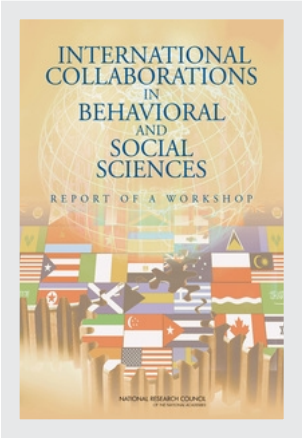

International Collaborations in Behavioral and Social Sciences Research: Report of a Workshop

DETAILS

102 pages | 6 x 9 | HARDBACK
ISBN 978-0-309-38375-2 | DOI 10.17226/12053

AUTHORS

Committee on International Collaborations in Social and Behavioral Sciences Research, U.S. National Committee for the International Union of Psychological Science, National Research Council

INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATIONS IN BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

REPORT OF A WORKSHOP

Committee on International Collaborations in
Social and Behavioral Sciences Research

U.S. National Committee for the
International Union of Psychological Science

Board on International Scientific Organizations

Policy and Global Affairs

NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL
OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMIES

THE NATIONAL ACADEMIES PRESS
Washington, D.C.
www.nap.edu

THE NATIONAL ACADEMIES PRESS 500 Fifth Street, N.W. Washington, DC 20001

NOTICE: The project that is the subject of this report was approved by the Governing Board of the National Research Council, whose members are drawn from the councils of the National Academy of Sciences, the National Academy of Engineering, and the Institute of Medicine. The members of the committee responsible for the report were chosen for their special competences and with regard for appropriate balance.

This study was supported by Contract/Grant No. NSF-7189 between the National Academy of Sciences and the National Science Foundation. Any opinions, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed in this publication are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the organizations or agencies that provided support for the project.

International Standard Book Number 13: 978-0-309-11415-8
International Standard Book Number 10: 0-309-11415-2

Limited copies are available from the Board on International Scientific Organizations, phone 202-334-2688.

Additional copies of this report are available from the National Academies Press, 500 Fifth Street, N.W., Lockbox 285, Washington, DC 20055; (800) 624-6242 or (202) 334-3313 (in the Washington metropolitan area); Internet, http://www.nap.edu.

Suggested citation: National Research Council, 2008. International Collaborations in Behavioral and Social Sciences Research: Report of a Workshop. Board on International Scientific Organizations. Washington, D.C.: The National Academies Press.

Printed in the United States of America

THE NATIONAL ACADEMIES

Advisers to the Nation on Science, Engineering, and Medicine

The **National Academy of Sciences** is a private, nonprofit, self-perpetuating society of distinguished scholars engaged in scientific and engineering research, dedicated to the furtherance of science and technology and to their use for the general welfare. Upon the authority of the charter granted to it by the Congress in 1863, the Academy has a mandate that requires it to advise the federal government on scientific and technical matters. Dr. Ralph J. Cicerone is president of the National Academy of Sciences.

The **National Academy of Engineering** was established in 1964, under the charter of the National Academy of Sciences, as a parallel organization of outstanding engineers. It is autonomous in its administration and in the selection of its members, sharing with the National Academy of Sciences the responsibility for advising the federal government. The National Academy of Engineering also sponsors engineering programs aimed at meeting national needs, encourages education and research, and recognizes the superior achievements of engineers. Dr. Charles M. Vest is president of the National Academy of Engineering.

The **Institute of Medicine** was established in 1970 by the National Academy of Sciences to secure the services of eminent members of appropriate professions in the examination of policy matters pertaining to the health of the public. The Institute acts under the responsibility given to the National Academy of Sciences by its congressional charter to be an adviser to the federal government and, upon its own initiative, to identify issues of medical care, research, and education. Dr. Harvey V. Fineberg is president of the Institute of Medicine.

The **National Research Council** was organized by the National Academy of Sciences in 1916 to associate the broad community of science and technology with the Academy's purposes of furthering knowledge and advising the federal government. Functioning in accordance with general policies determined by the Academy, the Council has become the principal operating agency of both the National Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Engineering in providing services to the government, the public, and the scientific and engineering communities. The Council is administered jointly by both Academies and the Institute of Medicine. Dr. Ralph J. Cicerone and Dr. Charles M. Vest are chair and vice chair, respectively, of the National Research Council.

www.national-academies.org

COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATIONS IN SOCIAL AND BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES RESEARCH

Suzanne Bennett Johnson, ***Chair***
Professor and Chair
Department of Medical Humanities and Social Sciences
Florida State University College of Medicine

Oscar Barbarin III
L. Richardson and Emily Preyer Bicentennial Distinguished Professor for Strengthening Families and Fellow, Frank Porter Graham Child Development Institute
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Marc H. Bornstein
Senior Investigator and Head
Child and Family Research
National Institute of Child Health and Human Development

Kay K. Deaux
Distinguished Professor of Psychology
City University of New York Graduate Center

James Jackson
Director and Research Professor
Institute for Social Research
Daniel Katz Distinguished University Professor of Psychology
University of Michigan

Douglas L. Medin
Professor of Psychology
Northwestern University

Charles A. Nelson
Richard David Scott Chair in Pediatrics
Harvard Medical School
Developmental Medicine Center, Laboratory of Cognitive Neuroscience, Boston Children's Hospital

Stephen W. Porges
Professor of Psychiatry
Director, Brain-Body Center
University of Illinois at Chicago

Judith Torney-Purta
Professor of Human Development
University of Maryland, College Park

Staff

Kathie Bailey Mathae
Director
Board on International Scientific Organizations
The National Academies

Elaine Lawson (until December 2006)
Program Officer
Board on International Scientific Organizations
The National Academies

Ester Sztein (since February 2007)
Program Officer
Board on International Scientific Organizations
The National Academies

Elizabeth Briggs
Senior Program Associate
Board on International Scientific Organizations
The National Academies

Amy Franklin (until September 2006)
Program Associate
Board on International Scientific Organizations
The National Academies

U.S. NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF PSYCHOLOGICAL SCIENCE

Suzanne Bennett Johnson, *Chair*
Professor and Chair
Department of Medical Humanities and Social Sciences
Florida State University College of Medicine

Oscar Barbarin III
L. Richardson and Emily Preyer Bicentennial Distinguished Professor for Strengthening Families and Fellow, Frank Porter Graham Child Development Institute
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Diane F. Halpern
Director, Berger Institute for Work, Family, and Children, and
Chair, Department of Psychology
Claremont McKenna College

James Jackson
Director and Research Professor
Institute for Social Research
Daniel Katz Distinguished University Professor of Psychology
University of Michigan

Kevin Miller
Combined Program in Education and Psychology
University of Michigan

Charles A. Nelson
Richard David Scott Chair in Pediatrics
Harvard Medical School
Developmental Medicine Center, Laboratory of Cognitive Neuroscience, Boston Children's Hospital

Stephen W. Porges
Professor of Psychiatry
Director, Brain-Body Center
University of Illinois at Chicago

Judith Torney-Purta
Professor of Human Development
University of Maryland, College Park

Barbara Tversky
Professor of Psychology and Education
Teachers College
Columbia University

Ex Officio

Merry Bullock
Senior Director
Office of International Affairs
American Psychological Association

J. Bruce Overmier
Professor of Psychology
Department of Psychology
University of Minnesota

Liaisons

John Hagen
Executive Director
Society for Research in Child Development
University of Michigan

Alan Kraut
Executive Director
American Psychological Society

Preface

Many of the world's problems—violence, overpopulation, substance abuse, poverty, terrorism, infant mortality, HIV/AIDS, chronic disease—involve human behavior. Since countries are increasingly interdependent, cross-national collaboration is imperative. U.S. psychological scientists can take an active role, working with colleagues in and from other countries, to improve the world's capacity to address these pressing issues.

International research collaboration in the psychological, behavioral, and social sciences is critical to improving the quality of peoples' lives worldwide. However, such collaborations present numerous challenges, particularly since cross-cultural research faces issues of differences in cognitive styles and ways of analysis, both in the process of the research and as a subject of the research.

The U.S. National Committee for the International Union of Psychological Science initiated this project to enhance international research collaboration in the psychological, behavioral, and social sciences by highlighting the benefits of such collaborations, successful approaches to obstacles and barriers, ways to enhance research quality, and methods to attract additional scientists to this important enterprise.

At its spring 2003 meeting, committee members reviewed the results of a pilot exercise in which they interviewed colleagues who conduct social and behavioral sciences research with collaborators from other countries.

These pilot interviews helped committee members develop a Web-based instrument that was used in June-July 2005 to survey researchers

about their personal experiences with colleagues in other countries. The reported projects involved 40 countries and included adolescent/adulthood research, infancy/early childhood research, and psychophysiological and medical problems. The reported projects were funded by a variety of governmental and nongovernmental sources (inside and outside the United States) and ranged in duration from several decades to quite brief periods. The survey results provided basic information about the scope and general logistics of international collaborations in social and behavioral sciences research, and the results provided a foundation for a May 2006 planning meeting, which in turn led to the October 5-6, 2006, workshop held at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois.

During the workshop, participants assessed barriers, challenges, and opportunities for international collaborative research in the social and behavioral sciences that involve human subjects and examined solutions for facilitating such research. By reviewing the examples provided, participants were able to discern various factors that seem to predict a successful collaboration and were able to make suggestions for ways to enhance such collaborations in the future.

While the focus of the workshop was on international collaborations, several participants described very comparable issues and impediments in conducting research with non-majority U.S. populations within the United States. Challenges include language barriers, cultural differences, and consent.

Readers of this report will also note that many of the examples cited involve the psychological sciences. This is natural given the fact that U.S. National Committee for the International Union of Psychological Science initiated the project. Workshop participants recognized that many of the identified issues and opportunities are relevant to other disciplines as well, and for this reason included other social and behavioral sciences to the extent that they had experience with them. Others may want to build upon this report and project in the future and look at the extent to which these issues and opportunities exist in disciplines beyond the social and behavioral sciences.

It is also important to note that most of the workshop presenters were from the United States and discussed projects outside the United States. Since the workshop was done primarily to encourage the participation of U.S. scientists, much of the content is directed to that audience. While it would have been desirable to include researchers from other countries, the

size limitations, finances, and time constraints of the workshop limited the number and range of participants.

We are deeply indebted to all those who responded to the survey, the members of the U.S. National Committee for the International Union of Psychological Science, and the workshop participants.

Suzanne Bennett Johnson
Chair, Committee on International Collaborations in Social and Behavioral Sciences Research

Acknowledgments

This workshop was the product of the collaborative efforts of many people. First, we wish to thank those who spoke and participated in the workshop for their invaluable contributions to the success of the workshop. Secondly, we would like to thank all the collaborators and the steering committee in their efforts in conceptualizing the workshop and this report.

This report has been reviewed in draft form by individuals chosen for their diverse perspectives and technical expertise, in accordance with procedures approved by the National Academies' Report Review Committee. The purpose of this independent review is to provide candid and critical comments that will assist the institution in making its published report as sound as possible and to ensure that the report meets institutional standards for quality and objectivity. The review comments and draft manuscript remain confidential to protect the integrity of the process.

We wish to thank the following individuals for their review of this report: Merry Bullock, American Psychological Association; S. Ashraf Kagee, Stellenbosch University, Republic of South Africa; Isabel Menezes, University of Porto, Portugal; Bruce Overmier, University of Minnesota; Fernando Reimers, Harvard University; Sandra Waxman, Northwestern University; and Jill Weissberg Benchell, Northwestern University.

Although the reviewers listed above have provided many constructive comments and suggestions, they were not asked to endorse the content of the report, nor did they see the final draft before its release. Responsibility

for the final content of this report rests entirely with the authoring committee and the institution.

Finally, we would like to thank Amy Smith and the study's staff members, especially Elaine Lawson, Elizabeth Briggs, and Kathie Bailey Mathae for their hard work in support of the workshop and this report.

Contents

APPENDIXES

Introduction

International collaborations in behavioral and social sciences research can be immensely fruitful. These collaborations enable researchers to go beyond a view of culture as a static variable to be examined in isolation or controlled in an analysis. They give substance to often-repeated sentiments that the interesting actions are in the interactions—those associations that look different in different settings or contexts. They allow the study of rare health conditions and bio-environment-behavior interactions important to health and disease. They can mobilize a global network to consider and refine important ideas concerning education and psychological interventions, as well as social policies. They can give researchers new insights as they solve an unexpected problem. They can encourage more sensitive importing and exporting of ideas in the social and behavioral sciences by expanding the range of research topics as well as the scientific methods used to address them. They have the potential, for example, to address the plasticity of behavior in different environments and a variety of cognitive styles, and to increase the external validity of research. In summary, the research undertaken in international collaborations has the potential to inform theory, methods, education and training, policy, and practice. The processes constituting these collaborations, which can be seen as complex forms of joint activity, deserve attention along with their scientific results.

These collaborations also face a variety of obstacles. What are the challenges and impediments to undertaking international research collaborations? How have researchers negotiated these hurdles? What are

the trade-offs encountered in international collaborations that should be acknowledged and that can be managed? How can these difficulties serve as learning opportunities? What steps could be taken to facilitate more frequent and more fruitful international research collaborations?

On October 5-6, 2006, the U.S. National Committee for the International Union of Psychological Science convened the International Collaborations in Behavioral and Social Sciences Research Workshop. There these issues were addressed, with the benefit of the experience, perspectives, and reflections of a number of behavioral and social scientists who have participated in international research projects. The workshop assembled individuals who have collaborated internationally, constructed international databases, helped establish research institutes and training programs abroad, created training programs for foreign scholars, and surveyed researchers who have been involved in international collaborations (see Appendix B). Workshop participants discussed their experiences, insights, and approaches to a variety of research challenges and offered a number of suggestions for facilitating and maximizing the scientific contributions of international research collaborations in the behavioral and social sciences. Although the focus of the workshop was primarily on encouraging U.S. behavioral and social scientists to engage in international research collaboration, the workshop's findings may be relevant to researchers in other countries and other fields.

COLLABORATION: INTERNATIONAL, CROSS-CULTURAL, MULTIDISCIPLINARY

Although the workshop's title was "International Collaborations in Behavioral and Social Sciences Research," workshop participants were cognizant that coordinating work across national borders involves other kinds of border crossings. Collaboration with researchers in other parts of the world entails moving back and forth across cultural, linguistic, disciplinary, institutional, and political boundaries. The cluster of disciplines studying a particular phenomenon will vary in different settings. Academic disciplines are not equivalent in different parts of the world. For example, educational psychology may be the most highly developed area of psychology in one country and experimental psychology the most highly developed in another. Social psychology and social work may have close connections in one country but not another. Health psychology, which is well developed in the United States, does not even exist in some parts of the world. In addition, a

given issue may attract psychological theorists in one country and empirical researchers in another.

Ways of handling and managing data, including expectations regarding access to datasets, will not necessarily be similar across nations. Within research teams, negotiations about power and status may be complex and reflect different expectations of authorship or control over research design. Conventional work habits, including pacing, workloads, vacations, or sensitivity to deadlines and reporting requirements, may vary. What is considered adequate protection for human subjects also may differ. The concept of consent—what it consists of and who may provide it on behalf of whom—is different in different parts of the world. Thus, crossing an international border to conduct research will entail negotiation and cooperation across different institutional arrangements, educational backgrounds, cultural expectations, research habits, funding patterns, and public policy concerns.

The point of this workshop was not to labor over the terminology or to arrive at agreed-upon definitions of international research, cross-cultural studies, cultural psychology, transnational communities of practice, or global perspectives on social science. Rather, workshop participants understood collaboration to involve potentially crossing several types of boundaries. The focus was on the specific challenges to research collaborations undertaken across boundaries and how to surmount the barriers and maximize the mutual benefits of such endeavors. Workshop participants therefore sought to identify the unique value of international research collaborations, current barriers to undertaking such collaborations, and avenues to improving and facilitating these initiatives.

A number of good suggestions were generated during the discussion at the workshop and are summarized in Chapter 3. While committee members recognize that such a list would have been helpful to the community, it was outside the parameters established for this workshop report.

1

The Benefits of International Collaborations

International collaborations in behavioral and social sciences research can be tremendously rewarding and productive. Participants at the workshop identified three particular benefits of international research collaboration: conceptual benefits, pragmatic gains, and simple imperatives.

CONCEPTUAL BENEFITS: THE FROG IN THE WELL

A lone frog in a deep well has a superb view but of an extremely circumscribed patch of sky. This was the metaphor used by Kevin F. Miller (University of Michigan) to convey the potential limitations of remaining within one's own research perspective. If most of the research in a field is done predominantly in one well—generally North America or Europe—this is to the detriment of the field. Getting out of the well provides new research topics and new collaborators, both of which spur broadened insights. Miller referred to a study regarding research teams that were homogeneous in cultural background, discipline, and training in comparison to other research teams that were heterogeneous.[1] While the homogeneous teams generally had more harmonious discussions, they generated fewer discoveries. The heterogeneous teams, by contrast, were far more contentious. Team members thought they spent an excessive amount of time explaining obvious

[1]K. Dunbar, "How scientists really reason: Scientific reasoning in real-world laboratories," pp. 365-395 in *Mechanisms of Insight,* R.J. Sternberg and J. Davidson, eds., MIT Press, Cambridge, MA 1995.

points to other team members. In the process, however, they discovered that these points were not so obvious after all. Team members gained a greater awareness of their underlying assumptions and the need to clarify their conceptualizations, ultimately leading to better research products and greater theoretical clarity. Miller thus urged researchers to get out of their deep and comfortable wells and enlarge their views by means of international collaborations.

