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In Search of Best Practices for Multicultural Education:
Empirical Evidence from the Forum BEVI Project

Mary Beth Tabit

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of

JAMES MADISON UNIVERSITY

In

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Dedication

To my (loudest) cheerleaders, my therapists, my mentors, my heroes, the people that make me smile every single day—mom, dad, Dan, bro, and the unit—this one is for you.

Thanks for making me come back to school, Dad.

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Abstract

As the composition of the United States continues to become more diverse, a corresponding need exists to facilitate understanding and positive relations among individuals from different backgrounds. Although there are many reasons for intergroup tension, one substantive source of tension derives from different cultural frames of reference, influencing the ways in which humans from different racial groups understand and relate to each other. A range of interventions have been attempted to promote positive intercultural relations such as multicultural education in schools, intergroup dialogue, and transformative learning experiences. The following reviews previous literature related to effectiveness within these domains, as well as illustrates findings from a recent study aimed at assessing student characteristics, beliefs, and values at entry and exit from a required undergraduate diversity course. Future suggestions related to these findings also are articulated.

If we are to achieve a richer culture, rich in contrasting values, we must recognize the whole gamut of human potentialities, and so weave a less arbitrary social fabric, one in which each diverse human gift will find a fitting place.

Margaret Mead

As of 2010, 308.7 million people resided in the United States (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Of these, 72% of the total population reported their race as White, 13% reported Black or African-American, 5% reported Asian, 0.9% reported American Indian or Alaskan Native, and 0.2% reported Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. In addition, 3% of the total population responded by indicating more than one race, and 6% reported “Some Other Race” which includes “multiracial, mixed, interracial, or a Hispanic or Latino group” (p.3) (U.S Census Bureau, 2011). More than half of the growth in the total population was attributed to an increase in individuals from Hispanic origin (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Moreover, current projections indicate that non-white residents will become the majority of the population by 2042 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008). Such trajectories are illustrated by the fact that in 2009, 43% of students in elementary through high school belonged to a minority population (U.S. Department of Commerce, 2011).¹

Despite such dramatic demographic shifts, kindergarten through twelfth grade (K-12) teachers remain remarkably homogeneous. For example, according to a survey of public school teachers in the United States conducted by the National Center for Education Information (NCEI), 84% of K-12 teachers are Caucasian; of these

¹ Content from this dissertation is included as a chapter in Shealy, C.N. (in press) (Ed.), *Making Sense of Beliefs and Values*, and is published here with the permission of Springer Publishing, New York.

individuals, 85% are female. Out of all individuals surveyed, 22% are under the age of 30 (Feistritzer, 2011). As Gay (2010) observes, “Teacher education continues to be dominated by European American students and instructors, but the children to be taught in public schools are radically different in both aspiration and actuality” (p.143). An examination of postsecondary school enrollment reveals that from 1976 –2009, the percentage of minority students enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities increased significantly from 3% to 12% for Hispanic students, 9% to 14% for Black students, and 2% to 7% for Asian/Pacific Islander students. At the same time, the percentage of White students enrolled in postsecondary education decreased from 83% to 62% (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011). In addition, from 2009 – 2010 approximately 60% of graduate degrees were awarded to international students residing in the United States. Although China, India, South Korea, Taiwan, and Canada are the top five countries of origin for international graduate students in the United States, China, India, and South Korea account for half of all non-U.S. citizens attending American graduate schools (Council of Graduate Schools, 2012). In terms of college and university faculty as of 2009, 7% of total faculty surveyed identified themselves as Black, 6% as Asian/Pacific Islander, 4% Hispanic, 1% American Indian/Alaskan Native, and 79% as White (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011). Consistent with these data, the postsecondary education student body continues to diversify while the faculty demographics remain predominately the same. Engberg (2004) argues that “the history of intergroup relations on college and university campuses is deeply embedded in the changing demographic composition of the postsecondary student body” (p.473). As such, White (2004) contends that “the classroom must become a meeting ground of cultures, where the

worldviews of students meet those of their teachers and the institutions in which they teach” (p. 113).

Such data provide a compelling portrait of rapidly expanding diversity within U.S. society. More to the point, from an educational perspective, student demographics are not congruent with the characteristics of those who are charged with educating them, at least in terms of ethnic background. Extant research has demonstrated that demographic matches between students and teachers could affect educational outcomes such as academic achievement (Steele & Aronson, 1995) and teachers’ perceptions of their students (Dee, 2005). Based on the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988, Dee found that both White and minority (i.e. Black and Hispanic) students are more likely to be perceived as disruptive by a teacher who does not share the student’s racial traits. At a larger level, emerging trends offer a window into a future that will look and sound far more diverse than anything we ever have experienced as a nation (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Thus, as the composition of the United States continues to become more diverse, a corresponding need exists to facilitate understanding and positive relations among individuals from different backgrounds. The promotion of positive intergroup relations is important because increased diversity means we must work across as well as within our own social group, which not only increases our interdependence, but may be associated with inevitable cross-group tension (Lopez & Sabudeco, 2007). Indeed, the reduction and resolution of intergroup conflict is a crucial undertaking that has received substantial attention in research and practice.

