

Review of Educational Research

<http://rer.aera.net>

Cross Cultural Competency and Multicultural Teacher Education

Gretchen McAllister and Jacqueline Jordan Irvine
REVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH 2000; 70; 3
DOI: 10.3102/00346543070001003

The online version of this article can be found at:
<http://rer.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/70/1/3>

Published on behalf of



<http://www.aera.net>

By



<http://www.sagepublications.com>

Additional services and information for *Review of Educational Research* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://rer.aera.net/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://rer.aera.net/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.aera.net/reprints>

Permissions: <http://www.aera.net/permissions>

Cross Cultural Competency and Multicultural Teacher Education

Gretchen McAllister
Nothern Arizona University
Jacqueline Jordan Irvine
Emory University

Teachers require support as they face the challenge of effectively teaching diverse students in their classrooms. Teacher-educators have used various methods to foster change in teachers' thinking, attitudes, and behaviors regarding cultural diversity, but these efforts have produced mixed results because they often focused on content rather than the process of cross-cultural learning. The purpose of this review is to examine three process-oriented models that have been used to describe and measure the development of racial identity and cross-cultural competence. These models include Helms's model of racial identity development, Banks's Typology of Ethnicity, and Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity. Research using the models revealed insights for multicultural teacher education in assessing readiness to learn, designing effective learning opportunities, and providing appropriate support and challenge for teachers.

Teachers in multicultural classrooms face increasing challenges in providing an appropriate classroom environment and high standards of instruction that foster the academic achievement of all students, particularly students of color from low socioeconomic backgrounds. Inconsistent findings in the research have hindered the field of teacher education from developing effective strategies that produce desired changes in teachers' beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors that result in school success for culturally diverse students.

In order for teachers to be effective with diverse students, it is crucial that they first recognize and understand their own worldviews; only then will they be able to understand the worldviews of their students (M. J. Bennett, 1993). Researchers assert that in order for teachers to interact effectively with their students they must confront their own racism and biases (Banks, 1994; Gillette & Boyle-Baise, 1995; Nieto & Rolon, 1995), learn about their students' cultures, and perceive the world through diverse cultural lenses (Banks, 1994; Gillette & Boyle-Baise, 1995; Nieto & Rolon, 1995; Sleeter, 1992; Villegas, 1991).

Although these principles are frequently espoused in teacher education, there is scant research about the process by which teachers develop a cross-cultural

competence that enables them effectively to teach diverse students in their classrooms. A person who is considered cross-culturally competent is one "who has achieved an advanced level in the process of becoming intercultural and whose cognitive, affective, and behavioral characteristics are not limited but are open to growth beyond the psychological parameters of only one culture. . . . The intercultural person possesses an intellectual and emotional commitment to the fundamental unity of all humans and, at the same time, accepts and appreciates the differences that lie between people of different cultures" (Gudykunst & Kim, 1984, p. 230). Christine Bennett (1995) adds to this definition a commitment to combating racism and "all forms of prejudice and discrimination, through the development of appropriate understanding, attitudes, and social action skills" (p. 263).

Existing teacher training and professional development models do not adequately develop the type of cross-cultural competence defined by Gudykunst and Kim (1984), Bennett (1995), and others and deemed essential for teachers of diverse students (Cochran-Smith, 1995; Little, 1993; Lawrence & Tatum, 1996).

One conceptual framework that has not been thoroughly examined in multicultural teacher education research is process-oriented models. Some of these models have been used in the fields of counseling and intercultural relations to describe the cognitive, behavioral, and affective changes related to how adults develop cross-cultural competence. The authors recommend the infusion of these models into teacher education to assist teachers in becoming more effective with their diverse learners.

Purpose

The purpose of this review is to examine process-oriented models that appear to be applicable to the development of teachers who work in multicultural school settings. Specifically, this review will address the following two questions:

- a. What research supports process-oriented models used to structure cross-cultural learning?
- b. How do these models contribute to our understanding of multicultural professional development for teachers?

This paper consists of three sections: the first provides a rationale for using process-oriented models to understand the development of cross-cultural competence; the second section presents and compares the models and critiques the research that has used the models; the third presents implications for the models' use in multicultural professional development.

Process Frameworks

In this review three different models of cross-cultural development will be explored. They include Helms's Racial Identity Theory, Banks's Typology of Ethnicity, and Milton Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity. These models emerge from different disciplines and are based on different premises, but all three describe a process (often broken down into stages or strata) that can be used to increase understanding of how people change their behavior and attitudes about themselves and others as cultural beings.

Although non-process models, such as those developed by Hoopes (1979) and

Gudykunst and Hammer (1983) have been found to be useful, they do not provide the advantages of process models. Process-oriented models, which describe how people grow in terms of their cultural identities or worldviews, can assist educators in three areas: understanding teachers' behaviors (including resistance), sequencing course content, and creating conducive learning environments.

First, process-oriented models help situate teachers' behaviors, attitudes, as well as their interactions with students of color. Carter and Goodwin (1994), in their literature review of racial identity theory in education, point out that the "racial identity levels of educators themselves influence how they perceive and interact with children of color" (p. 307). Moreover, teachers' racial identities and worldviews influence their behaviors, attitudes, and cognitive frames (Bennett, 1986), which in turn shape teachers' responses to and participation in professional development programs for multicultural education.

Teachers enrolled in multicultural courses are often resistant and appear disinterested in learning. Teacher educators often characterize this resistance by asserting that "they are not ready" (Zeichner, 1994), that "they just don't get it," or that teachers simply are willing "to stay dumb" (Martin, 1995). Others contend that teachers are racist and unwilling to change their attitudes. Process-oriented models offer a framework for understanding resistance as well as providing appropriate support for effective interventions.

A second advantage of process models is their structure for designing and sequencing effective course and program interventions. Researchers of multicultural education have noticed that most teachers, teacher educators, and cross-cultural consultants do not connect topics and course purposes to an overall theory or some pre-defined structure (Grant & Secada, 1990; York, 1994). Courses are often arranged in a topical or chronological order that may not support cross-cultural development. For example, a course curriculum or in-service workshop may present a difficult topic such as "White privilege" too early in the course, before teachers have gained the ability to recognize their own or others' cultural views, norms, values, and biases. The structuring of topics and learning experiences along a process framework fosters environmental congruence (Helms, 1990) between students' levels of understanding and the course content and pedagogy. Some believe that such congruence can foster the development of cross-cultural beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors (M. J. Bennett, 1993; Helms, 1990; Widick, Knepfelkamp, & Parker, 1975).

The third advantage of process models is that they provide instructional and pedagogical strategies to create conducive learning environments for students. In his stage-based model of moral development, Kohlberg (1984) suggests various techniques that provide students with opportunities to gain an understanding of other perspectives, a critical component of cross-cultural learning. In the case of multicultural teacher professional development, teachers are provided opportunities to experience diversity, either indirectly, through readings, simulations, watching videos, or directly, by interacting with people from other cultures. Other learning strategies include reflection (Banks, 1994; Cadray, 1995), role playing (Helms, 1990; Taylor, 1994), participation in consciousness-raising groups that promote self-awareness and self-assessment (Greeley, Garcia, Kessler, & Gilchrest, 1992), and community inquiry into questions concerning

race, class, and culture (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1995). Some researchers and educators nurture cross-cultural growth by creating a balance between experiential learning and reflection (Taylor, 1994), and between support and challenge (J. Bennett, 1993; Carney, & Kahn, 1984; Widick et al., 1975), and by making sure that adequate time is given for the learning experience (Taylor, 1994).