Jacqueline Goodnow (Macquarie University) explored the conceptual gains of international collaborations in her introductory remarks to the workshop (see Appendix C). Beyond the basic advantage of checking the universality or generality of one's hypotheses and questions, working elsewhere with others often presents the opportunity to observe a "natural experiment," which Goodnow described as "variation in conditions that we cannot alter or that we would seldom think of altering." These situations invite attention to the nature of those conditions, whether a certain behavior depends on those conditions, the diffusion of behaviors and practices across different conditions, barriers to such diffusion, or the interaction of various elements. Such research, in Goodnow's view, often yields surprises that have the power to shake assumptions about what is apparently well established or seen as normal when a single culture is the context. She encourages researchers to anticipate and cultivate such surprises by being alert to "tremors," or signs that some assumptions might be shaky.

The experience of collaborating across boundaries also generates questions about the nature of collaboration itself and the challenges of translating not merely vocabulary and specific survey questions but also the constructs and concepts being examined. Goodnow noted, for example, that "it is out of the difficulty with measures and procedures that we begin to look seriously at issues of 'translatability' and at the assumptions that lie beneath the kinds of measures that we use and beneath others' responses to them."

Marc Bornstein (National Institute of Child Health and Human Development) elaborated on several conceptual gains of collaborating across international and other boundaries in conducting research. Bornstein's straightforward rationale for this work was "description." Three different cultural limitations constrain understanding of contemporary developmental science: (1) a narrow participant database, (2) a biased sampling of world cultures in its authorship, and (3) a corresponding bias in the audience to which the literature is addressed. Bornstein noted that cross-cultural developmental descriptions encompass the widest spectrum of human variation; thus, they are the most comprehensive in social science. Such collaborations

provide a check against any single researcher's own ethnocentrism, permitting a better view of an individual's own culture and its contingencies.

A second motive for cross-cultural developmental study is explanation. In Bornstein's view, crossing cultures can help parse the parts that culture-dependent and culture-independent forces play in the emergence and development of psychological phenomena. Psychological comparisons across cultures increase our understanding of the processes through which biological variables fuse with environmental variables and experiences to shape individual development.

Bornstein's third major reason for cross-cultural developmental science is interpretation. Paradigms in the social and behavioral sciences have been dominated by assumptions about beliefs and behaviors that are parochially limited to Western realities. Realities are products of the ways we represent, implement, and react. All behavior needs to be considered in its socio-cultural context, and culture provides the variability necessary to expose developmental process. Thus, many of what are destined to become classic findings in development require replication in multiple cultures. Given the substantial investment of resources in psychological research by North American and European societies, it is inevitable that many ideas will originate there and be subjected to early empirical scrutiny there. In consequence, there is a pressing need for cross-cultural research as a "doorkeeper" to prevent ideas from being incorporated too easily into accepted knowledge before they have weathered the test of replication in societies with different values and social structures.

PRAGMATIC GAINS: EXTENDING THE POSSIBLE

In a number of research areas, little progress can be made without international collaborations. Investigations into rare diseases or other unusual phenomena, for example, may require an international pool in order to attain a research population of sufficient size. Collaborations also permit access to unique research assets or distinctive populations. Many topics benefit from larger datasets, especially those exploring cross-cultural differences or how cultural contexts condition the ways in which variables relate to each other. Devising culturally appropriate interventions for a range of diseases requires cross-cultural collaborations. Alexandra Quittner (University of Miami) has researched the measurement of adherence to treatment and the quality of life in children and adolescents with chronic illnesses. She pointed out that cystic fibrosis, a fatal genetic disease, is so rare that sample sizes

in any one country are insufficient. International research collaborations are necessary in order to yield the data necessary for the large-scale studies that are needed to improve health care. International studies also produce information on disparities in patient outcomes (e.g., that life expectancy for those with cystic fibrosis is 38 years in the United States, but only 18 years in parts of Eastern Europe). This motivates further research to identify the causes of those disparities and ways to minimize or eliminate them.

L. Rowell Huesmann (University of Michigan) has examined many aspects of child and adolescent social development, particularly the effects of different aspects of children's environment on their social development. International research offers a wider array of environments for study, providing the necessary environmental "variability" to fully understand children's development. This necessarily entails research in many different contexts. To address such questions as the etiology of aggressive behavior and the long-term impact on children of habitual exposure to media violence, Huesmann has been involved in multiple international projects. One is a 15-year empirical study conducted in four countries that examined the long-term impact of viewing violent television shows on aggressive behavior. Each project participant brought a set of perspectives to the process that benefited all of the researchers who were involved. Another project is one by the National Science Foundation-funded Center for the Analysis of Pathways from Childhood to Adulthood that has coordinated secondary analyses on longitudinal life-span data collected by 20 different researchers in multiple countries.

Jacqueline Goodnow identified other aspects of the pragmatic gains of international research. International collaborators in research, for example, may provide essential language skills or specific analytical expertise. They may also offer crucial familiarity with a local population or access to populations that are in some way distinctive, such as indigenous groups, immigrant communities, or populations undergoing political transition or other substantial changes that present a kind of natural experiment.

Judith Torney-Purta (University of Maryland, College Park) noted that the study of naturally occurring experiments in educational psychology was one of the reasons that a cross-national group of researchers founded the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). This international consortium of research centers (now headquartered in Amsterdam) was organized nearly 50 years ago to study the effects on achievement of educational factors that vary across countries, such as the age at which children begin attending school or the age at which they

complete compulsory schooling. Education systems were changing rapidly and in different directions after World War II, and researchers saw this as an opportunity to conduct a comparative empirical study. In the intervening years the IEA has developed a solid research infrastructure of technical committees and documented research and data-sharing procedures to support international collaborations in educational research based at their Amsterdam headquarters and their Data Processing Center in Hamburg. [2] Psychologists have coordinated IEA studies in areas ranging from a video study of mathematics classrooms to a survey of civic, political, and social attitudes. The expectation in each study is that every participating country will learn from every other country about the similarities and differences in the provision of education and its outcomes.

The etiology, prevention, treatment, and management of diseases that constitute a global burden have behavioral components that are influenced by cultural context. The etiology of many diseases is a function of bio-environment-behavior interactions that can best be understood through international research collaborations. Disease prevention strategies that are successful in one country often need to be modified in significant ways when applied in a different cultural context. The treatment and management of diseases vary considerably as a function of cultural expectations and experiences as well as resources. Both Type 1 and Type 2 diabetes, for example, are increasing worldwide. Suzanne Bennett Johnson (Florida State University College of Medicine) pointed out that environmental triggers for Type 1 diabetes in genetically at-risk children are being studied in an international study supported by the National Institutes of Health. Only through an international collaboration could sufficient numbers of genetically at-risk infants be identified, and the international context provides the environmental variability necessary to make the study of environmental triggers possible. In the United States, minority populations, who are often from lower socioeconomic classes, are disproportionately affected by Type 2 diabetes. Studies of Type 2 diabetes in those who immigrated from a non-Western culture to a Western culture have provided a great deal of information about the environmental and behavioral underpinnings of this disease. As the world becomes more "Westernized," the Type 2 diabetes epidemic is expected to increase. International research could offer a great deal in terms of the prevention and management of Type 2 diabetes worldwide. As Jill Weissberg-Benchell (Northwestern University) suggested, behavioral

[2] See http://www.iea.nl (accessed October 25, 2006).

scientists should play a role in this effort since behavior is critical to both prevention and management of this disease.

Culturally appropriate interventions are essential in other areas of public health, such as tobacco use and traffic safety. Mark Nichter (University of Arizona) has been involved in research on how to design, develop, implement, and evaluate culturally appropriate programs to encourage tobacco cessation in India and Indonesia. Without international collaboration in the behavioral sciences, such research would not be possible. Knowledge about locally specific perceptions of risks and consequences is crucial to tailoring cessation programs, as is research into attitudes about the politeness of refusing tobacco when offered in social settings or the appropriateness of setting certain anniversaries or holidays as target quit dates. The life-saving value of international collaborative research in the behavioral aspects of many public health problems cannot be overemphasized.

SIMPLE IMPERATIVE: NO GOOD ALTERNATIVE

Another benefit of building strong collaborations across boundaries is simply that it works. All workshop participants confirmed that parachuting into a foreign research setting does not. Without local collaborators, neither conceptualization of the research questions to be addressed in locally appropriate research designs nor the logistical tasks can be handled adequately. As Charles Nelson (Harvard University) observed, working without local collaborators not only makes the conduct of research much harder in many practical ways but also ultimately compromises the quality and analysis of the data, as interpretations will lack cultural nuances.

Oscar Barbarin (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) noted another shortcoming of what he termed "hit-and-run research." When foreign researchers arrive with their own project to execute and then depart, local research capacity is not developed. This is to the detriment of future and longitudinal collaborations. Collaborative efforts enhance not only current research projects but prospects for future ones as well.

International research collaborations in the behavioral and social sciences, then, have many benefits. Conceptually, they can make a contribution to a particular research project as well as the field as a whole, generating new theoretical questions and hypotheses with input from all participants. Pragmatically, they make it possible to study rare phenomena or to undertake broad comparative research that examines contexts and looks at interactions. In developing locally appropriate interventions, collaborators

can save lives as well as resources. Collaborations have the potential to contribute to the continuing development of universities as contexts in which faculty and students can achieve a global perspective. And for all their obstacles (discussed below), international collaborations certainly surpass the alternative of "hit-and-run research," or limiting one's perspective to one's own "well"—in both the quality of their immediate outcomes and the contributions they can make to the behavioral and social sciences.

2

Obstacles to International Collaborations

While the benefits of international research collaborations in the behavioral and social sciences are evident, so too are many barriers and hurdles. Workshop participants noted specific obstacles that have hampered their international research collaborations and sometimes discouraged them from advocating such research to junior colleagues.

Judith Torney-Purta (University of Maryland, College Park) has led a collaborative project involving education researchers investigating civic and political engagement among young people in 29 countries through the International Association for the Evaluation of Education Achievement (IEA, the large research consortium described in Chapter 1). In addition to this decade-long experience, Torney-Purta brought to the workshop the results of a survey she conducted for the U.S. National Committee for the International Union of Psychological Science. The views and recommendations of 26 leaders of international projects on a range of topics in the behavioral and social sciences were gathered in a survey instrument that combined ratings and opportunities for written responses (see Appendixes D and E). Her own experience and the survey results gave Torney-Purta an appreciation for the need to better conceptualize and prepare for the extended scope of international research collaborations. She views such projects as having three phases. The first phase includes lead-in and planning. This phase is substantially longer and more complex in international collaborations than comparable preparations for a domestic project. Further, she noted, it is difficult to find funding for this essential phase of a project, often because

funders want a product that includes research findings and are not satisfied with a report of time spent in consensus-building leading to agreed-upon constructs or the development of valid measures. The second phase is the conduct of the research itself; this is the only phase that most funding agencies are interested in supporting. During the third phase, researchers are faced with dissemination of research findings, publication of study results, documenting the dataset, and making the dataset available to the larger research community. This is also more challenging for collaborative international projects than for domestic ones because of differences in the concerns and interests of audiences in different cultural settings. It is often difficult to find sufficient funding for it. Several workshop participants, in discussing this phase of an international collaboration, emphasized the importance of handling the third phase very carefully. Their concerns were not only for the sake of the research project being completed but also for future research collaborations. Longitudinal research endeavors or trend studies will not succeed if collaborators feel slighted or excluded or if the studied population feels used or ignored. Everyone needs to reap some benefit (professional advancement, capacity building, policy improvement, identity confirmation), and this can be achieved primarily in the third phase. Guiding this process requires that the leaders of research be open-minded and sensitive in their approach. As Jacqueline Goodnow encouraged all researchers engaged in international collaborations, "Make sure you're invited back!"

PROJECT SCOPE: LONG PERIODS OF LEAD-IN

The complexity of the first phase of any international research project is greatly affected by the nature of the collaboration. Does it consist of delivering a completed research design to compliant staff who will then implement it, or does it consist of collaborating with scholars in dispersed settings to shape the research agenda, formulate meaningful research questions, determine the best approaches to assessment, and decide on protocols or instruments? The former may be easier and quicker but ultimately is far less productive; the latter is more complex and time consuming but also is more likely to yield rewarding results.

Many issues will arise in research design. As an example, workshop participants discussed the many layers of attention to the questions in a survey instrument: Are these the questions the researcher means to ask? Do they capture what is being investigated? Are their meanings clear to respondents? Can these questions be asked to particular respondents or in

a given context? Are they acceptable within existing political sensitivities or cultural norms? Does asking the questions even make sense? Is it a recognizable practice in this cultural context?

At the most basic level are issues of direct translation, which can be time consuming but are essential. Alexandra Quittner (University of Miami) described the process of developing a measure of quality of life that would be relevant to chronic diseases and that would have comparability internationally. This involved, for example, reviewing all the words for "cough" and "mucus" that a child would understand, doing a forward translation, conferring with collaborators, and reaching a consensus on terms, followed by a back translation to confirm the meaning, and then piloting those questions and conducting a cognitive debriefing. This concrete example only begins to suggest the challenges of adequately translating more abstract constructs and ensuring the validity of the instruments.

A second concern in the first phase of a project is whether the proposed questions are politically or culturally permissible. Charles C. Helwig (University of Toronto) has conducted research on the moral development of children in Canada and China. In preparing for the research with his Chinese colleagues, Helwig found little reticence regarding investigation into children's understanding and attitudes toward democracy, autonomy, and rights at the abstract level. Difficulties arose, however, concerning hypothetical scenarios that were posed in order to elicit responses. For example, hypothetical scenarios involving families with several children were highly problematic given China's one-child policy and made his collaborators uncomfortable. Questions related to a family's choice of school also were difficult, as families in China do not make school choices for their children. Working together, Helwig and his collaborators were able to alter the hypothetical scenarios in ways that were acceptable in the Chinese context without undermining the substance of the research.

Questions may be correctly translated and culturally acceptable and yet the entire process of asking questions still might not be acceptable in a given context. Reflecting on his experience in China, Kevin Miller cautioned that one must be aware that the practice of asking questions can differ in various contexts. He found, for example, that in a cultural context where adults do not regularly ask young children about their opinions, experiences, or feelings, it would be awkward to do so no matter how carefully the question is chosen or translated. Thinking about the process of asking questions is one of many tasks for the first phase of an international collaboration.

It can take much iteration to arrive at usable questions, including ac-

curate translations, appropriateness, and sensitivity about the process of asking. Nearly every other task involved in planning and preparing for a research project will be similarly extended in an international collaboration. Recruiting staff and ensuring that their skills match those that are needed (especially when disciplines, degrees, and training are different across settings) will be time consuming. Shepherding an international project proposal through an ethics review process is likely to be far more complex than for a domestic project. There may be multiple ethical reviews, both from one's home institution and in the setting where the research will be conducted. That setting may lack any ethics review board, requiring the formation of such an entity. In summary, the first phase of most international research collaborations will take longer, be more complex, and consume more time and resources than most domestic or non-collaborative projects. The frequent lack of awareness of these issues on the part of sponsors and the unavailability of funds to undertake the tasks involved in this first phase aggravate the problem.

WITHIN-TEAM DIFFERENCES: DISSIMILARITIES OF PRACTICE, ASYMMETRIES OF POWER

Differences within research teams can be substantial in collaborations that include researchers from diverse national, cultural, disciplinary, and institutional or professional contexts. Some of these differences will lead to synergies that further the research. Others, however, may generate confusion, misunderstanding, distrust, and resentment. Many of the respondents to the committee's survey commented on initial mistrust among members of international research teams and the need to devote conscious effort to building a consensus, making continual adjustments, and creating an atmosphere conducive to collaboration. As workshop participants discussed the challenges to international research that could be attributed to within-team differences, their observations coalesced around two themes: dissimilarities of practice and asymmetries of power.

In her introductory remarks, Jacqueline Goodnow cited the work of Pierre Bordieu to explain the term "practice" as it was used at the workshop. Practices, according to Goodnow, "consist of routine ways of doing things that we come to think of as 'normal' or 'natural,' which we seldom think about or question, that we often find uncomfortable to change, and that may need to be changed before any shift in concepts or attitudes can occur." When it comes to doing research across national, cultural, disciplinary, and

institutional boundaries, many practices taken for granted in one research setting require explicit attention in another. Many aspects of managing or conducting a research project will need to be negotiated when members of multiple communities are involved.

Workshop participants provided many examples. Some discussed issues of workload, pacing, sensitivity to deadlines, and expectations about vacations or holidays. Others shared concerns about the expected level of supervision or the degree of mutual involvement implied in a mentoring relationship. Specific protocols, methods of data collection, or treatment of subjects may vary across settings. Patterns that govern the ownership of data, access to data, or rights to publication that are obvious and uncontested in one setting may seem peculiar and unreasonable in another. Even simple matters of etiquette—for example, how team members address one another—cannot be taken for granted.

All of these variations in practice constitute issues that may impede the conduct of the research. For all the comparability of training and shared interest in topics, communities of practice may be quite dissimilar. Workshop participants found that what goes without saying in one context must be explicitly stated when a research team is attempting to collaborate across contexts. Communication needs to take place early and frequently, before misunderstandings occur.

