Culture-centered Research and Counselor Efficacy

Kültür-merkezli Araştırma ve Psikolojik Danışman Yeterliliği

Cirecie WEST-OLATUNJI¹, Nicole JEAN-PAUL², Lauren SHURE³
Rachael D. GOODMAN⁴ and Dadria LEWIS⁵

Abstract: Culture-centered research is introduced as a model that counselors can use to engage in more authentic forms of investigation, particularly when exploring phenomena related to non-Western peoples. The authors assert that culture-centered research addresses the inherent ethnocentrism and bias in traditional research methodologies that lead to inaccurate application and interpretation of constructs, faulty generalizations about non-Western client populations, and compromise efficacy among counselors. However, little discussion has focused on Western-oriented scientific knowledge that serves as a foundation for clinical practice. In a review of the literature, the authors provide an historiography of research in counseling and psychology, offer alternative research methodologies, and outline several culturally informed clinical interventions to enhance counselor efficacy. This argument is of particular value to international counseling scholars who seek to explore cultural issues within their own countries. Furthermore, the authors call for a transformation within counseling research that honors the cultural mores outside of the Western paradigm.

Keywords: multicultural counseling, culture-centered research, evidence-based practices, counselor efficacy


Anahtar sözçükleç: çok kültürli psikolojik danışma, kültür temelli araştırma, kanada dayalı uygulamalar

Under assumptions of objectivity, Western or Eurocentric notions of research have created knowledge privileging the dominant population and formulated practices causing harm to culturally diverse populations (Guthrie, 1976; Smith, 1999; Sue, Ivey & Pedersen, 1996; West-_Olatunji & Conwill, 2010). This phenomenon has been likened to Western-oriented counseling and psychology’s practices that impose White middle-class notions of mental wellness and dysfunction upon culturally diverse people. In response to this imposition, critically minded counselors and psychologists formulated multicultural theories that placed clients’ values at the center of clinical interventions. Similarly, culture-centered research approaches have emerged in educational research in response to the appropriation

¹ Associate Professor, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, OH, USA, Email: westolce@ucmail.uc.edu
² Doctoral Candidate, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL, USA
³ Assistant Professor, Barry University, Miami Shores, FL, USA
⁴ Assistant Professor, George Mason University Fairfax, VA, USA
⁵ Adjunct Instructor, Northern Caribbean University, Manchester, Jamaica
of non-Western knowledge that has mainly benefitted the researcher (King, 2005). Minor accommodations to the call for increased cultural responsiveness in research have instigated pervasive but superficial inclusion of cultural terms, such as culture and ethnicity, in the dissemination of research without authentic or sufficient application of cultural mores as they relate to research design, associated protocols, or analysis (Tillman, 2002). Within the qualitative paradigm, research methodologies have emerged wherein researchers have proposed new models, including Critical Race Theory (CRT) (Tate, 1997), indigenous methodologies (Kaomea, 2003; Smith, 1999), feminist methodologies (Delgado Bernal, 1998; Dillard, 2006), and transformative research (King, 2005; Tillman, 2006). These nascent research approaches challenge conventional assumptions about research. More recently, quantitative researchers have challenged the hegemonic assumptions within this paradigm to offer new insights (Walter & Andersen, 2013). Hegemony is defined as domination or privilege of one individual or group over another (Goodman & West-Olatunji, 2010). Scholars with a cultural focus assert that research should: (a) reflect the voices of those under investigation, (b) reveal the situated perspective of the researcher, and (c) incorporate transformation as part of the research experience.

By placing culture at the center of inquiry, honoring and validating culturally diverse ways of knowing and being, and aiming to facilitate empowerment and the liberation of participants, culture-centered research poses a paradigmatic shift. By valuing and privileging the voices of the researched, culture-centered research approaches resist implicit cultural, theoretical, and pedagogical dominance. Implicit dominance is evident in the institutionalization of Western values as norms. Thus, while disseminated studies often do not contain explicit statements that disclose the authors’ Eurocentric perspectives applied within the design and analysis, these values are nonetheless embedded in published works. Further, culture-centered research frameworks seek to create theory and practice that address micro- and macrosystemic problems faced by culturally-diverse peoples (Sue et al., 1996; Tillman, 2002).

