

The Counseling Psychologist

<http://tcp.sagepub.com>

White Racial Identity Development and Cross-Cultural Counselor Training: A Stage Model

Haresh B. Sabnani, Joseph G. Ponterotto and Lisa G. Borodovsky

The Counseling Psychologist 1991; 19; 76

DOI: 10.1177/0011000091191007

The online version of this article can be found at:
<http://tcp.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/19/1/76>

Published by:

 SAGE Publications

<http://www.sagepublications.com>

On behalf of:



[Division of Counseling Psychology of the American Psychological Association](#)

Additional services and information for *The Counseling Psychologist* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://tcp.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://tcp.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

Permissions: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

Citations (this article cites 47 articles hosted on the SAGE Journals Online and HighWire Press platforms):
<http://tcp.sagepub.com/cgi/content/refs/19/1/76>

• PROFESSIONAL FORUM

White Racial Identity Development and Cross-Cultural Counselor Training: A Stage Model

Haresh B. Sabnani
Joseph G. Ponterotto
Lisa G. Borodovsky

Fordham University, Lincoln Center

This article integrates the work of cross-cultural counselor-training development theorists (Carney & Kahn, 1984; Rowe, 1989), racial-identity development specialists (e.g., Helms, 1984), and cross-cultural counseling competency experts (e.g., Sue et al., 1982) in the formation of a comprehensive multicultural training model for majority-group (White, middle-class) counselors. Past developmental models are criticized for their failure to consider the White counselor's racial-identity (or consciousness) development as an integral component of multicultural training. The article reviews and integrates extant stage models of White racial consciousness, describes how counselors progress through various stages, and specifically presents training regimens to facilitate counselors' sequential movement through the model. The article concludes with specific research and policy recommendations.

The last decade has witnessed an increased emphasis on the importance of infusing multicultural skill development into the counseling curriculum (Casas, 1984; Pedersen, 1988). Hundreds of articles published in recent years document the rapidly changing U.S. demographic scene and attest to the need for developing more culturally pluralistic counseling models (see reviews of conceptual and empirical work by Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1989; Gibbs & Huang, 1989; Parker, 1988; Pedersen, 1988; Pedersen, Draguns, Lonner, & Trimble, 1989; Ponterotto & Sabnani, 1989). A number of articles have also presented convincing arguments on the ethical imperative related to culturally sensitive counseling skill development, practice, and research (Casas, Ponterotto, & Gutierrez, 1986; Cayleff, 1986; Ibrahim & Arrendondo, 1986; LaFromboise & Foster, 1989; Ponterotto, 1988b).

In response to the counseling profession's call for increased multicultural sensitivity and competence among its practitioners, a number of authors and

Reprint requests should be addressed to Joseph G. Ponterotto, Graduate School of Education, Fordham University at Lincoln Center, New York, NY 10023-7478.

THE COUNSELING PSYCHOLOGIST, Vol. 19 No. 1, January 1991 76-102

© 1991 by the Division of Counseling Psychology.

special committees have outlined specific sets of skills believed to be characteristic of the culturally skilled counselor. The most well-known and often cited competency report was sponsored by the American Psychological Association's (APA) Division of Counseling Psychology and prepared by the team of Sue et al. (1982). This position paper outlined 11 competencies organized along the categories of beliefs and attitudes, knowledge, and specific skills. In addition to Sue et al. (1982), numerous authors have posited recommendations for culturally augmented training curricula (see Parker & McDavis, 1979; Parker, 1988; Pedersen, 1988; Pedersen, Holwill, & Shapiro, 1978).

Although contributing to the current status of multicultural training and practice, the literature cited above is limited, in that it implicitly assumes that most cross-cultural counseling-related beliefs and attitudes, knowledge and skills can be adopted by any counselor at any time, without taking into consideration the possibility that counselors within minority groups or the White middle-class majority differ among themselves in terms of their level of readiness for the assimilation of these learnings.

Developing multicultural sensitivity and competence, particularly for those culturally encapsulated counselors (Wrenn, 1962, 1985) unaware of their own ethnocentric biases (Katz & Ivey, 1977; Pedersen, 1987, 1988), is a long-term developmental task. This is particularly the case given the sociopolitical nature of interracial group contacts generally and cross-cultural counseling relationships specifically (see Helms, 1984; Katz, 1985; Pedersen, 1988; Ponterotto, 1988a; Sue, 1981).

Recent writings on counselor training generally have emphasized the developmental aspects of a counselor's professional training (e.g., Holloway, 1987, 1988; Loganbill, Hardy, & Delworth, 1982; Stoltenberg, 1981; Stoltenberg & Delworth, 1988). With specific regard to the developmental aspects of cross-cultural counseling training, Carney and Kahn (1984) and Rowe (1989) have conceptualized sequential stages of development through which counselors pass in becoming competent. Both of these models posit training goals and tasks for trainees at varying stages of development. These models constitute significant developments in the field of cross-cultural training; however, both are somewhat limited in that they fail to address adequately the centrality of the counselor's own racial-identity development to the overall training process.

Perhaps the single most significant advancement in cross-cultural counseling practice and research in the last decade centers on the salience of both the client's *and* counselor's racial-identity development to the cross-cultural encounter. The work of Helms (1984, 1986, 1989b, 1990) and her colleague

Parham (1989; Parham & Helms, 1981, 1985a, 1985b) has set a new course for training, research, and practice in cross-cultural counseling (see content-analysis documentation in Ponterotto, 1989, and Ponterotto & Sabnani, 1989).

It is now clear that a developmental model of cross-cultural counseling training needs to incorporate the complexity of interracial relationships, as manifested in majority and minority racial-identity models. Neither the Sue et al. (1982) competencies nor the general cross-cultural training models of Carney and Kahn (1984) and Rowe (1989) address this issue.

The purpose of the present article is to extend past theories of cross-cultural counseling training conceptually by integrating and linking the work of multicultural competency experts (Pedersen, 1988; Sue et al., 1982), general developmental theorists (Carney & Kahn, 1984; Rowe, 1989), and racial-identity development specialists (Helms, 1984). Specifically, this article presents an inclusive model, integrating stages of White racial-identity/consciousness development with *specific* training goals and tasks needed to advance counselor trainees through a systematic stage process.

WHITE RACIAL IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

Most of the writing on racial-identity development has focused on minority clients, particularly African Americans (e.g., Cross, 1971; Jackson, 1975; Thomas, 1971). Atkinson et al. (1989) have developed a model inclusive of all racial/ethnic minority groups, and Kim (1981) discussed racial identity among Asian Americans (see also ethnic-identity reviews of Phinney, 1989a, 1989b).