Communications across national, cultural, or professional boundaries can be further complicated by asymmetries of power that occur when investigators from different nations attempt to collaborate. Fons van de Vijver (Tilburg University) noted that well-known researchers from more developed countries may be respected for their position and accomplishments, but this is sometimes tinged with concern or even jealousy. Asymmetry of power has implications for who can challenge a research question's approach, design, or procedure. In the experience of workshop participants, issues of asymmetries of power arose in a number of ways. Several mentioned the difficulties of getting collaborators to challenge or criticize them, even to offer a correction of something culturally inappropriate that could undercut the research. Others recalled staff members so eager to please principal investigators that they would submit only data that supported the hypothesis. In the experience of workshop participants, asymmetries of power inhibit or at least complicate the communication of criticisms and challenges within a research team. The distribution of expertise, especially knowledge regarding local populations and contexts, will often not mirror the distribution of power. Finding ways to equalize or negotiate around

power asymmetries thus becomes important if the potential value of international collaborations is to be reached.

Other workshop participants encountered resentments due to power differentials. When collaborators believed that only the principal investigator would reap professional benefits from the research project, collaboration was often done grudgingly. A few workshop participants thought that their local staff had engaged in activities that undermined collaborative projects because of resentment toward researchers who had more funding and resources. For example, lengthy delays in implementing a research decision or undercutting the principal investigators in discussions with local staff were reported.

As with difficulties that arose from dissimilarities in practice, tensions arising from asymmetries of power require constant attention in international research collaborations. Workshop participants discussed the need for collaborators to be far more aware of and explicit about their expectations than they might usually be. They were also clear that the energy devoted to clarifying and agreeing on practices yields dividends in building trust within a team, enabling the internal challenges that push a project forward, and permitting each collaborator to contribute their own particular expertise and have it recognized.

ETHICS APPROVAL PROCEDURES

Ethics concerns related to research on human subjects have received substantial attention. The landmark Belmont Report of 1979 addressed respect for persons (informed consent, autonomy), beneficence (minimizing risks and maximizing benefits of research), and justice (selection of participants in ways that fairly distribute the burdens and benefits of research while not exploiting vulnerable populations).[1] In the U.S. these concerns have led to the development of procedures for subjecting all research projects to an ethics review. Analogous committees concerned with ethics exist in much of Europe and in other countries in the Americas, such as the Tri-County Commission in Canada. The predominant procedure and the form most familiar to workshop participants is the institutional review board (IRB) of U.S. institutions. It was in terms of IRBs that workshop participants discussed this aspect of the difficulties of undertaking international research collaborations.

[1]The Belmont Report of 1979 summarizes the basic ethical principles identified by the *National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research*. See: http://ohsr.od.nih.gov/guidelines/belmont.html. Accessed on April 30, 2007.

IRBs have been the subject of many criticisms. A recent report by the National Academy of Sciences (NAS), for example, explored three shortcomings.[2] First, many IRBs focus on documenting consent (to satisfy the letter of U.S. federal requirements), rather than on effective processes for helping individuals reach an informed voluntary decision about participation. Some believe that IRBs have evolved into instruments to ensure legal protection for universities, rather than substantive protection for human subjects. Second, the NAS report suggests that IRBs give insufficient attention to increasing threats to the confidentiality of research data due to technological changes, especially computer storage of supposedly confidential data that might be viewed by unauthorized individuals. A third problem is that the IRB review process may delay research or weaken research designs without necessarily improving the protection of human subjects, because the type of review is not commensurate with the risk involved. This occurs, for example, when consent forms or portions of the review that are relevant for biomedical research involving clinical drug tests are applied to research that calls for such minimal-risk methods as surveys, structured interviews, participant observation, or secondary analyses of existing data.

The ethics-related challenges of research conducted by investigators from countries with different types and levels of research structures and support have drawn further scrutiny. Several recent reports have proposed ethics frameworks to further guide international researchers and ensure fair benefits (see Appendix F).

As workshop participants discussed various criticisms and shared their experiences, they returned to two aspects of IRBs that most seriously hamper international research. First is the bureaucratic cumbersomeness of trying to fulfill IRB requirements in the multiple foreign settings where collaborative research occurs (many of which lack the institutional apparatus of an ethics review board). Second is the cultural inappropriateness and irrelevance of some procedures required by some IRBs in the United States.

IRBs (or their equivalent in an ethics committee) do not exist in every country where psychological research is likely to take place. Where they do not exist, the IRB of one's home institution may require the principal investigator of an international research project to create an equivalent. As Charles Nelson (Harvard University) found in Romania, this is an inordinately time-consuming and complex process. The Bucharest Early Interven-

[2]"Protecting Participants and Facilitating Social and Behavioral Sciences Research," 2003, http://fermat.nap.edu/openbook.php?record_id=10638&page=1.

tion Project (BEIP), in which Nelson is involved, examines the effects of institutionalization on children. When it began, large-scale developmental research was unprecedented in Romania and there were no regular established boards for conducting ethics reviews. In addition to shepherding approval for the project through the relevant IRBs of the home institutions of the several project investigators, BEIP had to organize and coordinate reviews from local commissions on child protection in Bucharest, the Romanian Ministry of Health, and the Institute of Maternal and Child Health, as well as obtain input from nongovernmental organizations.

Even where ethics review boards do exist in local research settings, the IRB of the home institution may require the researcher to investigate and document the nature and performance of that board. Further coordination will be required when multiple boards are involved.

Rowell Huesmann commented on the complexities that arise when research partners do not have IRBs identical to those of U.S. institutions. Huesmann noted that it is no longer sufficient for local research institutes to conduct their own ethics reviews of international collaborative research, nor can a home institution easily be designated as the "IRB of record" for a project. The length and duplication of reviews, coordination of multiple reviews, and disqualification by U.S. IRBs of ethic reviews conducted by institutions located at the site of the research have been major frustrations in efforts to manage international research collaborations at many universities. Keeping up with changing regulations can be a burden (see Appendix F), although the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services does compile a list of relevant international policies in this area each year, thus providing a starting point for investigators.[3] Even when the cumbersome and time-consuming bureaucratic procedures of an IRB can be handled within a research project, the cultural inappropriateness of many procedures creates obstacles. Many workshop participants returned to the concept of "consent," expressing frustration that the IRBs of many of their home institutions exhibited no appreciation of its cultural variation. What consent consists of, who may provide it for whom, and the practices involved in obtaining it may vary, even when respect for a subject's autonomy is shared.

For Charles Nelson's BEIP project in Romania, for example, the U.S. IRB called for a lengthy consent form that, even after careful translation, was incomprehensible to Romanian parents, who often have had limited

[3]See "International Compilation of Human Subject Research Protections," http://hhs.gov/ohrp/international/HSPCompilation.pdf, accessed March 10, 2007.

education. The local research team deemed these forms, adapted directly from U.S. institutions, overly long, legalistic, and ultimately inappropriate in the Romanian context. In order that the consent obtained be truly informed, the local research collaborators drafted shorter, more explicit consent forms that addressed the concerns of Romanian parents. These were accepted by the U.S. IRB and ultimately used in the project.

In trying to satisfy IRB requirements related to his research in China, Charles Helwig found that the very concept of parental permission assumed a relationship between school, family, and state that exists in the West but not in China. Parental consent is not legally required nor is it generally recognized in China, where the state and school are considered responsible for a child's protection. From a school's perspective, Helwig explained, to require parental consent would acknowledge a right that does not exist. Thus, to demand such consent forms would go against institutional, legal, and cultural norms in China.

Pay is another area where workshop participants were frustrated by IRB's rigidities and lack of appreciation of cross-national differences. Participants agreed with the ethical objectives of neither exploiting participants by paying them too little nor coercing them by paying too much. However, simply requiring that research staff and subjects be paid at U.S. wage rates, as many IRBs do, does not achieve these objectives. Paying at U.S. rates can be highly disruptive in lower-income countries. In the case of Nelson's BEIP research, there was an effort to ensure that salaries for the research staff and foster parents employed by the project were commensurate with their contributions while also being congruent with prevailing rates in Bucharest. Consultation with both Romanian governmental authorities and the staff of a local nongovernmental organization helped the project determine appropriate pay scales.

Thus, the issues are not whether informed consent and reasonable pay are essential but rather whether the mechanistic application of U.S. IRB procedures is achieving these objectives. Too often, these procedures are seen to protect the home institution rather than the potentially vulnerable populations under study. The requirement that all institutions create boards that meet U.S. IRB standards was viewed by workshop participants as culturally insensitive and as not fundamentally serving to protect subjects.

In the experience of workshop participants, the application of U.S. IRB procedures to research conducted in other countries has often slowed the implementation of research projects by generating bureaucratic hurdles and violating the cultural norms of local populations. It has sometimes soured

relations among collaborators, who see this as a sign of arrogance. As an Indian colleague once challenged Mark Nichter, "Is forcing your country's ethics on us ethical, sir?"

The issue of the appropriateness and scope of IRB reviews is certainly not a problem unique to international research, but it is one that the large majority of workshop participants believe requires urgent attention.

DATA MANAGEMENT

Creating and managing international datasets presents another series of challenges. Whether data are gathered as part of a newly initiated collaboration or compiled from existing datasets of multiple projects, it is the case that the construction, accessibility, and management of international datasets require substantial attention.

Eliminating bias from constructs, methods, instruments, samples, measures, or administration is imperative in any research project. The task is much harder when collaborators from many different research settings, accustomed to different practices in the handling of data, are involved. It is further complicated by having subjects from many different cultural contexts, who may also interpret constructs differently or may vary in their response to the experience of being surveyed.

Fons van de Vijver, in his presentation on data issues, emphasized the importance of collaborators making clear and informed choices from the start. Not only the terminology but also the constructs themselves must be checked for comparability across the different research settings of an international project. The meaning of constructs such as filial piety, aggression, depression, or happiness will vary across different cultural contexts. If research is conducted as though these constructs share the same meaning everywhere, the research will be distorted. Similarly, item bias can arise not merely from poor translation but from a lack of cultural relevance of a given item. Consistent differences in responses—such as modesty when discussing certain symptoms or reticence in reporting family problems—will also arise and need to be factored into the creation of a measure and its interpretation.

While van de Vijver spoke in favor of clarity and explicit agreement among collaborators, Huesmann raised the importance of permitting some flexibility and variation. In working with large longitudinal datasets combining the results of multiple international projects, Huesmann has come to appreciate the tradeoff between the exact fidelity of constructs and

measurements and the gains in external validity or generalizability of results from using multiple large datasets. For example, measures of aggression in separate studies conducted years apart in different countries using different assessments may be sufficiently comparable to be combined into a single dataset even if they are not identical. Or replications of earlier studies may be slightly different yet still sufficiently continuous with earlier work to permit combining their results. Attrition and change may occur in longitudinal studies, with new collaborators who were not involved in the original research design wishing to incorporate some of their own ideas. While identical measurements are optimal, researchers may be able to find ways to overcome modest differences in the measurement of related constructs using modern scaling methods. Given the unique work that can be accomplished using large longitudinal datasets, Huesmann sees an insistence on exactly identical measures as itself an impediment to some international research collaborations.

In Alexandra Quittner's research on chronic diseases, an obstacle to collaboration and the development of international datasets is the lack of readily available health-related quality-of-life measures. For research that addresses universal medical symptoms, measures and their validated translations need to be made free and readily available to facilitate others adding to them in the future. This would prevent others from having to continually reinvent measures that differ only minimally from those previously used.

Substantive content and measurements are not the only challenges of datasets in international collaborations. Ownership and access also are delicate issues. As van de Vijver explained, ownership of data and control of access can reside with a principal investigator, a board of investigators, a granting institution, or a private company. Access may be limited for a more or less lengthy period. Data ownership and access are more complex and can be more problematic in international collaborations because researchers often enter a project with different expectations based on the standard practice in their home context. For international collaborations in particular, Huesmann described the further challenges that occur when trying to combine several datasets. These efforts are often complicated by preexisting agreements or restrictions regarding ownership and use of data. Torney-Purta suggested that the policies regarding data use and data management developed over decades by international research consortia such as IEA might be used as starting points for negotiation with collaborators in other projects.

While individual researchers, institutions, and funding agencies may argue over data ownership and control, they are not the only agents staking a claim. The population under study also may consider itself to be the rightful owner. Jacqueline Goodnow described her experience with indigenous peoples in Australia who believed the dataset generated from their responses belonged solely to them. Any researchers wanting access to those data, or wanting to conduct research with this population in the future, will have to take this into account.

Documenting and managing a dataset at the conclusion of a project demands more time and attention and consumes far more resources than many researchers (or funding agencies) anticipate. Management and documentation of international datasets raises a number of important issues, including different methods of cleaning data, treating missing data, handling late submissions, and scoring or weighting the data. The use of several versions of the basic dataset or of several scale variants under a common scale name can create even more serious problems. These difficulties are more likely to occur in cross-country collaborations than in research conducted at a single site. Coming to an agreement on how to manage the data and then providing sufficient resources to do so are important challenges for international research collaborations.

The thorough documentation of international datasets for purposes of secondary analysis is also essential. Too often, according to Huesmann, a dataset is announced as being available for use but without sufficient information on its content, extent, or quality for a researcher to be able to determine whether or how to use it. While data are increasingly used in secondary data analysis, research projects typically are not designed or reported with this purpose in mind. As Van de Vijver lamented, "We are better at standardizing test administration than in standardizing data storage."

PUBLICATION AND DISSEMINATION

Publishing the results of international studies can be more time consuming than for domestic projects, as it will entail revising manuscripts not only across languages and distances but also across different styles of professional and academic writing and etiquette regarding order of authorship. Manuscripts are sometimes dismissed by journal editors on the grounds that the constructs or measurements used across the study sites were not identical. Editors who have no experience in international research often fail to appreciate the important contributions such studies can make as long as their limitations are acknowledged.

Workshop participants expressed frustration with many journals' insistence on a single format to which all articles must adhere, including implicit rules on the mode of argument as well as explicit rules about punctuation or grammar that are not internationally standard. Such rules generate obstacles that prevent international research from being shared and exclude collaborators who are unable to successfully navigate the maze of implicit and explicit rules required to have a submission accepted for publication.

Study results also need to be made accessible to interested audiences beyond the academic or scientific community. This task is more challenging for international collaborations because of the multiple audiences across different nations—policymakers, health care providers, educators, and local communities. Workshop participants were clear that they were not trying to formulate policies themselves but thought it was important to make socially relevant results available to the widest extent possible, recognizing the challenges of doing so across multiple contexts and venues.

It is important to plan how study methods and results will be communicated to the public since the activities of foreign researchers can raise suspicions or be misinterpreted. For example, when Charles Nelson was conducting research on institutionalized children in Romania, the research team was accused of trying to identify children for sale on the black market for adoption. Mark Nichter observed that if a researcher does not provide information and an interpretation of the study and its findings, someone else will. International researchers need to be particularly sensitive to how they are perceived in another country or at the local study site. Effort needs to be devoted to explaining a research project to various salient publics, not only at its conclusion but during study initiation and data collection.

In summary, the numerous tasks involved in the formation and conduct of international collaborative projects extend their scope well beyond that of many domestic projects. Substantial differences will arise within a diverse research team, from relatively benign but sometimes problematic variations in practice to significant asymmetries of power between researchers from countries with different levels of research resources. The bureaucratic entanglements and cultural inappropriateness of ethics approval procedures, embodied in U.S. IRBs, are another serious hurdle. International collaborations raise important challenges for data management. Publishing and disseminating results will require extra effort and attention. Nevertheless, workshop participants were clearly convinced of the importance of conducting international research and the invaluable contributions that research can make to understanding human behavior.

3

Enhancing International Research Collaborations

International research collaborations have many benefits to institutions and researchers both in the U.S. and abroad; thus, workshop participants were enthusiastic about the importance of such collaborations and hoped to encourage more U.S. behavioral and social scientists at all phases of their careers to engage and learn from their research colleagues in other countries. Workshop participants were committed to finding ways around the obstacles that often impede the success of international collaborations. Their recommendations centered on developing research capacity around the world among early-career as well as more established scholars, and, further, by facilitating these types of research interactions by addressing specific difficulties that international collaborators encounter. They also had suggestions for early-career scholars and funding agencies.

DEVELOPING RESEARCH CAPACITY AROUND THE WORLD: TRAINING AND INFRASTRUCTURE

By developing capacity around the world, behavioral and social scientists across countries ensure having highly competent colleagues with whom to collaborate on international projects. Research can and should have long-term benefits for individuals in the countries in which it is being conducted. The development of research capacity ensures that researchers within those countries are prepared to continue and adapt the process either individually or as part of national or international collaborations. Recommenda-

tions for improving capacity focused on two areas: human resources and institutional infrastructure. Developing either in isolation will not result in sustainable local capacity. Individuals who receive training will be unlikely to remain in their home institutions if those institutions lack the resources for research. At the same time, institutions need skilled individuals to put to use the resources that institutions can provide. Workshop participants examined a number of possibilities for improving research capacity along both of these avenues.

Opportunities for advanced research training should include a menu of flexible options. Researchers of different skill levels, or at different points in their careers, with access to varying resources or differing degrees of flexibility in their schedules and commitments, could then avail themselves of the appropriate option. Among the approaches to training discussed were brief workshops focused on a single skill (such as a particular coding technique or writing grant proposals), visiting-scholar programs, extended summer training programs, supplemental or partial graduate training programs, and formal graduate degree programs.