Process models have their critics. These models have been accused of lacking empirical evidence, oversimplifying complex problems (Jones, 1990), generalizing across race and gender, and diminishing personal agency (Meyers et al., 1991). For example, some researchers (Jones, 1990; Loevinger, 1976; Phinney, 1990; Prosser, 1978; Taylor, 1994) state that cross-cultural learning and identity development are complex processes that involve many factors such as age, gender, ethnicity, race, social-class, and sexual orientation. They claim that some models simplify the concept of identity by focusing on a single factor such as race.

Process-oriented models have been criticized for their generalization to other groups. One classic example is Gilligan's (1982) criticism of Kohlberg's work (1984) on moral development. Questions have also been raised regarding the broad application of ethnic identity and cultural awareness models to both majority and minority populations (Helms, 1990). Another area of contention regarding these models concerns the lack of personal agency. Meyers et al. (1991) contend that process models ignore an individual's ability to control his or her responses to the environment.

This review argues that, despite these limitations, process models should not be dismissed summarily and should be reviewed for their applicability and utility in teacher education research and practice in the area of cultural diversity.

Three Process Models of Ethnic and Racial Identity

Three process models, Helms's (1984, 1990) Racial Identity Development, Banks's (1984) Typology of Ethnicity, and M. J. Bennett's (1993) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity, were selected to inform the studies included in this review. Each research study reviewed in this paper employed one of the three models, used adults as study participants, and addressed the need to develop some area of cross-cultural competency.

Helms's Racial Identity Model

Predominant in the counseling field, racial identity development models focus on how people develop racial and ethnic identity. More recently, racial identity theory has been suggested as a tool for examining the development of racial identity and for facilitating meaningful interactions and instruction in classrooms (Carter & Goodwin, 1994; Tatum, 1992). Specifically, racial identity refers to a "sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group" (Helms, 1990, p. 3). Racial identity models address the psychological implications of racial group membership, "that is, belief systems that evolve in reaction to perceived differential racial-group membership" (p. 4).

Several process models have been developed for specific racial groups, such as White (Helms, 1984), Black, (Cross, 1978; Helms, 1984), and Asian (Sue,

1981), while others include several races in one multiracial model (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1983). In each of these racial identity development models the authors contend that an individual moves from a "racially defined identity to a more healthy, self-defined racial transcendence" (Helms, 1990, p. 17).

It must be noted that racial identity models grew out of Black racial identity models that emerged in the 1970s in response to the Civil Rights Movement (Helms, 1990). William Cross's (1978) model, which consists of four stages (*pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, internalization*), was one of the predominant Black racial identity development models that appeared during this era. Because most of the research regarding issues of cross-cultural learning has focused on white preservice teachers (Dilworth, 1998), there is insufficient research employing Cross's black identity model that examines the development of cross-cultural competence.

Until recently, most of the discussions regarding Whites and racism have focused on identifying types of racism, such as institutional, personal, and cultural (Jones, 1990) or models of White defensiveness. In the 1980s, researchers (Hardiman, 1982; Helms, 1984) recognized that an understanding of White identity development might provide more insight into White racism. These models describe how White people shift from one set of understandings of racism to another. In their models, White people progress in a linear fashion toward increasing recognition of a White racial consciousness and an increasing personal responsibility for racism. Hardiman (1982) and Helms (1994) have both published in this area. However, because Helms's model has received more empirical verification it will be used as an example of White racial identity development.

Helms's model of White racial identity development consists of two sections with three stages each. The first section consists of the stages that describe the process of abandoning racism (*contact, disintegration, and reintegration*), while the second section describes the development of a positive White identity (*pseudo-independence, immersion/emersion, and autonomy*). People enter the first stage, *contact*, when they first encounter or meet a Black person. White people at this stage have not had a lot of information about or interaction with Black people and do not recognize any real differences between a Black or White cultural experience. The duration of this stage depends upon White people's previous experiences with and knowledge of Black people.

As Whites interact with more Blacks and learn about Black culture, they enter the next stage, *disintegration*, which is characterized by anxiety as Whites begin consciously to realize their ethnicity and its associated privilege. At this point they experience cognitive dissonance between the beliefs, values, and behaviors learned early in their lives and the information and contradictory experiences they presently encounter. White people often experience guilt and fear at this point. Such feelings may prompt them to move into the next stage, *reintegration*, in which these emotions are transformed into anger toward Black people and a feeling of their own racial superiority. This guilt, anger, and fear precipitate a retreat into White culture. It usually takes some jarring experience or situation to shift an individual from this racist phase.

In the next stage, *pseudo-independence*, White people begin to redefine their racial identity in more positive ways. Helms (1990) states that in this stage

White people attempt to understand the Black culture and interact more with Blacks, but often within a White cultural framework. At this point White people have not been able to step outside their own cultural frame of reference. In the next stage, *immersion/emersion*, White people seek correct information regarding their participation in a racist society and shift their focus from paternalism to helping other Whites change. The last stage, *autonomy*, constitutes an on-going process in which people internalize a positive racial identity and engage people from other cultures. Able to identify oppressive structures, they can now work toward eliminating them.

Research Studies on Helms's Racial Identity Model

A total of seven studies that employed racial identity development models from the fields of counseling, education, and psychology were examined. Four studies were found that used quantitative measures to examine different aspects of racial identity development and its relationship to multicultural competencies. The predominant instrument used in these four quantitative studies was the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale designed by Helms and Carter (1990). This inventory, a self-report, Likert instrument consisting of 50 attitudinal statements, measures White participants' attitudes in relation to the five stages on the White Racial Identity Scale. A similar instrument exists to measure the racial identity attitudes of African Americans, the Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale (BRIAS).

Brown, Parham, and Yonker (1996) employed the White Racial Identity Scale to measure change in the White racial identity of thirty-five white graduate students who participated in a sixteen-week multicultural course. Eighty per cent of the participants had previous multicultural training and most of them had had experiences with people from at least two different racial backgrounds, though the nature of these experiences is not defined. The authors designed the course based on three areas—acquisition of self knowledge, cultural knowledge, and cross-cultural skills—and they used a variety of teaching methods such as lectures, talks by guest speakers, and simulations. Results indicated that at the end of the course women endorsed more items than men did in the pseudo-independence stage on the White Racial Identity Scale, and men endorsed more items than women did in the autonomy stage. The authors drew a causal relationship between the course and those changes found in the group.