By contrast, much less attention has been devoted to majority-group, or White counselors' racial identity. Given that the majority of counselors and counselor trainees are from the White middle class (see survey by Cameron, Galassi, Birk, & Waggener, 1989), and acknowledging the importance of the counselor's racial-identity development to the cross-cultural counseling process (Ponterotto, 1988a, 1989), it would appear that more theoretical and research attention is needed in this area. Thus, in the remainder of this article, we focus on White racial-identity development vis-à-vis cross-cultural skill building.

Research and theory on White racial-identity development might be divided into that which focuses on static models (e.g., racial self-designation, preference, or identification) and that which focuses on stagewise progressions. This article limits itself to the latter. The trend of research has been

toward the formulation of more complex models. For a sampling of the literature on the former, the reader is referred to the work of Brigham and Weissbach (1972) and for a review, to Hardiman (1982).

Likewise, we limit ourselves to *racial*-identity attitude development, and not to the kind of *personal*-identity development (based, for example, on the model proposed by Erik Erikson) of Blacks compared with Whites described, for instance, by Hauser (1971) and by Hausér and Kasendorf (1983). Research on the former is sorely lacking, and apart from the models presented here, only the works of Levy (1968) and Hecht (1977) come close to what might be considered process-oriented literature. These have not been included here because these authors do not present their material as theoretical *models*, in the manner of this article's researchers and others included here.

Acknowledging our focus on theoretical, stagewise progression models, there appear to be three White racial-identity models extant in the counseling literature: Helms (1984), Hardiman (1982), and Ponterotto (1988a). [Note: The Corvin & Wiggins (1989) model in the *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development* is a reconceptualization of the Hardiman (1982) model.]

Table 1 summarizes the three models (Helms, 1984; Hardiman, 1982; Ponterotto, 1988a) we have chosen to focus on. We have examined these three models to identify common themes/stages that transcend each model; our integrative stage model appears in the left-hand column of Table 1.

The stages generally proceed in the following manner: Stage 1 is characterized by a lack of awareness of self as a racial being. Stage 2 follows with an expansion of knowledge regarding race and racial matters, spurred by interactions with members of minority groups or by information gathered elsewhere (e.g., in multicultural counseling courses) which forces a person to acknowledge his or her Whiteness and examine his or her own cultural values. This stage is also marked by conflict between wanting to conform to majority norms and wishing to uphold humanistic, nonracist values. Accompanying this stage are feelings of guilt and depression or anger arising from this conflict, and from increasing awareness of the realities of racism and the role one might unconsciously be playing in its perpetuation.

Stage 3 is marked by the first of two extremes: a prominority stance, taken to alleviate the feelings of guilt accompanying the prior stage. Additionally, the integrated stage model is bidirectional: that is, there is, along with a prominority stance, a possible rejection of internalized racist beliefs and of Whiteness in general. One might note that Helms's (1984) *disintegration* stage may be split into two of the general stages outlined here.

TABLE 1: Models of White Racial Consciousness Development

	<i>White Identity Development Model (Hardiman, 1982)</i>	<i>White Racial Consciousness Development Model (Helms, 1984)</i>	<i>Racial Consciousness Development Model (Ponterotto, 1988a)</i>
Stage 1			
Preexposure/precontact	<i>Lack of social awareness</i> Presocialization stage marked by unawareness of social expectations and roles Beginning awareness of racial differences <i>Acceptance</i> Unconscious identification with Whiteness Acceptance of stereotypes about own group and other groups	<i>Contact</i> Unaware of self as a racial being Oblivious to cultural/racial issues Naivete regarding the impact of race and racism on self and others	<i>Preexposure</i> Little thought given to multicultural issues or to one's role as a White in an oppressive society Have not begun to explore their own ethnic identity
Stage 2			
Conflict	Transition from <i>acceptance</i> to <i>resistance</i> Reexamination of assumptions about Whites Begin to face dissonant issues challenging accepted ideology and self-definition as White Guilt and anger	<i>Contact and disintegration</i> Forced to acknowledge that he or she is White Caught between White and Black culture and between oppression and humanity Guilt and depression	<i>Exposure</i> Forced to examine role as White member of U.S. society Examine their own cultural values Confronted with the realities of race and racism Guilt and anger

Stage 3	Prominority/antiracism	<i>Resistance</i>	Rejection of internalized racist beliefs and rejection of Whiteness Guilt and anger at having conformed to socialization Anger at Whites and Whiteness Compassion and concern for minorities	<i>Disintegration</i>	Overidentification with Blacks Paternalistic attitudes toward Blacks	<i>Zealot half of zealot-defensive</i> Taking on the minority plight Maintaining a promority stance
Stage 4	Retreat into White culture	<i>Redefinition</i>	Development of a White identity that transcends racism Defining Whiteness in a way which is not dependent on racism Recognition that all races are unique Development of pride in ethnic group membership	<i>Reintegration</i>	Anti-Black, pro-White attitudes Anger, fear	<i>Defensive half of zealot-defensive</i> Retreating from multicultural issues altogether Refraining from intercultural contact, and retreating to only same-race relations
Stage 5	Redefinition and integration	<i>Internalization</i>	Integration of the new White identity into all other aspects of the self	<i>Pseudo-independence</i>	Intellectual acceptance and curiosity regarding Blacks and Whites Internalization of Whiteness Autonomy Biculturally or biracially transcendent worldview	<i>Integration</i> Greater balance in multicultural interest and endeavors Renewed interest, respect, and appreciation for cultural differences

NOTE: Italicized words in each model represent stages posited by that model.

Stage 4 involves a retreat into White culture, moving both cognitively and behaviorally away from intercultural contact, triggered by rejection from minority group members. This stage is characterized by feelings of hostility and fear. Note that in Ponterotto's (1988a) model (Table 1, column 4) a White person enters only one half of the *zealot-defensive* stage — there is no transition from *zealot* to *defensive*. In our integrated model, we have included the possibility that these may be two consecutive stages.

Stage 5 is characterized by a movement toward the clear development of White racial identity and an internalization of this newfound identity into the self. This last stage is also marked by a culturally transcendent worldview and by a balance in multicultural interests and respect for cultural differences.

A very important final consideration is that the three models were developed in three different, though related, contexts: Hardiman's (1982) model in the context of social identity theory, Helms's (1984) model in the context of general Black-White interracial interactions, and Ponterotto's (1988a) model in the specific context of majority-group counselor training.