Oscar Barbarin (now at the University of North Carolina) explained and reflected on his experience leading the University of Michigan's South Africa Initiative Office. One notable project was the Moody Scholars Program for South African faculty who were simultaneously working as lecturers and completing the Ph.D. at their home institutions. The program provided stipend and travel expenses to permit young faculty members to spend the summer at the University of Michigan, devoting their time to writing their dissertation. The summer was chosen because affordable housing, computer facilities, and office space were more readily available then. Each year two or three scholars spent their time doing library research, consulting with senior scholars, and participating in a structured research seminar along with University of Michigan graduate students. This opportunity proved critical to the South African scholars' completion of their dissertations and to their careers.

The Quantitative Program for South African Scholars, also carried out at the University of Michigan, provides another training model. This program brought 20 South African scholars, selected from groups historically underrepresented among researchers, to participate in short-term courses offered through the Institute for Social Research. The scholars participating in this Mellon Foundation-supported program were at the University of Michigan for three consecutive summers. They enrolled in statistics courses with increasing levels of difficulty and also participated in a weekly inte-

grative seminar addressing the research process. To complete the program, each fellow conducted an independent research project and wrote a research report involving application of the quantitative skills they had developed to a large dataset (e.g., the South African Living Standard Measurement Survey or the South African October Household Survey). Throughout the program the South African scholars had access to the University of Michigan's library and computer facilities and had many opportunities to attend and give talks. They built connections with each other, with other Michigan graduate students, and with faculty. The program provided formal coursework to fill in gaps in their training and also initiated them into a community of scholars and enhanced what Barbarin referred to as their "meta-research" skills—such as setting a research agenda, framing a research design, giving and receiving feedback. The program culminated with a conference at which the scholars presented their work in South Africa. The summer training program helped develop enhanced methodological and statistical skills among South Africans who will train and mentor the next generation of South African students.

Kenneth Rubin (University of Maryland, College Park) also spoke of his experience with the International Society for the Study of Behavioral Development, a multidisciplinary organization committed to developing the capacity of young scholars from countries with limited resources for research.[1] This fairly small group (with a current membership of 1,200) charges lower dues (and sometimes gives free membership) to scholars from Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and Eastern Europe. It holds biennial conferences focused on research topics developed by the conference hosts. A conference in Gaza, for example, addressed the effects of political violence on children's development, while a conference in Recife, Brazil, explored the impact of children's homelessness on child-parent relations. The conferences are preceded by sponsored workshops that provide travel and housing for junior scholars. Training workshops address particular skills, such as secondary analysis of datasets, methods for working with longitudinal data, or preparing manuscripts. These types of mechanisms for supporting early-career researchers as well as more established scholars to attend international meetings are important.

Workshop participants mentioned other models for training, such as holding preconference meetings using formats that promote problem-solving discussion and address the developmental needs of early-career scholars.

[1]See www.issbd.org, accessed October 26, 2006.

These meetings could enable more junior scholars to consult with senior researchers to hone a research question or design. An alternative model is to send an experienced researcher or a group of advanced scholars to provide a minicourse in statistics at an institution lacking this resource. A third alternative is to develop Internet Listservs in which early-career scientists could ask questions and solicit advice on an array of topics.

Workshop participants emphasized the importance of providing a menu of options, since the effectiveness and cost-benefit ratio of any training model will depend on many factors. Lengthy degree programs are valuable but are expensive. Furthermore, some countries or institutions may avoid sending their scholars to such degree programs because they fear that these individuals, with new credentials, might take a job outside their home country. Single workshops can impart a specific skill but are not adequate for building broader capacity. In Barbarin's view, programs of moderate intensity, such as repeated summer programs, are the most productive and cost effective. Barbarin provided data on the costs for graduate students in the doctoral program he directs at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and what it costs to operate the programs there. (See Table 1.)

Barbarin also advocates that senior scholars do their best to identify any possible "hidden little pots of gold," such as research assistantships, library privileges, internal discretionary funds, or tuition swaps between institutions that could enhance the range of training opportunities.

Senior researchers need to attend to the mentoring responsibilities present in any training opportunity. Preparing and welcoming someone into a community of scholars involves not only imparting skills but also offering guidance, investing in an individual's development, building trust, and fostering reciprocity. Through such relationships researchers can work toward a common language and common goals, moving beyond research dependence to interdependence.

Trained individuals need good home institutions in which to work in order to make their training time and effort worthwhile and to put their skills to use. Mark Nichter had several recommendations for improving institutional capacity in countries with limited resources. Libraries should be strengthened and regional repositories established for journals and other scholarly materials. Costly journal subscriptions should be made more affordable, and electronically stored material should be made available via the Internet. Senior researchers can serve as filters for some of this material, selecting the most useful recent journal articles and ensuring their availability to dispersed libraries and other repositories and on the Internet.

TABLE 1 Estimated Costs Associated with Training Models for South African Students at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Model	Stipend in U.S.	Training Costs in U.S.	Total (U.S.)	Home Country
Workshop	—	$1,000	$1,000	$400
Visiting Scholar (3 Months)	$5,000	$1,000	$6,000	—
Non-degree Training Program (3 years)	$15,000	$21,000	$36,000	$9,000
Advanced Degree Masters (2 years)	$36,000	$24,000	$60,000	$6,000
Advanced Degree Ph.D. (5 years)	$90,000	$60,000	$150,000	$5,000

SOURCE; Oscar Barbarin III, workshop presentation, October 6, 2006, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL.

Nichter suggested that countries with few resources establish national research centers to serve as a hub for research networks. For example, India's recently established first school of public health is now the hub of a research network on tobacco cessation and locally appropriate interventions. Research networks should build on existing resources—for example, by getting existing medical schools to collaborate with one another, attracting students at different levels, linking dispersed researchers, and increasing the visibility of research. Research networks, Nichter argued, can not only accomplish greater results, but these partnerships also create fora for learning and foster a common sense of identity, improving the morale and motivation of researchers.

Developing research capacity elsewhere, both through a menu of training options for individual scholars and by strengthening their home institutions and networks, can begin to address many of the obstacles that result from differences within international research teams. By sharing common skills, methods, and approaches—whether through workshops, summer programs, or degree programs—scholars can gradually build their repertoire of shared "practices," as Goodnow used the term. By increasing local research capacities, some of the power asymmetries that impede col-

laboration can begin to be addressed. Both can build the relationships of reciprocity and trust that are essential to successful collaboration.

COMMUNICATION

Good communication between collaborators will not only avoid misunderstandings on substantive issues but also build trust. Researchers need to be aware and respectful of cultural differences in styles of communication. This may include anticipating that a collaborator will find it difficult to voice a challenge or criticism of an investigator who has brought funds to support the project. Nichter contrasted a confrontational style more acceptable in India with the much greater reticence encountered among collaborators in Indonesia. Helwig noted hesitancy among Chinese collaborators to express criticism. Workshop participants urged researchers to create a variety of opportunities in which collaborators can share any discomfort they have with the research questions or methods and make it possible to return to these issues at different times in the project. One possibility is to make an explicit call to participating researchers to reassess the strategy at the midpoint of a project or when a progress report is being prepared for funders. Without such opportunities for communication, criticisms may not be voiced and, consequently, corrections and improvements may not be made.

Workshop participants emphasized that at least some communication in any collaboration should be face to face, whether through visits to research sites or gatherings at international conferences. All found periodic face-to-face interaction to be invaluable for addressing or preventing misunderstandings and for building long-term relationships of trust. E-mail and electronic conferencing are excellent tools, particularly for frequent updates, minor adjustments or corrections, and joint editing of texts. But workshop participants agreed that it is insufficient for building the relationships and cultivating the trust and reciprocity that are essential to collaboration; for these, in-person interaction is necessary.

PROJECT DEVELOPMENT

Addressing the specific obstacles they had identified earlier, workshop participants offered a number of comments and suggestions. Anyone considering an international collaboration should appreciate the longer than usual lead time that the first phase of a research project will require.

Collaborators need to remain attentive not only to discussing the major constructs and their meaning but also to the layers of translation (forward translation, consensus choices, back translation, field testing). Political sensitivities, cultural relevance, and appropriate administration or study questions and procedures also require attention. Such tasks will lengthen the period of project preparation, and international researchers should plan accordingly.

In securing collaborators and then recruiting staff, researchers also need to be aware of differences in practice regarding such matters as workload, supervision, pacing, and vacations. Communicating early and often, so as to prevent misunderstandings, is the best means for handling these issues. Workshop participants recommended that researchers begin anticipating and addressing these issues at the earliest stages of their projects.

ETHICS REVIEW PROCEDURES

Regarding institutional review boards (IRBs), workshop participants had a number of suggestions. From his experience with BEIP in Romania, Nelson recommended that international research projects contact local nongovernmental organizations for advice on such matters as culturally appropriate consent forms and local pay rates. Researchers should also try to gather precedents that have previously been used to satisfy IRB requirements. Because the home institutions of many potential collaborators will not have formal IRBs, workshop participants urged that some sort of international guidelines be developed. This would not be a template, mimicking the legalistic and bureaucratic approach found at too many U.S. institutions. Rather, it would be a general framework for establishing an ethics review process aimed at protecting human subjects, with attention to eliciting truly informed consent and methods appropriate for minimum-risk research. Such guidelines would assist institutions in meeting the demands of U.S. IRBs without having to adopt the U.S. pattern or start entirely from scratch. Workshop participants noted that no one holds accountable or regulates IRBs and that these boards sometimes abuse their power when they shift from ethical to scientific oversight, challenging research designs that have already passed peer reviews. Nichter recommended that scholars look into whether their universities are indeed required to submit to IRBs for all research activities.[2]

[2]Caroline H. Bledsoe, "Hope in the IRB Mire? The Federal-Wide Assurance Box 4(b) Option," workshop presentation, March 27, 2006, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL.

DATASETS

Researchers need to ensure that all collaborators are working with comparable constructs or at least are prepared to document and work with the variations. They also need to confirm that their questions meet at least a minimum level of political sensitivity and cultural appropriateness. As Helwig learned from conferring with Chinese collaborators, by eliminating hypothetical scenarios involving families with multiple children, questions directed at issues of rights and autonomy could still be asked in a society that promotes the one-child family.

Translations of questions also need to be handled carefully. Alexandra Quittner provided an example of how a series of options for the term "cough" were identified; consensus was reached among the options; and the consensus items were then translated, back translated, and tested in the field. Equally careful decisions are necessary to avoid biases in instruments, measures, and administration. These are difficult tasks. Quittner advocated that guidance be made available on how to develop an instrument, particularly one that will be internationally relevant. Suzanne Bennett Johnson urged that, once such instruments are devised, they be made available to other researchers. Since measurement and instrument development for use in international research is so time consuming, a repository of available instruments with their translations could permit more rapid scientific advances.

Data management also needs to be improved to facilitate international collaborations. This includes initial explicit agreement among collaborators and then eventual standardization across the field, regarding such matters as cleaning data, handling missing data, and incorporating late submissions. Some large and well-established international research organizations have procedures in these areas that can provide guidance to investigators conducting smaller projects. The infrastructure of data management should be developed and shared with the aim of facilitating international collaboration. Greater resources should be devoted to documenting completed datasets so that they can be used for secondary analysis. Van de Vijver noted the Data Documentation Initiative, an international effort to establish a standard for technical documentation describing social science data.[3] Collaborators also need to communicate clearly about ownership of and access to datasets. Several models are possible. For example, each principal investigator could retain control over how his/her data are shared, including what parts of the

[3]See www.icpsr.umich.edu/DDI, accessed October 26, 2006.

data are shared, whether or how the data are deposited (attending to IRB regulations concerning data storage), whether the data may be analyzed at a remote site, and whether other researchers need to apply in order to gain access or for what period of time access to the data may be restricted. These are all decisions to be reached among research collaborators. Goodnow noted that the population under study may well presume or insist on ownership of the collected data. Resolving issues of ownership and access will require communication as well.

PUBLICATIONS

As with datasets, there needs to be ample early communication about publications that will result from research collaborations. The issues involved touch on both dissimilarities in practice and asymmetries of power. What will be the order in which authors are listed? What level of involvement will meet criteria for authorship? In some research settings it may "go without saying" that principal investigators will be listed as first authors. In other settings the standard may be for all collaborators to form a group, with all publications under the group's name. Some researchers may expect the freedom to publish their own segment of the research separately or may feel justified in presenting the work of the group without acknowledging individual group members' contributions. These issues need to be discussed and, to the extent possible, decided in advance.

The handling of publications can also contribute to building capacity. Several workshop participants urged that research be published in the language(s) of the country where the work was done. Efforts should be made to help scholars whose mother-tongue is not English publish in international English-language journals. This may include workshops on crafting a manuscript suitable to such journals or creating more opportunities for joint authorship with established scholars. There was also agreement among workshop participants on the need to educate journal editors about the unique contributions of international collaborative research and to suggest greater flexibility when reviewing submissions that come from researchers for whom English is a second language. Unnecessarily rigid style requirements can prevent valuable research results from being shared. International publications will also help foreign scholars gain access to funding streams, increasing the chance that they will be able to initiate new collaborations.

DISSEMINATION

In addition to professional publications, international research collaborations should give enhanced attention to disseminating their results to relevant audiences outside the academic and scientific communities. Not all research is intended to be of direct public interest or utility, but disseminating research results, at interim points as well as at the conclusion of a project, will further two objectives. If handled astutely, it has the potential to deflect the suspicions, conspiracy theories, and unwarranted attacks that a number of international research projects have experienced. It may also raise the profile, status, and support for local researchers, thereby contributing to local capacity.

Workshop participants urged researchers to think about the different audiences that need to be informed and how to make their research accessible to those audiences. Governments, policymakers, health care providers, educators, communities, or parents will need to be addressed differently and through a variety of venues. Web sites might be appropriate in certain settings, whereas formal announcements incorporating local dignitaries, press conferences, or radio interviews may be useful in others. Local support and engagement should be encouraged whenever appropriate.

EARLY-CAREER SCHOLARS

Workshop participants were well aware that the obstacles to international collaboration, while daunting to senior researchers, may appear insurmountable to younger scholars, particularly junior faculty concerned about tenure. They offered several recommendations. Professional societies should add workshops or small group meetings to their existing international meetings where junior researchers could identify potential collaborators and discuss possible projects. At similar workshops, experienced international researchers should help review proposals by junior scholars for international collaborations. Guidance should also be provided for navigating the IRB process.

Junior scholars should be encouraged to pursue long-term collaborative strategies. Research projects should be designed to build on one another, so that as a researcher's linguistic competence, cultural familiarity, and relationships with collaborators deepen, more challenging projects can be conceived and initiated.

FUNDING AGENCIES

Clearly, many of the recommendations for junior scholars or senior researchers are not cost-free. Spending further time in the formation of a project or the careful translation of instruments will consume resources, as will traveling to engage in face-to-face communication with collaborators. Documenting and managing a dataset both require funds, as does disseminating results. Training programs, no matter how minimally budgeted, are still costly. Holding methodological or content-focused sessions, even if tagged on to existing conferences, requires sponsors. Workshop participants therefore generated a list of comments directed specifically to funding agencies.

Workshop participants urged greater flexibility on the part of funders. For example, funding agencies might permit research grants to cover more of the phases involved in international collaboration instead of limiting support to data collection, analysis, and publication. Scholars need to travel to potential research sites, meet with possible collaborators, and do some preliminary exploration into the feasibility of research, with particular attention to issues that might arise over translatability and cultural appropriateness. Workshop participants emphasized that this sort of work can only be done on the ground and in person. Institutions and funding agencies might provide small grants for this essential exploratory travel and project planning. This may be particularly important for early-career investigators, who often do not have access to as many resources as their senior colleagues. Funders should also recognize the additional lead time needed to plan international research collaborations, and should ensure their funding mechanisms have enough flexibility to take such needs into account.

Rather than requiring proposals to have a predetermined design and translated instruments, funding agencies could permit research collaborators to develop locally appropriate aspects of a design once a research agenda has been clearly defined. Research projects might also be permitted to put more of their grants toward training local staff to undertake the research, rather than solely toward the production of data by experienced researchers from outside the country. Documentation of data for secondary analysis and dissemination of results need to be recognized as valuable but costly aspects of international research projects, meriting designated funding. Workshop participants expressed concern about funding agencies' requirements that all principal investigators attend central meetings in the donor country—a

practice that usually stresses the finances and time of the international collaborators on the project.

In addition to greater flexibility, workshop participants encouraged funding agencies to consider creating new funding mechanisms specifically for enabling early-career scholars to become engaged in international collaborations and for offering training, via a variety of innovative programs, for scholars from countries with limited research resources.

There are many steps that could be taken to facilitate international collaborations. Workshop participants made an array of recommendations relevant to journal editors, ethics review boards, and funding agencies and offered suggestions to collaborating researchers who find themselves crossing many national, cultural, or disciplinary boundaries. Obstacles to international research clearly exist. Nonetheless, workshop participants enthusiastically endorsed research collaboration for its great potential to advance the psychological, behavioral, and social sciences.

Appendixes

Appendix A

Agenda

U.S. National Committee for the International Union of Psychological Science
presents

International Collaborations in Social and Behavioral Sciences Research

(Sponsored by the National Science Foundation)

October 5-6, 2006
Northwestern University
Norris University Center
1999 Campus Drive
Evanston, IL

What makes a successful collaboration?
What are the benefits of international collaborative research?
What are the barriers or challenges?

