referred to William Line, Crestwood Heights, or Babarik's (1976, 1979) historical work. However, informant CA gave a relatively extensive account that contributes to a fuller picture of the subdiscipline's history. He noted the community psychiatry practiced by C.M. Hincks between the two world wars; Hincks initiated the Canadian Mental Health Association and promoted the values of primary prevention and public education in mental health. CA then pointed out that in the early seventies, when he returned to Canada after his U.S. training, academic psychologists showed no interest in community psychology, although some community work was already being done by applied social psychologists. Nevertheless, with the flow into Canada of U.S. journals, monographs sponsored by Division 27, and American-trained psychologists, members of CPA's Applied Division formed

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various socially-conscious committees, such as one on public policy, and on at least one occasion invited an American community psychologist to speak at their annual meeting. Meanwhile, Wilfrid Laurier University organized a graduate training programme in community psychology and its students began to engage in a variety of action-research projects. Tacitly sanctioning this progression toward formal emergence in 1980 was the previously mentioned 1974 federal government paper on health and social policy supporting community participation and prevention programmes. The next step in building a formal network was an attempt to create a list of community psychologists through a mailed survey. The response was highly enthusiastic. Hence, the subsequent establishment of the CPA section of community psychology, according to CG's account, sprang from the collective desire among a small number of individuals isolated in each region of the country for a supportive network similar to Division 27.

The Canadian informants readily identified the differences in evolution between Canadian and American community psychology. In terms of professional and societal antecedents, CA observed that the Canadian government did not develop the same type of veteran's programmes as the U.S. and the United Kingdom. Consequently, clinical psychology in this nation did not proliferate as it did in the U.S. Not until the late sixties did clinical training programmes spread. But these programmes did not conform to a standard type because there was no national policy. CG pointed out that the lack of uniformity parallels the fact that Canadian health care is planned and administered by each

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province for its own jurisdictions; unlike the U.S., the provincial and local contexts are crucial. Because of the uniqueness of each provincial situation, according to CB, psychologists developed clinical and community interventions in response to the needs peculiar to their respective locales; no "Canadian" or nationwide community psychology has existed.

The informants made other remarks about the historical status of Canadian psychology in general that bear on the evolution of the sub-discipline. CE, the only practitioner in the Canadian sample, asserted that as an organized force psychology has had far less power and influence in Canadian society than in the U.S. Applied psychologists, he said, are scattered across the country throughout various levels of government service. The reality of isolation has affected the professional identity of practitioners and academics alike. CB and CD, situated in francophone universities, reported that they and other francophones practiced community psychology activities in the seventies at the request of their communities without at first knowing what the label meant. Furthermore, the informants observed that the creation of the CPA section to provide a personal forum for contact faces several impediments to its vitality. As CG observed, this communication network has a rather short organizational history and Canadian community psychologists are, to paraphrase CB's comment, too busy in their outposts to fully develop the network.

The informants also noted that the different nature of Canadian society, in part comprised of scattered communities, as compared to the

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highly populated U.S., has shaped a different type of community psychology. In this nation rural issues are a major focus, CC and CF observed. In addition, according to CB, Canadian communities "have a lot more autonomy"; therefore, the practice has been for communities to request services rather than for community psychologists to offer them whether requested or not, as has been the U.S. custom. The informants did not agree, however, on the issue of whether Canadian community psychology is more "conservative" than its U.S. counterpart. CC contended that it is, since in his view the Canadian variety has emphasized consultation to and evaluation of existing programmes as opposed to the creation of new programmes. But CA, an earlier graduate of the same U.S. training programme as CC, took the opposite position, arguing that the editorial policy of CJCMH is quite distinct from AJCP, JCP, and CMHJ, because the Canadian journal is not only actively interdisciplinary but also tends to take a macro perspective on community issues. In contrast to these views CF observed that the evolution of Canadian community psychology is really quite similar to the U.S., given that it has struggled to unify the same two traditions: applied social psychology and community mental health.

The French fact. Another fundamental characteristic of community psychology in Canada is the somewhat separate development of the subdiscipline in the francophone context. Among the Canadian informants in this study the separation of the two cultures was clearly evident. The anglophones had no information to share about francophone community psychology except for CA's admiration for its being "very much attuned

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to the more macro perspective", which he regarded as unlike American community psychology, and for CC's admiration for its activist, community development focus, which he regarded as quite like the American brand and unlike anglophone community psychology which he believes is too closely allied with clinical psychology and mental health issues.

But the three bilingual informants were well versed in the histories of both community psychology cultures. In describing the field's origins CD reported that the small number of early community psychologists in Quebec (he stated there are no francophone colleagues in other provinces) were dissatisfied with both the clinical focus on psychotherapy and social psychology's focus on laboratory phenomena devoid of genuine social impact. The pioneers desired greater influence on their changing society. Quebec in the sixties and seventies was in a stage of social animation and the social climate strongly fostered sentiments of independence from the rest of Canada. CD noted that community psychologists were not necessarily independantistes nor animateurs, but they were applied psychologists trying out community development interventions without a clearly developed theoretical framework or even awareness of the community psychology label. In CF's view the early Quebec community psychologists were influenced by the same tension between community mental health and applied social psychology as all other community psychologists. CB and CD reported that colleagues at a different Quebec university are nonetheless developing a training programme quite separate from clinical psychology.

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Beyond the history of academics' involvement, CD and CF gave detailed accounts of Quebec practitioners. CF contended that the fact of the unique, integrated delivery system of health and social services in Quebec (CLSCs) markedly distinguishes community psychology in the province from Canada as a whole. In these centres comprehensive services are housed under one roof in locales across Quebec. Community psychologists, therefore, are integrated with other professional groups and disciplines. But CD indicated that the former community psychology students who work in CLSCs struggle with a problem of professional identity due in part to a lack of training; these workers are receiving additional training through the Quebec association of psychologists. Yet because they value a non-clinical affiliation they are creating their own supportive network. However, as CF and CG noted, Quebec psychologists, regardless of subdiscipline, generally gravitate toward their own association such that few Quebecois are members of the predominantly anglophone national organization, CPA.

The three bilingual informants and CE elaborated on the lack of cooperation between community psychologists from the two cultures. One formidable obstacle is the fact that many more francophones can "get by" in English than anglophones can in French; CG, for example, acknowledged that since he doesn't read or speak French the work of francophones is unknown to him. Thus, CB reported that Quebec's rich history of community psychology research projects and interventions carried out by faculty and graduate students remains neglected, because it is untranslated. Moreover, in the informants' view Quebec community psycho-

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ogy has always been dominated by U.S. materials and resources. CD noted that, as a result, Quebecois community psychologists would rather publish in their own language, in outlets such as Sante mentale au Quebec and Revue Quebecoise de psychologie, or in American journals than in bilingual Canadian publications like CJCMH and CPA's journals. Thus, neither group reads the other's literature. This ignorance leads to certain basic misunderstandings. For example, anglophone CG believes, like Conway (1984) in his account of clinical psychology's evolution in Canada, that Quebec applied psychology is strongly Parisian, philosophical and qualitative in orientation. In actual fact, as CB and CD observed, Quebecois psychologists have been much more influenced by U.S. psychology in general and U.S. community psychology concepts than by any European psychology or even the French concept of worker-priests; indeed, CD pointed out that the term community psychology doesn't exist in France.

A related obstacle to cross-cultural cooperation is the fact that the members of each culture do not attend the other's professional meetings. Only the tiny band of bilinguals is able to do so. Consequently, the prospects for rapprochement "are not terribly good", in CG's words. He observed that francophones will not feel welcome as long as the CPA section, for instance, continues to conduct its business in English. It should be noted, as well, that none of the Canadian informants reported any organizational or individual efforts to bridge the language gap.

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U.S.-Canadian influences. As we have seen, American resources heavily shaped Quebecois community psychology, and there is no evidence from these interviews to indicate that historical developments in English Canada, such as Line's work or the Crestwood Heights project, had any impact on it. But equally absent is anglophones' recognition of this pre-history. What all the Canadian informants did report was the size and pervasiveness of U.S. community psychology influence on the subdiscipline, wherever practiced in Canada. As in many of his other comments, CA situated the issue of U.S.-domination in a macro context, noting that Canadian society and its academic life have been fashioned to a great extent by British and American social models. The informants observed that the massive influx of American psychologists to Canadian universities solidified U.S. influence with respect to theoretical concepts, research methodology, standards of professional practice, and support networks. A major consequence for Canadian psychology in general is the issue of whether U.S.-trained psychologists, to paraphrase CF, still live emotionally south of the border.

The Canadian informants unanimously agreed with the assertion by Tefft et al. (1982) that U.S. socializing and interrelationship factors have been and remain very influential for Canadian community psychology. As CC put it, there would not be a community psychology in Canada without the push from the U.S. Furthermore, CG contended "we're still dominated" in terms of affiliations and publication resources. While Canadian community psychology has made important gains, he anticipated

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a long process of forging a Canadian identity. The impulse for starting CJCMH, CA reported, originated in this desire for a distinct identity. As a result of the journal's establishment academics can now cite Canadian content in their community psychology courses, and CG reported that there will soon be the first monograph of Canadian perspectives on community mental health issues.

To ascertain the U.S. informants' knowledge and to heighten their awareness about the subdiscipline in Canada I asked them two questions: (1) what do you know about community psychology in Canada? (2) what can be done to bridge the knowledge-gap? The 13 participants all responded with the general admission that they knew very little. Most could identify a few names, but only two showed any knowledge of major issues besetting community psychology in Canada. FA noted the fact of one American establishing himself in Canada in the mid-seventies who has maintained a steady influence on the U.S. subdiscipline, and FA and FD referred to the 1974 federal position paper on health and social policy. Other than these comments, the U.S. informants simply named a total of six Canadian-based community psychologists whom they knew personally. (Five nominees were informants in this study and the sixth participated in the pilot study.) Only AH recalled Babarik's (1979) JCP article on the historical roots of the Canadian subdiscipline.

Upon reflection, three U.S. informants believed that, as FD characterized the situation, "The way things get known about Canada is the accident of certain entrepreneurs"; since there have not been formal communication channels, any Canadian influence has been personal

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rather than organizational. Yet BK acknowleged, "The Canadian community psychologists have been a lot more willing to reach out to us than vice-versa." BM agreed, contending that Division 27 has not been sufficiently proactive in terms of initiating the organizational forms to facilitate cooperation. Relatedly, BL exhorted the U.S. subdiscipline to revise its training and ideology to think more internationally and with less ethnocentrism.

When I inquired about ways of remedying the lack of institutional cooperation and minimal U.S. awareness, several informants indicated specific courses of action. One solution would be for the president of the CPA section to become a member of the Division executive. Secondly, three informants suggested that crossroads for collegial interaction with Canadian participants such as regional meetings would be productive. Thirdly, AH and BL urged Canadians to publicize their concerns in U.S. journals to educate their U.S. counterparts whose past record in BL's opinion indicates little awareness of international developments. Lastly, EB suggested that dissemination of the present findings could contribute to the development of improved international collaboration.

Future prospects. The Canadian informants were uniformly optimistic about the development of their subdiscipline. However, they identified several vital contingencies. CA and CG observed that community psychology in Canada will prosper to the extent that its support network and its journal, CJCMH, remain viable. Secondly, according to CD, training and practice should become more interdisciplinary; for example, political and social change theories should be integrated

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with community psychology training. CA noted that the training programmes at Wilfrid Laurier University and Laval University (Quebec) have a decided advantage in that they are not as afflicted by the identity problem of community psychology vis-a-vis clinical psychology as most U.S. graduate programmes are. CD, a Quebecois, agreed, asserting that the subdiscipline will maintain its usefulness, if it changes its focus to a much broader framework of person-environment transactions, embracing community development and subsuming community mental health.

CD foresaw community psychology as a label disappearing by the year 2000 because the term is ambiguous, but thought that the field might evolve in the direction of the interdisciplinary human relations movement of the sixties and seventies. Like all the Canadian informants, CG disagreed with the view that community psychology has outlived its usefulness, because macroscopic forces continue to demand a community perspective. He stated, "We're on the right side of history." Reverberating AH's comments, he noted that futurists consistently espouse community psychology values in their predictions about societal evolution. At the institutional level CG anticipated that these values will become increasingly influential in professional and government circles pertaining to criminal justice, retardation, and other issues as well as mental health; he predicted that "the old institutional paradigm is on the way out."

However, CG held a different opinion, somewhat reminiscent of AJ's and BK's. He expected the struggle between the community mental health and applied social psychology wings to continue formally and

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informally. The general socio-economic climate dictating cutbacks of community psychology services will exacerbate the tensions, particularly with respect to jobs, as there are few opportunities, in his view, for non-clinical community psychologists. As a result, he argued, pragmatic considerations will shape the subdiscipline's identity; for instance, health psychology draws upon community psychology concepts and the expansion of this field is an opportunity for community psychologists. Thus, according to CF, as long as it adapts community psychology will not expire.

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Chapter Nine

Study 3: Part II

Status of the Research Relationship

To promote a critical framework for understanding the contradiction between values and research practice I asked the informants to reflect on the social historical status of the research relationship in psychology and the subdiscipline from five converging perspectives: epistemological, ethical, socio-economic, personal, and editorial. Although not everyone responded to all questions in this section, the 22 participants on the whole provided rich material that highlights the complex nature of the research relationship. The informants' responses amply demonstrate that their ideas about scientific rigor, research ethics, publication pressures, editorial standards, and role models are dynamically interrelated.

Philosophy of Science

When I asked the informants to compare the goals of their subdiscipline to the traditional goals of psychology and to comment on the applicability of the natural sciences paradigm to community psychology research, many of them, regardless of generation and nation, criticized the standard view of the discipline's epistemological base. Although AG believed that positivist philosophy of science does not dominate psychology any more, many others vigorously dissented. CA and FF contended that psychologists continue to emulate an outmoded physics as the model of science. CA asserted that because of this

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slavish adherence to positivism psychological research is not "intellectually respectable". FF agreed, stating: "Psychology as a whole is an anachronism; every physical scientist knows there is no such thing as value-free science." CB took a different tack on the matter of scientific legitimacy, observing: "I think our biggest mistake has been to try to make psychology look like biology in the lab." AJ pointed out the deleterious consequences for advancing knowledge, when he observed that the epistemology of psychology has been particularly problematic for his research programme, because historically adherents to naive behaviourism ruled out thinking and feeling.