The purpose of this paper is to provide a historiography of ethnocentrism in counseling and psychology research and present an overview of culture-centered research methodologies. An understanding of the influence of ethnocentrism in counseling and psychology research is critically important for counselors, as they both produce and consume this research. It is equally important to highlight rise of culture-centered research methodologies. The authors assert that these approaches more accurately inform research design, data collection, analysis, and application to practice. Recommendations are offered for enhanced clinical efficacy when employing culturally informed case conceptualization, culture-centered theories, and evidence-based culture-centered interventions.

**Review of The Literature**

**Ethnocentrism in Research**

Scholars have asserted that the roots of psychological research reflect a deficit orientation toward culturally diverse persons through the imposition of Western ideologies (Guthrie, 1976; King, 2005; Smith, 1999). Specifically, conventional, Western-oriented scientific knowledge has been criticized for its ethnocentric bias in sampling, use of deprivation theory, and hegemonic methodology. Moreover, while internal validity has often been a main focus within studies, external validity has often been overlooked.

**Sampling Bias.** Many early studies used a generally homogenous sample to make inferences about other populations, irrelevant of cultural group or other relevant demographic variables (Rogler, 1999; Sue, 1999). Despite the frequent use of mostly or all White middle class participants, assumptions were made and applied universally. Another example of sampling bias in psychological research is the convolution of race and class. Since the 1920s and into the 1990s, publications touting the inferior intelligence of culturally diverse groups often juxtaposed lower class culturally diverse participants with middle class White participants as comparison (Guthrie, 1976; Herrnstein & Murray, 1994; Muntaner, Nieto, & O’Campo, 1996).

**Deprivation Theory.** In the 1960s, two publications, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action (Moynihan, 1965) and the Coleman Report (Coleman et al., 1966), were released to advise the development of federally funded compensatory education programs, such as Head Start and Title I (Gordon & Wilkerson, 1966; Vinovskis, 1999). These programs were based upon cultural deprivation theory that asserted that people living in low-income families and communities are disadvantaged due to their socialization in a culture of poverty (Bloom, Davis & Hess, 1965; Lewis, 1950; Valencia, 1997). Today, scholars have been critical of these education programs for: (a) stereotyping African American families, (b) warning of a “tangle of pathology” in African American communities, and (c) blaming African American family, community, and culture for deficits in achievement without...
recognizing the cultural bias in standardized tests and hegemony in educational environments (Foster, Lewis, & Onafowora, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Leacock, 1971).

In addition to interfering with the establishment of knowledge and practice that is effective, this imposition of the dominant worldview also perpetuates the hegemony rooted in Eurocentric research and counseling (Dillard, 2000; Rogler, 1999; Sue, 1999; West-Olatunji, 2008). The early termination rates of culturally diverse counseling clients, as well as persistent underachievement and overrepresentation in school-based disciplinary practices among culturally diverse students make a compelling argument for culture-centered research and informed practices (Day-Vines et al., 2007, Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Sue & Sue, 2008).

**Methodology.** In conventional research, knowledge is viewed as culturally neutral. This myth of objectivity leads to a failure to identify the impact of the researcher’s cultural identity and worldview on the methods employed and the interpretations made. Mainstream psychological and educational research often fails to consider the cultural values of the research. Rather than considering the researcher’s cultural identity and worldview subjective and therefore not relevant, the authors argue that the inclusion of this information offers the transparency necessary for consumers of research to adequately assess the research findings.

In addition to the absence of the researcher’s voice, largely absent from mainstream research are the voices of non-dominant peoples (Dillard, 2006; King, 2005; Smith, 1999; Sue & Sue, 2008). Consequently, a deeper understanding of their resiliencies, strengths, values, and worldviews is also absent. Capturing the voices of culturally diverse peoples is important in order to develop interventions that are culturally congruent and meaningful in the context of their lived experiences. The underutilization and premature termination from counseling services may be the consequence of cultural conflict and misunderstanding that result in client mistrust (Sue & Sue, 2008). By valuing and privileging the voices of those who participate in research investigations, culture-centered approaches seek to create theory and practice to facilitate resolution of problems. Such resolutions honor the worldviews and values of culturally diverse people in accordance with their own conceptualizations and understandings of healing and wellness. Scholars purporting this perspective believe that it leads to more efficient and expedient interventions and treatment (Leung & Zhang, 1995; Sue et al., 1996; West-Olatunji, 2008).