A recent report from the Higher Education Research Institute at the University of California at Los Angeles found that minority students attending school at a low diversity

campus face more stereotyping, harassment, and other forms of discrimination when compared to majority students (Hurtado & Ruiz, 2012). Although there are many reasons for such prejudicial processes and tensions (e.g., relative access to economic and political resources, social categorization and stereotyping, ethnocentrism and prejudice, systematic privilege and inequality), one substantive source of conflict derives from different worldviews which influence the ways in which humans from diverse racial groups understand and relate to each other. If by worldview we mean “a gestalt of internalized beliefs, values, schemas, and attitudes through which self, others, and the larger world are experienced and explained” (Shealy, in press), then one’s worldview may include preconceived notions regarding individuals of other cultural backgrounds, including prejudices and stereotypes (Aronson, 2012). Many disciplines, including psychology, sociology, and education have attempted to understand why prejudice and stereotyping occur, identifying factors such as social categorization, parental influence, interaction with peers, media influence, heritability of attitudes, individual differences in authoritarianism or social dominance orientation, previous personal experiences, and extant contingencies, which may sanction individuals and groups differently depending upon personal characteristics such as ethnicity (Brown, 2010; Stangor, 2009). Likewise, multiple interventions have attempted to promote positive intercultural relations such as multicultural education in schools, intergroup contact / dialogue (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), and transformative learning experiences (Gorski, 2006).

Below, the values-based nature of “multicultural education” as well as its underlying goals and methodologies are reviewed. Factors that appear to influence the effectiveness of such educational interventions (e.g., instructor characteristics,

instructional methodology, multicultural curricula) as well as behaviors and attributes of individuals who conduct them (e.g., current beliefs and values, experiences that mediate worldview) also are considered. To examine the potential perils of attempting to teach tolerance, literature related to student resistance strategies and theories of cultural identity change also are discussed. Then, findings are presented from a multi-year, multi-institution initiative – the Forum BEVI Project – which examine the processes and outcomes of international, multicultural, and transformative learning (e.g., Shealy, in press and <http://www.ibavi.org/content/featured-projects>). Implications of this project are juxtaposed with questions for consideration that are at the heart of the rationale for developing and implementing such programs and courses. Such questions include: How is the formation of worldviews affected by formative variables (e.g., demographic characteristics; life history)? What is the etiological basis of human belief systems? If and when our capacity to reflect upon our own worldview is exceeded by the experiential demands placed upon us, what are the consequences in terms of learning? The theoretical framework for answering these questions will be grounded in the Equilintegration (EI) model, which seeks to explain “... the processes by which beliefs, values, and worldviews are acquired and maintained, why their alteration is typically resisted, and how and under what circumstances their modification occurs” as well as the Beliefs, Events, and Values Inventory (BEVI) method, which is “designed to identify and predict a variety of developmental, affective, and attributional processes and outcomes that are integral to EI Theory” (Shealy, 2004, p. 1075) (see also www.ibavi.org/content/featured-projects).

The Origins and Principles of Multicultural Education

Multicultural education has been described as "...an idea or concept, an educational reform movement, and a process" as well as a method of improving intercultural awareness and a central component in the reduction of prejudice and racism among diverse groups (Banks, 2005, p. 3; see also Bennett, 2003). Sleeter and Grant (1987) further describe multicultural education as a reform movement aimed at modifying both the content of education and the processes by which it occurs. In terms of goals, Banks (1993) contends multicultural education should:

...help students to understand how knowledge is constructed. Students should be given the opportunity to investigate and determine how cultural assumptions, frames of references, perspectives, and the biases within a discipline influence the ways the knowledge is constructed. Students should also be given opportunities to create knowledge themselves and identify ways in which the knowledge they construct is influenced and limited by their personal assumptions, positions, and experiences. (p.11)

In the United States, multicultural education likely has its clearest origins in response to the Civil Rights Movement, which eventually developed into the Black Power movement, and later evolved to encompass the needs and agendas of many other minority groups, such as women (Bennett, 2001). At the same time, although the 1954 Brown versus Board of Education decision by the U.S. Supreme Court marked the official end of segregation in schools, children and youth from minority backgrounds continued to be denied equal access to education for reasons that seemed often arbitrary at best, if not wantonly prejudicial. As Bennett further documents, the K-12 curricula

reflected these biases in its codification of an Anglo-European American worldview across the entire spectrum of academic content.