Counselor Movement Through Stages

Although it may seem that the movement from one stage to another in the descriptions above follows a linear path, in reality the movement may be more complex, marked by loops into previous stages at various choice points (see also similar notes on nigrescence-identity models in Parham, 1989). Figure 1 is a flowchart depicting this more complex progression. The stages (represented by the numbers in the flowchart) are as follows:

- Stage 1: Lack of awareness of self as a racial being
- Stage 2: Interaction with members of other cultures
- Stage 3: Breakdown of former knowledge regarding racial matters; conflict
- Stage 4: Prominority stance
- Stage 5: Pro-White, antimority stance
- Stage 6: Internalization

The model has six stages, rather than the five stages of the conceptualization. The difference is that the conceptualization's second stage has been broken down into two stages, one characterized by actual, physical interaction (Stage 2) and the other by a reformulation of prior knowledge (Stage 3). Although it might be argued that Stage 2 is more of an event than a racial-identity stage, its separation allows us to see that, even after physical interaction with other minority groups, the choice of looping back to Stage 1 (lack of awareness of self as a racial being), going around in a circle without

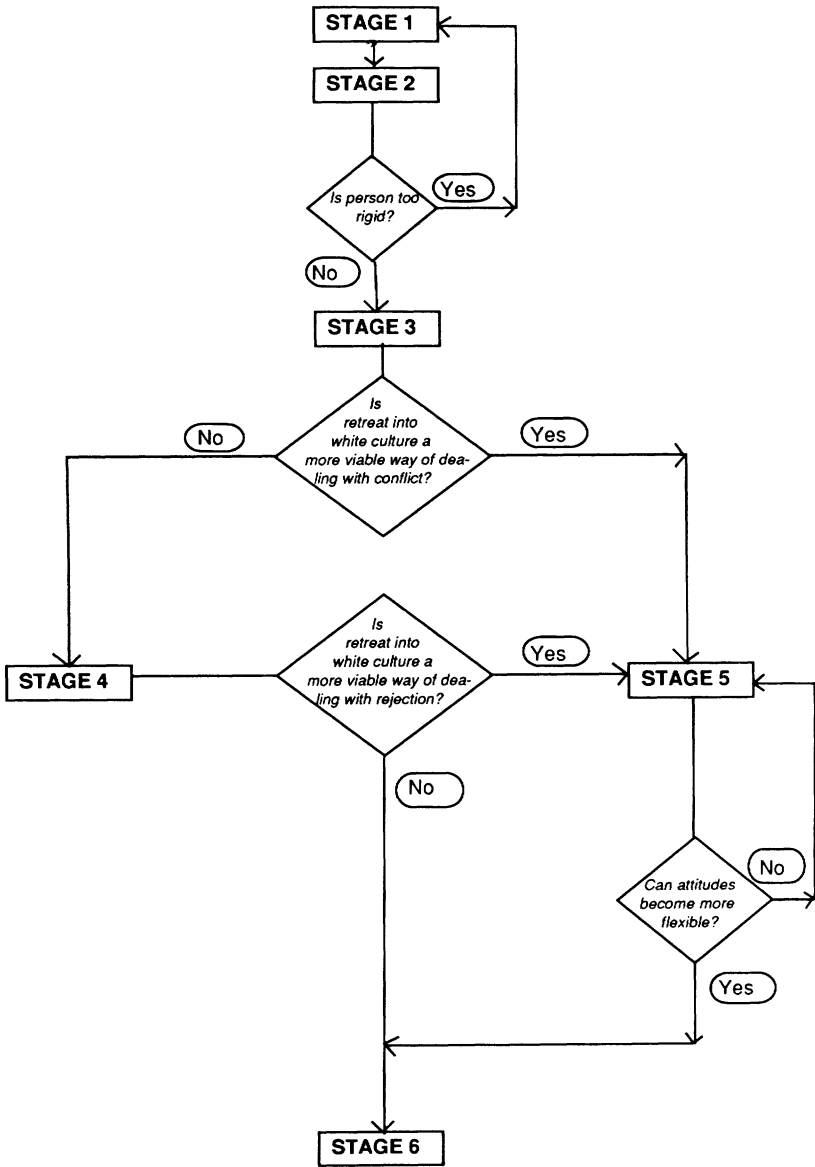


Figure 1: Flowchart of White counselors' movement through the six-stage model.
 NOTE: Stage 1 = Lack of awareness of self as a racial being. Stage 2 = Interaction with members of other cultures. Stage 3 = Breakdown of former knowledge; conflict. Stage 4 = Prominority stance. Stage 5 = Pro-White, antiminority stance. Stage 6 = Internalization.

further movement, is a viable one. It also allows us to see how it is possible that, even after interaction and entry into the third stage, "regression" to a later stage (Stage 5) marked by a pro-White, antiminority stance may take place without entry into Stage 4 (which is characterized by prominority attitudes). It might be posited that a *rigid* adherence to the stereotypes acquired in Stage 1 may be the cause of such a movement. This adherence may in fact be related to an individual's cognitive style or, more specifically, to the quality of his or her "cultural schema" (see Sabnani & Ponterotto, 1990).

Progression to the third stage from the second stage is spurred by the individual's choosing to begin to examine his or her own cultural values, and to acknowledge his or her Whiteness and the privileges accompanying this. The third stage is marked by conflict, and it is followed by a choice point which asks whether a retreat into White culture is a more viable way of dealing with this conflict. If the answer is in the negative, there is a likelihood that progression to Stage 4 may take place.

If rejection is experienced at Stage 4, another movement takes place, the direction of which depends on the response to a choice of whether or not a retreat into White culture is a more viable way of resolving feelings of helplessness or experiences of rejection. A choice toward retreat is marked by entry to Stage 5. The opposite choice leads to the final stage of *internalization*, marked by an incorporation of White identity into one's self. Inflexible attitudes at the fifth stage lead to arrest at that stage.

A note has to be made of the following points, which serve only to highlight further the complexity of this hypothetical yet perhaps more realistic view of the process of racial-consciousness development:

1. Other choice points, and other queries at these and existing choice points, exist elsewhere in the flowchart; only the major ones are mentioned here.
2. Individuals may be "stuck" at certain stages for various reasons.
3. Choices may often be mediated unconsciously, or by personality characteristics (which include cognitive styles).

The hypothesis posited here is that counselor trainees in the different stages in the five-stage model above will be differentially primed for multicultural counseling training experiences; that owing to the possibility that they may be functioning at different stages of racial-consciousness development, not all counselors will acquire (at least immediately) the beliefs, attitudes, knowledge, and behaviors deemed to be important for more effective cross-cultural counseling (as defined by Sue et al., 1982, or by Pedersen, 1988).

It is therefore proposed that:

1. The aim of cross-cultural counseling training ought to be the delineation of goals and tasks to match the particular stage of racial-consciousness development that a White person is operating within.
2. These goals and tasks should allow for a transition to the next stage of development.
3. These goals and tasks should be applied to as wide an area of the training experience as possible.
4. These goals and tasks should be congruent, as well, with the goals and tasks involved in counselor training as a whole.