Neville, Heppner, Louie, and Thompson (1996) also examined the change in White racial identity as well as the multicultural self-efficacy of thirty-eight graduate counseling students who were enrolled in the same course, multicultural psychology, in three different universities. Though this particular sample was racially mixed (twenty-nine Whites, four Blacks, two Asians, one Latino, one Native American, and one "other"), only the results of the White students were reported because the sample for the students of color was too small to yield any significant results. The influence of the race of the instructors for the course—two were African American and one was White American—was not discussed. The course, fifteen weeks in length with three, one-hour classes per week, involved a variety of techniques to help raise students' awareness regarding their racial and ethnic backgrounds and the socio-cultural realities of minorities in the United States.

Neville et al. (1996) administered a pre- and post-course White Racial Attitude Scale and the Multicultural Awareness Knowledge and Skills Survey (MAKSS). The latter survey measured the effects of instructional methods on students' cross-cultural awareness. Correlating the findings on MAKSS with student attitudes on the WRIAS, the authors found that White students in the higher stages, pseudo-independence and autonomy, reflected a stronger endorsement of multicultural therapy competencies, as measured by MAKSS. The authors drew a causal relationship between the course and increased racial identity attitudes in the upper stages. A one year follow-up survey, with a sixty-six percent return rate, revealed that students sustained changes over time.

Whereas the two previous studies took place in classroom settings, Taylor's (1994) study provided an opportunity to measure, using the WRIAS and other instruments, the effect of a diversity course in a natural setting. Two trainers, a White female and a Native American Female, were invited by three non-profit organizations to deliver on-site diversity awareness training. Taylor was interested in the relationship between knowledge of diversity, moral development, and racial identity development. In addition, she wanted to examine the influence of varying training schedules on the moral and identity development of the participants and on their acquisition of knowledge. Cognitive and racial identity development and the use of intentionally structured groups guided the course. Unlike the other researchers, Taylor modified her intervention according to her findings on the pre-test of racial identity (WRIAS) and an instrument to assess moral development. Due to the small number of people of color, she did not analyze the Black participants' responses to the BRIAS. Though her overall results show no strong significance for any of her questions, she did find a positive correlation between moral development and the autonomy stages on the Racial Identity Development scale. These findings suggest that there may be a correlation between individuals' attitudes toward their own racial groups and their attitudes toward other groups as well as a relationship between such attitudes and complex moral issues such as social justice, equality, and racism. Taylor also noticed that the participants from one of the training sites manifested more resistance to training than participants from the other sites, which may be attributed to lack of readiness to accept the diversity training.

Unlike the other three studies, that conducted by Ottavi, Pope-Davis, and Dings (1994) employed the WRIAS and other instruments to measure the correlation between four different competencies—skills, relationship, awareness, and knowledge—and the stages on the White Racial Identity Scale, rather than the effects of an intervention. Ottavi et al. measured the racial identity attitudes of 128 White graduate counseling students using WRIAS, and their self-reported multicultural competencies using Multicultural Counseling Instrument (MCI). Using multiple regression they found that the WRIAS explained the incremental variance in the MCI subscales. In other words, there seemed to be a relationship among the higher stages of racial identity and self-reported multicultural competency.

These studies revealed that higher stages of racial identity attitudes were associated with increasing multicultural competencies (Ottavi et al., 1994; Neville et al., 1996; Taylor, 1994). Several of the researchers believed that the higher stages of racial identity models reflected certain cross-cultural capacities, such

as an increased ability to accept racial difference, to appreciate the influence of racial attitudes on people of color, and to exhibit less racist behavior (Brown et al., 1996; Helms, 1990; Neville et al., 1996). Neville et al. revealed that participants at the lower three stages were not as affected by training. The other studies do not include a discussion of the experiences of those people at the lower stages, perhaps because there were not many people at the lower levels, or if entrance into the course was voluntary, perhaps only those at the higher levels were willing to join the course.

Three of the seven studies used qualitative research methods such as interviews and observations (Lawrence & Tatum, 1996, 1997; Sleeter, 1992) to examine Helm's model. In their first study, Lawrence and Tatum (1996) examined 26 White classroom teachers engaged in a 45-hour anti-racist professional development program based on Racial Identity Development theory. In a second study (Lawrence & Tatum, 1997), the authors examined 84 White classroom teachers involved in the same program at a different time of the year. In both of the studies these teachers participated in the course with teachers and administrators from different ethnicities. The course involved a variety of teaching methods including lecture, discussion, and video.

Lawrence and Tatum (1996, 1997) found in their two studies that teachers changed their thinking, attitudes, and behavior regarding race. In the 1997 study forty-eight percent of the eighty-four teachers exhibited some form of anti-racist behavior in their professional lives. These behaviors included interrupting racist practices in their schools and other aspects of their professional life, integrating the topic of racism into the curriculum and classroom discourse, increasing interactions with parents and students of color, and raising expectations of students in their classrooms. In the 1996 study Lawrence and Tatum reported that teachers changed in their racial identity development, especially in regard to their commitment to anti-racist actions. Using teachers' self-report data, the authors identified changes from Helms's pseudo-independence to immersion/emersion stages.

Contrary to Lawrence and Tatum, Sleeter (1992) did not find many systematic changes in teachers' practices and thinking, even though the teachers themselves reported changes. Sleeter used participant observations and interviews to study thirty-two classroom teachers enrolled in a multicultural professional development program. The teachers participated in a weekly awareness building inservice program for two years. Data collection consisted of approximately three to five interviews and observations per year. Observations by Sleeter and her research associates revealed that after the professional development program, teachers enhanced what they had already been doing. The greatest change, even for teachers involved with the program for two years, was increased attention to Black students (not described thoroughly in her study) and increased use of cooperative learning activities. Though Sleeter does not report changes on the racial identity development scale or use it systematically to analyze change, she does employ anecdotes that allude to the changes she observed.

All seven studies provided insights as well as raised questions regarding the use of racial identity models to examine changes in teachers' beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. Six of the seven studies reported positive results from an intervention, as well as a positive correlation between multicultural competencies

and higher stages on the White Racial Identity Development model. The studies provided information on both an aggregate and individual level. Researchers who used the WRIAS reported aggregate scores reflecting the overall change of the group. Although aggregate scores can help to discriminate the nature of racial identity models (Helms, 1990; Thompson, 1994), they may also distort findings. For example, if a few individuals change dramatically while the rest of the participants remained the same or changed little the aggregate score on the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale would reveal significant group changes. Not knowing who changed and how much they changed does not help researchers and teacher educators to understand the complex picture of cross-cultural development. The qualitative studies, which also have their methodological weaknesses, did provide richer and deeper insights into how teachers changed individually in terms of reported behavior, attitudes, and knowledge (Lawrence & Tatum, 1996, 1997). But the studies lack a description of the *process* of that change. In addition, researchers do not inform the readers about how they employed the White Racial Identity Developmental Model as an analytical framework.