Multicultural education had its genesis in response to such historical and sociocultural factors, culminating by the 1970s into a burgeoning set of core values and principles. Even so, many scholars contend that a unifying definition of what multicultural education is, and should be, is lacking (Bennett, 2001). As such, Gorski (2006) examined conceptualizations offered by leading multicultural education pioneers such as Nieto (2000), Sleeter (1996), Grant and Sleeter (1998), and Banks (2004) in order to identify principles that define the field. His analysis yielded the following five overarching commonalities (p. 165):

1. Multicultural education is a political movement and process that attempts to secure social justice for historically and presently underserved students.
2. Multicultural education recognizes that, while some individual classroom practices are consistent with multicultural education philosophies, social justice is an institutional matter and as such, can be secured only through comprehensive school reform.
3. Multicultural education insists that comprehensive school reform can be achieved only through critical analysis of systems of power and privilege.
4. The underlying goal of multicultural education—the purpose of this critical analysis—is the elimination of educational inequities.
5. Multicultural education is good education for all students.

Historically and currently, despite its good intentions, research suggests that actual multicultural education practice tends to fail in its realization of these principles at multiple levels (Gorski, 2006). For example, using qualitative content analysis, Gorski (2009) evaluated 45 syllabi from multicultural teacher education courses taught within the United States. His focus was on the ways in which multicultural education is outlined in course descriptions, goals, and objectives. Findings suggest that although the majority of the courses included in his analysis were intended to prepare teachers with “cultural sensitivity, tolerance, and multicultural competence” (p.316), only 26.7% were designed in a way that was consistent with the defining principles of multicultural education.

In other words, most of the syllabi failed to frame multicultural education as a political movement concerned with social justice, as an approach for comprehensive reform, as a critical analysis of power and privilege, or as a process for eliminating educational inequities. (p. 316)

Along similar lines, Banks (1996) proposed that five types of knowledge should be taught in multicultural curriculum: personal / cultural, popular, mainstream academic, transformative academic, and school knowledge. Specifically, personal or cultural knowledge refers to the influence of personal experiences across diverse environments that contribute to the types of interpretations and explanations that students hold. Popular knowledge consists of concepts, interpretations, and beliefs that are depicted by and through the mass media, including movies and television. Mainstream academic knowledge refers to the traditional “Western-oriented canon” (p. 14), such as that seen in the social and behavioral sciences. Transformative academic knowledge has to do with challenging current paradigms and mainstream academic knowledge in such a way that

current theories and explanations are able to be reviewed and revised. Lastly, school knowledge encompasses facts that are present in student texts, instructor lectures, and other media forms (Banks, 1996).

Multicultural Education in Learning Institutions

Bennett (2001) contends that curricular reform activities are highly salient to the goals of multicultural education since such efforts have resulted in an emphasis on contributions made by ethnic minorities and women, which further have led to scholarly revisions (e.g., of world and U.S. histories). Such research likely has its most significant impact upon university-level curriculum, subsequently resulting in novel courses, academic departments, and programs. Many higher education institutions actually have implemented formal diversity experiences into their curricula (e.g., courses addressing issues of diversity). Based upon the most recent identified survey of diversity requirements in higher education published by the Association of American Colleges and Universities (2000), 62% of colleges and universities either currently have a diversity requirement or were in the process of developing one (54% had a diversity requirement in place, and 8% were in the process of developing one at the time they were surveyed). According to this same survey, however, of those institutions that have a requirement in place, 12% exempt certain students from the requirement (for unarticulated reasons), and 44% allow students to fulfill the requirement without having to address issues of diversity within the United States (e.g., through courses which address diversity outside the U.S. or non-Western cultures courses).

From the standpoint of specific disciplinary emphases, a number of professional organizations have promulgated diversity requirements at the level of curricula or

programs. As only one example, Wyatt-Nichol and Antwi-Boasiako (2008) evaluated the 2009 National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) standards – *Diversity Across the Curriculum* – which now requires master’s degree programs in public affairs, policy, and administration to include a diversity focus in their program activities and curricula. The researchers were interested both in determining the extent to which diversity training is included in these programs, as well as the perception of the standard itself according to program administrators. Results suggest that although administrators who responded to the researchers’ survey felt that it was important for graduate programs to promote diversity awareness, the majority of training opportunities were limited to courses that assimilated diversity issues into existing courses. In addition, 68% of those surveyed indicated that they did not intend to increase the number of stand-alone diversity courses offered in the program. In examining administrator perceptions, two themes emerged: lack of clarity in terms of how such standards should be implemented as well as the need for flexibility in terms of standard implementation. The research of Wyatt-Nichol and Antwi-Boasiako succinctly demonstrates the divide between diversity education theory and practice (e.g., although administrators felt that diversity education was important, few seemed inclined or able to create novel opportunities).