STAGE-RELATED TRAINING GOALS AND TASKS

Table 2 is a description of goals and tasks in different areas of the cross-cultural counseling training experience which might meet the aims set above. The goals are based primarily on the prerequisites for successful movement through a stage, on prerequisites for transition to the next stage, and on the goals in areas (beliefs/attitudes, knowledge, and skills) deemed by Sue et al. (1982) and others (e.g., Atkinson et al., 1989; Pedersen, 1988) as important in the training of a more culturally competent counselor.

In this section, we highlight some of the key components reflected in Table 2. Specifically, for each stage we clarify training goals and tasks across the competencies of beliefs/attitudes, knowledge, and skills.

Stage 1: Preexposure/Precontact

Beliefs and attitudes. Stage 1 goals in the area of beliefs and attitudes involve an expansion of awareness regarding one's own culture and the cultures of other ethnic groups. An important consideration is the need for nonthreatening, cursory, "safe" contact with other cultures, owing to the counselor trainee's lack of preparation for what might otherwise be the shocking experience of, for instance, intercultural encounter groups. The goals set for this stage provide a foundation on which the awareness of differences among cultural groups may increase, a beginning awareness of self develops, and stereotypes may be brought to the fore and checked with reality. The goal presented here is congruent with Sue et al.'s (1982) contention that a culturally competent counselor is one who has moved from "being culturally unaware to being aware and sensitive to his/her own

(text continues on p. 90)

TABLE 2: Cross-cultural Counseling Training Goals and Tasks

	Beliefs/Attitudes			Knowledge			Skills
	Goals	Tasks	Goals	Tasks	Goals	Tasks	
Stage 1 Preexposure/ precontact	Awareness of one's own cultural heritage	Awareness group experience ^{ab}	Knowledge of the cultural heritage of other minority groups	Research into the history of other cultures Intercultural sharing ^c Multicultural action planning (low level of active involvement) ^c Ethnic literature reviews Field trips Case studies ^g Culture assimilator ^{ijk}	Beginning development of counseling skills	Regular counselor training tasks (micro-skills training) ^{def}	
	Awareness of the cultural heritage of minority groups	"Ethnic dinners" ^{ab} Tours/exhibits of other cultures' crafts/areas Intercultural sharing ^c Multicultural action planning (low level of active involvement) ^c Free drawing test ^h Public and private self-awareness exercise ^g Value statements exercise ^h Decision awareness exercise ^g					

Stage 2 Conflict	Awareness of one's stereotypical and prejudicial attitudes and the impact of these on minorities	Critical incidents exercise ^h Implicit assumptions checklist exercise ^h We and you exercises ^h Exercise for experiencing stereotypes ^c	More extensive knowledge of other cultures Knowledge of the concepts and prejudice and racism	MAP—investigative ^c Tours to other communities Research on racism in the past and present Classes in multicultural issues presenting survey data on minorities Films	Develop more client-specific methods of intervention	Critical incidents method ^l Role-playing exercise ^h Role-playing a problem in a group ^h
	Awareness of the impact of minorities	Stereotypes awareness exercise ^g Less structured cross-cultural encounter groups	Knowledge of the impact of racism on minorities and the privileges of being White			
	Awareness of the conflict between wanting to conform to White norms while upholding humanitarian values					
	Dealing with feelings of guilt and depression or anger					

(continued)

TABLE 2 Continued

	Beliefs/Attitudes		Knowledge		Skills	
	Goals	Tasks	Goals	Tasks	Goals	Tasks
Stage 3 Prominency/ antiracism	Awareness of overident- ification and of paternalistic attitudes, and the impact of these on minorities	Interracial encounters ^m Cross-cultural Responsible feedback exercise ^h Anonymous feedback from the group exercise ^h	Further immersion into other cultures	Guided self-study Exposure to audiovisual presentations ^g Interviews with consultants and experts ^g Lectures Minority student panels ^b Research into the impact of race on counseling	Continue develop- ing culturally emic and etic approaches to counseling	Role-playing exercises Communication skills training Facilitating interracial groups (FIG) ^b Counseling ethnic minorities (CEMI) ^b

Stage 4 Retreat into White culture	Awareness of and dealing with one's own fear and anger	Cross-cultural encounter groups Lump sum ^a	Knowledge of the development of minority identity and White identity	Research into minority identity development models Research into White identity develop- ment models	Building culturally etic (transcendent) approaches	Microskills training Ponterotto and Benesch (1988)
Stage 5 Redefinition and integration	Develop an identity which claims Whiteness as a part of it	Feedback-related exercises (see Stage 3)	Expand knowledge on racism in the real world Expand knowledge on counseling methods more appropriate to minorities	Visits to communities with large minority populations Research on ways to transform White- based counseling methods to one more credible to minorities	Deepen more culturally emic approaches Face more challenging cross- cultural counseling interactions	Facilitating interracial groups (FIG) ^b Counseling ethnic minorities individually (CEMI) ^b Triad model ^f Cross-cultural practica

NOTE: References for exercises suggested in Table 2 are indicated by letters, as follows: a. Parker & McDavis, 1979; b. McDavis & Parker, 1977; c. Parker, 1988; d. Ivey & Authier, 1978; e. Egan, 1982; f. Carkhuff & Anthony, 1979; g. Pedersen, 1988; h. Weeks et al., 1977; i. Brislin et al., 1986; j. Albert, 1983; k. Merta, Stringham, & Ponterotto, 1988; l. Sue, 1981; m. Katz & Ivey, 1977.

cultural heritage” (p. 49). Tasks may be very diverse in content, albeit still meeting the goals set for this stage. Specific tasks, with original reference sources, are included in Table 2.

Knowledge. Stage 1 goals in the domain of knowledge involve the acquisition of knowledge regarding the values, worldviews, and social norms of one’s own and other cultures. The condition that a culturally competent counselor must possess specific knowledge and information regarding the particular group he or she is working with (Sue et al., 1982) is partially met by the goals set for this stage. Knowledge at this level also involves the acquisition of learning regarding the culturally emic (ethnic-specific; Ponterotto & Benesch, 1988) characteristics of counseling which Sue et al. (1982) propose are important preconditions for cross-cultural competency.

The difference between goals related to beliefs and attitudes and those referring to knowledge lies in the ways in which they are accomplished—the former by tasks of an experiential nature, the latter by more research-oriented, literature-based, nonpersonal-contact tasks.

Skills. On the level of skills for Stage 1 counselor trainees, the emphasis is on goals related to the development of beginning counseling skills based on methods that might apply to most cultures (culturally etic methods). The culturally sensitive application of microskills training models (Carkuff & Anthony, 1979; Egan, 1982; Ivey & Authier, 1978) may be one way of fulfilling this goal.