**Culture-centered Research Methodology**

Five culture-centered research approaches reflecting the ideals purported as effective when investigating culturally diverse populations have been selected for review. Although all reflect the qualitative framework, this incidence is a result of qualitative researchers’ exploration of new ways to investigate phenomena affecting culturally diverse populations. Such exploration has not been as evident in quantitative frameworks. It should also be noted that not all qualitative research methods represent culture-centered research. Of the qualitative methodologies presented, one uses race as a central construct, two are from a feminist/womanist perspective, and the remainder view ethnicity and culture as salient concepts. All challenge the hegemonic dominance of Western ideology in constructing knowledge.

**CRT Model.** The Critical Race Theory (CRT) movement grew out of civil rights struggles in the U.S. during the 1960s, when scholars in the legal field began to challenge existing ways of creating knowledge that maintained disparities and injustice (Tate, 1997). CRT scholars challenged that traditional paradigms did not include a discussion of race, despite that fact that race and racism inform social systems, and in particular, inform education. Traditional theories, CRT scholars argued, were founded on stereotypes about culturally diverse people. CRT scholars challenge negative assumptions by highlighting the impact of cultural and race in research investigations. Additionally, through recognition of individual and group experiences of people of color, CRT researchers create new knowledge that can liberate and empower (Tate, 1997).

**Endarkened Feminist Epistemology.** Feminist theories have attempted to make transparent the invisible gender inequities (Commeyras, Orellana, Bruce, & Neilsen, 1996). By bringing gender inequity into the conversation about research, feminist scholars began to deconstruct how gender is conceptualized and its relationship to power and privilege. Further, they have illuminated the dualistic and essentialist thinking that necessarily confers power on one group over another.

The work of mainstream feminists to elucidate gender issues has been criticized for its failure to address the multiple oppressions faced by women in addition to gender, such as marginalization due to class, culture and ethnicity, or sexual orientation (hooks, 2000). Emphasis on commonalities between women based on gender resulted in the failure of these feminists to identify the differential impact of oppression by institutional systems on culturally diverse women and women of lower socio-economic status (Delgado
Bernal, 1998). Black feminist scholars, such as bell hooks, laid bare the failures of White, middle class feminist thought and developed a framework for examining the complex and multifaceted experiences of women, known as intersectionality. Intersectionality breaks down the existing analytical framework by highlighting the multiple sources of identity and oppression (Grillo, 1995).

Endarkened feminist epistemology, an outgrowth of Black feminist (or Womanist) theory, focuses on identifying, resisting, and transforming oppression. Central to this perspective is the assertion that cultural identity is self-determined, multifaceted and highly influential. Culture defines researcher’s perspectives and actions (Dillard, 2000). Another assertion of this perspective is that researchers are responsible to the communities from which they form their identity. Understanding is expected to arise from a close relationship with the community being served by the research. This relationship makes research not only intellectually meaningful, but also personally meaningful to the researcher (Dillard, 2000). The purpose of this perspective is to not only identify oppression, but also to produce action against oppression. This call to action situates research as an obligation. Working from this perspective allows for research that is congruent and meaningful to the researcher.

Chicana Feminist Epistemology. Other culture-centered perspectives include Delgado Bernal’s Chicana feminist epistemological framework (1998). Using this framework, participants are involved in the research process and in the process of interpreting data. This stands is stark contrast to the cultural hegemonic domination of traditional research. This perspective embraces dualities and illuminates perspectives that are usually left out. Further, this research framework explores the unique issues of Chicanas, including immigration, generational status, language, and Catholicism. Research should include sources of cultural intuition, such as one’s personal experience, the existing literature, one’s professional experience, and the analytical research process itself.