Self-Awareness and Multicultural Education

Despite limitations at the level of implementation, multicultural educators often emphasize the crucial role that educational institutions across the spectrum play in bolstering – or hindering – intra and intergroup awareness in students (Banks, 2005). As Camicia (2007) observes, schools “have the potential to be effective agents of social

change” (p.225) by providing students with the necessary tools to deconstruct prejudice through comprehensive examination of conventional narratives across subject areas. Given the increased focus on multicultural education, related questions arise regarding the nature of training in the development and dissemination of such curricular material. For example, how do we prepare teaching faculty – from K-12 through higher education – to teach multicultural educational materials in a way that is appropriate? What practices currently are recommended and how do we know they are effective? What is the role of the multicultural educator in facilitating the overall goals of multicultural education? As Feistritz (2011) contends, “Who teachers are, where they are coming from and what they think are of great interest to every segment of society” (p. viii), particularly within the diverse and value-laden field of multicultural education. Along these lines, Sfeir-Younis (1993) describes three basic principles that apply to all multicultural education: 1) an individual’s race, gender, ethnicity, and cultural background influence his/her worldviews, as well as the experience he/she has in the classroom and understanding of course content; 2) power dynamics in the classroom influence student participation, their ability to trust and feel safe in the classroom environment, and the interactions in which they engage; and 3) the educational experience should be approached in such a way that all students in the classroom are able to benefit through the recognition and validation of diverse student experiences.

Adherence to such principles requires specific skills in order to address the needs of all students in an individualized but equitable manner while validating the relevance of diverse cultures and worldviews (Bennett, 2003; Brown, 2004). However, other scholarship suggests that training in cultural competency typically is limited to courses

which incorporate diversity issues into existing courses or stand-alone diversity courses (Wyatt-Nichol & Antwi-Boasiako, 2008). Brown (2004, 2004b) argues that in limiting student experience to stand-alone diversity courses, preexisting stereotypical perceptions by students of self and other may inadvertently be reinforced. If and when they occur, such antithetical outcomes could be due to many different factors. For example, Brown (2004) points to student resentment of, or resistance to, multicultural education resulting from insufficient pre-class preparation, reluctance to engage in course related activities and discussion, and a lack of overall commitment to cross-cultural engagement. Along these lines, Mildred and Zuniga (2004) found that student resistance is demonstrated via a lack of awareness of the relevancy of diversity issues, lack of acknowledgement in terms of the need to self-reflect, and minimizing or undermining classroom activities – consciously or unconsciously – that are designed to address these issues. In addition, Brown (2004b) contends that

...student resistance is further exacerbated by the lack of opportunity to: build and sustain a class community, facilitate postclass peer interaction and support, augment student/expert dialogues, develop interdisciplinary connections, and monitor preclass preparation and comprehension. Finally, the race, ethnicity, and/or gender of an instructor, may also influence resistance. (p. 537)

On the potential consequences of student resistance, Whitehead and Wittig (2005) note that “...if students reject the messages of an intervention, fail to recognize its value and actively participate in it, then it is unlikely that the intervention will achieve its desired results” (p.4).

Not surprisingly then, one best practice for teaching multicultural content is for educators to engage in a systematic evaluation of their own background and history, understanding how such processes may have influenced their own personal beliefs and values as well as their subsequent experience of and interactions with individuals from other cultures (Shealy, 2004). Such self-examination may not only facilitate the effective sharing of multicultural content, but also enhance the receptivity of those who are exposed to such material. As Banks (1994) contends:

Because the teacher mediates the messages and symbols communicated to the students through the curriculum, it is important for teachers to understand their own personal and cultural values and identities in order for them to help students from diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural groups to develop clarified identities and relate positively to each other (p.250).

Likewise, Gay (2010) also recommends a focus on increasing self-awareness, to include apprehending one's own beliefs and values, since such factors may significantly impact how content is developed and conveyed. In addition to self-appraisal, it also is important for multicultural educators to acquire specific knowledge about why multicultural education is necessary in the first place. As Bennett (2003) notes,

Teaching aimed at reducing prejudice and discrimination can be difficult as well as rewarding. It requires an understanding of the prevalence and nature of prejudice, as well as clarity about key concepts such as prejudice, stereotype, discrimination, racism, and sense of racial or ethnic identity (p.74).

Therefore, multicultural educators would be well-advised to engage in regular evaluations of self as well as teacher-student dynamics in the classroom, and evaluate

how these processes may be impacting the effectiveness of their educational interventions.