In contrast to the positivist claims of mainstream psychology, BK argued that community psychology claims to be participative in its underlying epistemology. Therefore, he regarded the new, transactional philosophy of science as very relevant to the subdiscipline. Yet he stated, "I think the vast majority of community psychologists don't know a thing about it." He explained that his colleagues focus on pragmatic issues not on epistemology and they were socialized in traditional philosophy of science. He commented, "There's a lot of unlearning to do there and I'm not sure it will happen", suggesting that only a new generation will see the light. However, FE, one of the subdiscipline's founders, offered an illuminating analogy concerning psychologists' ignorance of contemporary developments in philosophy of science. He compared their limited consciousness to a scrim, which is a translucent curtain often used on theatre stages to obfuscate but not conceal action occuring behind it:

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> One's consciousness is like the light shining on the scrim. As long as your consciousness is limited in a certain way, it doesn't matter what you know, you're limited by your consciousness to a particular way of knowing. If you change the consciousness, it's like shifting the lighting. And now the whole reality shifts. You cannot ever see again that stage in the way you saw it before; you always know there's something behind it.

As to the compatibility of mainstream psychology's goals of prediction and control with community psychology's aims of community participation and professional accountability, there was no consensus among the informants. A few perceived the two sets of goals to be quite compatible. Two of these participants, FC and EB, seemed to apologize for the kind of research that community psychologists practice. FC averred that five years ago the subdiscipline featured "very sloppy research". EB reported that community psychologists are now using more sophisticated field research designs which are more demanding than laboratory ones; therefore, in her view, criticisms that community psychology research is "soft" are no longer justified, even though it is not totally "pure" according to strict experimental lab standards. In addition, AG maintained that the subdiscipline needs a scientific framework that implies orderliness and predictability about social situations despite superficial differences across settings;

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for example, citizen reactions to the Love Canal predicament can be duplicated in similar situations.

In some contrast to the above opinions, FF observed that the two sets of aims in reality are becoming more harmonious, because community psychology's goals are blending with the goals of general psychology, despite the fact that the subdiscipline was founded with different ones. FF argued that participation in social change can not rest on empirical evidence, since evidence changes. The traditional goals of prediction and control are not applicable to social policy, he stated, yet some demand "proof" that policy ideas will be "right". FF asserted that empirical prediction, such as occurs in the laboratory, is not possible, but "educated guesses" are. Moreover, he placed the question of knowledge-acquisition in a social philosophical context:

> We are accustomed to thinking that there is a technological solution to every problem. That is not the case. Some problems can only be solved on the basis of morals and values, particularly those which involve social policy. Therefore, if we need any research whatsoever, the kind of research we need is on values.

In his response to the issue of community psychology's basis in philosophy of science BL took a unique position. He observed that it is too easy to say the goals of psychology are irreconcilable with the subdiscipline's. Then he offered the contemporary view that the truth is constructed, is a social product, that social science is essen-

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tially a form of rhetoric, and that its goal is "to influence people" not predict and control behaviour. Applied to the case of community psychology as a science, he pointed out that one needs to know the lingua franca of general psychology to exert influence on this system and to use its language "as the basis for communicating new ideas".

Yet another perspective was presented by several other informants who seemed to stake out a middle ground by giving qualified support to the parent discipline's goals. FC and CG noted that the goal of prediction is essential for understanding phenomena but the goal of control is not. FC referred to astronomers' ability to predict events over which they have no control, and CG observed that as community researchers "we don't have the power to control", a position which FE endorsed. BM noted that community psychology's goals are not necessarily antithetical to psychology's, because community psychologists still try to predict and control within their own paradigm. However, he observed that these latter goals do not pertain to the values and ethical problems underlying any community research project. Citing the work of Argyris, he believed "that both valid information and social utility is enhanced by a different kind of relationship between the researcher and the setting" than has been the historical case in mainstream psychology.

FD agreed with this view, stating that the two sets of aims are compatible but their interpretations are in conflict. He identified essential conditions for integration of the goals and for realization of the founding conference's promise: dialogue with the community and

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viable structures for constituency review of research projects. FA also supported the collaborative approach to integrating scientific with community goals. His comment reflects on the historical struggle community psychologists have engaged in to counter laboratory norms of researcher behaviour:

> I've got a shelf full of community psychology dissertations that I've sat on and in every instance to some degree or other we've pushed the community psychologist at both ends: how do you make an entry that assures ownership of the project and how do you make an exit that leaves a part that has some reasonable possibilities of impact on your population.

When I asked the informants the more specific question about the applicability of the natural sciences paradigm, only two, AG and EB, gave unqualified support to its use in community research settings. AG stated that experimental control is possible, if the goal is to identify and control every variable, and is very useful as a means of making sense out of community phenomena. All other informants indicated major limitations of the traditional paradigm. Several questioned its scientific value. FF referred to the natural sciences paradigm as "extremely naive" and BL characterized it as "quite unscientific" and "absurdly non-applicable". CB observed that the experimental method is but one among many methods, it is not Science itself. It can teach an attitude of precision, but in community

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psychology inquiry, she argued, "you can't control the environment". While believing that any intervention should be subject to empirical investigation, CB pointed out that researchers should be open to whatever the context provides as data.

FE criticized the natural sciences paradigm on the grounds that its assumption of cause and effect relations is not real but a human invention; circumstances do not cause each other but rather are interrelated systemically. He noted that the most limited way of looking at things is through the lens of efficient cause. Also taking a systems perspective was FB who stated that the traditional experiment of one dependent variable and one independent variable is insufficient to understand the complexities of community phenomena. Furthermore he indicated that research interventions affect all aspects of the system investigated. He cited Fairweather as someone who earnestly believed he could control all the variables in his field research, but FB contended that any intervention "is acted back upon by the field". The field includes the reactions of human subjects, who, according to FF, "would revolt" against stringent experimental control in community studies. Consequently, in the opinion of FC and FE, a new model of research design with a different set of methodologies is required. FE suggested computer simulations as the best technology to study communities, whereas FC suggested biological ecology as the model science for community psychology, since social conditions are in flux.

Most informants identified the limited ways in which the natural sciences paradigm can be useful. First, they reported that scientific

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rigor is appropriate, if the problem defines the method. The customary approach, BL observed, has been to focus on the techniques of experimental control before defining the phenomena to be studied. The consensus among the informants was: start with the question, then choose the appropriate method; sometimes the experimental model will be appropriate, often not. Secondly, the informants explained that the natural sciences paradigm emphasizes internal validity, but, as EA reported, external validity is the issue in research on prevention and public service programmes and in evaluation research, although even in these cases randomized designs still might be possible. Thirdly, there is a fundamental values-conflict at play in community research. CG noted that working collaboratively with human subjects is inconsistent with the natural sciences paradigm, "but to do otherwise [not collaborate] would violate my values at the altars of science." CG articulated the research dilemma as follows:

> As a community psychologist I try to borrow what's best in the natural sciences paradigm. I try to use it when it fits the situation, but I recognize that there are aspects to it that are inconsistent with my values personally and community psychologists generally, and that there will be many situations in which the natural sciences paradigm just doesn't apply. My task is to be creative and to develop ways of knowing that are different from

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natural science or at least are not entirely consistent with natural science.

CG's comments not only underscore the fact that scientific work is intrinsically value-laden but also imply that the pursuit of empirical knowledge involves a social role performed according to certain culturally-sanctioned norms. Two other informants, FB and AJ, described the relation between the goals of psychology and the goals of the subdiscipline as a dialectic between scientific and professional norms. While AJ noted that the aims are different in the roles of scientist and professional but the method is similar, FB identified the social dangers associated with the norms of each role. He characterized the two sets of goals as reflecting the tension between "truth and welfare", that is, between the orthodox goals of science and intervention in community problems. He observed that the truth can harm welfare and that the role of scientist on the quest for Truth is "very seductive"; role incumbents attain a certain "noble power" as scientists in this culture. Then he noted that the other seduction is found in the welfare-healer role. While community psychologists do not restore sight to the blind, they are subject to the seductive pull of such concepts as empowerment through which they believe citizens' distress can be relieved. He asserted that community psychologists are fascinated with the healer role such that their behavioural definition of the term collaboration is fixing people. He defined a more appropriate model of collaboration as one in which both parties can alter the original goals of a social intervention.

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Other informants raised additional social perspectives on the question of the subdiscipline's epistemological foundations. FD contended that integration of mainstream psychology's goals of prediction and control with community psychology's goals of community participation and professional accountability threatens psychologists' personal need for social control and their motive of "careerism"; psychologists and their graduate students are more interested in career development than community development, he argued.

BL pointed out that in the culture of universities the status hierarchy concerning the research relationship consists of the natural sciences paradigm at the apex. He stated, "This is a mistaken and inflated notion" and derives from an "inferiority complex" the social sciences harbour vis-a-vis the "hard" sciences. Related to the concrete situation of psychology, applied psychologists have had to earn the esteem of the positivists by maintaining scientific and methodological respectability and productivity in terms of the standards of the positivist paradigm; in AH's view this social condition has engendered significant interpersonal tensions in psychology departments historically. CF pointed out that community psychology in particular has adapted itself to general psychology's scientific norms by adopting the experimental model in order to legitimize and secure its existence. In fact, this view of the interrelation between the subdiscipline's legitimacy and scientific canons was expressed repeatedly by various informants.

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Many informants, including some previously identified with espousing the value of collaboration, situated the question of scientific goals in the context of the research relationship itself. FE, for instance, stated, "One of the great problems in psychology has been the split between the knowers and those who are known", a problem which he regarded as affecting generations of psychologists. He observed that as long as psychologists continue to operate from a "primitive" physical sciences perspective, treating that which is known as non-living, they can avoid the issue. FE noted that the Father of Psychology, Wilhelm Wundt, practiced experimental work with interchangeable research roles, but even SPSSI psychologists adopted the experimental paradigm because of their academic socialization. He argued for a co-researcher model of inquiry, citing phenomenological psychology's emphasis on the experience of all the social actors in research.

Identifying the same dilemma but from a different vantage point, AJ observed that the traditional paranoia among clinical researchers about not trusting human subjects originates in the psychodynamic dictum that one can not trust what a patient says. AJ offered an antidote: "My whole approach is to try to quantify the feeling states and the cognitive processes that people experience during experiments and in order to do that you gotta engender some kind of trust with the subjects."

In community psychology research, FA, BK, and CG contended, the individual playing the role of data source ought to be referred to as "participant" not "subject", a term which suggests laboratory control;

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as FA put it, "General psychology tends to see society as subjects and community psychology tends to see society as collaborators." EB gave a community example from her own experience of the important relation between following sound scientific practice and building a trust relationship with the host setting. BK pointed out that theoretically community psychologists can offer a range of options for the research role of data source in that community members can be subjects, respondents, informants, and participants. He stated the subdiscipline should construct a research relationship from any of the latter three roles, depending on the nature of the problem and the stage of the investigation. CA and BM cited the Argyris approach to obtaining valid information. CA said, "One best learns about people by doing things with them than for them, and by having an exchange as equals rather than an exchange in a superior-subordinate way one derives much more meaningful information."

However, BM was the one informant who drew a subtle distinction between community psychologists' concern with the values of exchange and collaboration on the one hand and their actual behaviour in the research transaction on the other hand. He identified Cowen and Moos as exemplary practitioners of the natural sciences paradigm in community psychology who are sensitive to the research relationship but who do not practice true collaboration. In making this observation he described the subdiscipline's stated values about research as segregated from immediate research processes. BM urged his colleagues to unite their concern to their research behaviour; nevertheless he asserted

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that a revolutionary shift in research paradigms is required in order for community psychologists to integrate their values with how they concretely fashion the research relationship.

Research Ethics

When I asked the participants to reflect on basic ethical considerations in doing community research, the themes of collaboration and sensitivity to enhancing the quality of the research relationship again prevailed. Also evident were two interrelated notions -- sound ethical practices facilitate the acquisition of sound data, and the value of collaboration is contradicted by psychologists' enculturation in hierarchical research relationships. There were no differences between generational and national groups of informants.

Two informants responded by identifying existing academic institutions that safeguard human subjects' rights. AJ cited the importance of APA's ethical guidelines. AG noted the function of university ethical review boards in assessing human research in terms of consent and deception issues, but he observed that members of these boards are not particularly concerned about collaboration and feedback. As opposed to elaborating on institutionalized standards, however, AG and all other informants emphasized specific principles and ethical issues that derive from community psychology's core values. In fact, CA and CG contended that their subdiscipline in comparison to others in psychology has pioneered in research ethics, stating that community psychologists go beyond minimal safeguards and yield control willingly. By the same token, CG believed that existing ethical guidelines hamper research

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only if one's paradigm is power and control over others. CA noted that in any case legislation of a new code of ethics would not modify attempts by devotees of the natural sciences paradigm to outwit ethical guidelines, because the university context of one-upmanship encourages psychologists to attain authoritarian control over research settings. CA regarded ethical problems in psychological research as consequences of psychologists' socialization. For CA, BM, and FB, deception, for example, is a product of the laboratory model of human subjects' domination by experimenters' secrecy. FB stated, "I see no good reason why community psychologists should deceive anybody about what they are doing."

The consensus among the informants was that, rather than rely on institutionalized standards, they and their colleagues should identify what the key ethical issues are for community psychology research in light of their own vision and consciousness. Before beginning any study, according to CG, community psychologists should have a clearly articulated set of values. As BL put it, ends and means should be complementary; since the subdiscipline's goals are empowerment and collaboration, the means should be active participation of community members in community research projects. Moreover, FF admonished his colleagues to ask themselves why they are doing research: as a learned technique of career-advancement or as an expansion of an inherent commitment to certain values?

Nearly all the informants specifically referred to collaboration as the cornerstone of ethical research practice for community psychology.

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Advancing the concept of "popular knowledge", CD asserted, "Research data belong to the people." By this he meant that, if redistribution of power is genuinely a community psychology goal, then research information is a form of power and should be shared with community members at the grassroots level. Furthermore, he argued, "We have to share the whole process -- the planning, the hypotheses, the gathering of data, the processing, the interpretation, and the planning for action -- with the people."