Four of the seven studies focused only on White participants (Brown et al., 1996; Lawrence, & Tatum, 1996, 1997; Ottavi et al., 1994). The other three studies with racially mixed samples were unable to report the results from the Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale because of small numbers of Black participants (Helms, 1990). The focus on White participants also may have stemmed from researchers' concern with White counselors' (Ponterotto, 1988) and White teachers' (Lawrence, & Tatum, 1996, 1997) abilities to work effectively with diverse populations. Perhaps there is a common belief that people from marginalized groups may already be bicultural and hence have the necessary skills to interact effectively with people from diverse backgrounds. However, some researchers have questioned assumptions about the biculturality of marginalized groups. M. J. Bennett (1993), for instance, argues that marginalized people "may understand and even respect differences with which they are familiar, but they may be unable to recognize or use this sensitivity as part of a generalized skill in adapting to cultural differences" (p. 56). This might be the case with an African American teacher who speaks Spanish and feels a cultural connection with her Hispanic students but is insensitive to her Vietnamese students.

In four of the studies, researchers measured participants as they applied their newly acquired knowledge to their work settings (Lawrence & Tatum, 1996, 1997; Sleeter, 1992; Taylor, 1994). According to adult learning theory (Oja, 1980), learners' levels of interest and application will be enhanced when learning is immediately applied and contextualized in naturalistic work settings. Adopting the insight of adult learning theory—that learners' levels of interest and application will be enhanced when learning is immediately applied and contextualized in naturalistic work settings—four of the studies measured participants as they applied their newly acquired knowledge in work settings. Only Taylor's research (1994) discusses the influence of the work environment on the participants' response to the diversity workshop. She notes that immediate application may be impeded by other contextual factors such as changes in leadership.

Sleeter (1992) and Lawrence and Tatum (1996) write that observation is key to measuring change. Although researchers found changes on the White Racial Identity Scale as well as a correlation between certain variables and White Racial Identity Development, none of these researchers actually observed changes in people or people at different stages. Many researchers (Brown et al., 1996; Helms, 1990; Neville et al., 1996; Ottavi et al., 1994; Sabnani, Ponterotto, & Borodovsky, 1991) believe that changes in attitude will affect behavior. Sleeter's (1992) study shows otherwise. Although teachers in her study reported changes in their practice and thinking, these changes were not reflected in the teachers' classroom practices. This suggests that in studies using self-report instruments or interviews, participants may overrate their multicultural competencies or misrepresent their attitudes.

The timing of the administration of the instrument may also have influenced findings. Most researchers administered the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale at the end of the intervention (e.g., Brown et al., 1996; Ottavi et al., 1994). Only Neville et al. (1996) re-administered the survey a year later, finding that participants in their study remained on the same level as when they were measured at the end of the intervention. None of the other studies examined any possible Hawthorne effects. If cross-cultural learning is considered continuous, then it would not be unusual to find these effects (M. J. Bennett, 1993; Helms, 1990; Oja, 1990).

The various types of interventions measured may have also biased the findings, hence raising methodological questions. Only two researchers designed interventions that were based on process frameworks, such as racial identity development (Lawrence & Tatum, 1996, 1997) or moral and racial identity development (Taylor, 1994). Caution should be taken when comparing studies with different interventions. There may be a relationship between the type of intervention and the changes in participants' attitudes, behaviors, and knowledge. Interventions that were constructed based on a process-oriented model, such as racial identity development (Lawrence & Tatum, 1996, 1997) may produce greater changes in participants than interventions that took a more eclectic approach (e.g., Sleeter, 1992).

Despite the complexity and the many limitations of measuring changes in racial identity development, the studies revealed that the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale may help teacher educators in designing and assessing courses and programs in multicultural teacher education.

Banks's Typology of Ethnic Identity

Most of the racial identity models originated in the field of psychology and deal specifically with ego development in ethnic identity rather than "acquisition of ethnic identity" as reflected in the work of James Banks (Tomlinson, 1995). Though similar to racial identity models, Banks's (1994) Typology of Ethnic Identity is distinctive in its inclusion of multiple ethnicities and its focus in education. Banks's typology is not race specific and can be used with individuals of any ethnic or racial group. Banks has further distinguished his model by aligning his work with schools and curriculum in multicultural education.

Banks's model involves six stages: *ethnic psychological captivity*, *ethnic encapsulation*, *ethnic identity clarification*, *bi-ethnicity*, *multi-ethnicity and reflective nationalism*, and *globalism and global competency* (Banks, 1994). These stages exist as points along a dynamic and multidimensional typology or "ideal-type construct" (p. 223). He states that each stage is a "gradual and developmental process The stages should not be viewed as strictly sequential and linear. I am hypothesizing that some individuals may never experience a particular stage" (p. 227). He further states that every ethnic group is highly diverse and dynamic and that each person within a single ethnic group may not begin at the same stage in the culture learning process—persons from marginalized ethnic groups will have identity development journeys different from those characteristic of members of the dominant culture. But Banks does hypothesize that "once an individual experiences a particular stage, he or she is likely to experience the stages above it sequentially and developmentally" (p. 227).

Stage one, *ethnic psychological captivity*, demonstrates the socio-historical nature of Banks's model. Members of the dominant culture will most likely not experience this stage as strongly as some marginalized groups, if at all. During the stage of *ethnic psychological captivity*, people internalize negative racial and ethnic stereotypes and beliefs. The greater the stigmatization, the more people internalize the oppression.

Continuing with Bank's positional framework, in stage two, *ethnic encapsulation*, the dominant culture internalizes the myth about the inferiority of other groups, while marginalized groups become insular either out of fear or strong ethnic identity. The stronger the experiences in stage one, the higher the level of ethnocentrism in the second stage. Gradually, people begin to resolve the conflict around their ethnic identity, which leads them into the next stage.

In stage three, *ethnic identity clarification*, all ethnic groups begin to see both positive and negative aspects of their own groups. Racial identity development in one's own group is not based on hatred or fear of other groups. An important aspect of this stage revolves around self-acceptance. Banks (1994) states that:

Self-acceptance is a prerequisite to accepting and responding positively to other people. Individuals are more likely to gain self acceptance when they have experienced positive contact with other groups as well as achieved some measure of economic and psychological security (p. 225).

In stage four, *bi-ethnicity*, individuals have the skills and the desire to function in two cultures. They learn how to do this in different ways depending on their social location in society. In order to gain economic mobility, some groups, such as African Americans and Latinos, must learn to function in the dominant culture as well as in their own. Certain groups living in homogeneous environments may not achieve this stage quickly; it seems that arrival at this stage would necessitate certain experiences, such as contact with other groups.

Stage five, *multi-ethnicity and reflective nationalism*, includes individuals who have developed a cross-cultural competency that enables them to move beyond the obvious aspects of a culture, such as the holidays and food, in order to understand and appreciate the values, symbols, and institutions of other cul-

tures. People at this point along the continuum should be able to switch comfortably between cultures and become responsible, reflective, and active citizens.

The sixth and final stage, *globalism and global competency*, is an extension of the fifth in that people learn increasingly how to balance their three identities: ethnic, national, and global. Throughout this stage people learn when to use which identity and in which context (Banks, 1994).