Theories of Cultural Identity Change

Consistent with the above prescriptions and proscriptions, it may be helpful to highlight leading theoretical propositions regarding the nature of change vis-à-vis multicultural education. Here, we focus on three such models in order to illustrate the types of perspectives that are relevant to an understanding of *why* change may, or may not, occur (see McCallister & Irvine, 2000). First, Helms's (1990) model of White racial identity development consists of six stages, and focuses upon relations and interactions between Black and White individuals. White individuals enter the first stage, *contact*, when they encounter "the idea or the actuality of Black people" (p.55). During this stage, White individuals either are curious or fearful of Blacks depending upon their familial environment and an "inconsistent awareness of being White" (p.55). Behaviors characteristic of this stage include limited interactions with Black individuals; when they do occur, such encounters are marked by cognitive comparisons of such individuals to racial stereotypes. The second stage, *disintegration*, typically is marked by feelings of anxiety as White individuals become consciously aware of their ethnicity and its associated privilege, with concomitant feelings of dissonance resulting from "moral dilemmas associated with being White" (p.58). During the third stage, *reintegration*, individuals acknowledge their White identity and retreat back into White culture through avoidance or overt discrimination, while also experiencing reactive anxiety and anger perpetuated by feelings of White superiority and Black inferiority. During the *pseudo-independence* stage, White individuals begin to redefine their Caucasian identity in more

positive ways. Here, Whites start to question the idea that Blacks are inherently inferior, and acknowledge their role in a racist society. This “racist identity” causes discomfort, propelling the individual to self-reflect on his/her feelings related to racial identity that emerged in the previous stages. As a result, the individual may seek increased interaction with Blacks; yet, this interaction tends to focus on trying to modify Black behavior so it is more consistent with “White criteria for success and acceptability” (p.61). During the fifth stage, *immersion/emersion*, Whites seek out more accurate information regarding their roles and responsibilities in a racist society, shifting from a paternalistic stance vis-à-vis Blacks to greater advocacy efforts with other Whites in an effort to promote change. In the final stage, *autonomy*, Whites pursue opportunities to learn from other cultural groups, internalizing a clearer sense of their own racial identity and that of others (Helms, 1990).

Banks’s (1994) Typology of Ethnic Identity also consists of six stages beginning with *ethnic psychological captivity*, wherein individuals internalize negative ideologies and beliefs about their own ethnic group, resulting in “ethnic self-rejection and low self-esteem” (p.224). During this stage, the individual feels shame relative to his/her ethnic group which may lead to avoiding individuals of other ethnic groups or significant attempts to become “highly culturally assimilated” (p.224). In the second stage, *ethnic encapsulation*, a split emerges in the experience of dominant and marginalized cultural groups, such that groups that are marginalized may become relatively “insular” whereas dominant groups develop “mythical” feelings of superiority. During the *ethnic identity clarification* stage, all groups regardless of ethnicity begin to experience a more objective view of positive and negative attributes relative to their own group affiliation. During

stage four, *bi-ethnicity*, individuals are motivated to function in two cultures and acquire the necessary skills in order to do so.

We can describe such an individual as biethnic... many African Americans, in order to attain social and economic mobility, learn to function effectively in Anglo-American culture during the formal working day. The private lives of these individuals, however, may be highly African American and monocultural (p.226).

In the *multi-ethnicity and reflective nationalism* stage, individuals who have developed cross cultural competencies deepen their understanding of other cultures, moving beyond an awareness of obvious aspects (holidays, food) to deeper considerations such as the values and practices of another culture. Finally, individuals enter the *globalism and global-competency* stage, in which they learn to balance their global, national, and ethnic identities (Banks, 1994).

As a final example, Bennett (1986) argues that to be effective in teaching intercultural communication, the subjective experience of the trainee must be considered. More specifically,

Since intercultural sensitivity is not 'natural' to any single culture, the development of this ability demands new awareness and attitudes. As trainers, we need to know how the attitude of intercultural sensitivity develops so we can facilitate precise movement in that direction (p.180).

Understanding where individuals may fall along a continuum of cultural sensitivity can assist educators in selecting appropriate methods and sequencing certain programmatic elements based on how students might respond to such material. Bennett's

Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (1986) is offered as a model to assist in this process, which begins with a period of *denial* by members of the majority group. Here, individuals are not aware that worldviews exist that are different from their own as a result of isolation from such cultural differences. During the second stage, *defense*, recognition of differences occurs, with accompanying efforts directed to preservation of one's own views through denigration of other cultures and/or the attribution of superiority to one's own. In the third stage, *minimization*, cultural differences are acknowledged yet minimized, overshadowed by perceived cultural similarities. Individuals in this stage minimize cultural differences through a belief in certain universal principles that are thought to underlie all of human behavior. The fourth stage, *acceptance*, is characterized by the recognition that individuals of diverse cultures have different worldviews and ways of behaving. Here, difference is no longer seen as a "thing" but rather as a "process" (p.185). During the fifth stage, *adaptation*, behavioral and psychological changes occur in the way that one's own reality is processed, in one's conduct towards different cultures, and in the capacity to take the perspective of a culture that is different from one's own. The final stage, *integration*, is characterized by contextual evaluation, or the ability to evaluate phenomena from another perspective or within different cultural contexts, and constructive marginality, in which people are able to stand apart from all cultural perspectives, including their own, while also engaging in an ongoing process of self-examination vis-à-vis culture (Bennett, 1986; see also Hammer, 2012).