CD's views were fully echoed by CG and FD who distilled issues of research ethics to the essential value of collaboration. FD warned, "Unless community psychology can build a science about constituent validity [validation of research data by the community members' shared control over the entire process], there won't be any community psychology." He believed this approach should be integrated with community psychology training so as to influence future generations. Amplifying the call for democratized research was FF who preferred the model of indigenous researchers, community members who do the research, own the data, and author subsequent research reports. In some contrast, two informants, AG and CB, qualified the collaborative approach by regarding the level of community input as determined by the nature of particular research projects. But CB's opinion converged with the others, when she stated that in any study feedback should always be used to promote the community's development.

The participative approach to research ethics that the informants espoused prescribes certain role patterns for researchers. But there

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were some different perspectives expressed. AG revived one of the core values identified by FF, when the former emphasized that citizens need access to scientist-professionals acting as advocates who can aid them in political struggles by interpreting relevant scientific data. CB asserted that there was a substantial and unalterable discrepancy in educational status between the professional and the population studied; "We're not equal", she said. BK, in stressing "exchange relationships" as the foundation for research ethics, also debunked the notion of, in his quote, "'we're all equal, folks'", because the roles of community member and researcher have different histories. On the other hand, he believed that honesty is as essential as reality. Thus BK viewed the metaphor of exchange as suggesting "a bilateral not a hierarchical relationship". Lastly, BM indicated that, while researcher and participants have complementary strengths, the former need to educate the latter to take on an active research role; this aim can be partly achieved by investigators modelling collaboration through the way they construct the research relationship with community members.

In addition to developing their ideas about the central values and issues pertaining to research ethics, many informants specified particular guidelines for community research practice. First, researchers should only initiate studies at the invitation of communities, according to FA and CG. CF explained that most academic community researchers seek out groups to study without being asked by them; he noted ethical consequences, stating, "We don't pay enough attention to the impact of our research when we go and offer that way." When invited, researchers

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should respect the values of the host communities, FC, FF, and EB asserted. Moreover, CA and CB recommended that researchers should ensure that community members fully understand the purposes of a given project as a critical condition for their participation.

Secondly, many informants recommended that researchers should identify to their constituents anticipated positive and negative effects of the research. In this context CF asserted that community psychologists have given less thought than their clinical predecessors to the questions of risk and impact, "because the research is seen as benign"; but these questions are vital to the issue of fully informed consent for community members. Relatedly, researchers should be prepared to commit years to ensure the success of the project and to prevent raising false expectations in citizens. Safeguards for confidentiality of the data should also be identified in the exchange with participants, FB and FE observed. Thirdly, community members should always receive meaningful feedback. FC noted the importance of communication to "significant people", meaning administrators and mid-line managers, and indicated the publication of a non-technical report in the local newspapers, for example, would be helpful.

Three informants squarely faced the pragmatic benefits to researchers of the participative approach to research ethics and the research relationship. FE and AJ insisted investigators will obtain far better data, in AJ's words, "if you treat people with respect". CG argued that the practical need to collaborate is interrelated with espousal of collaboration as a core value. He stated:

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> In some sense community psychologists don't have any choice, because if we behave outside the laboratory with regard to the phenomena that we want to study as other psychologists behave towards their laboratory subjects, we would be refused access very quickly, and the opportunity to do research would be shut down almost immediately.

<u>Research Production</u>

There was decided consensus among the interview participants that the social structures of the workaday world of academia in which community psychologists earn their living markedly influence the quality of the research relationship. Yet the informants differed somewhat in their perspectives on these socio-economic realities, although the differences crossed generational and national lines. For example, many regarded mainstream psychology's standards of scientism as more significant than the publish or perish ethic itself. In addition, the earlier theme of establishing the field's scientific legitimacy resurfaced in this set of responses as well.

Many informants did regard the publish or perish ethic as a strongly negative influence on how community psychologists have related to human subjects. FA, CA, and CG reported that the pressure for frequent publication encourages community psychologists to produce cross-sectional, microscopic studies as opposed to longitudinal ones, to avoid sharing a commitment with citizens as co-researchers, to ignore feedback to data sources, to publish as an individual rather than with

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a team of researchers, and to neglect describing the research relationship in journal reports. CF argued that publication norms facilitate authors' regarding their studies solely in technical terms instead of attending to community psychology's core values. FA, AJ, and CC observed that field research takes longer to complete than laboratory research, but, as CC contended, the academic judges of community psychologists' research use laboratory not community criteria when evaluating the latters' work. FA identified a further problem:

> Community research doesn't even sometimes lend itself to publication, because you've done it in a community setting where the data and some of the implications are such that you need permission from the community to publish it, and they may for very good reasons say, please don't publish it.

On the other hand, three informants expressed ambivalent views about the influence of publication pressures on the research relationship. BL questioned the hypothetical connection between publication pressures and the lack of collaboration in community psychology research, believing that the statement of insufficient time to do community research is a rationalization for inconvenience to the researcher. FE cited Cowen as an example of a community psychologist who thrived under the ethic but who used, in his opinion, a collaborative model with the Rochester school system. BL asserted that the ethic is an acceptable value, given that the responsibility of an academic is to write about one's work. Further, BM stated, "In a Darwinian sense only

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the fittest have survived." Yet he acknowledged that these socio-economic conditions in academic psychology have strengthened his commitment to help change the situation for the next generation of community psychologists. On the other hand, these informants directly criticized publication pressures at other points in their interviews.

As a group, regardless of generation, the informants indicated that the influences on junior faculty were especially powerful. They noted that untenured community psychologists are preoccupied with publishing research according to the dictates of the natural sciences paradigm to enhance the probability of their academic survival; in AJ's opinion, the pressures on junior faculty are even more intense than they were 10 years ago. AJ and FC, although they disagreed on many other issues, concurred that senior faculty need to coach their junior colleagues in how to "play the game". In departments where there is no senior community psychologist to act as mentor, FC stated, the pressures are worse. Untenured faculty cope by sticking with safe, popular topics and publishing the "in-thing", FB observed. Two members of the second generation also reported this tendency. After noting that junior faculty have to create a tenurable "track record", BM commented, "I've heard some people say, "I'll do this until I get tenure, than I'll do what I really want to do'". CG pointed out that, while the tension between academic contingencies of advancement and personally-held community psychology values demands that the junior person make compromises, the result is poorer quality in the research relationship.

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Several informants indicated specific ways in which community psychologists cope with publication pressures. First, as FA and BK reported, researchers can draw on diverse samples from different regions as in survey research; an atomistic relationship with survey respondents minimizes community contact and maximizes the use of highly esteemed sophisticated statistics. As BK put it, "What happens is not 'grab the data and run' as adapt the research methods to reduce your involvement with the respondents to a minimum so that...you were never there to begin with." Secondly, community psychologists can enlist the labour of their graduate students to assist in developing a collaborative approach with community members, enabling researchers to employ an experimental design that is acceptable for publication and promotion purposes; this was EB's experience. Thirdly, AI reported that he coped by publishing small articles on his overall project even before the study was completed.

However, personal costs are incurred in the process of attempting to cope with publication pressures. BK observed that some community psychologists "do it [long-term collaborative projects] anyway and get creamed", meaning they were fired or quit academia; he lamented, "we've lost some good people" who tried to be true to their values. Moreover, the socialization process of publish or perish, according to FE, kills "the spirit of inquiry in most people"; for FE, this spirit is the essence of scholarship and science. Yet:

> We kill that in a lot of people, and there are only a lucky few who survive with the urge to write. And

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> so those people who don't survive the urge to write find themselves publishing or perishing. That phenomenon has its roots in the identity of the individual who publishes or perishes as well as in the environment which demands that you publish.

On the other hand, a substantial number of the informants took pains to correct the impression that the primary issue is the publish or perish ethic per se. As EA argued, the more important dynamic is the reward structure in the following sense: "Do other people in the department understand the type of research community psychology researchers are doing?" He contended that, because psychology departments remain in the grip of scientism, community psychologists are pressured to do "controlled" studies, which ipso facto are tenurable and touted as advancing true knowledge. However, as BK reported:

> There is a massive misfit between the kind of things community psychologists like to do and maybe do best in terms of research -- long-term projects in a few settings that take a long time to develop...and the timetable for academic survival.

Since the inception of their subdiscipline community psychologists have had to conform to positivist standards of scientific research held by mainstream psychologists in order to ensure the legitimacy of their field. AJ offered a telling historical note, referring to the founding

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of AJCP:

> We wanted a journal for scientific publications, because we were trying to establish community psychology as a legitimate subfield to psychology. We had to live in psychology departments. In those early days senior academic experimental psychologists said, 'What the hell is community psychology? What's this nonsense?' That was hard to deal with. Still those attitudes are abroad but now it's [community psychology] institutionalized.

However, nearly all other informants perceived the demands for comformity to the natural sciences paradigm as a current reality. For example, FD stated, "The pressures in most departments of psychology are horrendous for conventional, laboratory, positivistic research methods"; he believed the already marginal status of community psychology within the discipline exacerbates the situation. Whether one is judged by a promotion committee, as in CG's experience, or by the whole department in a "gauntlet"-like atmosphere, as reported by AG, the evaluation process rewards enactment of the individualistic and authoritarian mores prescribed by the natural sciences paradigm. Furthermore, FC contended that community psychologists' research is in the most precarious position of evaluation in highly prestigious departments of psychology due to the eminence of the experimental psychologists judging the subdiscipline's research. As a group the

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informants reported that since the founding of the subdiscipline community psychologists have had to endure the tense interpersonal climate accompanying purportedly scientific criticisms of their work; FC, for instance, gave an example of "terrible" conflict in his department over a younger colleague's research.

According to several informants, these socializing forces in psychology have pervasively influenced graduate training and student research. BL pointed out that master's and doctoral projects are constrained by the dominant criteria of acceptable psychological research. In CC's view this climate encourages community psychology graduate students to use undergraduate students as data sources in an "anti-collaborative mode". FE also reported that the research relationship gets ignored in the context of graduate research. Another practitioner, FA, identified how he attempts to counter the graduate student practice, modelled and sanctioned by faculty, of "grab the data and run":

> I keep a finger in academia in order to protect against that, because to the extent that the student 'runs' I have to pay the price in the community the next time around. We have sections of this country that you can't do a study in, because they've been ripped off so many times by the university that you can't do it -- they have long memories.

Two informants raised the issue of changing the socio-economic conditions of community psychologists. With reference to "playing the

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game" of producing tenurable research, AJ commented, "It shouldn't be that way", and he stated psychology faculty should alter their evaluation criteria. In addition, BM was the only informant who reported that in his own department there was now some appreciation of the different constraints endemic to field research that face community psychologists.

Several informants identified additional social structures relevant to community psychology research. Concerning the journal context, AJ and BK observed that authors conform to the research reviewers' criteria of acceptable rigorous research. These criteria also influence how authors describe their research. BK noted an "audience-tension", meaning that community psychologists want to reach consumers in a service-oriented report but are compelled to appease their academic judges who regard such a report as "an inferior academic product". Another effect of publication pressures on authors, according to CB, is the tacit prohibition against describing what actually occurs in community psychology research projects, including negative results.

In addition, CF pointed to the pressure generated by another structural force, funding sources, whose evaluators when examining research proposals apply the same positivist criteria as academic psychologists do. In fact, the standards of the natural sciences paradigm are applied throughout university departments. FA reported how in the case of a graduate student developing an agency for a dissertation project the graduate school had to be convinced that the study "had some redeeming qualities as a piece of science". FB observed that

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community psychologists have always been at a disadvantage in universities because of the fundamental conflict between the academic nature of a university and professional training. He noted that community psychology does not enjoy the status of medical colleges, hence is perceived as academically substandard. Lastly, CF contended that the structure of the North American economy significantly influenced the historical development of the research relationship in the subdiscipline:

> It's probably more unfortunate for community psychology in some ways that the recession hit when it did. That is, at the point at which, academically speaking, community psychology achieved a certain kind of respectability, it might have then provided a little greater freedom for getting back to some of the original orientations, is the time when in an economic sense the money starts to dry up.

Two founders construed the issue of socioeconomic factors shaping community psychologists' dealings with human subjects from the perspective of psychologists' drive to secure professional credibility not only institutionally but also societally. FE and FF regarded this internalized dynamic of career-advancement as subsuming the problem of publication pressures. FF asserted most psychological research is "a rote exercise in order to achieve some credentials; [there is] no real commitment to issues." He noted that researchers are much more likely to be responsive to relationship factors, when corporations rather than

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communities have mandated studies; it is more advantageous to individual psychologists' careers to collaborate with corporations than with community members. FE identified the geographical mobility of career-minded psychologists as a particular problem for community psychology. He argued that one can not engage a community in a collaborative research relationship, if one is not around for long, changing locations in the search for ever more prestigious positions. FF emphasized that the publish or perish ethic and its impact on the research relationship are just parts of a dilemma in the whole culture: the role of the professions in society. He believed that in their "arrogant" presumption of expertise and excellence scientist-professionals strive to achieve and maintain status and privilege over other citizens, a dynamic which FF labeled "the triumph of mediocrity".

Role Models

My intention in this set of questions was to discern the extent to which the informants' personal identification with mentors and colleagues facilitated their practicing community psychology values of community participation and professional accountability. Of the 11 informants from whom I obtained comments on this topic four were first generation and seven, second. With one exception all reported the influence of a mentor on their attempts to practice their ideals; the remaining informant learned how to implement community values through his previous experience as a labour organizer.

Based on this sample's responses, a few individuals figured prominently in the historical formation of community psychologists' con-

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sciousness of the research relationship: the community psychologists Cowen and Sarason and the community psychiatrists Lindemann and Caplan. CG described his mentor as someone who stressed the importance of collaboration as the means to ensure access and who involved CG directly in the concrete circumstances of his research programme. CG stated, "I'm sure that's where my sensitivity to these issues first developed." In referring to the same mentor BL observed that by promoting community-based opportunities for his graduate students this role model aided BL and others of the second generation in developing the confidence to work collaboratively with community members in local settings. CA and BM made similar comments about the other prominent community psychologist. Two other second generation informants indicated noteworthy personal qualities of their mentors. CF referred to his model as melding "compassion with intellectual rigor", and BK identified his as "a wonderful mixture of pragmatism and idealism".