AGENDA

October 5, 2006

8:30-Noon

Welcome and Introductions
Suzanne Bennett-Johnson, Chair, Steering Committee

SESSION I

WHY ARE INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH COLLABORATIONS IMPORTANT?
Jacqueline Goodnow, Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia

Panel Discussion

Large-Scale Datasets, ***L. Rowell Huesmann, University of Michigan***
Culture and Social Processes, ***Kenneth Rubin, University of Maryland, College Park***
Developmental Research, ***Marc Bornstein, National Institutes of Health***
Rare Diseases, ***Alexandra Quittner, University of Miami***

Noon-2:00
LUNCH

2:00-4:30

SESSION II
CONDUCTING INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH: CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS
Review of Survey of Behavioral and Social Scientists, ***Judith Torney-Purta, University of Maryland, College Park***

Panel Discussion
1. IRBs and Ethics, ***Charles Nelson, Harvard University***
2. Data Access, Management, Analysis, Ownership, ***Fons van de Vijver, Tilburg University***
3. Research Planning, ***Kevin Miller, University of Michigan***
4. Research Execution, ***Charles Helwig, University of Toronto***

October 6, 2006

8:30-10:00

SESSION III
INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH COLLABORATIONS: CAPACITY BUILDING, TRAINING, AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Panel Discussion

Capacity Building, ***Mark Nichter, University of Arizona***
Training, ***Oscar Barbarin, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill***

10:00-Noon

SESSION IV
BREAKOUTS AND NETWORKING/FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Communication Among International Collaborators
Dissemination of International Collaborative Research Findings

Noon-2:30

SESSION V
BREAKOUT REPORTS

2:30-4:30

SESSION VI

SUMMARY/FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This workshop and the resulting report will explore guidelines for international collaborations in the social and behavioral sciences, encourage U.S. involvement in international research collaborations, and persuade funders to give more and better-targeted support to international behavioral and social sciences research.

Appendix B

Workshop Participants and Speakers

Lamia P. Barakat
Associate Professor of Psychology
Department of Psychology
Drexel University
Phone: 215-895-2432
Fax: 215-895-4930
E-mail: lpb22@drexel.edu

Oscar Barbarin III
L. Richardson and Emily Preyer Bicentennial Distinguished Professor for Strengthening Families and
Fellow, Frank Porter Graham Child Development Institute
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, NC 27599
Phone: 919-962-6405/919-963-4033
Fax: 919-968-4033
E-mail: Barbarin@unc.edu

Jill Weissberg Benchell
Associate Professor
Northwestern University
Feinberg School of Medicine
Children's Memorial Hospital
2300 Children's Plaza, Box 10
Chicago, IL 60614
Phone: 773-880-4818
Fax: 773-880-8110
E-mail: jwbenchell@childrensmemorial.org

Marc H. Bornstein
Senior Investigator and Head
Child and Family Research
National Institute of Child Health and Human Development
6705 Rockledge Dr., Suite 8030
Bethesda, MD 20892-7971
Phone: 301-496-6832
Fax: 301-480-4039
E-mail: Marc_H_Bornstein@nih.gov

Robert H. Bradley
Center for Applied Studies in Education
University of Arkansas at Little Rock
2801 S. University Ave.
Little Rock, AR 72204
Phone: 501-569-8177
E-mail: rhbradley@ualr.edu

Elizabeth Briggs
Senior Program Associate
Board on International Scientific Organizations
The National Academies
500 Fifth Street, NW
Washington, DC 20001
Phone: 202-334-1933
Fax: 202-334-2231
E-mail: ebriggs@nas.edu

Kay K. Deaux
Distinguished Professor of Psychology
CUNY Graduate Center
365 Fifth Ave.
New York, NY 10016
Phone: 212-817-8714
E-mail: kdeaux@gc.cuny.edu

Judy M. Frey
229 Wakeman Ave.
Wheaton, IL 60187
Phone: 630-660-6883
E-mail: JmFreyJ@aol.com

Jacqueline Goodnow
Professor of Psychology
Macquarie University
Balaclava Rd., North Ryde,
New South Wales
NSW 2109
Sydney, Australia
Phone: +61 2 9850 7111
E-mail: Jackie.Goodnow@psy.mq.edu.au

Nancy Hathaway
Director
Office for the Protection of Research Subjects
University of Illinois at Chicago
203 AOB, MC 672
1737 W. Polk St.
Chicago, IL 60612-7227
Phone: 312-413-8737
E-mail: nancyh@uic.edu

Charles C. Helwig
Professor of Psychology
(cross-appointed with Ontario Institute for Studies in Education)
University of Toronto
Sidney Smith Hall, #4037
100 St. George St.
Toronto, Ontario
Canada M5S 3G3
Phone: 416-978-7609
E-mail: helwig@psych.utoronto.ca

L. Rowell Huesmann
Research Professor
Professor of Communications and Psychology
Research Center for Group Dynamics
Institute for Social Research
University of Michigan
426 Thompson St.
P.O. Box 1248
Ann Arbor, MI 48106
Phone: 734-764-8360
E-mail: huesmann@umich.edu

Madelyn Iris
Associate Professor
Department of Psychiatry
Feinberg School of Medicine
Director of Research
Council for Jewish Elderly
Northwestern University
633 Clark St.
Evanston, IL 60208
E-mail: miris@northwestern.edu

Amy Janke
Department of Veterans Affairs
Hines VA Hospital
Midwest Center for Health Services & Policy Research
P.O. Box 5000 (151H)
Hines, IL 60141
Phone: 708-202-2838
Fax: 708-202-2316
E-mail: elizabeth.janke@va.gov

Suzanne Bennett Johnson
Professor and Chair
Department of Medical Humanities and Social Sciences
Florida State University
College of Medicine
Call St. at Stadium B 247
Tallahassee, FL 32306
Phone: 850-644-8462
Fax: 850-644-0158
E-mail: suzanne.johnson@med.fsu.edu

Elaine Lawson
Program Officer
Board on International Scientific Organizations
The National Academies
500 Fifth St., NW
Washington, DC 20001
Phone: 202-334-2363
Fax: 202-334-2231
E-mail: elawson@nas.edu

Douglas L. Medin
Professor of Psychology
Northwestern University
2029 Sheridan Rd.
Evanston, IL 60208-2710
Phone: 847-467-1660
Fax: 847-491-7859
E-mail: medin@northwestern.edu

Kevin Miller
Professor of Education
Research Scientist, SOE and Professor of Psychology
Chair, Combined Program in Education and Psychology
University of Michigan
School of Education, Rm. 1360
East University Ave.
Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1259
Phone: 734-615-1800
E-mail: kevinmil@umich.edu

Charles A. Nelson
Richard David Scott Chair in Pediatrics
Harvard Medical School
Developmental Medicine Center
Laboratory of Cognitive Neuroscience Boston Children's Hospital
1 Autumn St., #713, 6th floor
Boston, MA 02115
Phone: 617-355-0401
E-mail: charles.nelson@childrens.harvard.edu

Mark Nichter
Professor of Anthropology and Professor of Family and Community Medicine
Department of Anthropology
University of Arizona
P.O. Box 210030
1009 E. South Campus Dr.
Tucson, AZ 85721-0030
Phone: 520-621-2665
Fax: 520-621-2088
E-mail: Mnichter@u.arizona.edu

Alexandra Quittner
Professor
Department of Psychology
5665 Ponce de Leon Blvd.
University of Miami
Coral Gables, FL 33146-2070
Phone: 305-284-8439
Fax: 305-284-4795
E-mail: aquittner@miami.edu

Kenneth Rubin
Professor of Human Development
Director, Center for Children, Relationships and Culture
University of Maryland
1108 Benjamin Bldg.
College Park, MD 20742
Phone: 301-405-5194
Fax: 301-405-7735
E-mail: krubin@umd.edu

Carrie L. Saetermoe
Professor
Department of Psychology
California State University
18111 Nordhoff St.
Northridge, CA 91330-8255
Phone: 818-677-3506
E-mail: carrie.saetermoe@csun.edu

Amy Smith
Social Insight
30 Exeter St.
Portland, ME 04102
E-mail: smith@socialinsight.org

Stephen M. Tonks
Assistant Professor
Department of Leadership, Educational Psychology, and Foundations
Northern Illinois University
DeKalb, IL 60115
Phone: 815-753-5497
E-mail: stonks@niu.edu

Judith Torney-Purta
Professor of Human Development
3304S Benjamin Bldg.
University of Maryland
College Park, MD 20742-1131
Phone: 301-405-2806
Fax: 301-210-3916
E-mail: jtpurta@umd.edu

Fons van de Vijver
Professor of Social and Behavioral Sciences
Psychology and Society
Tilburg University
Room P 64
P.O. Box 90153
NL-5000 LE Tilburg, The Netherlands
Phone: +31 13 466 2528
Fax: +31 13 466 2370
E-mail: Fons.vandeVijver@uvt.nl

Sandra Waxman
Department of Psychology
Northwestern University
633 Clark St.
Evanston, IL 60208
Phone: 847-467-2293
E-mail: s-waxman@northwestern.edu

Sarah Woolf
Graduate Student in Clinical Psychology
Syracuse University
1207 Teall Ave.
Syracuse, NY 13206
Phone: 315-481-1305
E-mail: sewoolf@syr.edu

Cynthia Ziemer
Licensed Clinical Psychologist
319-B Harrison St.
Oak Park, IL 60304
Phone: 708-763-8158
E-mail: CZiemer@aol.com

Appendix C

The Benefits of Cross-Cultural Collaboration

Jacqueline J. Goodnow[1]

Workshop on International Collaborations in Behavioral and Social Sciences Research
Northwestern University
Evanston, IL
October 5-6, 2006

Thank you for the opportunity to speak before you today. I have been asked to focus on the benefits of cross-cultural collaborations. Inevitably, this means that I shall touch on some related topics that are also central to this workshop: topics such as the challenges this collaboration presents. In the main, however, I shall stay with benefits.

For purposes of this talk, I shall divide benefits into two main kinds: pragmatic (e.g., it becomes possible to do research that could otherwise not be done) and conceptual (e.g., our concepts or assumptions are shaken and new questions arise).

I shall also divide benefits into three sets. These are related to:

- *Tests for generality and "natural experiments."* The main gain here lies in some first moves beyond the rationales once regarded as a sufficient base for cross-cultural comparisons.
- *Export/import views of psychology.* For both research and policy purposes, we often wish to move theories, procedures, or measures from one cultural group to another: the issue noted in the workshop proposal as "the applicability of American psychology to other nations." The main gain here lies in coming to understand the possibilities and the limits of such moves.

[1] Jacqueline J. Goodnow is emeritus professor and professorial research fellow at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia.

- *Gaps in current theories.* Cross-cultural analyses help fill gaps in several areas of theory. Singled out as a particular case are gaps in our understanding of collaboration or "joint activity": a conceptual area relevant to problem solving, research practices, and social policy.

Some general points need to be made before I start. The first is *the need to ask what is specific to cross-cultural collaboration.* Benefits can stem from other forms of collaboration. They may stem, for example, from collaboration across disciplines, between people within a discipline who hold different views, and between researchers and policymakers. We need then to consider what is specific to collaboration across cultural groups and how analyses of cross-cultural collaboration and of collaboration in general can feed into one another.

The second general point is *the need to consider collaboration, of any kind, as always between people.* It is not "between cultures," and it is not an abstract or depersonalized process. People bring views about how collaborations and relationships should proceed: views, for example, about benefits, reciprocity, tradeoffs, obligations, the recognition of status, and the kinds of relationships that should apply. Across cultural groups we are especially likely to find variations in such views. Understanding those variations can affect the success of cultural interactions. It can also feed into the general development of theories of obligations and relationships: areas not yet well supplied with studies of expectations in situations where people work together or make decisions together.

The third and last general point has to do with *the benefits that challenges or difficulties can bring.* Difficulties can bring with them, for example, an awareness of new questions and a second look at practices or assumptions that we usually take for granted. Let me anchor that in a specific example. I am one of a large steering committee that is working toward establishing a longitudinal study of indigenous children in Australia (a study initiated and funded by a government department). The committee itself is a collaborative venture. It is a mixture of indigenous and nonindigenous members, social scientists, and community spokespersons. Beyond the committee is a cadre of people selected as liaison workers with some selected communities (another set of collaborations). We have been in operation for over two years and are experiencing what is now common in research that involves Australian indigenous groups: long delays in what researchers see as "getting started." That "delay," however, brings with it a vivid awareness of the need to look more closely at our understanding of several aspects of research, in

particular at concepts of "consent," "refusals," "expected benefits," and the "ownership of data." In effect, the difficulties bring with them a benefit, in the form of opening up some major research questions.

TESTS FOR GENERALITY AND "NATURAL EXPERIMENTS"

For cross-cultural comparisons, two large benefits have often been proposed. One is that they provide tests for the generality of a behavior or a theory. The other is that they provide "natural experiments": variations in conditions that we cannot alter or that we would seldom think of altering. Both arguments can be upgraded, providing us with a more effective picture of what is possible and what may be gained.

Upgrading Tests for Generality

At one time, all that needed to be said about cross-cultural analyses was that they offered "tests for generality." That view of benefits, however, is too gross to be really useful. It does not, for example, tell us what countries or what points of comparison we might best turn to, especially if we wish to check on processes: on how particular events come about rather than simply whether they occur or not. It is also very one sided. The benefit is considered only for the explorer or the originator of the theory.

Can we do better? One alternative—an alternative that gives us a more specific view of what we may gain—is to regard benefits as lying in various forms of access: access, for example, to:

- Physical resources (e.g., the tools or equipment needed for various kinds of analysis)
- Funding (from grants to lower-cost materials or labor)
- Know-how or expertise
- Populations, records, or historical material
- Circumstances that provide "natural experiments"

Those forms of access are not all of one kind. The first four, for example, are essentially pragmatic. They are also double sided, in the sense that they cover forms of access that either party in a collaboration may be able to provide. Between the two parties, there may also be some understanding of what each can contribute and—an issue as yet not well explored—some sense of reciprocity or "tradeoffs."

The last form of access on the list has some different features. It is more readily thought of as offering conceptual benefits. The benefits are also more likely to be one sided. They apply more to the party that has the stronger theoretical interest or is the originator of a theory that might now be tested or extended. For those reasons, and because this benefit has so often been proposed, I give it separate space.

Upgrading "Natural Experiments"

Turning to cultures other than one's own often provides variations in circumstances that we would either not introduce or might not even consider. Examples of building on naturally occurring variations could be drawn from many areas, ranging from schooling to health or disease, environmental or social change, legal systems, state regulatory systems, or social supports.

From a potentially long list of examples, let me select one. This consists of turning to settings that provide variations in family patterns: variations in family size, family composition, divisions of labor or responsibility, lines of authority, the perceived value of children, arrangements for child care, parental care, or inheritances. The work of Marc Bornstein and Ken Rubin illustrates many of these variations, with an eye mainly to child development or well-being. Interest is not confined, however, to developmentalists or psychologists. At the population level, for instance, variations in family patterns (e.g., the "pyramids" of age distributions) are attracting attention from family theorists, demographers, and economists.

Do we then need any upgrading to this argument for the value of cross-cultural analyses? There are, I suggest, some ways of viewing "natural experiments" that can yield a more complete picture of benefits.

Two steps to consider are (1) ways to distinguish among the several forms that "natural experiments" may take and (2) ways to maximize their value.

Distinguishing among "natural experiments." Let me distinguish four. They vary in their starting points, in the kind of benefit they bring, and in the extent to which they shake our assumptions or change our theories.

In the first, *we start from something that is already a question in our minds.* We are not sure whether a particular behavior depends on particular conditions or not, or whether a hypothesis will hold. Cross-cultural analysis provides the opportunity to find out. The result, either way, is acceptable.

We started with both possibilities in mind, and so no real change in our ideas is called for.

In the second, *we start from positions that are regarded as moderately well established but open to some modification or added subtlety.* Cross-cultural analyses may then provide this enrichment. As examples, take the distinctions between "authoritative" and "authoritarian" parenting or between societies oriented toward "autonomy" or "interdependence." Cultural analyses have left both distinctions intact but have modified them. Interestingly, most of the reservations and changes related to these concepts have come from outside the "West": from psychologists who think that the contrasts proposed do not adequately fit their settings (e.g., Chao, 1994, on authority distinctions; Kagitcibasi, 1994, on autonomy/interdependence). In this case, then, benefits may accrue to people from two cultures. For one, some richness is added to existing accounts. For the other, there has been the opportunity to argue against a "Western" description that is thought to be a poor fit with their own cultures.

In the third way of building on "natural experiments," *we begin to change our ways of thinking: We develop an awareness of questions we had not thought of asking or had been slow to ask.* Let me give some examples.

One has to do with *recognizing the need to distinguish among social contexts.* Psychologists especially often use terms such as "social context," "culture," or "ecology" without close analysis. Attention to other cultural groups makes us more aware of the need to examine more carefully how one kind of context—or one way of describing contexts—differs from another (a task I found necessary for my own understanding of what "cultures" or "social contexts" might refer to).