Examining the Effectiveness of Multicultural Education

Informed by such theoretical frameworks regarding how multicultural identity evolves, it is worth asking if multicultural education actually accomplishes that which it

intends. Despite calls to evaluate the effectiveness of multicultural education and better prepare multicultural educators, institutions often resist the evaluation of whether their programs are effective as well as the attendant modification to extant curricula (Brown, 2006; Bennett, 2003). Exceptions do occur, however, and we highlight a few exemplars here.

For example, Brown (2006) examined the relative impact of transformative learning strategies on the beliefs and attitudes of preservice teachers regarding issues of diversity and multiculturalism. Participants included forty educational administration graduate students in a Southeastern university, who were enrolled full-time in a two year master's program in school administration. The study was designed to evaluate student responsiveness to a diversity curriculum spanning two years. During the first year of study, students were required to enroll in a social context course titled *The Social Context of Leadership*. As Brown describes,

Social context provides a retrospective, contemporary, and prospective evaluation of the social, cultural, political, economical, and philosophical contexts from which the current issues that affect school and schooling have evolved. During this foundations course, students are asked to investigate the trends in educational studies, as well as the social and academic goals of education. (p. 714)

During the second year of study, students engaged in an internship at various school sites, which included a seminar component designed to engage students in reflective practices related to the challenges that faced them as educational leaders. Throughout both experiences, students completed weekly reflective analysis journals.

Brown (2006) describes such curricular content as falling under the rubric of transformative learning in that it “can lead to a transformation of one’s personal agency as well as deepen one’s sense of social responsibility toward and with others” (p.706). Grounded in adult learning theory, transformative learning theory, and critical social theory, the program employed methods that have been identified by previous researchers including critical reflection, policy praxis, and rational discourse in order to assess whether these strategies can increase student perception of growth in the areas of acknowledgement, awareness, and action towards social justice. At the beginning and conclusion of this two year program of study, students completed the Cultural and Educational Issues Survey (Version B), a 63-item questionnaire aimed at discerning the attitudes of preservice leaders concerning issues of education and culture. Previous analysis suggested this instrument has strong reliability (Cronbach’s alpha 0.92). In terms of qualitative assessment, students completed weekly reflective analysis journals as a component of the social context course described above; engaged in a structured internship with a seminar component designed to foster integration of theory and practice based on their internship experience; completed a cultural autobiography and life history interview; participated in a 1-day prejudice reduction workshop; conducted a cross-cultural interview; engaged in an “educational plunge” where they visited a setting they had never been before and reflected on this experience in writing; researched and facilitated a class focused on a marginalized group and their educational experience in the United States; and finally, created policies and practices that fostered equitable education for all students (Brown, 2006).

The results of the quantitative analysis suggest that participating in transformative learning strategies such as those listed above may improve preservice teachers' attitudes relative to diversity in education (i.e., posttest scores on the Cultural and Educational Issues Survey Version B were significantly lower than pretest scores at the $p < .001$ level, which suggests preservice teachers' attitudes towards diversity and education can be improved through participation in transformative learning strategies). However, two caveats are offered for these conclusions. First, it cannot be determined whether results are attributable to the transformative learning strategies employed, the instructors' personal style, and/or the course material. Second, the study employed a small sample size and did not utilize random assignment, limiting definitive interpretations of the observed results.

From a qualitative standpoint, students reported growth in the areas of "awareness of self," "acknowledgement of others," and "action" through policy practice.

During this two-year program, students wondered, questioned, and hesitated. They reportedly stretched themselves, pushed their boundaries, grew, and developed. Many of the learner responses were emotionally laden. At times, they revealed being amazed, enthralled, awakened, and grateful. At other times, they were afraid, stressed, angry, and guilt ridden (Brown, 2006, p. 719).

Despite the important caveats noted above (e.g., regarding the etiology of these changes), Brown (2006) argues that such results "can help educational administration programs begin to better understand the connections between leadership preparation experiences and the knowledge, disposition, and skills garnered" (p.732).

From the standpoint of teacher preparation, McAllister and Irvine (2000) focused on the type of training that preservice teachers receive prior to delivering multicultural education content. Overall, they found that much attention is focused on *content* with relatively little emphasis on the *process* of cross-cultural learning. In other words, theories of change such as those noted above, which might help understand what is or is not “happening” and why, are deemphasized relative to the acquisition of content knowledge. Their overarching point is that greater awareness of underlying processes associated with exposure to multicultural education programs (e.g., resistance) can help teachers understand better how to sequence course content and create environments that are more conducive to learning.