One member of the first generation referred ~~to one of the two~~ aforementioned community psychologists as his mentor. But the other three first-generation participants who responded to these questions identified the influence of Lindemann and Caplan. It was from these psychiatrists that the three founders learned to practice such precepts as consultee ownership and direct community involvement in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of community research projects. Furthermore, two of the three informants joined FF in observing that their life experiences prior to their socialization as psychologists had a marked impact on their preference for teamwork and collaboration.

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Six informants, all but two from the second generation, reported the importance of collegial influence on the practice of a participative approach to community research. Reflecting their isolated status, CA and CG identified colleagues in other parts of Canada. FC referred to several participants in this study. AG and BK noted that colleagues within their departments practice the principle of mutuality. In contrast, BM pointed out that the colleague in his department who espouses collaboration actually represents the earlier, bifurcated approach of separating method from the research process. Furthermore, BM observed that only one of his mentors shares his concept of integrating the research paradigm with community psychology's values.

Journal Influences

One concrete way to determine whether community psychologists' behaviour as researchers matches their espoused values of citizen participation and professional accountability is to investigate how authors in community psychology journals have described the research relationship in their research reports. The results of Study 1 demonstrate that, at least insofar as authors' descriptions of their work are concerned, there is a contradiction between community psychology ideology and research practice. The intent of the following set of questions was to elicit the informants' explanations for the discrepancy in terms of specific journal practices and to ascertain their views on the appropriateness of changing current norms to coincide with their stated values.

Once again, the informants, regardless of generation and nation, intertwined comments about the research relationship with remarks about

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the interrelated factors of their enculturation in the natural sciences paradigm of detachment, community psychologists' drive to establish and maintain the scientific legitimacy of their subdiscipline, and pressures to publish tenurable research. Only two participants minimized the discrepancy in research reports, and both at later points in their interviews acknowledged the contradiction as described by BK: "Whenever I've sat down and talked with an author about what they are really doing...it doesn't sound very much like that method section in the journal."

Overall, the informants offered several explanations for the contradiction. First, several informants observed that the discrepancy has occurred simply due to ignorance. As FD expressed it, "Nobody's thought about it self-consciously." But in BM's view this is only one aspect of an unconscious process of collusion in which the social processes of community research are excluded from the research paradigm:

> It's a paradigm problem. Until you have a paradigm that says the research relationship affects the range of data you gather, the validity, and the impact, you tend to look at real science as occurring outside of the relationship you have with the setting where you gather the data.

A majority of the informants gave another explanation -- psychologists' socialization in objective report-writing as prescribed by the natural sciences paradigm. AJ, for example, reported, "It's part of one's training" by experimental psychologists to be "hard-nosed". At

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another point he noted, "I still don't write about these things [the research relationship] as I probably should." In contending that psychologists' culture shapes their thinking and practice, FD believed that it is a "very widespread" habit for authors to keep the social processes of community psychology research secret. EB attributed the custom of excluding information about the social ecology of human research to the dictates of the APA publication manual: "The role models say this is the way it should be done."

Interrelated with these enculturation factors is the academic audience, that is, the social context of editors' and reviewers' standards. FA pointed out that editors and reviewers have their educational and professional roots in the experimental model. According to FB, reviewers out of habit and tradition think of human subjects like "running subjects as if they were rats"; "community psychologists are by no means immune" to the theory-in-use that human subjects are there for researchers' convenience. BL observed that the contradiction between ideology and practice in journal research reports reflects in part a ritualized tradition of report-writing. He and CF argued that the sanctity of the ritual needs to be re-evaluated in light of the subdiscipline's ideals; but BL cautioned, "There's always going to be some slip between the lip and the cup", meaning between actual practice and community psychology's core values.

A related explanation for the discrepancy relied on the connection of the objective report-writing tradition with individuals' socioeconomic status. Tenure and promotion, in the opinion of five first-

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generation informants, are ensured by conforming with this custom, because academic advancement is assessed in terms of the experimental paradigm's criteria. AG argued that an author's main obligation is to publish frequently, a compulsion that minimizes attention to the research relationship: FA pointed out, "Writing up the transaction is the soft aspect", but academics need "hard" research articles for their own advancement.

Four informants explained the contradiction in light of the subdiscipline's historical aspirations for scientific legitimacy. In observing that adherents to the natural sciences paradigm deal with the human subject as an object, FE stated that politically this paradigm is "terribly important" for psychologists in their home base: "If you're going to be accepted in that graduate department...you need to conform." As described earlier, the founders of community psychology were highly sensitive to how they could acquire acceptance by general psychology. AJ's remarks, quoted previously, illustrate the founders' drive to legitimate the subdiscipline by "improving" its scientific framework. But FD characterized the present situation thus: "Community psychology is still in the servants' quarters hoping to get into the plantation house, still defensive about not being a scientist." Furthermore, CG perceived an inherent tension between psychology's publication tradition and the subdiscipline's value of collaboration. He stated, "As a community psychologist I almost always have to compromise", referring to how he has to dilute collaboration in order to meet the tenets of the natural sciences paradigm sanctioned by research journals. CF also

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reflected on the consequences of community psychology's historical compromising, deemed necessary to establish its legitimacy:

> If you think you are going to be talking about things that are quite different and that might be regarded as suspect by others, like editors, one way to get around it is to put it in a format that such folks are accustomed to. So you package it so that it looks like the rest and hopefully the content is not different, that you get to do what you really want to do. Obviously there's a big risk in that if you just package, you become more like the package not only in form but in content.

A few informants explained the discrepancy between ideology and report-writing behaviour on the basis of community psychologists' failure to practice their ideals. As FF commented, "If it were important to them, they'd include some mention [of the research relationship]." CD agreed, stating that community psychologists have not changed their value paradigm to one of the redistribution of power; they continue to exercise their professional domination of the research relationship. He further argued that researchers are not trained for collaboration, do not believe their citizen-partners have anything valuable to add, and do not believe in "popular knowledge"; hence it is easier to exclude community members from active participation. CG also construed the discrepancy in values and research practice as a consequence of the

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hierarchical roles prescribed by the natural sciences paradigm, as in the following dictum: "as a researcher you _should_ control [all the research roles]".

Another Canadian informant, CC, agreed with BK that the neglect of the research relationship in journal reports is due not only to formal requirements of report-writing but also to the likelihood that some researchers do not develop an exchange relationship with community members at all. Indeed, BL estimated that less than 10% of actual community psychology research employs collaboration and the use of feedback. However, CB, EA, and BM disagreed, indicating that the contradiction is not because researchers have actually neglected the research relationship. BM reported that the community psychologists with whom he is familiar _informally_ talk about the social processes but do not describe them in their research reports, since, in his view, they do not see these dynamics as integral to their _scientific_ work.

A common rationale for the discrepancy was the lack of space in journals; for example, EB advised her colleagues to be concise and EA noted space is related to publication cost. But EA acknowledged that, given the pressure to orient articles to the empirical side, the social processes of collaboration and feedback are viewed as taking a lot of space. FA also observed that journal length-requirements constrain authors to adapt by neglecting entry and exit activities but not statistical analyses. AJ related this custom to his socialization in writing "hard-nosed" research reports in which the research relationship plays no part; in noting the undesirability of this practice, he observed,

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"I was trained where journal space was very scarce." From an editorial perspective, FB pointed out that, according to traditional norms, if authors do give information about social processes, reviewers will criticize them for providing extraneous information that uses up valuable journal space. Lastly, three informants (AJ, BK, and BL) indicated that a similar contradiction likely exists in other subdisciplines of psychology. In addition, FB reported that even applied community psychologists employed in service settings follow the same natural sciences tradition of writing research reports.

When I asked the participants how much influence formal and informal editorial policy has on the way authors describe the research relationship, most, regardless of generation and nation, responded by indicating such policy is very influential, although CA and FE pointed out that reviewers' influence is critical as well. In general the informants perceived editorial standards as shaping authors' descriptions of such important social processes, to paraphrase FC's examples, as how confidentiality was respected and whether hosts of the research were given credit, not merely footnoted, for their cooperation. Consequently, in CG's view, researchers anticipate what journals expect in terms of content and use the language found in a given journal to enhance the acceptability of their articles; CG observed that authors conform to the trends evident in the articles typically published, if they wish their own research to be published by that journal.

Three other informants agreed with CG that traditional editorial policy, formal or not, prescribes that authors write in the natural

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sciences mode of objective report-writing, a custom that according to CF limits the attention paid to the interpersonal and social context of any community psychology investigation. But BM believed that there is no <u>conscious</u> editorial policy to exclude information about social processes, and FA seconded the idea that an unspoken norm exists to honour the typical norms of reporting. On the other hand, FA reported that historically the original editorial committee of AJCP agreed with the founding editor's desire to publish "good", that is, "hard" research, employing the natural sciences paradigm of report-writing. As a result, in FA's opinion, "When a community psychologist or student reads a journal article, he never hears about what I think of as critical front-end and back-end variables."

Two first-generation and one second-generation informant observed that editors hold a position of social influence in which they perform a pivotal socializing function concerning authors' sensitivity to the research relationship. The editor of JCP reported that he has complete authority over editorial policy, as his board only reviews manuscripts. In contrast, the editor of AJCP observed that he does not have as much influence as he sometimes might like due to the occurrence of conflicts with authors over his editorial suggestions. Moreover, he pointed out that the executive of Division 27, not the editor, is responsible for setting editorial policy for AJCP.

The final question in this section on journal practices was how appropriate is it for editors to ensure that authors give fuller descriptions of the research relationship in their reports. The informants

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unanimously agreed this would be appropriate. As BL expressed it, "If the journal editors required it, they'd do it!" He argued that, if there were an editorial statement, there would be a proactive effect on the discipline in that authors would have to conform or their research would not be published.

Many informants added qualifying statements to their endorsements of a conscious editorial policy prescribing information on the research relationship. Two informants (FC and FD) recommended that the division executive and the AJCP board should make such a policy, while two others (FF and CB) identified authors as also having responsibility to change traditional report-writing by providing a qualitative analysis of the research process in their manuscripts. CA and BM wondered whether a policy change would encroach on an individual's academic freedom, questioning the wisdom of mandating one's personal values for collaboration as a paradigm for the entire subdiscipline. Yet later BM changed his opinion to the sentiment expressed by AI: such an editorial policy would represent "community psychology in action" and would affirm the field's basic principles.

Four informants (FA, AG, AJ, and EB) identified limited journal space as an important constraint, cautioning that only "relevant" information on transactional processes should be included in research reports. However, in predicting that a policy change would provide models for other community psychologists to emulate and would provide "very illuminating" information about the research relationship, BK asserted that journal space-requirements could be managed. Furthermore,

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EA supported editorial policy change on the basis of improving community psychology as a science. He contended that research relationship factors are germane to the issue of generalizability of any specific findings, because research results can differ depending on how a community psychologist entered a given setting, for example, through administration, staff, or residents. In his view the more persuasive argument for integrating values and behaviour rests on the practical, empirical question of other investigators generalizing from the results of a particular project. Nevertheless, he cautioned that it is much more difficult to write clearly about the social processes inherent in community research.

Evolution of the Research Relationship

The third portion of the interviews consisted of inquiring about the problems and potential of a participatory, community development approach that integrates core values with research practice. A second aspect of this inquiry addressed the question of interventions community psychologists would need to make in their own community and in its social context to facilitate implementation of the collaborative paradigm. The informants at times gave quite different responses from one another, demonstrating a lack of consensus on the applications of a collaborative model; but the differences were unrelated to their generational and national status. While most were optimistic about the scientific acceptability of this approach, a few informants identified specific sources of academic and societal resistance to change.

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Status of Collaboration

Although EB observed that community psychologists as a group are already practicing collaborative research, being "very aware" of it, and that collaboration is a current theme of Division 27's activities in liaison with other divisions, most other informants described the potential to be actualized in the model. For example, BK identified the real danger of "romanticizing the [research] relationship" whereby investigators gloss over the practical problems and costs to each party as these surface in the course of a given study. CB reiterated the basic principles of collaboration as intervening when asked and facilitating greater community autonomy; but in her opinion both precepts require vigilant attention to interpersonal and organizational processes throughout an intervention. In addition, EA indicated that when practicing collaboration researchers might need to change the purpose and design of a study to better meet the research participants' needs; secondly, community researchers will have to negotiate with their hosts as to who retains ownership of feedback on the results.

Other informants provided caveats with respect to the practice of collaborative research. Even though FA characterized the opportunities for collaborative research as "limitless", he identified certain basic contextual factors that must be dealt with lest they impede actualization of collaboration. Investigators need to ensure that the research is genuinely relevant to the community, what FA referred to as "bottom-up" vs. "top-down" research; they should allow sufficient time for the social process of feedback to the community; there will be publication delays

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due to the longitudinal nature of community research projects; and investigators will need financial support. CG observed that collaborative research is a slower process and often leads in directions uncomfortable to researchers. AH agreed with CG and FA, pointing out that there sometimes can be competition over whose research idea would be pursued -- the investigator's or the community's. As CG noted, a community group might request a researcher to only positively evaluate its work so as to ensure that its funding will continue. Another problem AH identified is the issue of follow-up which often can involve extensive, time-consuming consultation well after the formal study is done.

However, according to FC, community researchers have no choice, pragmatically speaking, but to collaborate with host systems, otherwise "your data will get screwed up". CG concurred, warning that if one does not practice collaboration, "ultimately you're slitting your own throat", that is, researchers will not get any research to publish, because the hosts will not permit a study to be done any other way. Furthermore, in AJ's view researchers in allied subdisciplines of psychology will only obtain valid data if they too employ what he construed to be a collaborative approach:

> In clinical work you really need to make your clients or patients partners in the exercise... If you don't motivate them in terms of their own self-interest to give you accurate and candid data, you may indirectly motivate them to be deceptive.

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Referring to his work with top executives of corporations, AJ stated, "I helped them to understand themselves by involving them in the enterprise, and I used assessment procedures and motivated them to report by promising accurate, confidential feedback."