A second has to do with *recognizing the interaction between two "givens"*: biological readiness and the "tools" or experiences that are culturally ready-to-hand. In the course of debates over nature versus nurture we have been slow to look closely at how the two might combine: the one "given," for example, fitting neatly with another (Cole and Hatano, 2006). Examining that interaction, however, is now emerging as a critical next step.

The last example has to do with *exploring the nature of diffusion.* Exploring the nature of diffusion is a major part of general analyses of innovation (e.g., Rogers, 1995) and of cultural spread. It appears also in biologists' analyses of how new ways of proceeding (e.g., a new form of tool use or of food preparation) spreads across generations or subgroups in primate populations. The analysis of both diffusion and innovation would benefit greatly from varied cultural materials. At least among psychologists, however—per-

haps because they are often more tuned in to dyads than to groups—diffusion and innovation have not so far been obvious research topics.

In the fourth and last form of "natural experiments," *we start from a position that we take for granted and encounter surprises.* We encounter corrections to our views of what is "normal" or "natural," our views of what is essential, beneficial, or detrimental for development, well-being, or a reasonable way of life. The benefits now lie in the shaking of our assumptions and in an awareness of how little analysis or evidence exists for much of what we assume is "natural," "normal," or "well established."

There seems again to be no need for extended examples of this kind of benefit. We have all encountered it in the course of experience with other cultural groups. All of my own reexamination of children's involvement in tasks that contribute to the work of households, for example, stems from being told by Lebanese-born mothers that they see no value in those household tasks for their children and then from finding that the benefits so often taken for granted in the "West" have not been tested or examined (e.g., Goodnow, 1996). In similar fashion, my interest in the "socialization of cognition"—in bringing together cognitive and social psychology—stems from experience with the way people in other cultural groups regarded the tasks I asked them to do and with their distinctions between significant and trivial areas of competence (e.g., Goodnow, 1990).

Benefits in the form of shaken assumptions or "paradigm shifts" are clearly of major value. They are, however, also marked by two limitations. One is the need to find ways of persuading others to also change their assumptions: others who have not had the same experience. The other is that encounters with surprises are largely unplanned.

Instead of multiplying examples of surprises, then, let me ask: Can we overcome those limitations? Can we find ways to maximize benefits in the form of shaken assumptions or new questions?

Maximizing benefits: Becoming alert to "tremors." I shall focus on the drawback of encounters with surprises being largely unplanned. To reduce that, suppose we ask: *Are there ways of anticipating where a shaking of assumptions is likely to occur?* We might, for example, become alert to what I shall call "tremors": signs that some assumption might be shaky. We can then plan efforts in those directions, maximizing the likelihood of benefit.

There is again a potentially long list of examples. I shall limit myself to two. Others present at this workshop would undoubtedly offer different examples.

The first has to do with questions about *identity*. Most "Western" research on identity assumes an essentially secular world (work, peers, neighborhoods). We are now becoming aware that, in many settings, identity is often strongly religious in nature. Needed now is a closer look at settings where religious orientation and training are central to the perceptions of self and others and, in the process, at concepts of identity and their bases (cf. Hudley et al., 2003; Sen, 2005).

The second example has to do with *language development*. Many children live in settings where bilingual or multilingual exposure is common. The prevailing assumption in "Western" psychology is that the optimal conditions are those where languages are functionally separated (e.g., by parent or by setting) and code switching (especially within sentences) is infrequent. That assumption, some linguists believe, may not be valid (e.g., Dispray and Wigglesworth, 2005). There seems, however, to be only one close study of settings or groups where these conditions do not apply (Kulick's 1997 study in Papua New Guinea). We clearly need more.

BENEFITS RELATED TO EXPORT/IMPORT VIEWS OF PSYCHOLOGY

Ideas and practices often flow from one country or one cultural group to another. That flow may be strongly promoted. Often, for example, we want to change how things are done in other countries, especially those we see as within our "spheres of influence" or as in need of assistance. Flow may also sometimes occur without any marked promotion from the place of origin. Immigrant groups and teams that combine people from various countries, for example, inevitably bring other ways of thinking or other ways of doing things. Some of these may be resisted, but some will be adopted.

Cultural collaborations provide ways to increase our understanding of that flow, in either direction. More specifically, I suggest, they can increase our understanding of five aspects:

- *The conditions that promote exports*
- *The nature of what is exported* (ideas or practices)
- *The fate of exports* (from take-up to resistance)
- *What is happening in one's own country*, especially in the wake of immigration and, among scientists, increased movement and networking
- *What other countries can suggest* in relation to what can be improved, changed, or avoided, both in one's own country and in others

The conditions that promote exports. To take one aspect of this, what conditions make one country more likely to be involved than another? The United States, for example, is a strong exporter. It is committed to the concept of assistance and to the spread of its values and practices across many other cultures. It is also in a position of power that makes spread more likely. Many of the same points might be said to apply to countries such as China, at least in relation to regions such as Tibet or Vietnam. Comparisons across countries can help us specify what contributes to an interest in exports of various kinds. They can also help us understand the ideas people hold about appropriate exports and the places seen as appropriate target sites.

The nature of exports. Exports may be of many kinds. From the United States to other countries, for example, have come ideas and practices related to education (from schooling to parent education), medical care (from pediatrics to psychiatry), cross-generation obligations (from child care to elder care), and the regulation of paid work (from child labor to parental leave or hours of work).

What do cultural analyses offer on this score? They point to both a useful concept and some useful questions. The *useful concept* takes the form of proposing that *the export of ideas, theories, or policies is through the export of practices.*

I am using "practices" here in the sense emphasized by Bourdieu (1977), adopted by most anthropologists. and of interest to several developmentalists (e.g. Goodnow et al., 1995). "Practices" in this definition consist of routine ways of doing things that we come to think of as "normal" or "natural," that we seldom think about or question, that we often find uncomfortable to change, and that may need to be changed before any shift in concepts or attitudes can occur. Before we change our gender schemas and attitudes, to take a much-used example, we may need to alter our everyday ways of "doing gender."

To illustrate the exporting of practices, we could take as examples a variety of content areas. Medical care is one. When we export standard "Western" approaches to medical care, what we seek to introduce are some specific practices: some particular ways of diagnosing, advising, prescribing; some particular ways of promoting good health or of taking care of those no longer in good health.

For an example that has especially attracted attention from developmentalists, however, I shall turn to schooling. That content area contains accounts of a variety of exported practices. These range from age grading to

the subjects taught and particular ways of teaching (e.g., the use of particular question-and-answer formats). Introduced also are some particular divisions of labor (e.g., the involvement of parents in homework or "projects") and evaluation practices: practices that range from the use of particular measures for developmental status (or teachers' competence) to nationwide testing at specified ages.

This content area has also yielded some classic accounts of a very specific kind of practice: the language insisted on in classrooms (e.g., Dumont, 1972; Heath, 1983). Those analyses detail the way that new practices may fit into relatively empty space, find a place side by side with old practices, or involve some active "dismantling" (Michaels, 1991) of old ways. These accounts not only document this particular area, taking apart what "schooling" involves and encouraging us to examine any unquestioned assumption that schooling is always beneficial, but also point the way toward examining, in any content area, the introduction of theory or concepts by way of practices.

The fate of exports. Cultural analyses provide several useful questions on this score. Let me point to three:

- What flows easily, to what groups?
- Where are the first signs of difficulty?
- Where are the areas of resistance?

I shall deal lightly with the first question (what flows easily), noting only one suggestion from analyses of interactions between researchers and policymakers. What may flow easily, it has been proposed, are not the "data" that researchers hopefully offer but the large "frames" suggested. The "frame" of brain development as major in the first three years, often coupled with the description of children's brains as largely "cooked" or "sculpted" by age 5, is one example.

For the second question (*first signs of difficulty*), I shall again take from cultural analyses only one suggestion. For many of us who have taken questions or assumptions to other cultural groups, the first difficulties—and the first shaking of assumptions—begin with finding that the measures we use (the questions we ask, the interview formats we are accustomed to, the tasks we ask people to do) "don't work." They are regarded as "odd," as not worth any effort, or as requests to be considered only as a matter of courtesy.

This is another case, however, of a difficulty turning out to have unex-

pected benefits. It is out of difficulty with measures and procedures that we begin to look seriously at issues of "translatability" and at the assumptions that lie beneath the kinds of measures we use and beneath others' responses to them. It is out of that kind of experience that there have also arisen views of competence as "situated" rather than "general" (e.g., Lave and Wenger, 1991). Out of that experience as well has come an interest in issues that have also attracted anthropologists' attention: how some tasks come to be considered as worth doing (others are seen as "trivial" rather than "significant") and how some ways of talking or of problem solving come to be regarded as "correct" or "natural" while others are "unacceptable" or "odd" (e.g., Bourdieu, 1979; D'Andrade, 1981, 1995).

The third question (*areas of resistance*) is the one on which I wish to be more expansive. What conditions prompt the sense of an objectionable export? Gaining a sense of those conditions is essential to any understanding of the fate of exports, and cultural analyses offer ways to begin understanding and exploring them.

One way to begin is to look more closely at some specific practices, with preference given to those that are central to the success of exports. One of these, for example, is the giving and receiving of *advice*. The nature and fate of advice given to parents have attracted some culturally oriented attention (e.g., Frankel and Roer-Bornstein, 1982; Goodnow, 2003). Both within and across cultures, however, we give advice on matters that range from parenting to schooling, housing, and health care. In all these areas, I suggest, cultural analyses would enrich our understanding of the conditions that influence how advice is given, how it is interpreted, and the extent to which it is followed.

More broadly, we can return to the concept of practices, asking: *What makes some practices objectionable or resisted?* Three possibilities are these:

- *The new practice creates the sense of being "a cultural stranger."* The term "cultural stranger" comes from phenomenological analyses of experiences in "foreign" lands. Large differences may be handled easily. They are expected. Small differences in practices—parts of one's comfortable daily routines—are likely to provide more of a sense of shock or strangeness. "Foreign" breakfasts have been described as a typical experience. Large differences in forms of dress or speech are often anticipated. But breakfast? Changes in practices that give people the sense of being "cultural strangers" in their own land, it would seem, are what we should especially avoid when we make export moves.

- *The new practices give rise to a sense of threat or danger.* I shall take an example from Pam Reynolds (personal communication). "Western" therapeutic practice is often in favor of helping people who have experienced trauma to relive and reface those experiences or the emotions they provoked. In many African groups, however, that practice—that release of negative emotions—is seen as dangerous both for the individual and for the surrounding group. The preferred alternative—the safer and more effective alternative—is seen as lying in purification ceremonies.
- *The disruption of everyday practices is thought to be arbitrary.* For an example of that, let me take a personal sense of resistance. Up to a certain point, I accept easily the request that manuscripts submitted to U.S. sources should follow U.S. formats: psychologists should follow the requirements set out in great detail by the American Psychological Association. (That large publication manual is itself an interesting case of diffusion.) If I were a native speaker of French, German, or Spanish, I would probably lament the move toward English only as the language for all articles in journals originally designed to be international. I still balk, however, at the required placement of quotation marks at the end of a sentence rather than at the end of a quoted phrase (cf. He said, "No way." with: "He said, "No way".). That practice violates my sense of grammar and logic, as well as my usual practices. It is also a reminder that in this case only APA practice counts: a reminder of one-sided power and convenience that leaves no room for explanations, negotiations, or exceptions. The example is "small" within any large picture of events. In situations where we wish exports to be easily accepted, however, we might well ask how any sense of arbitrary disruption might be avoided or softened.

Understanding events in one's own country. All countries undergo change. Most countries are also marked by some degree of cultural diversity, sparked often by waves of immigration: waves of what is often referred to as "population movement."

For both the analysis of change and the analysis of movement, cultural analyses provide benefits. In other countries, for example, there can occur forms of change that are not occurring in one's own or have occurred some time earlier. Silbereisen's work on changes in Germany (in particular, the fall of the Berlin Wall) provides one example (e.g., Silbereisen, 2000). Out of this work has come especially the recognition that change involves both risks and opportunities. (It is not all "trauma.")

From other countries, and comparisons across them, can come also

the data we need to understand population movement and its effects. It is difficult, for example, to gain a full understanding of immigration effects and generation changes without attention to both the country of origin and the country to which people move. The ideal picture of "contextual effects" or of "cultural maintenance" calls for considering generational changes in both countries.

Considering what might be changed, improved, or avoided in one's own country. Let me make that concrete by way of some examples. "Western" countries have learned a great deal about the effects of diet and the nature of aging by considering other countries. A great deal can also be learned about the effects of pollutants on health and development: pollutants we might now actively seek to control.

Those areas of possibility, however, lead us back to areas of resistance. The United States, for example, is surrounded by countries—"developed" countries—that make routine legal provisions for both paid annual leave and paid parental leave. For both practices there is also evidence of benefits to individuals and to families. Those practices, however, have not spread to the United States. In effect, we are prompted once more to think about the nature of both resistance and acceptance: issues relevant to countries that "export" their ideas and practices and those that more often "import."

FILLING GAPS IN THEORY: THE CASE OF COLLABORATION AND JOINT ACTIVITY

I suggested at the start, as a general point, that one benefit from cross-cultural collaborations has to do with filling gaps in our theories. Mentioned so far, for example, have been ways to fill gaps in our understanding of relationship distinctions and norms, of diffusion or culture spread, of change (social, environmental, generational), of social contexts, and of the ways in which the interactions of social factors and biological readiness influence development.

As an area to serve as a specific example of those benefits, I am first tempted by theories of relationships. Most of these theories focus on close or intimate relationships. With the notable exception of Fiske's (1991) work, they seldom cover as well situations where people work together. Cultural analyses could help fill that gap.

I shall nonetheless focus on a larger area: the understanding of collaboration. This is an area relevant to the specific topic of this workshop. It

is relevant also to the nature of research practices and to the ways in which we regard all forms of learning, thinking, or problem solving. It is as well an area where cultural analyses have already provided us with new views of behavior and could help answer questions that those new views provoke.

To bring out benefits, I shall separate two lines of analysis. One of these refers primarily to "participation," the other to "joint activity." Some analysts—for example, Rogoff (2003)—combine the two, but for the moment I shall separate them.

Adding to analyses of participation. Whenever any interaction is seen as involving people who influence one another (whenever we move away from one-directional accounts of influence), the nature of participation becomes important to understand. Emerging in recent times is the addition of concerns with participation that add references to terms such as "rights" or "respect." That combination tends to arise especially in the analysis of situations where two parties are unequal in skills, resources, or power. At the moment, most of the situations covered involve forms of social policy or any research that involves children (e.g., Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2005). Unequal parties in collaborative efforts, however, are also frequent in cross-cultural research, opening the possibility that cultural analyses can both benefit from and add to what has already been learned.

A second reason is that these analyses contain several interesting proposals that take us beyond some relatively superficial research practices: for example, the use of terms such as "participants" rather than "subjects" or—in social policy analyses—of "clients" or "service users" rather than "target populations." In principle, it is easy to agree that "others" have an active part to play and that we should not regard them as "objects of study." In practice, however, we have been slow to move on to the questions and issues that such principles give rise to. Cross-cultural collaborations offer us ways to do so.

To make those further steps more concrete, let me list some of the proposals offered in analyses of participation and rights. Proposed first of all is that involving people as active participants will:

- Improve the design and evaluation of research or intervention programs
- Lower the likelihood of resentment or refusals
- Encourage the development of "trust"

Pointed to also is the need to consider some more conceptual gaps. We are now, for example, prompted to consider:

- The meanings of "consent" or "improvement"
- The nature of "trust" and the conditions that influence its development or its loss
- The conditions that promote a shared sense of benefits

At the moment, those proposals point mainly to gaps in our understanding and in the questions we usually explore. At the moment also those proposals lack any exploration in depth and any firm support. Cross-cultural collaborations offer ways to move forward. Here, for instance, are opportunities to ask what forms of participation do have beneficial effects. Here also are situations *par excellence* for exploring refusals, definitions of consent, circumstances that influence "trust," or the interpretation of invitations to participate.

Let me offer one specific example. It builds on my earlier reference to the way research involving Australian Aboriginals prompts a closer look at the meanings of "consent." This second example again involves an Aboriginal group (the Warlpiri). The other party in this case consists of film and television crews seeking access to Aboriginal land or the use of local people as actors or "film material." The account of refusals, of the crews' response to refusals, and the negotiation of real participation in production and in decisions about release is a fascinating example both of cultural interactions and of the ways in which we may deepen our understanding and exploration of "consent" and "ownership." (A book by Langton, 1993, offers a summary of interactions and of a resident anthropologist's close observations.)

Adding to analyses of "joint activity." The term "joint activity" is becoming widely used and will be familiar to you. Let me accordingly summarize briefly the main proposals attached to it and, again, highlight the gaps that cross-cultural collaborations could help fill.

The basic proposal is that all actions—all "activity"—should be regarded as "joint" rather than "solo." Even on occasions where only one person appears to be present, others will have structured the tasks, the settings, or the possible actions. In effect, Rodin's statue—"The Thinker"—should no longer be our dominant image.