Indigenous Methodologies. Research has examined the context of post-colonial Hawaii and the implications for the indigenous people there. One approach that emphasizes the importance of anti-oppressive and decolonizing research methods to bring out silenced voices of marginalized people is indigenous methodology (Kaomea, 2003).

In post-colonial Hawaii, Kaomea (2000) used problem-based methods to conduct a curriculum analysis in Hawaiian schools in order to better understand the role of this curriculum in indoctrinating young indigenous Hawaiians to be part of the low paying tourism industry. Given the post-colonial setting and the suppression of indigenous voices, researchers need methods that will uncover marginalized perspectives. To do so, researchers are often tasked with peeling away layers of misinterpretations and reading erasures.

Transformative Research. Joyce King (2005), a leading researcher in multicultural education, purported that research should (a) create self-knowing, (b) deconstruct myths and dominant ideology, and (c) aid in recovery from oppression. Given that the invisible veil of Whiteness creates hidden power and hegemony, there is a need for culture-centered research to expose this reality. King (2005) illustrated how a textbook that discussed the U.S. as a “nation of immigrants,” is problematic. First, it implicitly suggests that the dominant group is not native to this land. Second, this phrase dispossesses membership for native peoples and other non-immigrant citizens. Specifically, it ignores and excludes enslaved Africans and their descendents as well as indigenous populations, such as Native Americans.

Transformative research places the ethnic group and its shared knowledge at the center of the investigation (Tillman; 2002, 2006). Culturally congruent research methods are both holistic and contextualized. Such methods include culturally specific knowledge that provides a cultural resistance to theoretical domination, exposes oppression, and includes multiple realities. Culturally sensitive data interpretations place the knowledge of participants at the center, instead of the knowledge of the researcher.

Culturally informed theory and practice is meaningful and situated within the cultural knowledge base, engendering transformative research. Counselors need to be concerned about the hegemony embedded in conventional research because it typically lays the foundation for theory, policy, and program development. As researchers, counselors should strive to identify the influence of their cultural identity and worldview on their research. As consumers of research, counselors should be critical of the interpretations made in research that does not allocate adequate attention to the influence of culture. Failure to attend to the profound influence of culture decreases counselors’ ability to serve their clients.

Counselor Efficacy

During the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s, African American psychologists began to question the dominant, Western canon evident in the training of counseling and psychology students and its
impact on the efficacy of clinicians. The subsequent establishment of a Black psychology (Belgrave & Allison, 2006; West-Olatunji & Conwill, 2010) provided a groundswell of support and encouragement to culturally diverse clinical educators and practitioners and served as a foundation for culture-centered counseling theory. Multicultural counseling theory and techniques were advanced by counselors and other clinical researchers and promoted the idea that diverse cultural groups have differing worldviews that inform culturally-specific goals for the therapeutic relationship (West-Olatunji, 2008). In the mid-1980s, a set of multicultural competencies were developed by scholars in the Association of Multicultural Counseling and Development (AMCD; Arredondo et al., 1996), a division of the American Counseling Association (ACA). These competencies are still in use today and have been adapted to develop advocacy competencies (Toporek, Lewis, & Crethar, 2009) and LGBTQ counseling competencies (Association For Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, And Transgender Issues In Counseling [ALGBTIC], 2010) among others.

Today, multicultural counseling has made its way into mainstream counseling and counselor education programs. The Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs (CACREP), includes language in their most recent standards highlighting the need to attend to culture in order to be an effective counselor in a multicultural society (2009). In addressing school settings, Baruth, and Manning (2000) called for the enhanced preparation and awareness among middle school counselors in order to respond to the increased diversity within the middle school populations. The American School Counselors Association (ASCA) (2005) has also modified their description of the school counselor’s role to include responding to the increasing diversity within schools.

In a bid to include culture as an integrated rather than a marginalized component of the counseling process, Pedersen (1991) offered culture-centered counseling as the fourth force in counseling, asserting that there are four problems that can arise from solely applying theories based on Western beliefs and values. These problems are: (a) cultural encapsulation, (b) equating ethnicity with culture, (c) the rigid matching of techniques to stereotype without taking cultural salience of the individual into account, and (d) the complexity and broadness of the definition of culture. Counseling was characterized as reflecting a generic multicultural dimension rather than being viewed as a single, universal system of counseling. Pedersen (2008) has recently raised concern regarding ethical and moral dilemmas for multicultural counselors and the need to further develop multicultural competencies within the profession.