Research Studies Using Banks's Typology

Three studies employing Banks's typology (Cox, 1982; Martin & Atwater, 1992; Smith, 1983) used teachers and one included administrators (Smith, 1983) as their participants. Unlike studies using Helms's racial identity theory, these studies included results from participants of different races (Cox, 1982; Martin & Atwater, 1992), ages (Cox, 1982; Martin & Atwater, 1992; Smith, 1983), genders (Cox, 1982; Martin & Atwater, 1992; Smith, 1983), and teaching experiences (Martin & Atwater, 1992; Smith, 1983).

All three studies employed the Teacher Survey Instrument developed by Ford (1979, cited in Smith, p. 128) to measure stage placement and change on Banks's Typology of Ethnicity. The five-point Likert scale instrument consists of 42 items that match each stage in the typology. Both Cox (1983) and Martin and Atwater (1992) measured the construct validity of the Teacher Survey Instrument prior to using it. Smith (1983) failed to do this and presented this omission as one of his study's limitations.

Cox (1983) sent demographic surveys and the Teacher-Student Interaction Instrument (TSI) to a racially diverse sample of 350 classroom teachers in order to determine their placement on Banks's typology of ethnicity. She found that her participants were distributed along Banks's typology with the majority predominately focused in the bi-ethnicity stage (sixty-three percent), as well as stage five. Having measured the correlation between stages and demographic factors, she concludes that certain demographic factors seemed to be correlated with people's placement at various stages on Banks's typology. For example, among her participants, women, people of color, individuals with multicultural experiences, and younger respondents tended to place in higher stages.

Smith (1983) focused his dissertation more closely on the relationship between teachers' self-reported preparedness in multicultural education and their stages on Banks's typology. He measured the stages using the TSI and used the Multicultural Learning Opportunity Inventory (MLO) to measure respondents' experiences. The three-part survey consisted of statements designed to assess formal and informal daily experiences with diversity. Smith used a third instrument Multicultural Preparedness Inventory to generate self-assessed levels of preparedness in multicultural education. The surveys were mailed to 315 certificated elementary school personnel from a suburban district in the Pacific Northwest. Most of the sample were experienced teachers, White, female, and in their thirties. Out of nine hypotheses, only five of Smith's produced positive, though weak, correlations. The two that addressed ethnic awareness (Banks's stages) included a positive but weak relationship between preparedness and ethnic awareness and a positive relationship between informal learning opportunities and ethnic awareness. Beyond stating the correlations, Smith did not provide a

more detailed description of the relationship between the stages and the variables of preparedness and informal learning opportunities.

Martin and Atwater's (1992) study measured the effects of a multicultural math and science summer program on the development of ethnic identity. Two-thirds of the sixty-six teachers and administrators who participated were female and African American; one half were middle and high school teachers. Martin and Atwater's research was part of a larger study that included pre-service students as well. The participants in the study attended a twelve-day Science and Math summer workshop for three hours per day; of the twelve days, five were devoted to diversity issues. The effect of the workshop in creating "multicultural science teachers" was measured by changes on Banks's Typology of Ethnic Identity. The authors defined a multicultural science teacher as one who placed at Stage 4 or higher on Banks's typology. Martin and Atwater (1992) found fifty-seven percent of the teachers had ethnic identity levels in stage four or higher, and they found no significant differences between gender, years of teaching experience, grade levels, and content specialty.

The attempts by the authors of all three studies to determine if the stages on Banks's typology were associated with other variables resulted in contradictory findings. Cox (1983) found that gender and experience were salient variables, while Martin and Atwater (1992) did not. Cox (1983) and Smith (1983) found contradictory results regarding the role of multicultural experience and level of ethnic identity. A lack of common definitions may have created the contradictory evidence. For example, Cox and Smith defined multicultural experience differently. Cox added on several questions to the TSI and Smith used an established instrument, the MLO, to measure multicultural experiences. This lack of a common definition of multiculturalism creates difficulty in comparing studies. In addition, studies published in previous decades may not provide appropriate comparisons to current research.

Some results may have been influenced by biased samples. For example, teachers in the Martin and Atwater study (1992) may have been enrolled in the summer course because of their interest and commitment to multicultural education. Her results should be interpreted differently from Cox's research that used a random sample of 350 teachers.

The weakest aspect of all three studies is their inadequate methodology and cursory or inadequate data reporting. The Cox (1983) study is representative of these weaknesses. Cox neither included a full discussion of her methodology nor a complete presentation of the statistics. The associations between variables provide interesting information regarding the multicultural learning process, but no causal relationship nor direction of influence was discussed. Insufficient research analysis may also explain why some of these studies were not published in refereed journals.

Overall, the studies revealed that people were at different levels of ethnic awareness and identity development, as shown by the varying placements on Banks's Typology of Ethnicity (Banks, 1994), and that placement at the higher stages is generally associated with multicultural competencies (Smith, 1983) and greater interest in multicultural courses (Martin & Atwater, 1992). The methodological issues, however, caution against drawing firm conclusions.

Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity

Milton J. Bennett's (1993) model, Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS), suggests a significant departure from those of Helms and Banks. However, the DMIS describes similar changes in a person's behavior, cognition, and affect and deals with the learner's subjective experience in understanding how different cultures "create and maintain world views" (Bennett, 1986, p. 25). Difference is the organizing key to Bennett's model, in that each stage represents a new way of experiencing cultural difference. The model has two aspects; the first part of the continuum has three stages of decreasing levels of ethnocentrism (*denial*, *defense*, and *minimization*) and the second has three stages of increasing ethnorelativism (*acceptance*, *adaptation*, *integration*).

The first stage of the model, *denial*, represents the lack of knowledge of difference. People assume that their world views are the only world views and behave accordingly. In the second stage, *defense*, they realize differences exist but, in an ethnocentric fashion, they strive to preserve their own cultural views. People may do this in one of three ways: (a) they may put down or denigrate another culture; (b) they may uplift their own as superior; or (c) if living in a community outside their own, they may uplift that particular community as superior. Bennett noted that elevating another's community as superior is often misinterpreted as cultural sensitivity, but the uplifting of the other culture in this case is done in an egotistical fashion by "presenting one's self as more culturally sensitive" (Bennett, 1986, p. 187). The third stage of the ethnocentric half of the continuum, *minimization*, represents those people who claim they are "color blind." People at this level minimize the differences and continue to interact within their own cultural paradigms, living under the assumption that their behaviors and perceptions are shared by others. No awareness of their own cultures has occurred yet.

Movement to stage four, *acceptance*, represents a critical change from ethnocentrism to the first stage of ethnorelativism. At this stage people recognize that others have different values and world views, and people begin to accept and respect different behaviors and communication styles. "Characteristic of this shift is the subjective reconstrual of difference as a 'thing' to difference as a 'process'" (Bennett, 1986, p. 185). People move away from a reactive mode of always seeing the "other," to one of interaction, where the individual and the other become a "we-creating reality."

Stage five, *adaptation*, reflects the behavioral changes in individuals when they are more able to act in an ethnorelative fashion. Bennett (1986) views this stage as a crucial point. People are finally able to (a) change their processing of reality; (b) modify their behaviors so that they are more appropriate; and (c) be able to think and/or to act from another cultural perspective, or as Bennett puts it, to exhibit empathy (Bennett, 1986).