Stage 2: Conflict

Beliefs and attitudes. Although Stage 2 is, in a sense, an extension of Stage 1, it goes further by proposing goals of a more challenging nature in the domain of beliefs and attitudes: an awareness of the counselor trainee’s own stereotypes and racist attitudes, and the impact of these on minorities; an awareness of the conflict between wanting to conform to White norms and upholding humanitarian values; and dealing with the feelings of guilt and depression or anger accompanying this stage. The stage involves increasingly threatening, more direct cross-cultural encounters, which may highlight conflicts in values or worldviews. Exercises to achieve these goals may include those meant to help participants understand and identify their own personal prejudices or racism and those meant to confront participants with the “discrepancies existing between the myths and reality of American ideal-

ogy and behavior" (Katz & Ivey, 1977, p. 487). Specific training exercises appropriate for Stage 1 skills are noted in Table 2.

In addition to specific exercises, less structured cross-cultural encounter groups may also help to develop, on a deeper level, an awareness of the culturally mediated differences among group members. Feelings of guilt, depression, or anger may be dealt with in these groups. Individual therapy may be another way of dealing with the feelings arising at this stage.

Knowledge. The knowledge-related goals in Stage 2 involve an understanding of the concepts of prejudice and racism (see Katz & Ivey, 1977), understanding the impact of racism on minorities, and a realization that Whiteness is accompanied by privileges denied to members of minority groups. Survey data presented in multicultural counseling courses (pertaining, for instance, to disparities in income, education, and employment) may contribute to the fulfillment of these goals, and so might research on "old-fashioned" and "modern" racism (see constructs discussed and tested by McConahay, 1986). The aim at this stage is to foster a beginning sense of the "sociopolitical system's operation in the United States with respect to its treatment of minorities" (Sue et al., 1982, p. 49).

Skills. On the level of skills the aim is to develop, through exercises, more client-specific models of intervention, as opposed to models biased toward the majority culture. A good way of meeting this goal might be critical-incidents method, the tasks of which involve a delineation of barriers to counseling and a generation of counseling methods appropriate to persons (described in vignettes) of varying cultural backgrounds (a culture-specific or emic approach). Other exercises are outlined in Table 2 under the appropriate heading.

Stage 3: Prominority/Antiracism

Beliefs and attitudes. In Stage 3, goals related to beliefs and attitudes involve an awareness of tendencies toward overidentification, or toward paternalistic attitudes, and the impact of these on minorities. Cross-cultural encounter groups may be the best venue for seeing the impact of these attitudes. Other exercises to meet these goals are outlined in Table 2.

One particular exercise worth highlighting is the "Anonymous Feedback from the Group Exercise." For the White counselor trainee at this stage, the aim is to provide feedback regarding how paternal attitudes are perceived by

others. This feedback may be perceived as reinforcing, nonreinforcing, or rejecting, and depending on how a person responds, he or she may choose to engage in a lengthy retreat into the safety of White culture, or retreat only temporarily until assimilation of feedback into awareness can take place.

Knowledge. On the level of knowledge, further immersion into other cultures may be conducted through guided self-study, lectures, exposure to audiovisual presentations, or interviews with consultants and experts (Pedersen, 1988). The "Minority Student Panels" described by McDavis and Parker (1977), in which minority students discuss their perceptions of and attitudes toward counselors of other cultures, may be an enlightening experience. Research into the impact of race on counseling (see Atkinson, 1983, 1985), including research on client racial preferences, may add to the growing knowledge base at this point.

Skills. On the level of skills, the aim is to continue building a foundation for dealing with culturally diverse clients differentially, while at the same time developing culturally transcendent (or etic) approaches. The role-playing exercises noted in Stage 2 may be continued at this stage. Communication-skills training exercises may be important at this stage (see Weeks, Pedersen, & Brislin, 1977, p. 63). The "Facilitating Interracial Groups" (FIG) exercise (McDavis & Parker, 1977), which teaches students how to organize and facilitate multicultural group experiences, may be a useful resource at this point. It achieves its goal by discussing the literature on cross-cultural group facilitation, having students watch videotapes of models facilitating an interracial group, critiquing the modeled session with participating members also providing input, and role-playing of the facilitator's role by each student.

Stage 4: Retreat Into White Culture

Beliefs and attitudes. The focus of awareness in Stage 4 is on feelings of fear or anger elicited by responses to behaviors/attitudes in Stage 3. Cross-cultural encounter groups may be one of the most important experiences for the White counselor trainee at this stage, so that feelings of anger from perceptions of rejection, or other such feelings, may be worked through. Exercises such as the "Lump Sum" (Weeks et al., 1977), which help clarify feelings, roles, and attitudes in simulated conflict situations among competing groups, may be another way of dealing with negative feelings arising during this stage.

Knowledge. The cognitive experiences involved in knowledge building are also very important at this stage. It is important to understand where a minority person may be coming from when the response to an identification with her or him is rejection. This understanding may come from research into and class discussions on the minority-identity development models referenced earlier. Research into White racial-consciousness development models (described earlier) may help increase understanding of self.

Skills. At this stage, culturally emic skill building may be hampered by negative feelings, so the focus may be on culturally etic approaches to counseling (see Ponterotto & Benesch, 1988)

Stage 5: Redefinition and Integration

Beliefs and attitudes. In Stage 5, the aim at the level of beliefs and attitudes is to help the counselor trainee develop an identity that claims Whiteness as a part of it. At this stage, feedback regarding changes in behavior as a result of an emerging White identity is important, and the earlier mentioned feedback-related exercises (see Stage 3) may be useful.

Knowledge. On the level of knowledge, the aim is to gain further information regarding racism in the real world and within the field of counseling, as well as to gain further knowledge regarding ways to transform White-based psychotherapeutic theories and methods to reflect greater respect for the worldviews of the culturally different. Research on these ways, as well as actual visits to communities with large minority populations, may be some ways of meeting the goals stated here.

Skills. In terms of skills, the aim is to deepen the more culturally emic approaches. At this stage the counselor trainee is ready to face more challenging interactions with culturally different clients, and to engage in practical experience involving the latter. As Carney and Kahn (1984) note in a stage they propose which is similar to Stage 5, the counselor trainee is now ready to face more complex cross-cultural interactions. Pedersen's (1983, 1988) Triad Model of cross-cultural counseling training is one excellent way of deepening counseling skills at this stage. Counselor trainees, by the time they have reached this stage, are prepared for this experience. Indeed, Pedersen (1983) notes that "the Triad Model could be confusing for unexperienced trainees" (p. 339).

DISCUSSION

In this article, we have proposed a five-stage developmental model for multicultural counseling training. Our main thesis is that effective multicultural counseling training occurs developmentally and sequentially, and that the counselor's own racial-identity development level is an integral component of such training. In developing the present conceptual training model, we have integrated and extended the work of Helms (1984), Carney and Kahn (1984), Rowe (1989), and Sue et al. (1982).