On the other hand, CE reported on the involvement of psychologists in programme evaluation studies done by governments and management consultants. He indicated that the extent of collaboration and the quality of the research relationship in bureaucratic and entrepreneurial contexts are determined by individual consultants; thus it is highly questionable how cooperative such studies are from the data sources' perspective.

A few informants asserted that there ought to be some professional limits to collaboration. AG believed that collaboration is not relevant when human subjects have no connection with each other. In AI's view collaboration is permissible as long as the research goals are not compromised; given this boundary, he reported he would change his own longitudinal research program to incorporate an advisory committee, composed of professionals in agencies who would counsel him on the research design, to increase the usability and life expectancy of the research findings.

Several informants reflected on some ideological and institutional dynamics that bear directly on the implementation of the collaborative ideal. FE and CA identified the threat that a participatory research model poses to the domination the natural sciences paradigm has attained throughout North American psychology. Tradition and lack of consciousness, FE argued, will obstruct the development of collaborative research unless

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psychologists begin to assimilate the import of the new philosophy of science. Another impediment to genuine collaboration is the ahistorical and individualistic nature of community psychology itself, according to FD; besides not citing one another, the exemplars, he asserted, tend to think their work is unique and has no antecedents. FF described general psychology as saturated with the North American ethos of individualism to which community psychologists have accommodated themselves; accordingly, they are not likely to practice collaboration as he defines it. Similarly, FC contended the collaborative approach requires committed community psychologists to implement it.

Reconstruction Potential

The purpose of the final questions in this section was to further stimulate the participants' consciousness of the research relationship by asking them to design a social intervention to resolve the contradiction in their own community and then to predict the outcome of their hypothetical action plan. In addition, I asked the informants to suggest how the results of this dissertation could be used. Nearly all the informants identified areas for change and uses for these results. While several warned of institutional and cultural impediments to changing the subdiscipline's practices concerning the research relationship, the informants were generally optimistic about the impact of their recommendations.

Many informants responded with systemic concepts in identifying how to change prevalent norms. CB and CF recommended a "think-tank" environment be created outside of the formal annual meetings of the

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national organizations, similar to the 1975 Austin Conference, to exchange ideas, establish policies for journals, curriculum components for professional training, and ethical standards for research practice. FC and EA agreed that effecting change in cultural traditions will require community psychology faculty dedicated to the collaborative ideal. FD joined them in urging colleagues to expand their research horizon to a truly interdisciplinary one; EA pointed out that practitioners in organizational development, for example, preceded community psychologists in collaborative research.

BL construed the question of reform institutionally. He argued that community psychologists follow the cultural prescriptions of their academic employment settings; since their employers have certain expectations regarding the practice of human research, these norms need to be changed as much as the organizations of community psychologists. He then contended that it would be consistent for community psychology to take the lead toward a humanized model of research, because the subdiscipline, in his opinion, is the social conscience of psychology. He also indicated that the rhetoric of change should be based, not on moral and ethical grounds, but on the more persuasive notion of "You can do better research this way". BM and FD shared BL's view that academic standards for community psychology research need to be altered.

Several informants recommended changes for graduate training. FA urged his academic colleagues to encourage beginning graduate students to regard the surrounding community as their base for developing theory and practice, CB and CG pointed to the critical role that

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attention to social processes ought to play in educating community psychologists, and FD called for the acceptability of qualitative studies for graduate student research. However, FD and CG argued that the success of such alterations depends in part on the presence of receptive students already committed to communal values; as CG put it, "The raw material has to be there." By the same token CG noted the importance of mentorship in sensitizing students to the collaborative approach.

Various informants identified for reform other specific areas in the institutional context of academic community psychology. Seven recommended that journal editorial practices be changed; for example, AI stated that authors of any field study should be required to describe the research relationship. In fact, CF believed that the editorial domain is the most important one to influence; if change occurs there, then the subdiscipline as a whole will change, he said. According to CG, if publications serve as models of sanctioned behaviour for aspiring researchers, then journals should value qualitative research and non-experimental designs. Journals can serve another change-function. Five informants suggested that editors can publish exemplary articles in which the social processes of community research are fully described for the purpose of inspiring emulation. CA explained the rationale for this suggestion by underscoring the primary importance of the power of ideas and images to social change.

Two U.S. informants and three Canadians specified areas for reform in their respective national organizations. For example, AH suggested

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that Division 27 members could devise formal standards for research, analogous to APA's general standards for the provision of psychological services. In addition, he recommended the formation of a standing committee for public accountability, which ought to include in its membership community members such as representatives of consumer groups.

Four informants urged their colleagues to become more directly involved in community activities to sensitize them to relationship factors. FA suggested community psychologists should join such "normalizing institutions" as service clubs and athletic leagues, and FC believed investigators of police-community relations, for instance, should accompany police officers on their beats. In addition, FA called for the creation of community advisory councils to individual psychology departments which would review proposals for community psychology research in terms of community acceptability. CC echoed FA's suggestion and FD's call, noted previously, for "constituent validity" by exhorting community groups to demand collaboration.

When I asked the informants to indicate how the two sets of data in this dissertation (content analyses and interviews) could be used, they gave many specific suggestions that converged on systems-level interventions. First, the participants requested feedback be sent to them personally; the Canadians were especially interested in seeing what other community psychologists' views were concerning the research relationship. A few also requested that I devise a list of recommendations for editorial practices and professional training based on all the data gathered. Secondly, many informants suggested that the editors

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of the two American community psychology journals should be apprised of the study's findings. Thirdly, the participants recommended contact with the respective national organizations of community psychologists. The American informants also identified the importance of reporting the results to the Division 27 executive, summarizing the dissertation in the division newsletter, and presenting the material at network meetings and in APA convention symposia. Fourthly, many informants suggested that the dissertation be disseminated within psychology as a whole through publication of a monograph and an article in the American Psychologist and recommended investigation of the research relationship in other areas of human psychology. In addition, AH suggested that APA's standing committees on research ethics and on social responsibility be informed of the study.

Generally speaking, the informants were optimistic about both the potential success of the action plans they created and the impact of this dissertation's findings. But FA and FD noted that actual change in how community psychologists deal with the research relationship would depend on an ecological effort, that is, systemic, continuing, and collective action. FD and BK pointed out that such a comprehensive strategy would necessarily be a political process and entail an organized campaign in the subdiscipline. They and BM observed, however, that the change process would be "an uphill battle", given the following sources of resistance: academic norms, for example, traditional criteria for advancement; the power structure of academia and community psychology's place in it; and the distastefulness of conflict among community

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psychology colleagues.

The one participant who speculated that systems-level changes would fail to modify research practice in community psychology was FF. He asserted that fundamental change in the research relationship would be avoided due to the predominance of community psychologists' indoctrination in job-opportunism and professionalism. They will recoil from controversy, he believed, and pay attention to the meaning of the contradiction about the research relationship only if they can use the recommended changes to advance their own careers. FF suggested that one solution is for interested community psychologists to start a new organization incorporating committees of correspondence, but he warned that co-optation is present throughout all levels of society and will control any threats to the status quo. If change is to be genuinely successful, in his view, then American society must alter its core ideology and values. He regarded another Depression as the only social condition that could reverse the hierarchical practices of professionalism.

Reflections on the Interviews

I concluded each interview by asking the participant to reflect on the quality of our exchange in terms of process and content and to suggest how the interview could be improved. In general, the evaluation was quite positive; nevertheless, many informants identified specific aspects of the interview that concerned them or posed problems for them. Also included in this final section of the interview results is my own evaluation of the interviews.

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Informants' Evaluation

The participants were uniformly pleased with the style of the interviewing I employed; for example, according to FA and CB, I allowed room for the participants to respond in a comfortable, flowing manner. The informants found the content relevant and the kind of questions asked "clear", "stimulating", "provocative", and "consciousness-raising". As BM stated, "You've modeled the content -- your own research is an intervention, uniting value-intent with substantive issues." Another participant, who anticipated the interview would be a waste of time, commented, "I was happy to share with you."

The informants made several noteworthy criticisms. BK, who otherwise "enjoyed the interview thoroughly", took exception to my use of the term "founding values of the field", since in his view this approach assumes that community psychology is a univocal, undifferentiated mass; he emphasized that he has experienced the field to be richly diverse. One of the telephone informants preferred to have been interviewed personally, but he noted the usefulness of having the questions sent ahead. Three informants whom I did interview in person would have appreciated receiving more specific questions in advance of the interview and a fourth informant preferred a reminder just prior to the interview so as to sharpen the quality of responses. As AH put it, he would have preferred to have given replies less off the top of his head. Two informants noted more time would have been helpful; in CF's case, for instance, we were unable to cover a topic area he had suggested for discussion. Two additional participants pointed out that describing

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critical incidents in their experiences doing community research would have been more useful. According to AG, anecdotes in interviews serve as intermediaries between the concrete research experiences and the abstractions and generalizations an interviewer makes. Another criticism, offered by FA, was that my inquiry was "top-down" in that I did not ask for sponsorship by the respective national organizations of community psychologists.

Another evaluative point was that many U.S. informants were appreciatively curious about the kind of graduate programme that supported this type of dissertation research. They noted the contrast between it and the typical requirements in psychology for a dissertation. Several first-generation informants were also impressed with what they perceived to be the historical importance of the study.

Finally, one participant offered some advice. FE cautioned against possibly polarizing the situation by "insulting" psychologists' egos in telling them they are "wrong". Rather, he advised, "Be true to your own vision and don't disempower yourself", meaning build a support network of like-minded people and write exemplary research articles.

Personal evaluation. The quality of the interviews varied because of idiosyncratic instrumental factors and the particular transactional processes unique to each dialogue. My intention was to create an aura of relaxed, informal discourse so that spontaneous comments would emerge, but the reality was that I needed to be constantly aware of balancing the informants' focus on the specific issues with their desire to provide

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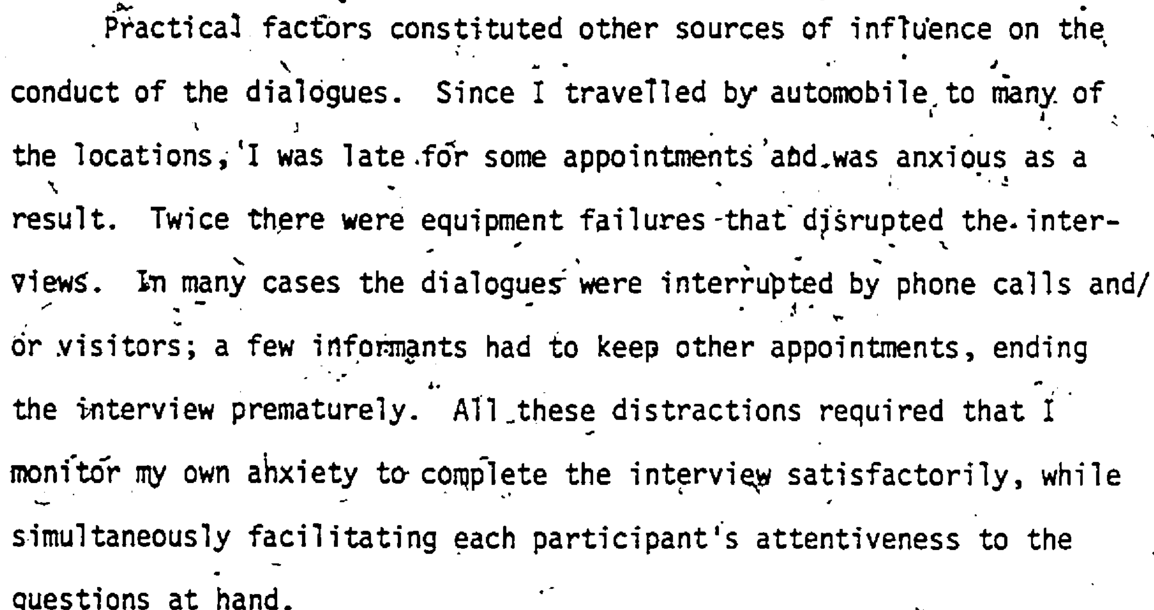
additional information and anecdotes that were sometimes tangential. Consequently, the interviews were neither completely informal nor totally relaxed. (See Appendix H re: interview methodology.)

A few informants specifically requested fuller discussion of my purposes and orientation before they proceeded with the interview, but most did not. While only one participant refused to be taped, many seemed to be quite conscious of the tape recorder's position in the various rooms used and as a result appeared at times to "talk to the tape". When I presented the release forms, some informants seemed quite affected by the prospect of their comments being submitted as historical documents; in fact, a few did not give permission for deposit of the tapes. No one refused to be quoted anonymously, but one informant wished to examine his comments before the dissertation was submitted.



Practical factors constituted other sources of influence on the conduct of the dialogues. Since I travelled by automobile to many of the locations, I was late for some appointments and was anxious as a result. Twice there were equipment failures that disrupted the interviews. In many cases the dialogues were interrupted by phone calls and/or visitors; a few informants had to keep other appointments, ending the interview prematurely. All these distractions required that I monitor my own anxiety to complete the interview satisfactorily, while simultaneously facilitating each participant's attentiveness to the questions at hand.

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In retrospect, the most significant subtleties influencing these interviews were my own thoughts and feelings about each individual informant. I entered the dialogues identifying with community psychologists' ideals, being a contemporary of the second generation and having been active in U.S. political struggles and community work prior to emigrating to Canada in 1971. I admired the writings of many of the participants, but I had never met most of them, being personally acquainted with only three Canadian informants. As the interviews progressed, my initial general enthusiasm was increased by the specific impact of the dialogue on each informant; this feedback served to motivate me further in gauging the quality of the participants' unfolding responses. On the other hand, there were several instances in which my negative thoughts and feelings about the social role of psychologists slipped into discussions, for example, in the interview with FE. Furthermore, I sometimes was defensive when contentious issues arose. Lastly, in the situation where an informant refused to be taped, I found myself struggling to deal with my annoyance as well as the informant's resistance.