In the sixth and final stage, *integration*, people are not merely sensitive to other cultures, but rather they are in the process of becoming a part of and apart from a given cultural context (Adler, 1977, p. 26). This stage has two subphases: one, *contextual evaluation* in which people can evaluate a phenomenon from another perspective or within the cultural context; and, two, *constructive marginality*, in which people see outside of themselves continuously and stand outside of all cultural frameworks.

Studies on Bennett's Model

Two studies were found that employed the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity. An education dissertation by Watanabe (1992) used the model to assess students' stage developments, and the other, a master's thesis in the field of intercultural communication (Turner, 1990), employed the model to assess the placement of expatriates on the DMIS and the relationship between this placement and their coping skills.

Watanabe's (1992) dissertation examined the effect of a peer multicultural workshop intervention in a residence hall. He used a semi-structured interview to assess the stage placement of four students and found that after the intervention the students progressed further on the various stages of the DMIS. Unfortunately, this author provided no information about how the stages and terms were operationalized. His work provided little information about the methodology, the use of the DMIS, interview structure, or results. However, his is one of the few studies that created a developmentally based intervention.

Turner's (1990) research centered on the stage placements of fifteen American expatriates who had been living and working in Kuwait for over two years. Most of her participants had been in the country for at least six years. Turner (1990) provided a detailed methodology in her work. She coded each part of the interviews and determined the stages of the participants. In addition, she also developed a structured interview to assess each participants' level on the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity in four areas: interactions with cultural others, cross-cultural communications skills, stress management, and satisfaction with being immersed in a different culture. Participants' stages were determined by the largest percentage of responses in a stage.

Turner's (1990) use of the interview method reflected the dynamic nature and "messiness" of participants' thoughts. None of the participants' responses fell neatly into one stage, but rather their responses were spread across two or three stages (Bennett, 1993; Turner, 1990).

Although all of the expatriates had lived in Kuwait for two years or more, only three were categorized as ethnocentric on the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity. Turner also found that some expatriates at ethnocentric stages were satisfied with their experience and had adjusted to Kuwaiti culture. These results raised questions regarding the relationship between intercultural effectiveness and intercultural sensitivity. Despite these findings, Turner concluded that in order for people to achieve greater levels of cross-cultural interaction and for them to interact in different contexts more ethnocentric levels of intercultural sensitivity would be needed.

In sum, Watanabe's use of the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity does not provide much information regarding its viability as a research tool or a structure for designing interventions. Turner's study provides a stronger methodology that could be further refined and validated for use by other researchers. The DMIS has been used in training (Paige, 1993), and found to be helpful identifying and assessing people at different stages of development. However, more rigorously designed research is needed to determine its effectiveness as a tool for teacher educators and researchers.

The three models (Cross and Helms's Racial Identity Development, Banks's Typology of Ethnicity, and Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity) share certain similarities. Despite the fact that the models emanate from different disciplines, they share several characteristics, such as their structure and assumptions. The structures of the models are similar in that they are all process-oriented cognitive models in which individuals move through a set of stages or statuses (e.g. Helms, 1994). The stages progress from little differentiation or conception of complexity to higher levels of abstraction and differentiation (Mezirow, 1978). According to the models, people move from a self-centered state to identification with society and eventually to the larger global community, improving their ability to place their identities or those of others within an increasingly larger perspective. As people mature or move through the models they become increasingly "inclusive, discriminating and more integrative of experience" (Mezirow, 1978, p. 106) until they approach a common telos or ultimate end. The final stage of each model contain capacities desired for teaching in a culturally diverse classroom, such as perspective-taking and reflection skills. These later stages are considered desirable because, ostensibly, teachers have gained skills and understanding that facilitate the achievement of their culturally diverse students.

The difference in the models center on how they are have been used in training, either in anti-racism or cultural-difference training. Racial identity development models have been used by researchers and teacher educators to encourage anti-racist thinking and behavior (Carter & Goodwin, 1994; Lawrence & Tatum, 1996), and encourage teachers to examine the institutional, individual, and cultural racism that exists in schools and society (Kailin, 1994; Lawrence & Tatum, 1996; Sleeter, 1992). Educators adhering to this approach believe that societal structures as well as racist attitudes and behaviors support the academic failure of poor urban children (Sleeter, 1992; Villegas, 1991).

The second approach focuses on the cultural differences between the school and children's cultures (Banks, 1995; Villegas, 1991). While cultural difference theory shifts the responsibility for children's academic success to schools and teachers, this approach encourages teachers to learn continuously about their children's cultures, as well as adapt their classrooms, pedagogy, and personal behaviors and thinking to meet the needs of the children and their cultures (Villegas, 1991). The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity supports the desired goals of this approach because of its focus on cultural differences and increased understanding of cultural nuances. It also provides a useful framework for understanding teachers' cross-cultural growth.

Summary and Implications

Having presented and reviewed three process-oriented models that appear to be applicable to the development of teachers who work in multicultural school settings, do we conclude that these models contribute to our understanding of multicultural professional development for teachers?

The first conclusion from this review is that process models of cross-cultural competence do provide some conceptual insight into how teachers can be more effective with their culturally diverse students. The models reviewed support

Grant and Secada's (1990) call to better understand how teacher cognition and beliefs develop. As Grant and Secada stated: "If we could map how teachers move from the former to the latter, we might be able to plan teacher education programs to help teachers develop these skills" (p. 419). Pajares (1992) argues that the study of teachers' beliefs is critical in understanding teachers' behaviors and that inquiry into this area has powerful implications for teacher efficacy and student achievement.

Although the quantity and quality of extant research studies are limited, the studies' findings do have relevance for teacher education. It can be assumed that teachers, like the participants in the reviewed studies, are at different levels of multicultural awareness (Cox, 1982; Helms, 1990; Martin & Atwater, 1992; Turner, 1990) and that higher levels are positively associated with multicultural competency (Neville et al., 1994; Ottavi et al., 1996), non-racist behavior (Lawrence & Tatum, 1996, 1997), and knowledge about other cultures and races (Lawrence & Tatum, 1996; Taylor, 1994). This review concluded that levels of racial identity or cross-cultural awareness vary (Cox, 1982; Ottavi et al., 1994; Smith, 1983; Turner, 1990), and that teachers do not start with the same type of cross-cultural understanding. Process models can help to identify and differentiate racial attitudes (Cross, 1978; Helms, 1990; Sabnani et al., 1991), understandings of cultural difference (Bennett, 1993), and acceptance and understanding of one's own ethnicity and others (Banks, 1994). These findings have implications for assessing readiness to learn, designing effective learning opportunities, and providing appropriate support and challenge for teachers.

First, concerning learner readiness, the research suggests that individuals in the ethnocentric stage of any of the models will be more hesitant, more vulnerable, and less open (Taylor, 1994). Those in the higher ethnorelative stages will be more interested in learning about other cultures and more willing to take risks (M. J. Bennett, 1993; Meijer, 1993). Teacher educators' knowledge of the general level of readiness of their pre- and in-service teachers in multicultural professional development courses can facilitate the development of appropriate course and field work. As diagnostic tools, the models inform teacher educators of possible stages and readiness levels of their students (J. Bennett, 1993). If teacher educators are aware of their students' readiness then they can make appropriate decisions about how to instruct them in the area of diversity.