Along these lines, some scholars focus explicitly upon intrapsychic processes that are thought to be integral to the effectiveness of multicultural education. For example, in their analysis of the literature, Mildred and Zuniga (2004) found that the relationship between developmental and psychological issues and students’ readiness to engage in the necessary components of multicultural education are critical in regards to both process and outcome. Brown (2004) further evaluated such processes by examining the role of instructor methodology on the resistance of teacher education students to cultural diversity awareness. Study participants included 109 junior-level students enrolled in a required, stand-alone cultural diversity course at a midsized, urban, Midwestern university (only Caucasian students [n=100] were included in the analysis). This course is taught in two segments; the current study focused on the first ten weeks of the course which emphasize diversity in learners (including culture, class, gender, race, ethnicity, and religion). The study employed a mixed-methods design. Qualitative data in the form

of reflective journals, reaction papers, field experiences, and research projects were collected throughout the semester in order to measure incremental changes in student attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. In addition, students were administered the Cultural Diversity Awareness Inventory (CDAI) as a pretest and posttest measure in order to examine the effects of instructional methodology on changes in cultural diversity awareness. The CDAI is a 28-item questionnaire which uses a 5-point Likert scale and reports excellent psychometric properties. For the purposes of this particular study, instrument items were divided into five subtests, including diversity awareness, classroom environment, family/school interaction, cross-cultural communication, and alternative assessment. Previous researchers consistently have identified these areas as essential in preparing informed multicultural educators (Brown, 2004). Prior to conducting this study, Brown (2004) completed observations of, and interviews with, students and instructors in two stand-alone diversity courses, and then implemented a pilot study to determine appropriate test materials and strategies for the current research study. The pilot study (i.e. the modified course which emerged from the interviews and observations of the two stand-alone diversity courses) was focused on “reducing resistance by increasing self-awareness and a cognizance of others” (p.329).

Students were divided into two groups. Group 1 was taught by the investigator and employed all instructional strategies and materials implemented in the pilot phase of the study. Class periods 1-8 were focused on creating an understanding of why cultures develop, their interdependence, and resistance to change (Great Fruit Race simulation); self-examination and cultural influence (“cultural puzzle” activity); in-depth examination of cultural bias (role-play activity and “same and different” simulation); and fostering

cross-cultural awareness through cooperative groups. Field experiences for Group 1 included three separate interactions with an ethnic culture (minimum of six hours); students then were required to discuss their field experience with their group members (four students in each group) and write an individual and group reflection paper. In addition, Group 1 also completed a research project consisting of a 12-15 page paper and group presentation designed to examine marginalized cultures, explore educational issues within this identified culture, investigate initiatives designed to minimize impediments to this culture's academic and social development, and develop strategies that can be used in the classroom to meet the needs of all children (Brown, 2004).

Group 2 was taught by two instructors who had been observed and interviewed during the pilot study and followed their own previous course format. These courses included: viewing videos portraying atrocities against historically marginalized ethnic groups and completing a "cultural worksheet"; reading an article focused on racism in education, viewing a video depicting slavery, and engaging in a class discussion; and participating in a simulation designed to increase empathy for marginal cultural groups. Additional course content included guest speakers, videos, class discussion, and articles concerning religion, gender, language, and ethnic discrimination. Group 2's field experience included three observations (and in a few cases tutoring) of students at an inner-city elementary school. Group 2's research project consisted of a 2-3 page reaction paper, which asked students to identify a social problem, describe it, and use five different sources to help explain why this problem exists. It should be noted that the same message and text were used for both groups; however, course goals, instructional strategies, and objectives were not identical as indicated above.

Quantitative results indicate a significant relationship between CDAI scores at pretest and posttest depending upon course format. Group 1, which followed the modified course format focused on increasing student self-awareness and cognizance of others, demonstrated a statistically significant increase in scores on the total diversity and family/school interactions and communication subtests ($p < .001$), and environment ($p < .01$) subtest. Group 2, which followed a course format previously employed by current instructors, demonstrated a statistically significant increase between pretest and posttest scores on the total diversity and environment subtests ($p < .05$). Except for the environment subtest, scores on all subtests improved more for Group 1 compared with Group 2. In terms of qualitative data, the researcher was unable to compile accurate statistics for Group 2 because assignments often were incomplete. Results from Group 1 indicate that by the study's conclusion, 95% indicated a need to raise their cultural awareness and increase sensitivity in multicultural classroom settings as well as in social interactions with teachers, students, and parents. In addition, 65% indicated they would research different cultures represented in their respective classrooms; 83% stated they would get involved in community projects in their school's neighborhood; and 63% indicated they would invite parents and students to informal gatherings throughout the school year. Another finding concluded that the best approach in terms of community/school interaction was to understand the beliefs, values, and traditions of one's students. In addition, 100% indicated they would employ a variety of instructional strategies in order to address the needs of culturally diverse students (Brown, 2004).