Counselors outside of the U.S., particularly those in countries, such as Turkey, where counselor training has proliferated, have also asserted the need for inclusion of culture-centered conceptualization of client issues (Mocan-Aydın, 2000; Yüksel, 2003). As counselor training emerges in countries around the globe, program faculty struggle to balance the desire to emulate Western models while preserving emphasis on their own cultural worldviews.

Culture-centered interventions. The vast majority of culture-centered interventions reflect culturally specific characteristics (Nwachuku, & Ivey, 1991) in that they represent rites or behavioral norms within particular cultures. Grills and Ajei (2002) challenged fellow counselors and psychologists by calling for a re-examination of the universality of Western models of counseling and psychotherapy. Additionally, some scholars have applied the principles of NTU (“Ntu” is a Bantu word from West Africa that means “person” or “human.”) psychotherapy when conceptualizing an African American gay client (Wynn & West-Olatunji, 2008). NTU psychotherapy incorporates seven principles, or the Nguzo Saba, that reflect the influence of African heritage. The therapy is spiritually based with the goal of assisting people and systems to become authentic and balanced within the natural order.

More recently, Native American rites and rituals have been discussed in terms of their therapeutic benefits. Specifically, use of the Ayeli technique (Garrett, Brubaker, Torres-Rivera, West-Olatunji & Conwill, 2008) and the sweat lodge ceremony (Garrett et al., in press), among others, have been offered as culture-centered interventions. The Ayeli technique represents the incorporation of spirituality and beliefs central to Native American culture in the therapeutic process. Utilizing the sweat lodge ceremony in the therapeutic process highlights the potential for the inclusion of meaningful rituals in order to increase the effectiveness of treatment.

Exemplifying culture-centered counseling when working with Latino American clients, cuento therapy (Constantino, Malgady, & Rogler, 1986) has been discussed as a narrative tool for promoting client voice. This practice relies on the richness of Puerto Rican folktale to facilitate the client’s engagement in the therapeutic process.

While counselors continue to advance the idea of culturally situated counseling, other culture-centered approaches have emerged in related disciplines. Dutta (2007), a health psychologist has discussed the theoretical underpinnings of culturally sensitive
and culture-centered communication and explored the resulting applications of these two approaches to communication. These forms of communication are tools for clinicians to critically analyze power, ideology, and hegemony when providing and communicating about health care. Sherman (1997) discussed the need to consider culture an asset to therapy rather than a problem to adjust to or overcome. In order to provide a meaningful connection between the client and the therapeutic process, the cultural of the client(s) must be accurately assessed. Counselors must be careful not to rely on cultural myths or stereotypes. Attention to cultural values can facilitate the efficacy of treatment, making therapy effective for a wider range or populations. In this sense, culture is an ally to counselors (Sherman, 1997). This mindset provide promise for the continued improvement of mental health services for culturally diverse clients.

Discussion
International scholars in the field of counseling have asserted the hazards of ethnocentrism in clinical practice. For example, Kağnıcı (2013) challenged counselor educators in Turkey to initiate changes to the counseling curricula to integrate multicultural counseling concepts in training programs. In a qualitative study investigating the impact of a multicultural counseling course on counselor trainees, Kağnıcı (2014) found that students where able to demonstrate increased multicultural competence as well as overall clinical competence that aided in their ability to adjust and cope in their work environments. Given that these outcomes reflect prior multicultural counseling research in the U. S., it is imperative that scholars also consider the need to improve the rigor of counseling research, especially as it pertains to clinical populations internationally.