Initial conceptual validity for our five-stage White identity model stems from its logical integration (see Table 1) of three extant models (Hardiman, 1982; Helms, 1984; Ponterotto, 1988a). The conceptual linkage and consistency across the four models (developed in various social contexts) attests to the construct validity of the developmental cross-cultural training process. In an attempt to provide initial clinical utility and pragmatic validity for the model, we have delineated specific, referenced, training exercises to accomplish stage-related goals and tasks.

It is clear, however, from an empirical standpoint, that we are at an infancy stage in terms of testing and fully understanding models of White racial-consciousness development generally, and such models within the context of multicultural training specifically.

In the final section of this article, (a) we posit research questions vis-à-vis the developmental nature of our model, noting what evidence is needed to either confirm or disconfirm the model; (b) we discuss focused directions for research on White racial-identity development in the context of cross-cultural counseling; and (c) we present policy suggestions regarding the systematic implementation and assessment of cross-cultural training.

Evaluating the Developmental Model of Cross-Cultural Training

We propose our model as a stage developmental theory, and therefore we entreat future researchers to formulate experimental questions from within this framework. Whether or not the developmental metaphor (Stoltenberg & Delworth, 1988) we use is valid will have to be ascertained by future research. The reader should note that counseling psychologists (e.g., Holloway, 1987, 1988; Stoltenberg & Delworth, 1988) have debated over how to interpret results from past research on developmental models in supervision.

It is imperative to show first that the acquisition of racial identity is a developmental process. At the present stage, only largely theoretical advances have been made in the field. Only after this step has been taken may

it then become feasible to investigate whether matching training goals with racial-identity levels leads to a progression in the latter toward the desired point of multicultural sensitivity and competence. There is, of course, the option of investigating both hypotheses concurrently. Wiley and Ray (1986), in another area of developmentally oriented counseling-supervision research, for instance, investigated whether differences in developmental levels existed among counseling trainees and, at the same time, tested whether trainee-environment matching led to greater satisfaction and learning.

Needless to say, if future research shows no significant differences between traditional (or currently propounded) training models and the one we propose in the extent to which multicultural competence is acquired, then our model would be disconfirmed.

The implicit assumption we are making here is that functioning at the highest levels of racial consciousness, *when coupled with* generic counseling skills, leads to greater multicultural counseling effectiveness.

Innovative, quasi-longitudinal studies would be one way to see the impact of the training process on the movement of counselors through the stages. As Holloway (1987) and Horn and Donaldson (1980) have noted, both cross-sectional and longitudinal designs have disadvantages, which are overcome by using instead longitudinal sequential, cross-sectional sequential, and time-lag designs (see Schaie & Gribbin, 1975, for descriptions of these). It has to be added, though, that even these designs have their flaws (Horn & Donaldson, 1976).

Quasi-longitudinal designs could be used to investigate the following:

1. the progression of counselors through the racial-identity stages in our integrated model
2. the correlation between movement across stages and alterations in the training environment
3. comparisons (in terms of extent of racial-identity development) between those who might go through the training model presented here and those who might follow a more traditional program (i.e., a nonmatching model)
4. a comparison between these same groups, in terms of differences in levels of multicultural sensitivity at the end of the program or at various points in the program.

In such quasi-longitudinal studies, methods of measurement could be inventories measuring racial-identity level, such as the WRIAS (White Racial Identity Attitude Scale; Helms, 1989b) and WRCDS (White Racial Consciousness Development Scale; Clancy & Parker, 1989), the CCCI-R (Cross-Cultural Counseling Inventory-Revised; LaFromboise, Coleman, &

Hernandez, in press) to measure extent of multicultural sensitivity, self-reports, open-ended questionnaires, interviews, and direct observation. Data could be gathered from trainees, supervisors, and peers.

It has to be noted, though, that before future researchers can begin to investigate most of the research agenda proposed here, the training model presented should first be carried out (see the implementation mechanism presented in the last section of the article).

Focused Research Needs in Identity Development

Empirical research on minority-identity models, particularly for African Americans, is much more advanced than parallel research on White-identity development (see Atkinson et al., 1989; Helms, 1989b, 1990; Parham, 1989). Thus, at a very basic level, more research on White identity/consciousness models is needed. Following the guidelines of Hoshmand (1989), and as strongly suggested by Helms (1989a), Ponterotto (1988b, 1989), and Ponterotto and Casas (1991), it is recommended that such research incorporate both traditional quantitative procedures *and* qualitative methodologies.

Research is also needed to develop and test White racial-identity assessment devices. Both quantitative assessments, such as validated attitude scales, and qualitative assessments, such as interviews and oral histories, need to be developed. The Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Helms, 1989b; Parham & Helms, 1981) used with African Americans is one example of a widely used and somewhat validated quantitative cognitive-assessment tool. Parallel assessments are needed to study the majority group. Fortunately, the Helms (1990) research team in Maryland has begun important work on the development and validation of a WRIAS. Further, Clancy and Parker (1989) have introduced the WRCDS. Clearly, however, more work in this area is needed.

From a training perspective, counselor educators could use identity-assessment devices to assign new students to various sequentially organized cross-cultural classes, experiences, or practica. Naturally, this individual-assignment rationale would itself need to be carefully researched given the regressive, feedback-loop potential of the model. Also, the logistics and pragmatic feasibility of such a training regimen would need to be studied.

It should be emphasized that level of racial-consciousness development is not the only variable to be considered in cross-cultural counseling training. To be sure, the counselor trainee is a complex person, and counseling training is a complex enough experience (see Pedersen, 1988), to force us to consider the impact of racial-consciousness development in the context of a large

number of factors. Current work examining the complex "cultural schema" that the counselor and client each bring to counseling indicates that numerous factors (racial-identity/consciousness development being just one) must be considered: Cognitive styles, personality attributes, and counseling training experiences serve as examples. A description of various factors a counselor and client bring to their relationships and activities has been provided elsewhere (Casas & Vasquez, 1989; Sabnani & Ponterotto, 1990). Future studies are needed to isolate, if possible, racial-identity development from other sources of individual differences.

Throughout this article, we have been focusing on White counselors' racial-identity development. Clearly, research is needed which examines White-identity models (see Table 1) and minority-identity models (see Atkinson et al., 1989) in interaction. Helms (1989b, 1990) has begun this task with her general White-Black identity model; we must now extend this investigation to the counseling practice and training arena.

There is a need for innovative research into the relationship between beliefs/attitudes and actual behavior. For instance, individuals may seem to behave sensitively to racial differences but internally harbor racist feelings (see, for instance, Kovel's 1984 descriptions of "aversive racism"). Research in this area might need to disguise the purpose of the study, given society's condemnation of racism. For example, counselor trainees who serve as subjects may infer the nature of such a study and respond in a socially desirable fashion. Recent methodologies incorporating an illusory correlation paradigm (such as in the minority research conducted by Casas, Brady, & Ponterotto, 1983, and Wampold, Casas, & Atkinson, 1981) might provide one mechanism for revealing research results. Once appropriate investigative methodologies are developed, researchers can examine if the behavior-belief/attitude discrepancy is a function of (or predicted by) various stages in our model.