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Chapter Ten

Overview and Recommendations

In this chapter I first review the main findings from the interviews with respect to the origins and future of community psychology, the evolution of the subdiscipline in Canada, the informants' perceptions of the status of the research relationship in community psychology, and their views on the prospect for reform of research practice. Then I compare the interview results with the findings from Studies 1 and 2 to answer the question, does the evidence from report-writing practices indicate researcher domination in fact, or have researchers actually provided more democratic control and social exchange than authors' descriptions would suggest? The chapter ends with a discussion of the informants' suggestions for remedying the discrepancy between community psychology ideology and research practice and includes a synopsis of alternative models for community research.

Interview Findings

The informants indicated that community psychology in the U.S. owes its formal emergence as much to the founders' search for professional autonomy due to frustration with psychiatrists' domination of mental health care as to the opportunity for the expression of their social ideals. In addition, they reported that the subdiscipline has lacked a theoretical base, yet has always been committed to a strong foundation in "hard" research. The informants viewed the commitment to

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rigorous research as essential to attain legitimate status and power in academic psychology. Although community psychologists have been ambivalent about affiliation with both general and clinical psychology, they did not adopt the Lewinian approach to social research, because they were not trained in applied social psychology but in clinical.

The informants identified several conditions necessary for the growth of community psychology: development of its theoretical framework, greatly expanded practice of collaborative research with community members and professionals, and societal support for community goals. They expect the field to continue to focus on prevention and competency-development, public policy and citizen development, and stressful life-events. They foresee expanded opportunities for collaboration with behavioural medicine, further influence on clinical training, and dissemination of community psychology concepts in other subdisciplines of psychology. While most were optimistic about the subdiscipline's future, four founders were not. Overall the informants were concerned that community psychology's identity might be lost because of its diffusion across psychology and its susceptibility to cooptation by more powerful subdisciplines.

As the Canadian informants reported, U.S. community psychology dominates theory, research, and support networks in this country. The American informants knew very little about community psychology in Canada, but they invited a more influential Canadian presence. The Canadian informants observed the same historical tension between applied social psychology and community mental health in the community psycho-

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ogy practiced in the two nations. However, they identified specific differences that originate from the particular social context of Canadian psychology: Prior to the recent emergence of a national model for clinical psychology, applied training and practice varied considerably according to local conditions; applied psychologists are scattered across the country, often in government positions; psychology is not a powerful lobby in Canada; and the CPA section is a relatively young organization. Another Canadian characteristic is the lack of cooperation and of movement toward rapprochement between anglophone and francophone community psychologists.

When asked to consider the research relationship from the abstract perspective of philosophy of science, the informants were quite critical of positivism, psychologists' epistemological foundation. On the other hand, they claimed that few colleagues were knowledgeable about the new philosophy of science which supports the notion of observer-observed transactional influences on research. The informants contended that rigid adherence to the natural sciences paradigm has resulted in the method defining the problem instead of the reverse. Ecological validity is the primary issue in community psychology research, they argued, in that generalizability from a study depends on empirical knowledge of its particular social context. They pointed out, however, that the prescriptions of the experimental psychology laboratory affected community psychology research too, resulting in a science geared to the production of "hard" data and in research reports from which "soft" data (i.e., the research relationship) are excluded.

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Regarding the matter of research ethics, the informants agreed that community psychology should continue to develop its own ethical practices based on the subdiscipline's core values. Yet the participants also observed that, pragmatically, sound ethical practice produces sound research data in that community members will cooperate if treated as collaborators. Accordingly, in their view the research relationship should be grounded in a non-hierarchical, bilateral exchange which nevertheless is not equal, because of researchers' social role in comparison to other citizens.

On the other hand, when the informants reflected on the concrete realities of research practice, they reported that the philosophical ideal of collaboration in fact is imperiled by the natural sciences paradigm's domination throughout psychology departments and universities. The behavioural norms of superior-subordinate relations between researcher and human subject hold dominion across all subdisciplines; consequently, the power of the scientist-professional appears threatened by a collaborative relationship. Secondly, the informants observed that adherence to the mores of the natural sciences paradigm remains community psychologists' guarantee of legitimate status within North American psychology. Moreover, the drive for legitimacy is unabated, given the subdiscipline's tenuous status in academia. The principal coping mechanism for community psychologists, in the informants' opinion, has been to focus on one's own career development as opposed to the subdiscipline's ideal of community development.

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Psychologists' careers realistically are devoted to the production of marketable research, that is, studies that ensure tenure and promotion according to the "hard" science criteria of the experimental model. The informants reported that publication pressures are most pronounced on non-tenured community psychology faculty. To meet these demands researchers adapt by avoiding collaborative research altogether or by minimizing community participation. With over two decades of this pattern, community psychologists have perpetuated a mode of research practice that is not only antithetical to the core values of the field but reinforces entrepreneurial striving for individual achievement. Thus, many informants believed that their colleagues' cult of career advancement and professional power militates against the potential for collaborative research.

Nonetheless, the informants were undaunted in their exhortation for reform of research practice. They argued that, if the ends of community psychology are community development and empowerment, then the means must be cooperation and "constituent validity". The informants consensually agreed the research relationship in community psychology needs to change in practice and in research reports. But only a few regarded a paradigm shift as essential; the majority tended to retain the natural sciences segregation of the social research relationship from methodology and data.

True to the action-oriented values of their subdiscipline, the informants freely identified specific remedial interventions that could be made in the community of community psychologists. In fact, several

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appeared quite willing to actively participate in a comprehensive political process to change the nature of the research relationship.

Significance of the Three Studies

The results of the trend analyses of research practices in community psychology and clinical psychology raises the question, how much like researchers in the parent subdiscipline are community psychology authors when they describe the research relationship? Comparison of the results from Studies 1 and 2 demonstrates that virtually the same construction of roles in the research relationship has occurred in community psychology as in research by clinical psychologists. The findings confirm the assertion that historically data sources in human psychological research have played a subordinate role in a social process by which researchers have exercised authoritarian control.

Authors of studies in the two community psychology journals reported almost as little active participation by data sources, feedback, shared use with citizens of research findings, and acknowledgement of citizen contributions as did JCCP authors. JCP authors primarily and AJCP authors secondarily used the term "subjects" less and provided more information about consent than their JCCP colleagues did, but in the main the former continue to use the questionable term and to neglect specification of consent. In short, community psychology has emulated the parent's behaviour in employing a depersonalized report-writing style. Moreover, neither the parent nor the progeny appears to be changing its conventions of report-writing to be more harmonious with its core values about humankind. In fact, the informants in

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Study 3 acknowledged that this well-established practice reflects both a habit strongly reinforced by the culture of psychologists and the reality that human subjects have played a constricted role in a highly institutionalized relationship.

Even if the role-participants in the social transactions of community psychology research had been exchanging resources and sharing control in a partnership, the traditional pattern of report-writing would create the opposite impression. That is, there is a fundamental discrepancy between authors' formal accounts of their investigations and their informal accounts of the social processes saturating their work. This finding corroborates the previous evidence on community psychology research practice garnered by Munoz et al. (1979) and Trickett et al. (1985). Taken together, these three inquiries demonstrate that psychologists are just like natural scientists with respect to conformity with traditional norms of objective report-writing. As Gilbert and Mulkay (1981) have shown in their study of biochemists, scientists' research reports are carefully constructed pieces of rhetoric from which the social context of their putatively objective inquiry has been expunged. Recent sociology of science has also shown that scientists rely on this tradition, because it ensures their scientific legitimacy and advances their individual careers (Mulkay, 1979; Whitley, 1981). The community psychologists who participated in Study 3 amply reported that the same phenomena have operated in their workaday world as well.

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Furthermore, the discipline's canons for "proper" report-writing have served as a very powerful dynamic in the socialization of present and future researchers, as the informants' disclosures attest. Potential authors for psychology journals and tens of thousands of student-apprentices basically have had only one model to follow in writing reports of human research. But, comparable to the impact in the natural sciences (Whitley, 1981), psychological journal reports demonstrably shape the quality of subsequent human research (Adair et al., 1985; Carlson, 1971). As one historian of psychological research practice observed, "It is in the early stages of the growth of a field that fundamental directions of development are laid down and that traditions are established that become implicit models for later generations" (Danziger, 1985, p. 133). Consequently, if community psychologists desire to integrate their ideals with their scientific mores, then, as Trickett et al. (1985) asserted, they must change the way they describe how they practice human inquiry as much as the nature of the research relationship itself.

Recommendations for Action

The following ecological strategy for altering the research relationship in community psychology derives from the suggestions of the Canadian and American informants. The strategy is intended to be a political process, and its rallying cry is, "Describing the research relationship and practicing collaboration yield better data." While the informants wish to see less slippage between "the lip and the cup", they also wish to preserve their scientific legitimacy and, therefore,

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construe scientific rhetoric as more persuasive than ethical appeals. In addition to an overall action plan I summarize basic guidelines for community psychology research in which scientific rigor is redefined. Underlying the recommendations are the following beliefs. As long as community psychology imitates the natural sciences paradigm, it will remain a low-status movement in psychology. To improve its status it needs to play by a different set of rules. Should community psychology integrate methodology with the social aspects of the research relationship and shift to a transactional paradigm, it would truly take an avant-garde position, showing the way for the rest of the discipline. Relative to other subdisciplines, community psychology is particularly well-placed for such a move, given the transactional nature of its theoretical concepts and the richness and scope of its research experiences.

Plan of Action

The first step is the creation of a setting conducive to the free exchange of ideas about reconstructing the research relationship. An international conference should be held, separate from the annual meetings of the national organizations, for the purposes of fashioning a social policy for the organizations, outlining curriculum guidelines for professional training, and setting standards for the ethical practice of community psychology research. In addition, the organizations should construct the equivalent of a public accountability committee which features consumer representation. Members of the Division 27 executive and of the CPA section can then develop plans relevant to

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their respective organizations.

A further step involves changes in the journals. In the cases of AJCP and CJCMH the editorial boards should devise and publish a set of guidelines for authors and reviewers that is consonant with the previously-created policy on the research relationship. In the case of JCP the editor can initiate these changes independently. At the least authors should report the gender, appropriate titles, and the roles all participants played in the total research process, as well as the type of transactional unit in which they interacted. Authors should describe the setting, how entry and consent were obtained, how and what feedback was given, and the uses of the findings (see Trickett et al., 1985). All the journals should encourage the publication of qualitative as well as quantitative research, provided authors describe how the research relationship developed in their investigations. It would also be desirable for the journals to publish exemplary research articles for emulation.

Thirdly, academic community psychologists may need to alter the form and content of graduate training in several critical ways (see Kelly, 1984). The curriculum might include some interdisciplinary training, since cultural anthropology, sociology, and social work already have traditions of collaborative research. Exposure to modern philosophy of science, social ethics, and critical theories of society is also desirable, so that students develop an appropriate sensitivity to the ideological and social constraints impinging on their practice (see Sarason, 1981). Two changes would help

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to facilitate the development of a new generation of graduate students with an alternative set of values: (a) they should be immersed in community activities from their entry into training; (b) they should be free academically to pursue qualitative research. A reform of community psychology training may entail some modification of department and university norms. Hence, community psychologists should attempt to secure recognition of the fact that the fundamental differences between field and experimental laboratory research need to be taken into account in the context of decisions about academic appointments and tenure (see McClure et al., 1980). In addition, each training programme should create community advisory councils to assess all community research in accord with the host community's standards.

With regard to the discipline as a whole, community psychologists should press for integration of ethical standards with report-writing norms. Secondly, the appropriate boards and committees of the national organizations should be asked to investigate how well all subdisciplines of psychology meet the discipline's espoused ethical values in terms of their research practice (see Adair et al., 1985).

Reconstructing the Community's Role

As noted in Chapter Four, a social ecology for community psychology research has been notably absent in the subdiscipline. The role of community members in the research relationship has been subordinate, contradicting community psychology ideology which calls for active participation and professional accountability. The two sources of evidence presented in this dissertation provide further substantiation of the

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historical status of human subjects in community research. Although a few examples of collaboration appeared earlier in the subdiscipline's history, only recently have there been systematic attempts to develop a conceptual framework and practical guidelines for an approach that reconstructs the research relationship along collaborative lines (e.g., D'Aunno & Price, 1984, 1984b; Munoz et al., 1979; Trickett et al., 1985).

Many of the participants in Study 3 were eager to redress the contradiction between their ideology and research practice; in fact, there is no doubt that a groundswell of support for reform of the research relationship exists. While the informants' comments contributed to the following formulation for reconstruction, it mainly emanates from the perspective employed throughout this dissertation.

Community psychology requires a paradigm that integrates the social processes intrinsic to community research with revised conceptions of scientific methodology (see Argyris, 1980). If community development and empowerment are the goals of the subdiscipline's interventions, then its mode of inquiry should reflect the nature of these aims (see Trickett, 1984). The issues of entry and exit must be regarded as an important component of scientific method in this context. The new paradigm draws its conceptual strength from a coalescence of the transactional philosophy of science, the social psychology of the experiment, and modern sociology of science, which demonstrate that observer and observed are engaged in an ongoing process of mutual influence.

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In reflecting on their Crestwood Heights study Seeley et al. (1956) offered some prescient comments on the social ecology and transactional processes found in their work that are highly relevant to the nature of the research relationship in contemporary community psychology. The authors noted that researcher and data source influence each other in subtle ways, comparable to the transference and countertransference phenomena said to occur in psychotherapy. Hence, social science, they argued, is necessarily relational and communicative, not strictly objective and detached. Secondly, they pointed out that their extended research presence had ripple effects on the community at several levels, including neighbourhoods, school staff, and community leaders. But they were uncertain as to whether these effects in the long run were helpful or harmful. Thirdly, they compared the social role of community research-change agent to the priesthood in that scientist-professionals make moral and ethical judgements while designing and implementing social interventions on the basis of presumably objective scientific knowledge. Clearly, Seeley et al. implied that the traditional conception of rigorous research was inadequate to deal with the complex social processes inherent in community research.

It has been common practice in community psychology to argue that the natural sciences paradigm of experimenter domination is appropriate to laboratory studies but very often inappropriate to community research. But this perspective assumes that laboratory research is aseptic, unaffected by social processes that can dramatically affect the validity of the inquiry; in short, it ignores the literature of the social psychology

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of the experiment. Moreover, the subordinate role that human subjects have played in recent decades is not an inevitable feature of psychological experimentation. The widely accepted hierarchy of experimenters and "human subjects" is unjustifiable in terms of community psychology's core values, and the metaphor of exchange relations is applicable to all community research methods regardless of the inconvenience to the researcher.