That baseline proposal gives rise to some specific others. Each of these redefines terms to which we usually give restricted meanings:

- "Knowledge" now comes to be seen as "distributed" (no one person knows all)
- "Expertise" comes to be seen as being alert to the capacities of others (what they can do or can provide)
- Development stems from "experts" phasing support in or out as needed, with "novices" given a role as "agents" in the process, and the relationships between the two changing as competence changes.
- The analysis of any situation needs to ask who is present and in what function (e.g., as players, referees, coaches, gatekeepers). It also needs to ask what each party expects or thinks is happening: their "psychology," their "rules, regulations, or etiquette" (Clark, 1996)

Most of those proposals, and most of the research related to them, stem from the work of Vygotsky. It often has a base in cultural analyses. The emphasis on rules, regulations, and etiquette is an exception. Clark (1996) starts from an interest in language, particularly in the form of conversation. He then extends the same kind of analysis to all activities, with games as a strong second example.

All told, the research is extensive. There are, however, gaps that cultural analyses can help fill. At one level, cultural analyses can provide ways to test some specific proposals. An example is the proposal that changes in a novice's competence lead to changes in the social relationships between novices and the more expert. In the words of a much-quoted phrase, novices move on to join "a community of practitioners" (Lave and Wenger, 1991). That progression, or the expectation of it, seems to me to be part of a society or a content area that is essentially a "meritocracy." Often, I suspect, the social progression does not occur. It may not even be expected.

More broadly, cultural analyses can help fill out the very large gap singled out in Clark's emphasis on the need to understand the rules, regulations, or etiquette of any joint activity. We have been slow to ask:

- What are the rules or expectations with regard to appropriate contributions and appropriate rewards or credits?
- Are these shared?
- How are differences expected to be resolved?
- How do they differ from one setting to another, and what gives rise to the differences?

Those large questions provide a final example of the benefits that cul-

tural collaborations can bring. Cross-cultural collaborations can provide ways to explore both small and large questions about the nature of any joint activity (of any behavior, if one starts from the assumption that behaviors are never "solo"). They would help us probe the nature of any specific collaboration and help us anticipate where difficulties or differences may lie.

Behind those specific gains, and relevant to any content area, is the very large benefit of discovering new ways to think about behavior: ways to go beyond an easy acceptance of conventional explanations, beyond unquestioned assumptions, beyond the unthinking repetition of our everyday practices. Cross-cultural collaborations are clearly worth the investment of our time and effort, with rewards to be gained both for theory and for effective social policy.

REFERENCES

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1979. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Chao, R.K. 1994. Beyond parental control and authoritarian parenting style: Understanding Chinese parenting through the concept of training. *Child Development*, 65:1111-1119.

Clark, H. 1996. *Using Language*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Cole, M., and G. Hatano. 2006. Cultural-historical activity theory: Integrating phylogeny, cultural history, and ontogenesis in cultural psychology. Unpublished manuscript, University of San Diego, San Diego, CA.

D'Andrade, R. 1981. The cultural part of cognition. *Cognitive Science,* 5:179-195.

D'Andrade, R. 1995. *The Development of Cognitive Anthropology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dispray, S., and M. Wigglesworth. 2005. Language use in three Aboriginal communities. Paper presented at Charles Darwin University seminar ("Imagining Childhood)," Alice Springs, Australia.

Dumont, R.V. 1972. Learning English and how to be silent: Studies in Sioux and Cherokee classrooms. Pp. 344-369 in *Functions of Language in the Classroom*, C.B. Cazden, V.P. John, and D. Hymes, eds. New York: Teachers College Press.

Fiske, A.P. 1991. *Structures of Social Life: The Four Elementary Forms of Human Relations.* New York: The Free Press.

Frankel, D.G., and D. Roer-Bornstein. 1982. Traditional and modern contributions to changing infant-rearing ideologies of two ethnic communities. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 47 (Serial No. 196).

Goodnow, J.J. 1990. The socialization of cognition: What's involved? Pp. 259-286 in *Cultural Psychology: Essays on Comparative Human Development*, J. Stigler, R.A. Shweder, and G. Herdt, eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goodnow, J.J. 1996. From household practices to parents' ideas about work and interpersonal relationships. Pp. 313-344 in *Parents' Cultural Belief Systems*, S. Harkness and C. Super, eds. New York: Guilford.

Goodnow, J.J. 2003. Parents' knowledge and expectations: Using what we know. In *Handbook of Parenting*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, M. Bornstein, ed. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Goodnow, J. J., P. J. Miller, & F. Kessel (Eds.). (1995). Cultural practices as contexts for development. New Directions for Child Development (No. 67). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Heath, S.B. 1983. *Ways with Words: Language, Life and Work in Communities and Classrooms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hudley, E.P., W. Haight, and P.J. Miller. 2003. *Raise Up a Child: Human Development in an African-American Family*. Chicago, IL: Lyceum Books.

Joseph Rowntree Foundation. 2005. User involvement in research: Building on experience and developing standards. http//:www.jrf.uk-redirect.asp_url´findings-socialcare-0175. Accessed August 2005.

Kagitcibasi, C. 1994. A critical appraisal of individualisnm and collectivism: Toward a new formulation. Pp. 52-65 in *Individualism and Collectivism*, K. Uichol, H.C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S.C. Choi, and S. Yoon, eds. London: Sage.

Kulick, D. 1997. *Language Shift and Cultural Reproduction: Socialization, Self, and Syncretism in a Papuan New Guinea Village*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Langton, M. 1993. *Well, I Heard It on the Radio and I Saw It on the Television*. Sydney: Australian Film Commission.

Lave, J., and E. Wenger. 1991. *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Michaels, S. 1991. The dismantling of narrative. In *Developing Narrative Structure*, A. McCabe and C. Peterson, eds. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Miller, P.J., and J.J. Goodnow. 1995. Cultural practices: Towards an integration of culture and development. Pp. 5-16 in *Cultural Practices as Contexts for Development*, J.J. Goodnow, P.J. Miller, and F. Kessel, eds. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Rogers, E.M. 1995. *Diffusion of Innovations*, 4th ed. New York: Free Press.

Rogoff, B. 2003. *The Cultural Nature of Human Development*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sen, A. 2005. *Identity and Violence: The Illusion of Identity*. New York: Guilford.

Shonkoff, J. 2000. Science, policy, and practice: Three cultures in search of a shared mission. *Child Development*, 71:181-187.

Silbereisen, R. 2000. *Negotiating Adolescence in Times of Social Change*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Appendix D

Results of a Survey of International Collaborative Research in Psychology: Views and Recommendations from Twenty-six Leaders of Projects

Judith Torney-Purta, Ph.D.
Professor of Human Development
University of Maryland, College Park
jtpurta@umd.edu

Member of the U.S. National Committee for the International Union of Psychological Science
Survey Consultant (2005-2006)

Workshop on International Collaborations in Social and Behavioral Sciences Research

October 5-6, 2006
Northwestern University
Norris University Center
Evanston, Illinois

INTRODUCTION

This survey covering international collaborations was designed in June-July 2005 by the survey consultant after extensive input from the U.S. National Committee for the International Union of Psychological Science. It was sent to 53 persons identified by the committee members. There were 21 respondents (as of January 5); after follow-up, 26 had responded (as of May 1, 2006). The response rate is just short of 50 percent. One respondent noted that filling out the survey was "burdensome"; others did not comment (or indicated that they were pleased to reflect on these topics).[1] There was variation in the length of responses, but on the whole they were thoughtful. The questions seem to cover the major themes. The projects reported on had been funded by a variety of governmental and nongovernmental sources (inside and outside the United States) and ranged in duration from several decades to quite brief periods.

In the opinion of those answering this survey, international collaborative research is making a positive contribution to many subfields of psychology. Psychologists who are involved seem ready to reflect on ways to make it more feasible and more attractive to other scholars. International collaboration has a role to play in advancing psychology as a science, in building scientific capacity, and in informing policy and practice in the United States and worldwide.

Parts A (general information) and C (suggestions) of the survey included open-ended questions only. Part B asked for a rating of the extent of problems experienced (on a scale from 1 to 4, with 4 indicating extensive problems), followed by a narrative response. Responses from Part C are incorporated into Part B or included in the section of this report presenting recommendations.

SUMMARY OF RESPONSES TO PART A OF THE SURVEY

Clusters Representing Five Types of Projects

These projects have been classified into five clusters according to information provided in the topic/title and purpose sections of the survey (see Table D1).

[1]Each of the 26 respondents was counted as one project, even if two or more related activities or subprojects were included in the responses.

TABLE D1 Titles/Summaries of the Internationally Collaborative Projects Classified into Five Clusters

Respondent	Comments
A	The Impact of Social and Cultural Adaptation of Juvenile Immigrants from the Former Soviet Union in Israel and Germany on Delinquency and Deviant Behavior CLUSTER 1
B	I have done a number of collaborative projects with colleagues from Mexico, Guatemala, and Spain. In addition, I have done international work with postdocs and grad students from the U.S. who grew up in other nations (India, Turkey, England, Japan, Guatemala), but I am not focusing on that work here (although it is very important). CLUSTER 1
C	International Collaborative Study of Ethnocultural Youth (ICSEY), a 13-country study of adolescents from immigrant and national (nonimmigrant) backgrounds CLUSTER 1
D	The Effects of Improving Care Giving on Early Development, a project that studied training and training plus structural changes in orphanages in St. Petersburg, Russian Federation, and the effects on most aspects of caregiver behavior and children's development. CLUSTER 2
E	1. Regulation of Stress Response in Neonatal Mice 2. Stress Response During Pregnancy and Birth Outcomes 3. Ontogeny of Circadian Rhythms of Corticosterone in the Rabbit CLUSTER 3
F	I have carried out an ongoing collaboration related to biomedical as well as social functioning and adaptation of the oldest old people (age 80 and over) in Sweden. CLUSTER 3
G	Collaborative Research on Hippocampus and Consolidation CLUSTER 3
H	The Meanings of Learning, Achievement, and Motivation: A Study of Learning Beliefs and Behaviors in Three Cultural Milieu CLUSTER 1

TABLE D1 Continued

I	Adolescents' Interpretation of the "Social Contract": A Seven-Nation Study —survey study of adolescents' civic values and behaviors and attitudes toward the economy and the state CLUSTER 1
J	1. Civic engagement among youth in New York and Paris 2. Impact of HIV/AIDS on children's development in South Africa CLUSTER 1
K	Center for the Analysis of Pathways from Childhood to Adulthood (CAPCA), coordinated by the University of Michigan CLUSTER 5
L	1. International Study of Depression and Anxiety in Patients with Cystic Fibrosis and Their Caregivers 2. Translating and validating a disease-specific quality-of-life measure for cystic fibrosis in several countries 3. Evaluating the impact of lung transplantation on the quality of life of patients with cystic fibrosis, both those who go on a transplant list and those who choose not to be listed CLUSTER 3
M	The IEA's Civic Education Study: Adolescents' Civic Knowledge and Political/Social Attitudes in 29 Countries CLUSTER 1
N	Modulation of vulnerability to gastric ulceration by psychological context CLUSTER 3
O	The Bucharest Early Intervention Project CLUSTER 2
P	1. Cross-national study of highly successful women with families 2. Cross-national collaboration on an intervention project to enhance critical thinking skills 3. Research project on sex roles and sex stereotypes performance in Turkey 4. Comparative analysis of U.S. and post-Soviet perspectives on selected topics in psychology CLUSTER 1
Q	Neural Regulation in the High-Risk Infant CLUSTER 2

TABLE D1 Continued

R	Adolescent-Parent Relationships: A Cross-Cultural View CLUSTER 1
S	1. Creativity in Design 2. 3-D and 2-D Visualizations in Molecular Biology 3. Animations in Teaching Chemistry 4. Roles of Vividness of Landmarks and Paths in Learning Routes CLUSTER 4
T	TEDDY—The Environmental Determinants of Diabetes in the Young CLUSTER 3
U	A Microgenetic/Cross-Sectional Study of Matrix Completion CLUSTER 4
V	The IEA's TIMSS Video Studies—1993 to 2003 CLUSTER 4
W	Long-Term Effects of Urbanization and Poverty on Health and Development in Johannesburg CLUSTER 5
X	1. Representing and Learning from Classroom Processes—Comparing Elementary Mathematics Instruction in China and the U.S. 2. Language and Symbolic Development—Comparing Mandarin Chinese and English CLUSTER 4
Y	1. Longitudinal Study on the Ontogenesis of Individual Competencies 2. Scientific Reasoning and Science Education CLUSTER 5
Z	Democratic Decision Making and Values Education in Mainland China and Canada CLUSTER 1

CLUSTER 1: DEVELOPMENTAL OR SOCIAL WITH HUMAN SUBJECTS IN ADOLESCENCE OR ADULTHOOD (10)

CLUSTER 2: DEVELOPMENTAL WITH HUMAN SUBJECTS IN INFANCY OR EARLY CHILDHOOD (3)

CLUSTER 3: PSYCHOPHYSIOLOGICAL OR MEDICAL WITH HUMAN OR ANIMAL SUBJECTS (6)

CLUSTER 4: LEARNING AND EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES WITH HUMAN SUBJECTS OF SCHOOL AGE OR ADULTS (4)

CLUSTER 5: LONGITUDINAL STUDIES OF HUMAN SUBJECTS (3)

It was decided that three projects were the minimum to form a cluster. The areas with two or fewer respondents (projects) included organizational and social psychology. This was because repeated requests to the principal investigators or co-principal investigators of two major projects did not elicit a response.

Project clusters did not differ in the extent of problems reported (see Table D2).[2] Generally the majority of projects were rated by the respondents as having few problems relating to the themes of the questions. Only one rating of 4 (many problems) was given. The modal rating was 1 (indicating few problems). If problems were noted, they were most likely to be practical issues (covered under Theme 4). It may be that the respondents judged the problems in relation to the benefits achieved (and minimized the problems in making their ratings). It may also be that those contacted for those projects that had serious problems elected not to respond.

Value Added by International Research (Theme 1)

Clusters did differ in the specific expected "value added" from international collaboration (asked under Theme 1 of Part B of the survey). Cluster 1 projects sought collaboration to investigate contexts outside the country

[2]Given the small N's in each cluster, we did not conduct significance tests to compare these ratings.

TABLE D2 Ratings of Extent of Problems or Challenges by Project

Abbreviated Titles	Ratings of Extent of Problems by Theme (4-point scale) T2 Participants	T3 Conduct Research	T4 Practical Issues	T5 Data Publications
CLUSTER 1: DEVELOPMENTAL/ SOCIAL				
Mean	1.7	1.8	1.9	1.7
CLUSTER 2: INFANCY/ EARLY CHILDHOOD				
Mean	1.3	1.7	2.0	1.0
CLUSTER 3: PSYCHOLOGICAL/ MEDICAL				
Mean	1.3	1.5	1.7	1.8
CLUSTER 4: LEARNING AND EDUCATIONAL PROCESSES				
Mean	1.5	1.8	2.0	1.3
CLUSTER 5: LONGITUDINAL				
Mean	2.0	1.7	1.3	1.7

NOTE: 1 corresponded to a rating of no problems; 4 corresponded to a rating of extensive problems.

of the investigators (using phrases like scientific, practical, or developmental context; generalizability of findings; quasi-experimental study of influences; and challenging narrow research findings). They were likely to seek policy implications as well as implications for practice. Cluster 2 projects tended to look at institutional conditions of early development that may place children at risk (often looking for implications for practice—for example, in adoption). Cluster 3 projects engaged in international collaboration largely to take advantage of skills or techniques available at specific universities or labs abroad or to find instances of a medical condition that is relatively rare. In Cluster

4, two of the projects were experimental projects dealing with learning, while two were projects designed to study classroom processes in countries where students' mathematics, science, or literacy achievement is especially strong (previously shown in international tests). Projects in this cluster would have implications for both educational practice and policy. Cluster 5 was formed from the studies that were longitudinal, in order to look for particular challenges in following subjects over time in different national contexts. These projects might have fit better (in terms of value added) under the substantive clusters. The workshop was set up in a way to explore the value-added notion in different types of projects more thoroughly.

Countries Included

The range was 2 to 29 countries per project. Table D3 lists the countries from which collaborators came; most projects included the United States in the comparison.

Cluster 2 was concentrated in post-Communist countries, and several of the projects in Cluster 1 also included countries in this area. Other clusters were spread across countries. Countries where English is spoken widely by professionals are well represented. Low-income countries (especially in Africa and Latin America) are poorly represented. One of the topics of discussion at the workshop might be how to fund and otherwise encourage participation from a wide range of countries in order to build scientific capacity.

SUMMARY OF RESPONSES TO PART B OF THE SURVEY

Participants and Personnel (Theme 2)

The *open-ended questions* asked about original contacts with collaborators, levels of training and involvement by participants, whether more than one discipline or subdiscipline was involved, cultural differences in leadership style, informal groups, and problems with participants' expectations.

The overwhelming impression is that personal relationships (often but not always facilitated by international congresses or formal exchange programs such as Fulbrights) were important in initiating and sustaining projects. Often there was a kind of serendipity of networking or snowballing (where one participant recruited others). Existing behavioral or educational research organizations played a primarily positive role. Doctoral students

TABLE D3 Countries from which Collaborators Came

Country	No. of Collaborations
Australia	6
Belgium (French)	1
Bulgaria	3
Canada	5
Chile	1
China	2
Colombia	1
Cyprus (Greek)	1
Czech Republic	4
Denmark	3
Estonia	1
Finland	5
France	4
Germany	7
Greece	2
Guatemala	1
Hong Kong	3
Hungary	3
India	1
Israel	4
Italy	2
Japan	2
Latvia	1
Lithuania	1
Mexico	2
Netherlands	3
New Zealand	1
Norway	3
Poland	2
Portugal	2
Romania	2
Russia	5
Slovakia	2
Slovenia	2
South Africa	2
Sweden	5
Switzerland	2
Spain	1
Turkey	1
UK (or England)	7

NOTE: Almost all projects had some component in the United States.

and postdocs were of vital importance in a number of projects (sometimes as initiators of research later taken up by a wider network).