Policy Directions

The counseling literature is replete with training and research suggestions for improved multicultural sensitivity. Often, good suggestions, eventually fizzle out without strong policy/political backing (see thorough discussion by Casas, 1984). We recommend that Division 17 of the American Psychological Association take a more active stance on multicultural training. They have been generally supportive, but now there is a need for specific action. We close this article with one specific policy recommendation.

Division 17 could sponsor and oversee the development of a model curriculum and multicultural training program. A test site could be selected whereon a 5- to 10-year training program is set up, monitored, and researched. A logical counseling-psychology program to serve as a model could be one of the five identified in the Ponterotto and Casas (1987) survey of the nation's strongest multicultural training programs. Naturally, careful attention would need to be given to this selection process, as support from faculty, students, and administration would be needed. Division 17 could select a three-member multicultural consultant team to work with the selected training program.

As we approach the 21st century, and as racial/ethnic minorities become the nation's numerical majority (see Ponterotto & Casas's 1991 demographic projections), it is time for the counseling profession generally, and Division 17 specifically, to take a more active and involved multicultural stance.

REFERENCES

- Albert, R. D. (1983). The intercultural sensitizer or culture assimilator: A cognitive approach. In D. Landis & R. W. Brislin (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training: Vol. 2. Issues in training methodology* (pp. 86-217). New York: Pergamon.
- Atkinson, D. R. (1983). Ethnic similarity in counseling psychology: A review of research. *The Counseling Psychologist, 22*, 79-92.
- Atkinson, D. R. (1985). A meta-review of research on cross-cultural counseling and psychotherapy. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 13*, 138-153.
- Atkinson, D. R., Morten, G., & Sue, D. W. (Eds.). (1989). *Counseling American minorities: A cross-cultural perspective* (3rd ed.). Dubuque, IA: Brown.
- Brigham, J. C., & Weissbach, T. A. (1972). *Racial attitudes in America: Analyses and findings of social psychology*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Brislin, R. W. (1981). *Cross-cultural encounters: Face to face interaction*. New York: Pergamon.
- Brislin, R. W., Cushner, K., Cherric, C., & Yong, M. (1986). *Intercultural interactions: A practical guide*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Cameron, A. S., Galassi, J. P., Birk, J. M., & Waggener, N. (1989). Trends in counseling psychology training programs: The council of counseling psychology training programs survey, 1975-1987. *The Counseling Psychologist, 17*, 301-313.
- Carkhuff, R. R., & Anthony, W. A. (1979). *The skills of helping*. Amherst, MA: Human Resource Development Press.
- Carney, C. G., & Kahn, K. B. (1984). Building competencies for effective cross-cultural counseling: A developmental view. *The Counseling Psychologist, 12*, 111-119.
- Casas, J. M. (1984). Policy, training and research in counseling psychology: The racial/ethnic minority perspective. In S. Brown & R. Lent (Eds.), *Handbook of counseling psychology* (pp. 785-831). New York: Wiley.
- Casas, J. M., Brady, S., & Ponterotto, J. G. (1983). Sexual preference biases in counseling: An information processing approach. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 30*, 139-145.

- Casas, J. M., Ponterotto, J. G., & Gutierrez, J. M. (1986). An ethical indictment of counseling research and training: The cross-cultural perspective. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 64*, 347-349.
- Casas, J. M., & Vasquez, M.J.T. (1989). Counseling the Hispanic client: A theoretical and applied perspective. In P. B. Pedersen, J.G.D. Draguns, W. J. Lonner, & J. E. Trimble (Eds.), *Counseling across cultures* (3rd ed., pp. 153-175). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Cayleff, S. E. (1986). Ethical issues in counseling gender, race, and culturally distinct groups. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 64*, 345-347.
- Claney, D., & Parker, W. M. (1989). Assessing White racial consciousness and perceived comfort with Black individuals: A preliminary study. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 67*, 449-451.
- Corvin, S. A., & Wiggins, F. (1989). An antiracism training model for White professionals. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 17*, 105-114.
- Cross, W. E. (1971). The negro-to-Black conversion experience: Toward a psychology of Black liberation. *Black World, 20*, 13-27.
- Egan, G. (1982). *The skilled helper* (2nd ed.). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Gibbs, J. T., & Huang, L. N. (Eds.). (1989). *Children of color: Psychological intervention with minority youth*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Hardiman, R. (1982). White identity development: A process oriented model for describing the racial consciousness of White Americans. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 43*, 104A. (University Microfilms No. 82-10330)
- Hauser, S. (1971). *Black and White identity formation: Studies in the psychosocial development of lower socioeconomic class adolescent boys*. New York: Wiley.
- Hauser, S., & Kasendorf, E. (1983). *Black and White identity formation*. Malabar, FL: Krieger.
- Hecht, E. (1977). Anti-racist development in a selected group of White people. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 38*, 2366-A. (University Microfilms No. 77-20566)
- Helms, J. E. (1984). Toward a theoretical model of the effects of race on counseling: A black and white model. *The Counseling Psychologist, 12*, 153-165.
- Helms, J. E. (1986). Expanding racial identity theory to cover counseling process. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 33*, 62-64.
- Helms, J. E. (1989a). At long last: Paradigms for cultural psychology research. *The Counseling Psychologist, 17*, 98-101.
- Helms, J. E. (1989b). Considering some methodological issues in racial identity counseling research. *The Counseling Psychologist, 17*, 227-252.
- Helms, J. E. (1990). *Black and White racial identity: Theory, research, and practice*. New York: Greenwood.
- Holloway, E. L. (1987). Developmental models of supervision: Is it development? *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 18*, 209-216.
- Holloway, E. L. (1988). Models of counselor development of training models for supervision? Rejoinder to Stoltenberg and Delworth. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 19*, 138-140.
- Horn, J. L., & Donaldson, G. (1976). On the myth of intellectual decline in adulthood. *American Psychologist, 31*, 701-719.
- Horn, J. L., & Donaldson, G. (1980). Cognitive development in adulthood. In O. G. Brim & J. Kagan (Eds.), *Constancy and change in human development*. London: Harvard.
- Hoshmand, L.S.T. (1989). Alternate research paradigms: A review and teaching proposal. *The Counseling Psychologist, 17*, 3-79.