There are several reasons why counselors and counselor educators should concern themselves with the ethnocentrism in counselor education research. First, persistent clinical problems experienced by culturally and socially marginalized client populations may be due, in large part, to research methods that fail to examine these populations in the context of their culture. Second, unanswered questions and the lack of exploration into clinical problems serve as obstacles to health and wellness in marginalized communities and can be attributed to inadequate investigations or disinterest in research phenomena by counselor educators. Third, cultural hegemony in counseling research can further alienate culturally diverse client populations and impose unnecessary barriers to developing rapport and providing services. Practitioners rely upon research to provide case conceptualizations about their clients. Research that does not take the influence of culture into account diminishes clinicians’ ability to adequately serve clients’ needs. Subsequently, counselor educators need to work toward improving their research protocols when exploring phenomena in which culturally diverse clients are central to the investigation.

Recommendations
Counselor Educators. We recommend that counselor educators within and outside of the U.S. incorporate culture-centered theories and methodologies into course experiences for masters and doctoral students. Such opportunities might involve: (a) research courses that include culture-centered research methods, (b) theory and multicultural counseling courses that cover culture-centered theories, and (c) throughout the curriculum, students application of culture-centered theories in student assignments.

Instructors are encouraged to insert, at a minimum, one module on culture-centered research methodologies in the standard research and assessment courses at the masters level. For example, the instruction module in the research course might include an introduction to culture-centered research methodologies, including a rationale and definition. It would also be helpful to provide examples of clinical studies that have used this approach and require students to complete assignments in which they design a research proposal using a culture-centered framework. At the doctoral level, faculty are urged to develop an entire course on culture-centered research methodologies to ensure that future counselor educators integrate these frameworks into their research identities.

Additionally, clinical researchers can collaborate with community stakeholders to conduct more culturally informed research. Counselor educators can focus on clinical research that solves problems in the real world and, as such, exemplify engaged scholarship. When conducting research, counselor educators can include member checking as part of their validity measures during the data analysis period. Examples of member checking have included the use of town hall meetings to share preliminary findings of the study. Thus, when counselor educators partner with research participants they can create new knowledge, ensure the accuracy of their findings, and maximize participant voice in the research. Use of creative forms of dissemination, such as readers theater, allow for more transparency in research. This method allows for researchers, participants and consumers of research to participate in the dramatic
presentation of research findings in a manner that facilitates engagement and understanding (Donmoyer & Yennie-Donmoyer, 1995; West-Olatunji, 2005).

Finally, theses and dissertation advisors and research methods faculty need to train students to think more critically when conducting searches or designing research projects. Faculty can encourage the use of culture-centered research theories and methodologies when helping students to frame their studies. More research is needed that tests the empirical nature of culture-centered interventions to potentially increase their use in clinical settings.

**Practitioners.** Practitioners are encouraged to try culture-centered and indigenous interventions in their practice and share with others the responses from their clients. Several clinicians have written about the effectiveness of the use of such interventions. For example, Negro spirituals have been used to incorporate the culturally significant components found in African American music and poetry into the therapy session (Jones, 1999). The eleven phase Empty-Pot Healing Approach reflects the rich heritage of Afrocentric psychotherapy (Oshodi, 1999) wherein the counselor employs a hand-carved wooden pot as a metaphorical container for psychological and emotional issues. Additionally, Ramirez, Jain, Flores-Torres, Perez, and Carlson (2009) provide more recent evidence of the positive effects of cuentos or Puerto Rican youth stories, and proverbs on children’s well-being.

Finally, ACA and other counseling associations internationally should promote culture-centered theories and interventions in their program activities, such as journal articles, newsletters, conference presentations, and in leadership development. For example, a database of culture-centered research methodologies, theories, and interventions would be valuable to practitioners and researchers.

In sum, ethnocentrism in research has led to the misconceptualization of culturally diverse individuals and inaccurate representation of culturally marginalized groups of people in the counseling literature. This has resulted in a dearth of effective interventions and has negatively impacted the mental health and wellbeing of certain segments of U.S. society. Culture-centered research methodologies have emerged to counter the cultural hegemony in mainstream research with a focus on empowerment and liberatory practices. The authors assert that, when counselors use culture-centered interventions and focus on transformation as an outcome of the therapeutic process, they are likely to increase efficacy, with transformation occurring for both the client and counselor. Counselor educators and practitioners are encouraged to seek out opportunities to increase their knowledge and understanding of culture-centered research, theories, and interventions in order to more effectively meet the needs of all clients.

**References**