D'Aunno and Price (1984a, 1984b) have described how research methods differ according to three dimensions: the degree of collaboration with community members, researcher control, and social action orientation. The approach I describe below departs from theirs by assuming that human subjects are not restricted to the role of data source. Two main alternatives to the traditional research relationship can be identified (cf. Argyris, 1980). Both alternatives are based on the notion of community psychology research as a social intervention. That is, research is a transactional process of specific procedures cooperatively employed in a specific human context.

In one alternative model researchers apply a pre-packaged programme to a given setting, attempting through individual and group interviews of key people in the setting to persuade the potential participants to support the project fully. This support is viewed as essential for the acquisition of reliable and valid data and for the prevention of community and/or organizational resistance. To illustrate, Grant and Grant (1970) reported the efficacy of using peer interviewers in community studies, and several well-respected researchers have

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stressed the importance of providing ongoing feedback about research results to the host system (e.g., Cowen, 1978; Moos, 1979; Shure, 1979). In this model researchers retain their power and authority over the design and analysis stages; they offer participation but not shared control (e.g., Chavis, Stucky, & Wandersman, 1983).

A second alternative model involves research that is distinguished by joint determination of an investigation from conception to feedback stages, reflecting researcher openness to basic and not merely superficial changes suggested by the host community (e.g., Gottlieb & Todd, 1979; Kelly, 1984; Trickett et al., in press). Under the terms of this mode clients of community mental health centres, for instance, could design and administer their own surveys (Dinkel et al., 1981). Investigators can facilitate the full participation of community members during all phases of community research by employing different types of participation (Davis, 1982). In this model the underlying professional power base shifts to community co-ownership, because this type of cooperation is more harmonious with the concepts of citizen empowerment and community development. However, whether the research interaction involves a hierarchical relationship or a true exchange among equal contributors depends on how much real power and control citizen participants possess (Nassi, 1978; Rappaport, 1981).

Neither of these models precludes the use of experimental controls in the statistical sense. As some have noted, collaboration and statistical control are not mutually exclusive (Fairweather & Tornatzky, 1977; Campbell, 1978). Rather, what is to be avoided is the traditional

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manner in which experimental designs have been carried out in human settings. According to this view, so long as human data sources have some collaborative role to play, then statistical control can be achieved and community psychology ideals can be approximated. On the other hand, some psychologists contend that not only must the research transaction change but so must its underlying conceptions of scientific method (Gergen, 1982; Meehl, 1978; Sarason, 1981).

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Chapter Eleven

Interpretations and Future Research

The informants' recommendations for action and existing alternatives for cooperative community research signify that, if community psychologists wish to rectify the historical discrepancy between their ideology and research practice, they must implement comprehensive, systemic changes within their own culture. Community psychologists need to create and apply a social policy concerning the research relationship, a development which requires corresponding changes in their professional role to one of shared power and genuine professional accountability to the local community. However, in any social system there are complex sources of resistance to change that must be accounted for if an action plan is to be successful. In the case of community psychology, as was repeatedly evident in the interviews, resistance emanates from the dominant scientific paradigm, socioeconomic factors in academic psychology, community psychologists' professional role, and the interpersonal dynamics associated with these interrelated ideological and social structures. The chapter concludes with identification of some directions for further investigations.

Resistance to Change

The first source of resistance derives from community psychologists' adherence to the natural sciences paradigm. The experimental tradition of contemporary North American psychology has dictated a subordinate role for human subjects. Furthermore, since World War II

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there has been a dramatic increase in reliance on deception in human research, and the impact of the codification of ethical principles for research is highly questionable. Prediction and hierarchical control have prevailed over process-oriented communal inquiry. In the quest for "hard" as opposed to "soft" data and for the culturally-esteemed powers of the natural sciences psychologists have denigrated the interpersonal processes intrinsic to the research relationship.

Enculturated as they are in this ideology but espousing collaborative values, community psychologists have had relatively few models of researchers practicing non-hierarchical, communal research. Instead, many founding members of the subdiscipline promulgated the value of immaculate objectivity and prescribed the natural sciences paradigm for future generations (e.g., Bennett et al., 1966). But as one community psychologist pointed out, "The ideal of this model is one of objective tester of reality, with the data of a value-free investigation objectively gathered and applied dispassionately" (Rappaport, 1977, p. 30). Similarly, community psychologists have scrupulously adhered to objectivist canons of writing research reports. As instructed by the APA publication manual, authors exclude description or even mention of the "soft" factors enveloping human research. The interview results indicate these conventions are strongly reinforced by unexamined editorial and reviewer norms.

The informants also reported that they conformed to the norms of the natural sciences paradigm in order to establish and maintain community psychology as a credible subdiscipline in the eyes of experimental

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psychologists, who have dominated psychology departments. Community psychologists continue to emulate the traditional mode of professional control of the research relationship, because it is associated with the standard criteria for promotion and tenure. Although community psychologists' orientation is to practice field research, the social structure of their occupation is such that they are compelled to bring to the field the laboratory model and its strictures regarding the research relationship. Gadlin and Ingle (1975) tellingly identify the implications of this established pattern:

> If one brings to field research the same notions of science that were born in the laboratory, then only the setting for research will have changed. It is not the setting of research that needs to be changed, but the nature of the research relationship, on the one hand, and our consciousness of that relationship, on the other. (p. 1008)

Because field research consumes time, as the informants noted, and "time is money", community researchers are punished for devoting energy to "entry and exit" issues. In short, the political economy of academic psychology militates against the practice of community psychologists' core values. Thus, advancement of both the field and individuals' careers is linked to conventions of methodology, research ethics, and publishing, a finding that corresponds to recent studies of natural scientists' investigative practices (see Knorr et al., 1981).

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A related problem is that in psychology's professional training programmes research has been segregated from professional practice; as a result, enculturation in the conduct of any type of human inquiry has been under the tutelage of the traditional faculty structure and academic curriculum (Price & Cherniss, 1977). Graduate training has tended to concentrate on experimental studies of individual behaviour. In addition, as the informants observed, graduate student research in community psychology generally has had to conform to what experimental psychologists deem is an acceptable thesis or dissertation. The result is that the subdiscipline's basic values get ignored in the design, implementing, and writing of graduate researches. Thus, from the formation stage of their professional development apprentice community psychologists learn that the research relationship has low scientific status.

A second source of resistance can be found in the role of the professional social-healer. The historical basis for professional training in community psychology and its original role definition has been clinical psychology's scientist-practitioner model (Rappaport, 1977). The interview results demonstrate that not only did community psychologists avoid affiliation with political activists and curry favour with the scientific side of psychology, but, trained originally as clinicians, they also aspired to the equivalent status of psychiatrists.

The primary professional opportunity for community psychologists was the domain of community mental health. But critical inquiry has shown that the movement never actualized the ideals of community parti-

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cipation and professional accountability (Chu & Trotter, 1974). Rather, community mental health practice involved professionals playing the role of experts benevolently dispensing solutions to the community (Denner & Price, 1973). Mental health professionals have functioned like entrepreneurs in expanding their monopolistic power over presumed objective knowledge (Reiff, 1974). Shared expertise, in fact, has been a rarity in the history of the professional-laity relationship (Lenrow & Cowden, 1980).

As social actors in the community mental health system, community psychologists have also had to cope with the structures and interpersonal dynamics intrinsic to the bureaucratic control of community life. On the one hand, community psychologists have stressed the importance of community responsibility (e.g., Bloom, 1973). On the other hand, many founders designated their professional role as "retaining control and decision-making power" (Bennett et al., 1966). During the sixties and seventies this contradiction was actually played out in substantial professional resistance to active community participation (Goodstein & Sandler, 1978; Zax & Spector, 1974). Hence, community psychologists' ideology has conflicted with the social realities they encounter in attempting to apply their values; bureaucratic rather than community control became the theory-in-use (Rappaport, 1981). However, this kind of human relationship could result in "iatrogenic" effects (cf. Illich, 1976). Healer-caused harm can occur when community members' potential for autonomous coping, natural healing, and the development of personal and collective competencies are obstructed (Walsh, 1984).

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In summary, community psychology's ideals of community development and democratic partnership can be thwarted by the roles of scientist and practitioner as they have been traditionally conceived and practiced. Actualization of the values of shared power and control in the research relationship requires that community psychologists guard against the seductive effects of these culturally esteemed roles and of the equally strong attraction of individualistic career advancement. To successfully counter the "arrogance of expertise" and practice the value of "popular knowledge" community psychologists must redefine their social roles and reshape their own institutional structures (cf. McClure et al., 1980; Tyler et al., 1983). Otherwise, professional domination of the relationship with community members will persist.

On the other hand, some countervailing trends can be identified that might facilitate the development of a cooperative research paradigm. The principle of collaboration has attained a high degree of visibility in community psychology currently, due to textbook coverage, a few articles, and recent addresses by Division 27 presidents. In addition, Lewinian ideals seem to be reviving (e.g., D'Aunno & Price, 1984a). But perhaps the most significant trend is the receptivity of the Division 27 executive committee to the recommendations concerning journal policy put forward in the preceding chapter. As reported in Chapter 5, AJCP's instructions to authors now include the necessity for identifying "entry and exit" issues with respect to the research relationship, such as informed consent. If the informants' prediction is correct, then researchers' practices will change accordingly. Moreover, within psychology

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in general there seems to be an increasing appreciation for a transactional approach to human research (e.g., Gergen, 1982; J. Gibbs, 1979) which, if it continues, can only provide important sanction for the subdiscipline.

Furthermore, certain developments in North American society might also contribute to alterations in research practice. Proliferating self-help groups are demanding active participation and meaningful feedback as conditions for their involvement in social research. Secondly, with the spread of cooperative management strategies that stress worker participation, such as quality circles, throughout government and industry both managers and workers will come to expect congruence between their management style and the model of inquiry investigators employ (cf. Maccoby, 1978).

Directions for Future Inquiries

The results of the dissertation provide a substantial degree of new information about the evolution of community psycnology and its complex base of ideological factors and socio-economic conditions. The findings also suggest areas for future investigation within the subdiscipline and other scientific-professional institutions. In this final chapter I indicate how the present results add to existing knowledge and identify some directions for further inquiry.

Aside from the work of Babarik (1976, 1979), who deals with Line's efforts, there has been no prior historical study of the formation of Canadian community psychology. The interview material reported here partially fills the knowledge gap, but it is evident that, while the social history of the subdiscipline can now be written to some extent,

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more investigation of its roots, present structures, and future development is required. The results demonstrated that the most influential anglophone and francophone community psychologists are uninformed about both their historical antecedents and the type of community psychology practiced in the others' culture. In addition, there is no agreement as to how community psychology will evolve in Canada due to the lack of cooperation between the two language groups, the unresolved tension about differing orientations to community psychology (i.e., clinical vs. social), and U.S. domination organizationally and ideologically. Consequently, the identity of Canadian community psychology remains unformed and its organizational health questionable. However, further social historical research could contribute to the growth of the subdiscipline, if the inquiries were cooperative ventures between investigators and community psychologists and the findings were integrated with the existing organizational structure.

Since the primary focus of the present investigation was the research relationship, the historical information collected on the ideological and organizational development of U.S. community psychology represents but one contribution to a nascent body of knowledge about community psychology's evolution. Yet in some cases the interview data contradict the findings from surveys done on U.S. community psychology by Moitoza and Hersch (1981) and Elias and colleagues (1981, 1984). The following areas, as a result, deserve more in-depth investigation. First, the roles of the two community psychiatrists Lindemann and Caplan were more influential than extant accounts in community psychology text-

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books have indicated; similarly, the role of Boston University's original training programme has been underestimated. Secondly, the contributions of the players laying the groundwork for the founding conference should be studied, as their experiences would provide valuable historical material.

One of the major themes of this inquiry is the tension between community psychologists and other groups, whether clinical or general psychologists, psychiatrists, or social activists. Inasmuch as these tensions currently beset the subdiscipline, they also deserve further scrutiny. The entire evolutionary scope of community psychology has been intertwined with its parent subdiscipline, clinical psychology. For instance, it was apparently crucial that C.C. Bennett, a prominent clinician, played such a key role at the Boston Conference. This intradisciplinary relationship will persist, but its dynamics and changing context have been insufficiently examined. Other critical relationships in community psychology's history were contacts with political activists and daily interactions with general-experimental psychologists whose approval community psychologists vigorously sought. Information from these actors in the subdiscipline's historical drama would enrich extant accounts and also provide new material on the organizational development of modern psychology in general.

An additional area in community psychology's evolution begs further inquiry. The historical status of women in the subdiscipline has been subordinate, as the fate of Lulleen Anderson and the individualism of the male founders show. But fuller investigation might more specifi-

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cally identify what the past and current impediments are to women community psychologists becoming more influential in the subdiscipline. Furthermore, how women researchers deal with the research relationship could be investigated beyond the present findings' relevance to feminist methodology (see Reinharz, 1981).

This dissertation also highlighted how patterns of historical development in a scientific subdiscipline are interrelated with psychologists' beliefs about scientific method and report-writing, research ethics, and the political economy of university psychology departments, and with intrapersonal dynamics of identification. Like Mitroff's (1974) interdisciplinary study of moon scientists, this investigation encompassed the philosophy, sociology, anthropology, and psychology of science; it explored the socioeconomic basis of research practice. But there do not appear to be any similar, broad-band investigations of psychologists in the literature to which the present findings can be meaningfully compared. Clearly, then, the field is wide open for interdisciplinary exploration.

The results from the three studies coupled with the framework I employed -- the union of the sociology of psychological knowledge with critical emancipatory psychology -- provide like-minded investigators with a fertile orientation for assessing the ideology-practice dialectic in other subdisciplines and professional groups. As a few informants noted, community psychology is not the only subdiscipline to extol its core values; obviously, clinical psychology is a prime candidate for study. Yet psychology in general professes certain ideals about

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humankind which can be empirically compared to research and professional practices. This would lead to critical studies of all applied psychology as well as of core areas like personality research, social and developmental psychology, and the psychology of women. The burgeoning field of programme evaluation is a similar subject for inquiry about the research relationship. Lastly, the research practices of the mental health professions, including social work, nursing, and psychiatry, also require critical scrutiny. For example, it is possible that some social work research does in fact reflect a collaborative approach. In any case, this issue is clearly an empirical question demanding investigation.