- Ibrahim, F. A., & Arrendondo, P. M. (1986). Ethical standards for cross-cultural counseling: Counselor preparation, practice, assessment, and research. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 64*, 349-352.
- Ivey, A., & Authier, J. (1978). *Microcounseling: Innovations in interview training*. Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas.
- Jackson, B. (1975). Black identity development. *MEFORM: Journal of Educational Diversity and Innovation, 2*, 19-25.
- Katz, J. H. (1985). The sociopolitical nature of counseling. *The Counseling Psychologist, 13*, 615-624.
- Katz, J. H., & Ivey, A. (1977). White awareness: The frontier of racism awareness training. *Personnel and Guidance Journal, 55*, 485-489.
- Kim, J. (1981). The process of Asian-American identity development: A study of Japanese-American women's perceptions of their struggle to achieve positive identities as Americans of Asian ancestry. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 42*, 1551A. (University Microfilms No. 81-18010)
- Kovel, J. (1984). *White racism: A psychohistory*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Krate, R., Leventhal, G., & Silverstein, B. (1974). Self-perceived transformation of negro-to-Black identity. *Psychological Reports, 35*, 1071-1075.
- LaFromboise, T. D., Coleman, H.L.K., & Hernandez, A. (in press). Development and factor structure of the Cross-Cultural Counseling Inventory – Revised. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development*.
- LaFromboise, T. D., & Foster, S. L. (1989). Ethics in multicultural counseling. In P. B. Pedersen, J. G. Draguns, W. J. Lonner, & J. E. Trimble. (Eds.). *Counseling across cultures* (3rd ed., pp. 115-136). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Levy, C. J. (1968). *Voluntary servitude: Whites in the negro movement*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- Loganbill, C., Hardy, E., & Delworth, U. (1982). Supervision: A conceptual model. *The Counseling Psychologist, 10*, 3-42.
- McConahay, J. B. (1986). Modern racism, ambivalence, and the modern racism scale. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 91-125). New York: Academic Press.
- McDavis, R. J., & Parker, M. (1977). A course on counseling ethnic minorities: A model. *Counselor Education and Supervision, 17*, 146-149.
- Merta, R. J., Stringham, E. M., & Ponterotto, J. G. (1988). Simulating culture shock in counselor trainees: An experiential exercise for cross-cultural training. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 66*, 242-245.
- Parham, T. A. (1989). Cycles of psychological nigrescence. *The Counseling Psychologist, 17*, 187-226.
- Parham, T. A., & Helms, J. E. (1981). The influence of Black students' racial attitudes on preferences for counselor's race. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 28*, 250-257.
- Parham, T. A., & Helms, J. E. (1985a). Attitudes of racial-identity and self-esteem of Black students: An exploratory investigation. *Journal of College Student Personnel, 26*, 143-147.
- Parham, T. A., & Helms, J. E. (1985b). Relation of racial-identity attitudes to self-actualization and affective states of Black students. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 32*, 431-440.
- Parker, M., & McDavis, R. J. (1979). An awareness experience: Toward counseling minorities. *Counselor Education and Supervision, 18*(4), 312-317.
- Parker, W. M. (1988). *Consciousness-raising: A primer for multicultural counseling*. Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas.

- Pedersen, P. B. (1983). Intercultural training of mental health providers. In D. Landis & R. W. Brislin (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training: Vol. 2. Issues in training methodology* (pp. 325-352). New York: Pergamon.
- Pedersen, P. B. (1987). Ten frequent assumptions of cultural bias in counseling. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 15*, 16-24.
- Pedersen, P. B. (1988). *A handbook for developing multicultural awareness*. Alexandria, VA: American Association for Counseling and Development.
- Pedersen, P. B., Draguns, J.G.D., Lonner, W. J., & Trimble, J. E. (Eds.). (1989). *Counseling across cultures* (3rd ed.). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Pedersen, P. B., Holwill, C. F., & Shapiro, J. (1978). A cross-cultural training procedure for classes in counselor education. *Counselor Education and Supervision, 17*, 233-237.
- Phinney, J. S. (1989a). Stages of ethnic identity development in minority group adolescents. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 9*, 34-49.
- Phinney, J. S. (1989b, March). *A three-stage model of ethnic identity development in adolescence*. Paper presented at the Third Annual Meeting on Ethnic Identity, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ.
- Ponterotto, J. G. (1988a). Racial consciousness development among White counselor trainees: A stage model. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 16*(4), 146-156.
- Ponterotto, J. G. (1988b). Racial/ethnic minority research in the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*: A content analysis and methodological critique. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 35*, 410-418.
- Ponterotto, J. G. (1989). Expanding directions for racial-identity research. *The Counseling Psychologist, 17*, 264-272.
- Ponterotto, J. G., & Benesch, K. F. (1988). An organizational framework for understanding the role of culture in counseling. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 66*, 237-241.
- Ponterotto, J. G., & Casas, J. M. (1987). In search of multicultural competence in counselor education programs. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 65*, 430-434.
- Ponterotto, J. G., & Casas, J. M. (1991). *Handbook of racial/ethnic minority counseling research*. Springfield, IL: Charles C Thomas.
- Ponterotto, J. G., & Sabnani, H. B. (1989). "Classics" in multicultural counseling: A systematic five-year content analysis. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 17*, 23-37.
- Rowe, D. M. (1989). *Stages of development for cross-culturally effective counselors*. Manuscript submitted for publication.
- Sabnani, H. B., & Ponterotto, J. G. (1990). *A cultural schema for counseling*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Schaie, K. W., & Gribbin, K. (1975). Adult development and aging. *Annual Review of Psychology, 26*, 65-96.
- Stoltenberg, C. D. (1981). Approaching supervision from a developmental perspective: The counselor complexity model. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 28*, 59-65.
- Stoltenberg, C. D., & Delworth U. (1988). Developmental models of supervision: Is it development? (Response to Holloway). *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 19*, 134-137.
- Sue, D. W. (1981). *Counseling the culturally different: Theory and practice*. New York: Wiley.
- Sue, D. W., Bernier, J. E., Durran, A., Feinberg, L., Pedersen, P. B., Smith, E., & Vasquez-Nuttal, E. (1982). Position paper: Cross-cultural counseling competencies. *The Counseling Psychologist, 10*, 45-52.
- Thomas, C. W. (1971). *Boys no more*. Beverly Hills, CA: Glencoe.
- Wampold, B. E., Casas, J. M., & Atkinson, D. R. (1981). Ethnic bias in counseling: An information processing approach. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 28*, 498-503.

- Weeks, W. H., Pedersen, P. B., & Brislin, R. W. (Eds.). (1977). *A manual of structured experiences for cross-cultural learning*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.
- Wiley, M. O., & Ray, P. B. (1986). Counseling supervision by developmental level. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 33*, 439-445.
- Wrenn, C. G. (1962). The culturally encapsulated counselor. *Harvard Educational Review, 32*, 444-449.
- Wrenn, C. G. (1985). Afterward: The culturally encapsulated counselor revisited. In P. B. Pedersen (Ed.), *Handbook of cross-cultural counseling and therapy* (pp. 323-329). Westport, CT: Greenwood.