Second, the structure of the intervention can provide support and challenge when designed in ways that reflect the process and not just the content of cross-cultural learning (J. Bennett, 1993). Sequencing topics in a process framework provides more support for the learner and fosters greater development (e.g., Lawrence & Tatum, 1996). For example, self-awareness regarding one's culture has been identified as a key prerequisite and a first step for learners in multicultural programs (Brown et al., 1996; Sabnani et al., Ponterotto, & Borodovsky, 1991; York, 1994). When participants explore their own culture in the early stages of an intervention they are more likely to move toward a multicultural frame of reference. Banks (1994) and others suggest that individuals do not become sensitive and open to different ethnic groups until and unless they develop a positive sense of self, including an awareness and acceptance of their own ethnic group.

Third, there are implications for both support and challenge for teacher education students. Personal reflections on the self and discussions on issues of racism can be difficult for pre- and in-service teachers as well as teacher educators (Martin, 1995; Paige, 1993). There is a need to encourage risk-taking to foster cross-cultural growth (Taylor, 1994), but too much risk discourages learners from engaging in the process and encourages resistance (J. Bennett, 1993; Helms, 1990). Some of these risks include: (a) a sense of fear emanating from reflections on cultures which people do not have a lot of experience with (Paige, 1993), (b) feelings of guilt and confusion from discussing highly personalized behaviors and being involved in affective learning (Paige, 1993), and (c) a sense of frustration and excitement as people uncover new ways of understanding the world and the nature of life (Brislin, 1981; Paige, 1993). The intentional use of groups has been one source of support as well as challenge for learners and provide opportunities for learners to interact with people of diverse backgrounds, experiences, and beliefs (Brown et al., 1996; Helms, 1990; Ottavi et al., 1994; Neville et al., 1996; Sleeter, 1992). Group support, however, must be well designed and as authentic as possible. Merely plunging teachers into a new setting with little support or at the inappropriate time according to their developmental level may increase stereotyping and produce negative feelings on the part of the learner (M. J. Bennett, 1993).

Recommendations

This review and its implications provide insights for teacher educators working with pre-service and in-service teachers. They include: (a) constructing multicultural courses using process models to decrease resistance and increase support for the learner; (b) using support groups to provide opportunities for reflection, support, and challenge; (c) providing opportunities for students to interact with individuals from other ethnic backgrounds in authentic cultural settings; (d) examining the level of awareness of the teacher education faculty or in-service staff to signal possible conflicts of learning goals and purposes between students and their teachers; (e) providing on-going professional development to increase the knowledge and skills of the faculty; and (e) using adult and student developmental theory in conjunction with cross-cultural and racial identity models to enhance the cross-cultural learning process (Parham, 1989; Watanabe, 1992).

More research must be conducted regarding these models' effectiveness in teacher education, particularly well-designed observational studies in naturalistic classroom settings. Measuring change, especially cross-cultural change, is a complex and difficult process. As researchers gain more understanding regarding the challenging environment in which teachers work, they must expand their methods and ways of thinking regarding the measurement of cross-cultural change.

In order to apply the stage-based models, practitioners must have more information regarding their effectiveness in producing change in attitudes, behaviors, and belief. Teachers must also believe that theories and research apply to their particular situations and contexts. Therefore, development needs to be viewed in its full complexity. Teachers' personalities and school contexts must be examined for their possible influences on the growth process. The relation-

ship among attitude, behavior, and beliefs needs closer attention: Do people develop these various capacities simultaneously? Does context influence the independent growth of these different capacities? The structure of the interventions, such as their content and pedagogy, must be more closely examined. Hopefully, future research areas will assist teacher educators, teachers, and researchers in enhancing cross-cultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes that reverse the cycle of school failure for far too many culturally diverse students.

References

- Atkinson, D., Morten, G., & Sue, D. (1983). *Counseling American minorities: A cross-cultural perspective*. Dubuque, IA: William C. Brown.
- Banks, J. (1994). *Multicultural education: Theory and practice*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Bennett, C. (1995). Preparing teachers for cultural diversity and national standards of academic excellence. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 46, 259-266.
- Bennett, J. (1993). Cultural marginality: Identity issues in training. In M. Paige (Ed.), *Cross-cultural orientation* (pp. 109-136). Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Bennett, M. J. (1986). A developmental approach to training for intercultural sensitivity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 10, 179-195.
- Bennett, M. J. (1993). Towards ethnorelativism: A developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. In M. Paige (Ed.), *Education for the intercultural experience* (pp. 21-72). Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.
- Brislin, R. (1981). *Cross-cultural encounters*. Elmsford, NY: Pergamon.
- Brown, S. P., Parham, T. A., & Yonker, R. A. (1996). Influence of a cross-cultural training course on racial identity attitudes of White women and men: Preliminary perspectives. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 74, 510-516.
- Cadray, J. P. (1995). Enhancing multiculturalism in a teacher preparation program: A reflective analysis of a practitioner's intervention. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 57(8). (University Microfilms No. 9701563).
- Carney, C. G., & Kahn, K. B. (1984). Building competencies for effective cross-cultural counseling. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 12, 111-119.
- Carter, R. T., & Goodwin, A. L. (1994). Racial identity and education. In L. Darling-Hammond (Ed.), *Review of Research in Education*, Vol. 20 (pp. 291-336). Washington, D. C.: AERA.
- Cochran-Smith, M. (1995, November). *Knowledge, skills, and experiences for teaching culturally diverse learners: A perspective for practicing teachers*. Paper presented at the Invitational conference on Defining the Knowledge Base for Urban Teacher Education, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.
- Cochran-Smith, M., & Lytle, S. L. (1995). *Inside/outside: Teacher research and knowledge*. New York: Teachers College.
- Cox, B. B. (1982). *A research study focusing on Banks's Stages of Ethnicity Typology as related to elementary teachers multicultural experiences*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Houston, Houston, Texas.
- Cross Jr., W. E. (1978). The Thomas and Cross models of psychological nigrescence: A review. *Journal of Black Psychology* 5, 13-31.
- Dilworth, M.E. (1998). Old messages with new meanings. In M. E. Dilworth (Ed.), *Being responsive to cultural differences: How teachers learn* (pp. 197-202). Washington, DC: AACTE.
- Gillette, M., & Boyle-Baise, M. (1995, April). *Multicultural education at the graduate level: Assisting teachers in developing multicultural perspectives*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Education Research Association, San Francisco, CA.

- Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a different voice: Psychology theory and women's development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- Grant, C., & Secada, W. G. (1990). Preparing teachers for diversity. In W. R. Houston (Ed.), *Handbook of research on teacher education* (pp. 403- 422). New York: Macmillan.
- Gudykunst, W. B., & Hammer, M. R. (1983). Basic training design: Approaches to intercultural training. In D. Landis & R. Brislin (Eds.), *Handbook for intercultural training: Vol. 1. Issues in design and theory* (pp. 118-154). New York: Pergamon.
- Gudykunst, W. B., & Kim, Y. Y. (1984). *Communicating with strangers: An approach to intercultural communication*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Guskey, T. R. (1986). Staff development and the process of teacher change. *Educational Researcher*, 15, 5-12.
- Hardiman, R. (1982). White identity development: A process oriented model for describing the racial consciousness of White Americans. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 43, 104A.
- Helms, J. E. (1984). Toward a theoretical explanation of the effects of race on counseling: A Black and White model. *Counseling Psychologist*, 12, 153-165.
- Helms, J. E. (Ed.). (1990). *Black and White racial identity: Theory, research, and practice*. New York: Greenwood.
- Helms, J. E. (1994). The conceptualization of racial identity and other "racial" constructs. In E. Trickett, R. Watts, & D. Birman (Eds.), *Human diversity: Perspectives on people in context* (pp. 285-311). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Helms, J. E., & Carter, R. T. (1990). Development of the White Racial Identity Inventory. In J. E. Helms (Ed.), *Black and White racial identity: Theory, research, and practice* (pp. 67-80). New York: Greenwood.
- Hoopes, D. S. (1979). Intercultural communication concepts and the psychology of intercultural experience. In M. A. Pusch (Ed.), *Multicultural Education: A cross-cultural training approach* (pp. 9-38). Yarmouth: Intercultural Press.
- Jones, W. T. (1990). Perspectives on ethnicity. In L. Moore (Ed.), *Evolving theoretical perspectives on students* (pp. 59-72). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Kailin, J. (1994). Anti-racist staff development for teachers: Considerations of race, class, and gender. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 10(2), 169-184.
- Kohlberg, L. (1984). *The psychology of moral development. The nature and validity of moral stages*. San Francisco: Harper & Row.
- Lawrence, S. M., & Tatum, B. D. (1996, February). *Teachers in transition: The impact of anti-racist professional development on classroom practice*. Paper presented at the Teachers College Cross-cultural Roundtable on Psychology and Education.
- Lawrence, S. M., & Tatum, B. D. (1997). White educators as allies: Moving from awareness to action. In M. Fine, L. Weiss, L. Powell, and M. Wong (Eds.), *Off White: Critical perspectives on race* (pp. 332-342). New York: Routledge.
- Little, J. W. (1993). Teachers' professional development in a climate of educational reform. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 15, 129-151.
- Loevinger, J. (1976). *Ego development: Conceptions and theories*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Martin, H. J., & Atwater, M. M. (1992). *The stages of ethnicity of preservice teachers and in-service personnel involved in multicultural education experiences*. (ERIC Document Reproduction Services No. ED 397 203).
- Martin, R. (Ed.). (1995). *Practicing what we preach: Confronting diversity in teacher education*. Albany, NY: State University of New York.

- Meyers, L. J., Speight, S. L., Highlen, P. S., Chickaco, I. C., Reynolds, A. L., Adams, E. M., & Hanley, C. P. (1991). Identity development and world view: Toward an optimal conceptualization. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 70*, 54-63.
- Mezirow, J. (1978). Perspective transformation. *Adult Education, 28*, 100-110.
- Neville, H. A., Heppner, J. J., Louie, C. E., & Thompson, C. I. (1996). The impact of multicultural training on White racial identity attitudes and therapy competencies. *Professional Psychology: Research & Practice, 27*, 83-89.
- Nieto, S., & Rolon, C. (1995, November). *The preparation and professional development of teachers: A perspective from two Latinas*. Paper presented at the invitational conference on Defining the Knowledge Base for Urban Teacher Education, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.
- Oja, S. N. (1980). Adult development is implicit in staff development. *The Journal of Staff Development, 1*, 7-55.
- Oja, S. N. (1980). *Developmental theories and the professional development of teachers*. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 248 227).
- Ottavi, T. M., Pope-Davis, D. B., & Dings, J. G. (1994). Relationship between white racial identity attitudes and self-reported multicultural counseling competencies. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 41*, 149-154.
- Paige, M. (1993). On the nature of intercultural experiences and intercultural education. In M. Paige (Ed.), *Cross-cultural orientation* (pp. 1-21). Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Pajares, F. (1992). Teachers' beliefs and educational research: Cleaning up a messy construct. *Review of Educational Research, 62*, 307-332.
- Parham, T. A. (1989). Cycles of psychological nigrescence. *The Counseling Psychologist, 17*(2), 187-226.
- Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological Bulletin, 108*, 499-514.
- Ponterotto, J. G. (1988). Racial consciousness development among White counselor trainees: A stage model. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 16*, 146-156.
- Prosser, M. H. (1978). *The cultural dialogue: An introduction to intercultural communication*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Sabnani, H. B., Ponterotto, J. G., & Borodovsky, J. (1991). White racial identity development and cross-cultural counselor training: A stage model. *The Counseling Psychologist, 19*, 76-102.
- Sleeter, C. E. (1992). *Keepers of the American dream: A study of staff development and multicultural education*. Washington, D. C.: The Falmer Press.
- Smith, A. J. (1983). *The relationship of teachers preparedness in multicultural education to levels of ethnic awareness and multicultural exposure among elementary school certificated personnel*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, Pullman, Washington.
- Sue, D. W. (1981). *Counseling the culturally different*. Canada: John, Wiley and Sons.
- Taylor, T. Y. (1994). *A study of the effectiveness of a cognitive-developmental program to promote cross-cultural sensitivity among employees*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, North Carolina State University, Asheville, NC.
- Thompson, C. E. (1994). Helm's White Racial Identity Theory: Another look. *Counseling Psychologist, 22*, 645-649.
- Tomlinson, L. M. (1995). *The effects of instructional interaction guided by a typology of Ethnic Identity Development: Phase One, reading research report no. 44*. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 390 029).
- Turner, D. (1990). *Assessing intercultural sensitivity of American expatriates in Kuwait*. Unpublished masters thesis, Portland State University, Portland, OR.

McAllister and Irvine

- Villegas, A. M. (1991). Culturally responsive pedagogy for the 1990s and beyond. *Trends and Issues Paper No. 6*. Washington D. C. : ERIC Clearinghouse on Teacher Education.
- Watanabe, G. C. (1992). *A comprehensive developmentally-based undergraduate diversity education model at Washington State University*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Washington State University.
- Widick, C. , Knefelkamp, L., & Parker, C. A. (1975). The counselor as a developmental instructor. *Counselor Education and Supervision, 14*, 286-296.
- York, D. E. (1994). *Cross-cultural training programs*. Westport, CN: Bergin & Garvey.
- Zeichner, K. M. (1994). Teacher socialization for cultural diversity. In J. Sikula, T. Buttery, & E. Guyton (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teacher education* (329-348). New York: Macmillan.

Authors

GRETCHEN MCALLISTER is an assistant professor at Northern Arizona University; Gretchen.McAllister@nau.edu. Her research interests include multicultural education, teacher development, and teacher education.

JACQUELINE JORDAN IRVINE is the Candler Professor of Urban Education in the Division of Educational Studies, Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30030; jirvine@emory.edu. Her research interests include multicultural teacher education.