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APPENDIX A

Introductory Letter

I am a doctoral candidate in the History and Theory of Psychology at York University (Toronto) with a special interest in community psychology. As the enclosed curriculum vitae indicates, I also work in an out-patient children's mental health unit.

My dissertation topic is the history of research practice in community psychology with a particular focus on the relationship between researchers and human subjects. I intend to rely on two sources of data: content analyses of published research reports and personal interviews of influential community psychologists.

My purpose in writing you is to request your participation in an interview concerning the origins and future of community psychology, the philosophical and social-political nature of the research relationship in the subdiscipline, and the prospects for evolution of that relationship. You were selected as one of 16 potential participants because of your editorial and organizational contributions to the development of the field.

The interviews will be approximately 90 minutes in duration, informal and semi-structured to allow for open dialogue, and audiotaped. I am willing to travel to your location for the interview, and I will provide you with written feedback on the interviews' findings upon completion of the research.

Your comments will be kept confidential and anonymity of quotes

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will be guaranteed; before I use any material I will ask your permission to mention your (anonymous) comments in my dissertation. Once the dissertation is finally submitted I plan to deposit the interview tapes at the Archives of the History of American Psychology, Akron, Ohio, with whatever restrictions on their use the participants require.

If you would like more information before deciding whether to participate, please advise me. If you are interested now, please send me a reply indicating your location in September and October 1984. If you plan to attend APA in Toronto, we could meet there informally; depending on your commitments we might be able to complete the interview then; please let me know if any of these arrangements would be convenient for you.

Also in your reply I would appreciate your nominating the journals you regard as the most relevant to community psychology research and your identifying any topics or issues of special importance that you would particularly like to discuss.

Thank you very much for your consideration of my requests. While I appreciate how important your views are to the success of my research project, I realize how many demands there are on your time.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Walsh

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APPENDIX B

Interview Topics

Evolution of Community Psychology

1. Factors contributing to its formal emergence in 1965
2. Previous traditions and antecedents
3. Future possibilities

Research Relationship in Community Psychology

1. Relevance of the natural science paradigm
2. Ethical issues in community research
3. Description of the research relationship in journal reports
4. Editorial policy
5. Effects of publication pressures
6. Role models

Evolution of the Research Relationship

1. Potential for a collaborative model
2. Necessary social conditions for a collaborative model

Evaluation of the Interview

1. Content
2. Process

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APPENDIX C

Telephone Interview Questions

1. How come research reports in the two journals do not mirror basic community psychology values of active collaboration with and professional accountability to citizens? Is the discrepancy between values and behaviour an apparent one, attributable, e.g., to a traditional style of journal report-writing, or does it reflect a genuine contradiction in actual research practice?

2. How applicable to community psychology research is the natural sciences paradigm of stringent experimental control over the research setting and the human beings investigated?

3. What are some of the problems in implementing a collaborative research approach?

4. How do the socio-economic realities of an academic job with its attendant reward structure -- the publish or perish ethic -- influence the use of human subjects in community psychology research?

5. What needs to be done within the community of community psychologists to promote the development of a research model truly reflective of the field's ideals?

6. How appropriate is it for journal editors to ensure that authors give fuller information about the research relationship in their research reports?

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APPENDIX D

Release Form

Concerning the doctoral research in which I will be interviewed by Richard T. Walsh, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Psychology, York University, Toronto, Canada, and from which an audiotape will be made of the interview:

Part I. Retention of the Audiotape

---- I wish the tape to be sent to me and no copies made of it;

or

---- I wish the tape to be sent to the Archives of the History of American Psychology, Akron, Ohio, with the following conditions on its use:

---- to be used without restriction

---- to be unavailable for use for --- years from this date.

Part II. Use of Quotes from the Interview

I agree/do not agree to the use of anonymous excerpts of my comments in the dissertation.

Part III. Any Additional Restrictions

Witness

Signed

Date

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APPENDIX E

Release Form

Concerning the doctoral research in which I will be interviewed by Richard T. Walsh, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Psychology, York University, Toronto, Ontario, and from which an audiotape will be made of the interview:

Part I. Retention of the Audiotape

---- I wish the tape to be sent to me and no copies made of it;

or

---- I wish the tape to be sent to the Canadian Psychological Association, Ottawa, for deposit in the National Archives of Canada, with the following conditions:

---- to be used without restriction

---- to be unavailable for use for --- years from this date.

Part II. Use of Quotes from the Interview

I agree/do not agree to the use of anonymous excerpts of my comments in the dissertation.

Part III. Any Additional Restrictions

Witness

Signed

Date

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APPENDIX F

Personal Interview Questions

Section I. Origins and Future

A. Origins

1. What were the most important factors contributing to the formal emergence of community psychology in 1965?
2. On what traditions and practical and ideological antecedents did community psychology build?
3. What overlap was there between community psychologists and political activists in the sixties and seventies?
4. What do you know about community psychology in Canada? What can be done to bridge the knowledge-gap?
5. How is the history of Canadian community psychology similar or not to that of the U.S. experience?
6. How influential have been U.S. socializing and interrelationship factors on the development of Canadian community psychology?
7. What are the differences between francophone and anglophone Canadian community psychology?

B. Future

1. What are the future possibilities for community psychology?
2. What are the necessary conditions for these potentials to be realized?
3. Will community psychology decline, as many of the 1965 founders believe?
4. What are the prospects for anglophone and francophone Canadian community psychology?

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Section II. Status of the Research Relationship

A. Philosophy of Science

1. To what extent are the traditional goals of psychology -- prediction and control -- harmonious with the espoused goals of community psychology - collaboration, the psychological sense of community, and professional accountability?
2. How applicable to community psychology research is the natural sciences paradigm of stringent control over the research setting and the human beings investigated?

B. Research Ethics

1. What are some of the basic ethical considerations involved in community psychology research projects?
2. To what extent can ethical concerns restrain the production of publishable community psychology research?

C. Editorial Influences of Journals

1. How come community psychology journal research reports do not reflect basic community psychology values of collaboration and professional accountability? Is this contradiction between community psychology values and actual research practice only an apparent one or does it reflect a genuine discrepancy?
2. How much influence does formal and informal editorial policy have on the way authors describe the research relationship in community psychology journal reports?
3. How appropriate is it for journal editors to ensure that authors give fuller information about the research relationship in their research reports?

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D. Research Production

1. How do the socio-economic realities of an academic job with its attendant reward structure -- the publish or perish ethic -- influence the use of human subjects in community psychology research?
2. To what extent do these contingencies of advancement differ in their influence on junior vs. senior community psychology faculty?

E. Role Models

1. Think of the person or persons who trained you in community psychology research: what was the nature of the research relationship in their research practice?
2. Think of the person or persons who comprise your current network: what is the nature of the research relationship in their research practice?

Section III. Evolution of the Research Relationship

A. Current Status

1. What are some of the problems in implementing a democratic model of empowerment and collaboration in community psychology research practice?
2. Whatever happened in community psychology to the Lewinian idea of (collaborative) action research?

B. Reconstruction Potential

1. What do community psychologists need to do in their own "community" to facilitate the growth of a research model truly reflective of community psychology's ideals?

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2. What social conditions need to change to promote this development?
3. How successful would such an action-strategy be in your and other institutional settings?
4. What would you recommend be done with the findings from this dissertation?

Section IV. Reflections on this Dialogue

1. How would you evaluate this interview as a personal experience, considering both content and process?
2. What can be done to improve the quality of the interview?

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APPENDIX G

Outline for a Cooperative Paradigm
in Community Research

Investigators who wish to implement a participatory research paradigm would take the following steps. This alternative represents an integration of methodology to the research relationship in that a cooperative paradigm concretizes the ideals of constituent validity and of research process as well as content contributing to community development. This outline is comparable to the investigative principles found, for example, in Gottlieb and Todd (1979) and Trickett (1984), but it is also indebted to the dialogical method articulated by Riegel (1978) and more recently in the critical emancipatory psychology of Sullivan (1984).

1. When the investigative team and community members meet to discuss the goals of the proposed inquiry, the investigators invite shared control over the conception, execution, and consequences of the study. The community members and investigators form a meta-team of critical co-investigators with each party contributing unique expertise.

2. Concerning data collection, the investigators provide the necessary training in observational and recording skills, while the community members acquaint the professionals with the concrete realities of the formers' world. Both parties are data sources and data collectors. In fact, the product of this democratic research relationship or community of interests are not "data" but "communicata", that is, things

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shared in dialogue, connoting mutuality and community of interests.

3. This community of interests then decides how the findings will be analyzed from the primary perspective of the findings' applicability for effecting change in the members' social conditions. Concretely, the specific results are discussed again in small group meetings in which both parties are active participants.

4. Questions for further inquiry may arise, leading to additional investigation by the co-investigators, particularly as the social ecological impact of the original study is assessed. That is, the community of interests practices the principle of reflexivity in the research relationship and in the content of the investigation. The co-investigators remain alert to possible negative effects stemming from the intervention.

5. Authorship of reports about the inquiry then becomes a joint enterprise of both parties in which they contribute their unique areas of knowledge. The co-investigators produce reports that have practical benefits for both parties.

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APPENDIX H

The Interview as a Social Research Method

The investigative technique of interviewing employed in this dissertation is an example of qualitative research methodology. Long practiced by social scientists, interviewing has been recognized by some psychologists as a valid research tool in clinical and social psychology (e.g., Giorgi, 1970; Sanford, 1982). In comparing qualitative research to investigative reporting Levine (1980) argues that these methods are disciplined inquiries subject to checks on inferences and shaped by conceptual frameworks; their value rests in providing concrete, immediate understanding of human phenomena as opposed to the abstractions found in quantitative research.

Cannell and Kahn (1968) have identified core conditions for a successful interview: (a) the informant has access to the information the investigator is seeking without forgetting or repressing it; (b) the informant understands the meaning of the interviewer's questions as intended; (c) there is sufficient motivation for maintaining the interaction to the interview's completion.

Structurally a research interview has certain rules (Brenner, 1978). First, the informant's ethical rights to voluntary, informed consent and to confidentiality need to be respected. Secondly, the interviewer attempts to follow basic norms of courtesy common to such formal situations. Thirdly, there are specified roles for informant and interviewer: the former is to furnish full, relevant replies, while

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the latter's responsibility is to keep the informant on task and to probe when necessary through attentive listening for hidden meanings in the informant's comments.

Beyond these technical considerations, interviews can be used within a critical emancipatory framework to stimulate a process of change in social systems. Sanford (1982), for instance, believes that conducting interviews in an action-oriented, collaborative way can generate personal benefits for the interviewees and instigate improvements in their organizational settings.

As noted in Chapter Nine, in the section "Reflections on the interviews", the interactional subtleties of interviewing were particularly evident during the conduct of Study 3. These reciprocal influences exemplified the systemic orientation to social research methodology articulated in Chapter Four. Just as investigative reporters must do (Levine, 1980), I worked at building and maintaining rapport throughout the interview stages, yet sometimes I had to confront informants while attending to nonverbal cues of emotional states. In fact, working through varying degrees of resistance presented by some participants was a major challenge. Maccoby (1978) has noted a similar phenomenon with respect to his personality investigations of high-level managers in computer-technology firms. One interpersonal approach that I employed to deal with resistance was, like Maccoby (1978) and Sanford (1982), to reveal my own values and views even if they differed, as they did in a few cases, from the informant's. For example, before he would even begin the taping one participant pointedly asked me, "Where

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are you coming from", referring to my personal values; I told him, in part because of respect for him and in part because the relationship he and I were establishing would filter his responses.

By far the most significant aspect of resistance was the matter of the threatening quality of the interview's content, inasmuch as potentially my inquiry about the actual research practice of the subdiscipline could reveal contradictions in an individual's personal practice. Thus, the threat to the disclosure of personal behaviour discrepant with one's public presentation was no doubt quite real for an unknown number of the informants. Under these interviewing conditions, as methodologists have observed (e.g., Bradburn & Sudman, 1979; Brenner, 1978; Cannell & Kahn, 1968), the tendency for respondent distortion can become quite strong. It may even be true that eminent people have a special investment in mythicizing their past behaviour. But, while there are several strategies an investigator can employ in an attempt to counter distortions, there are no methodological guarantees that an informant will not create a misleading impression, consciously or otherwise.

Nevertheless, I relied on the following steps to protect as much as possible against distortions. First, in addition to drawing on my eight years of professional experience and previous graduate training in clinical interviewing, I completed pilot interviews on three knowledgeable applied psychologists, all of whom practice community research and are familiar with the relevant issues of research practice. As a further check on my skills in doing a research interview my research

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supervisor listened to a portion of one audiotape from the pilot work. Secondly, I followed the recommendations made by Bradburn and Sudman (1979) for dealing with threatening items in interview questionnaires, that is, I used long introductions and provided open-ended responses. Thirdly, in the content of the questions themselves I employed multiple perspectives during the interview so as to facilitate converging validation concerning the consistency of an individual's responses. For example, when I inquired about ethical matters of research in the abstract, I later covered this issue from another vantage point by concretely examining particular examples of research practice in terms of how ethical principles were implemented. Fourthly, I frequently asked subsidiary questions spontaneously to provide additional context for the informant or to probe beneath the surface. These questions derived from my digestion of the literature and my knowledge of the individual's research. Lastly, to further reduce the possible threat inherent in my material, I used the indirect approach of asking about the practice of others in the context of questions about a participant's mentors and about models for community research practice.

Finally, both parties to these interviews developed some "reactance" to the interviews themselves. At the conclusion of their interviews some informants concluded that they had been too pessimistic or optimistic in their comments and then added clarifying remarks. Others noted that they were energized by the interview and spontaneously expressed hopefulness about social change in their subdiscipline. The interviews had further effects on me personally over and above what I reported in

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Chapter Nine. My sympathy for the status of community psychologists in traditional academic psychology departments intensified. Moreover, the informants' receptivity to the social change focus of the third portion of the interview strengthened my own commitment to changing the subdiscipline's policies and practices.

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