A collaborative spirit was mentioned by several respondents and seems to have characterized most projects. Some respondents expressed enthusiasm about what they had learned as American psychologists from taking the perspective of other researchers. These responses conveyed the idea that problems were part of the research process or that misunderstandings presented opportunities to learn about the meaning of culture as it influenced research. Intrinsic motivation, such as getting new perspectives on problems identified in earlier research, was a common theme, as was mobilizing around a big idea (e.g., understanding how to foster democracy). A desire to look at the universality (or lack of universality) of research findings from North America was either explicit or implicit in many responses.

Among the valuable attributes of collaborators were a positive and open attitude, commitment to consensus, patience and persistence, communication of respect for other researchers and their views, willingness to challenge received wisdom, and a sense of humor. There was no substitute for reflection on firsthand experience in the cultural setting and with researchers from that setting, according to several respondents. Some suggested either offering the type of collaboration training that many international businesses have developed or making available "collaboration coaches" to help maintain a productive atmosphere in an international project (especially when many countries are involved or the participants are not well known to each other).

In some projects there was quite a bit of asymmetry in the level of professional preparation of the researchers. The respondent who reported a range from 6th grade education through postdoctoral training saw this as a strength (perhaps because it was a project framed in cultural psychology with an aim of identifying different perspectives on everyday life events). In other projects where there was a range of levels of training, there were some difficulties (especially when familiarity with specific protocols or methodologies of data collection was required or when one country's participation was slowed by having few trained personnel in comparison to other countries). Capacity building is clearly a need almost everywhere (though the particular capacities may differ).

Several respondents spoke of initial mistrust among participants, which required conscious efforts at consensus building (in addition to the content-oriented communication required to code data and prepare publications). Not framing the work as "an American project" and avoiding "American

scientific imperialism" were important almost everywhere but especially in Eastern Europe and South Africa. In some cases an "antipsychology" bias was perceived (and successfully overcome). In a few projects either senior professors or medical school faculty sought to establish a hierarchy in which they could determine the direction of the research without listening to others' views. There were tensions between male researchers and female researchers in a few projects. Some respondents mentioned differences in pacing and sensitivities to deadlines in different countries.

Conduct of the Research (Theme 3)

The *open-ended questions* asked how methodological decisions were made, whether existing or new methods were used, and how translation and cultural adaptation were dealt with and included checks on fidelity of implementation, sampling, and time schedule.

The issue of cross-disciplinary collaboration arose in answers to both Theme 2 and Theme 3 questions. Disciplinary structures differ across countries, as do the methods used and the preferred strategies associated with given disciplines. The projects involved researchers whose primary identifications were psychology, sociology, education, measurement/statistics, criminology, medicine, physiology, philosophy, communications, and ethnography. Some projects dealt with this by explicitly using a mixed method design, others by negotiating about what could be learned by using different methods or taking different perspectives on a issue.

One issue was the choice between using the best measure or the most comparable measure across the participating countries. There were cluster differences here, with projects in Cluster 3 understandably most concerned about fidelity and precision in the implementation of standard research protocols. In the other clusters there appeared to be more flexibility in negotiating the instruments and coding (in some cases to meet the political sensitivities of a participating country). Arriving at common definitions of constructs was vital (but often time consuming).

Nearly all respondents spoke of the need for a clear focus in research questions, extensive pilot testing, monitoring of procedures, and extensive communication throughout a project. Using a logic model in planning was mentioned. Starting with a relatively simple and well-circumscribed problem, understanding it in two or three cultural settings, and then building from that success to enhance the scope of the research was suggested (rather than starting with a broad or diffuse idea to be explored in many countries).

Another suggestion was that a project team could create an international core of instruments or methods (on which agreement could be obtained and to which all would strictly adhere) and international options (designed by the group of researchers but open for choice by participating countries or research institutes).

Practical Issues (Theme 4)

The *open-ended questions* asked about the funding infrastructure and its management, research regulation (including institutional review boards, or IRBs), incentives, bureaucracies, visas, and communication (face-to-face and electronic).[3]

There were some differences by cluster, with the intervention projects (Cluster 2) and some of the projects requiring shipping of biological samples (Cluster 3) having special difficulties. In general it appears that the projects differed with respect to practical issues according to the project's scope, whether the research was conducted under the aegis of a strong organization with established international infrastructures and policies, and in which regions the research was conducted.

The opinion was expressed that psychologists are too rarely involved in government-funded "big science" international trials. That said, small grants for seed money (often from home institutions) and flexible funding at later stages (especially for low-resourced countries) were also cited as important. Many of the projects operated on a shoestring; more than one respondent reported substantial outlays of personal funds and the need to piece together funds from different sources with different requirements and time frames. Uncertainty about funding also was a source of stress.

Approval by IRBs or ethics committees (the term often used in Europe) differed in complexity. Difficulties arose when the rules or expectations in a participating country differed from those in the United States or when several universities were involved. One project developed a "template" for participants to use in applying for approval from IRBs or ethics committees. The opinion was expressed that some IRB members at North American institutions base their decision on assumptions about other countries that may be outdated.

In some of the bureaucratic settings, lower-level personnel appear to have felt left out of the decision chain and responded by withholding per-

[3]Some of these issues were dealt with under the previous two themes.

missions or declining to approve expenditures. In a few countries there was an expectation that the U.S. researchers would pay for everything.

Some projects had practical problems based on the complexity and scope of the task undertaken (e.g., videotaping and coding a total of 700 lessons in science and mathematics) or on events beyond the researcher's control (e.g., SARS, national political incidents, earthquakes) or because of difficulties in communication (e.g., deciding on analysis and deciding to what extent observed differences are related to culture or to method).

Despite great advances in electronic communication over the past decade, regular face-to-face meetings remain a vital component of successful collaborations. Meetings of subgroups of participants were often held in conjunction with international congresses. Some mentioned the importance of long-term visits. However, using face-to-face meetings as the only venue for decision making has drawbacks if every participant cannot attend every meeting. Conference calls had drawbacks noted by several respondents.

Electronic communication via e-mail was essential. This also facilitated the participation of several researchers in the editing of a text before publication. Quite a number of projects did not appear to have dedicated Web pages used for dissemination of results (as they did not provide Web addresses). Use of electronic conferences can be useful at certain phases if carefully planned to address a relatively narrow agenda or set of decisions. This may be an area for future development.

Data Access and Publications (Theme 5)

The *open-ended questions* asked about data management, sharing and release, and decisions about authorship (and more generally the communication of findings).

There were differences in how authorship was credited that were often associated with the number of researchers involved in the project and their types of expertise (including their ability to communicate in the language in which the publications were to be issued, which was usually English). Several projects drew up specific guidelines on authorship for publications drawing data from more than one country. In one case, these were built on the National Institute of Child Health and Development's Child Care Study in the United States, and in another, they were based on the policies developed over many years for all studies conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, also known as

IEA, which is an international consortium of research institutes headquartered in Amsterdam. Usually those guidelines drew on common practice (e.g., who wrote the first draft or took the initiative on the analysis).

Individual researchers in almost all projects have been allowed to publish the results from their own country where they wish and with whomever they choose. This is intended to stimulate publication in the local language, which is more accessible to the communities in which the research has been conducted (a value for many of the respondents).

There is considerable variability in data release, ranging from nearly full access on a CD-ROM available on request or on the Web to restrictions on the use of data only by the collaborating researchers. The former requires more documentation, which some projects cannot afford. Some social science projects use the Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) as a data archive, which might be suitable for some international psychology projects as well.

There is also considerable variability in the extent to which the results of research have been disseminated to audiences of policymakers and practitioners whose work might be informed by relevant findings. This would probably require additional funding (and assistance from those who know how to write for these audiences).

RECOMMENDATIONS BASED ON THE SURVEY

In compiling these recommendations, the focus has been on those that would benefit from discussion at the workshop and on those that the U.S. National Committee for the International Union of Psychological Science might assist in implementing.

- Meet with funders to encourage more funding and more flexible funding. For example, encourage a new set of small grants ($15,000 and up) focused on starting new projects or funding at the end of a project to support additional publications, release of data for secondary analysis, or publications in national languages.
- Support a larger role for psychologists in federally funded international multidisciplinary research. In particular, set aside training funds.
- Establish a U.S. fund for supporting international collaborations, especially involving younger scholars and those from countries where capacity building is especially urgent (perhaps in collaboration with professional organizations).

- Consider funding collaborations between U.S. and Canadian researchers around topics of common interest.
- Consider how programs such as Fulbright Senior Scholar Awards could contribute to international collaborative efforts in psychology.
- Offer training to senior and junior researchers in cross-cultural/international communication (as businesses do) to reduce the tendency to believe that "the way we do psychology in the United States is the only right way" and to minimize instances where investigators from other countries perceive a lack of respect or sensitivity to cultural differences. Prepare mentors and make them available. (These would be persons not directly involved in the collaboration itself who know something about both the participating countries and the subject matter of the research).
- Consider offering some U.S. National Committee for the International Union of Psychological Science meetings as venues for discussion of projects (using as a model the Board on Comparative and International Studies in Education of the National Research Council, which served this function for international educational research in the 1990s).
- Organize small group meetings (or workshops) at existing international meetings to plan research and provide funds to attend these meetings or short-term travel as a follow-up. Researchers are more interested in discussing collaborations relating to topics in their field than talking about international collaboration in an abstract or generic sense.
- Develop models for explaining the contributions that international research undertaken in a collaboration framework can make and suggest follow-through on selected topics.
- Develop a network to assist international scholars in preparing articles based on international collaborative research to meet the policies and practices of U.S. journals.
- Consider models for developing and disseminating measures and methods for international collaborative research in selected areas.
- Develop models for disseminating the results of internationally collaborative projects (executive summaries, policy briefs for different audiences including those in participating countries, Web pages). It can be helpful to issue some publications at the midpoint of long projects in order to keep sponsors and researchers engaged.

Appendix E

Survey Questionnaire: Building International Collaborations in Psychological Research: Reflections on Successful International Collaborations

Thank you for your time in completing this survey for the U.S. National Committee for the International Union of Psychological Science. Data collected from this survey will be used to assist the U.S. National Committee (USNC) in planning for a workshop on international collaborations in social and behavioral research. The USNC is going to develop case studies, so there is every chance that the data will not truly be anonymous. However, if there are aspects of your responses that you would like to keep completely anonymous, up to the entire survey, we are happy to do so. Simply indicate this on your response. We will draw up an invitation list to attend the workshop from those who complete the survey.

The committee has identified five thematic areas to which we would like your responses in addition to some basic background information. Under each theme there are several questions to prompt your thinking. On some you may have quite a lot to say, while others may not be relevant. If you have any brief anecdotes that illustrate a point, include them. Under four of the themes you are also asked to make a rating about how problematic these issues were in the project. These ratings have been included to give the committee guidance about where to focus the workshop or other follow-up activities.

The last section asks for your reflections about the positives and negatives in your experience and for suggestions about initiatives that might be undertaken by the USNC. If you don't have time to give detailed reactions

under the themes, please do complete Part A (basic information), the ratings in Part B, and Part C (the section on reflections).

There are two modes of response. You can enter the material on the Web site or you can use the Word document (attached to the e-mail that you will receive) to fill in responses under each theme and return it to us as an attachment (including your name or project name in the file name). Our hope is that each project's thematic summary will be between 3 and 6 pages in length. We are interested in the process of scientific collaboration during the research. You may want to cite some of the research findings as they are relevant to the process, but the focus is not on findings.

You may want to synthesize your experience on two or three projects (or report on one while indicating that there are other projects on which you might be willing to report in the future).

Part A: Basic Information

1. Title of the internationally collaborative project on which you are reporting (add a short description if the title is not self-explanatory):

2. Your name, address, and role on the project:

3. Countries from which collaborators came (in alphabetical order or by level of involvement; if not too burdensome, list collaborating institutes, universities, or organizations within the countries):

4. Major sources of funds for the project:

5. Dates of international collaboration on this project (in phases if appropriate):

6. International or professional organization(s) with which the project is affiliated (if any):

7. The key research questions and/or goals of this project:

8. Did the project involve (check all that apply):
____ Human adults
____ Human infants or children
____ Animals
____ Human tissue, blood samples, other biomedical material
____ Access to documents or records _____
____ Other:_____

9. Citation of one major report or publication from the project (preferably a recent one that includes a summary or abstract of project findings):

10. Web site(s), if available:

11. Name and contact information for one other collaborator from another country:

12. Other internationally collaborative projects on which you would be willing to report:

Part B: Themes for Short Narratives (and Ratings)

Theme 1. Value Added Through International Collaboration:
Possible questions to address: What did you hope to learn from the cross-national collaboration? What theoretical, content focus, or previous research findings prompted international work? Was the international collaboration expected to contribute to the translation of scientific findings into policy and practice?

Theme 2. Participants and Personnel
Overall rating for this theme (use bold to indicate your rating):
Few problems arose in this area 1 2 3 4 Many problems arose in this area

Possible questions to address: Where and when did you meet your collaborators? What did you and your collaborators do to initiate the project? At what levels of training were the collaborators (e.g., established or younger scholars), and were there differences in their involvement? Were collaborators from more than one discipline or from more than one subdiscipline within psychology? How did cultural differences in leadership style or differences in concepts of how to conduct research in psychology influence the research? Did informal groups form that helped or hindered the research process? Were there problems with participants' expectations (e.g., regarding funding)?

Theme 3. Conduct of the Research
Overall rating for this theme (use bold to indicate your rating):
Few problems arose in this area 1 2 3 4 Many problems arose in this area

Possible questions to address: How was the methodology decided on and to what extent did each collaborator have a say about the methods used? Was the emphasis on using existing methods or developing new approaches? How were translation and cultural adaptation of measures dealt with? What checks were there on fidelity of implementation? How were samples drawn, and were there concerns about comparability? How was the time schedule determined?

Theme 4. Practical Issues
Overall rating for this theme (use bold to indicate your rating):
Few problems arose in this area 1 2 3 4 Many problems arose in this area

Possible questions to address: How was the funding infrastructure managed? How were issues of research regulation and IRB handled? Were incentives given to research participants? With what bureaucracies did you have to deal? Were there problems with immigration/visas for meetings? How much

of the communication was face to face? How much communication was by e-mail or electronic conferencing? Were texts of instruments or publications shared and edited internationally?

Theme 5. Data Access and Publications
Overall rating for this theme (use bold to indicate your rating):
Few problems arose in this area 1 2 3 4 Many problems arose in this area

Possible questions to address: How were the data managed and shared? Has the full dataset been released to all collaborators? To other interested researchers? How was the authorship of publications decided? What issues arose in the interpretation or communication of findings? What others issues of intellectual property arose?

Suggest other important themes and issues that ought to be considered.

Part C: Summary and Reflections

Reflections 1: The conditions, events, policies, or people that facilitated your international scientific collaboration.

Reflections 2: The most important challenges or obstacles you faced in conducting this international collaborative research and how you and your collaborators dealt with them.

Reflections 3: Recommendations you have for others embarking on international collaborative research. Initiatives that could be undertaken by the U.S. National Committee for Psychological Science to further international collaborative research.

Appendix F

IRB and Ethical Issues in Conducting International Behavioral Science Research

Charles A. Nelson, Ph.D.[1]

Workshop on International Collaborations in Behavioral and Social Sciences Research

Northwestern University
Evanston, IL
October 5-6, 2006

WHAT MAKES CLINICAL RESEARCH ETHICAL

1. Collaborative partnership—develops partnerships with researchers, makers of health policies, and the community, and involves each in meaningful ways
2. Value—enhancements of health or knowledge must be derived from the research
3. Scientific validity—methodological rigor
4. Fair subject selection—scientific objectives, not vulnerability or privilege, and the potential for and distributions of risks and benefits, determine the communities selected as study sites and the inclusion criteria for individual subjects
5. Favorable risk-benefit ratio—within the context of standard clinical practice and research protocol, risks must be minimized, and the potential for society must outweigh the risks
6. Independent review—unaffiliated individuals must review the research and approve, amend, or terminate it
7. Informed consent—individuals should be informed about the research and provide their voluntary consent

[1]Dr. Charles Nelson is professor of pediatrics at Harvard Medical School Children's Hospital in Boston, Massachusetts.

8. Respect for enrolled subjects—subjects must have their privacy protected, they must have the opportunity to withdraw, and their well-being must be monitored.

THE FAIR BENEFITS FRAMEWORK

Fair Benefits

1. Benefits to participants during the research—improvements to health and health care
2. Collateral health services unnecessary for research study
3. Benefits to population during the research
4. Collateral health services unnecessary for research study
5. Public health measures
6. Employment and economic activity
7. Benefits to population after the research
8. Reasonable availability of effective intervention
9. Research and medical care capacity development
10. Public health measures
11. Long-term research collaboration
12. Sharing of financial rewards from research results

Collaborative Partnership

1. Community involvement at all stages
2. Free uncoerced decision-making by population bearing the burdens of the research

Transparency

1. Central publicly accessible repository of benefits agreements
2. Process of community consultations