Although instructor variables and learning strategies undoubtedly play a key role in the effectiveness of diversity education, it is equally important to consider other

contextual factors, such as message framing and student motivation. Recent evidence, for instance, suggests that the promotion of positive attitudes toward other cultural groups depends on the underlying source of motivation to regulate prejudice (Legault, Gutsell, & Inzlicht, 2011). Using the theoretical foundation of self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2002), Legault et al. (2011) developed two prejudice-reduction interventions designed to induce either internally generated motivation to reduce prejudice (autonomous) or externally elicited motivation (controlled). In line with past work suggesting that those with an autonomous motivation to be nonprejudiced also displayed less prejudice and discrimination than those with a controlled motivation (e.g., Legault & Green-Demers, 2012; Legault, Green-Demers, Grant, & Chung, 2007; Legault, Green-Demers, & Eadie, 2009; Plant & Devine, 1998), the authors created two different types of motivational messages. These messages were conveyed in brochures, which were framed as a campus-wide initiative to reduce prejudice and promote diversity. Thus, non-Black undergraduates (N=103) were assigned randomly to one of three conditions: the autonomy brochure condition, the controlling brochure condition, or the no-brochure condition. The autonomy brochure aimed to promote autonomous motivation toward prejudice reduction by emphasizing the value, importance, and personal significance of nonprejudice and diversity. It outlined the various benefits of diverse and fair classrooms and societies, and also highlighted the ways that diversity and intergroup relating can be meaningful and enjoyable. The controlling brochure, in contrast, targeted controlled motivation by stressing the social requirement to be nonprejudiced. The need for political correctness was underscored and the negative consequences of failing to behave in nonprejudiced ways were described. Students in the no-brochure (i.e., neutral)

condition read basic information related to the definition and problem of prejudice, but motivation to be nonprejudiced was not manipulated. After carefully reading the brochures, participants' degree of autonomous vs. controlled motivation to be nonprejudiced and their level of prejudice were ascertained using the 24-item Motivation to be Nonprejudiced Scale (Legault et al., 2007) and the Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (Henry & Sears, 2002).

Results indicated that those in the autonomy brochure condition demonstrated significantly less prejudice than those in the no-brochure condition. In other words, supporting autonomous motivation for being nonprejudiced decreased prejudice. In contrast, promoting prejudice reduction using controlling tactics elicited an ironic effect; those who read the controlling brochure demonstrated more prejudice than those in the no-brochure condition. As the authors noted, an attempt to control prejudice reduction using pressure and external was worse in terms of outcomes than doing nothing at all. Because the researchers employed an explicit measure of prejudice – which they thought might have alerted subjects to the fact that their level of prejudice was being assessed (thus affecting validity through social desirability effects) – they conducted a follow-up study using more implicit manipulation and measurement.

In this second experiment, 109 non-Black undergraduate students were once again randomly assigned to conditions aimed at manipulating autonomous or controlled motivation to reduce prejudice. However, in this study, motivational priming was achieved more subtly through the use of items embedded in a survey. That is, participants were induced to agree with either autonomous reasons (e.g., “I value diversity”) or controlled reasons (e.g., “Prejudiced people are not well-liked”) for being

nonprejudiced (versus a neutral, no-prime condition). Motivation to be nonprejudiced then was assessed before participants completed the Symbolic Racism Scale and performed the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998), which is a measure of automatic racial bias. Results suggested that the priming manipulation was successful in targeting differences in the source of motivation to regulate prejudice. That is, those primed with autonomous motivational content displayed more autonomous motivation to be nonprejudiced compared to those primed with controlled motivation or no motivation. Complementing findings from the first experiment, priming autonomous motivation to be nonprejudiced reduced prejudice relative to the neutral, no-prime condition. In addition, priming controlled motivation to be nonprejudiced ironically increased prejudice, relative to no motivational priming. Importantly, these effects held across both implicit and explicit measures of prejudice. Thus, even subtle or implicit messages relating to motivation to control prejudice can exert vastly divergent effects on prejudice and attitudes toward outgroups. Moreover, the source of motivation matters. Interventions that support autonomous motivation to be nonprejudiced appear to be more effective than the controlling approach that is so often used in anti-prejudice programming and policy. Indeed, whether it is explicitly controlled or subtly prompted, Legault et al., (2011) show that external motivation to comply with nonprejudiced standards is more detrimental to the goal of prejudice reduction than doing nothing at all.

Perhaps the most basic conclusion from the above findings is that multicultural education programs and courses may “work,” but the likelihood of their effectiveness is enhanced substantially if one: 1) adopts a sufficiently sophisticated conceptual framework regarding the underlying mediators of change; 2) takes “who students are”

prior to the experience into account; and 3) recognizes potentially powerful priming and motivational processes which may mediate the degree to which multicultural education is experienced as imposed, congruent, or welcomed.

The complexity of such interacting processes is revealed in a meta-analysis by Engberg (2004) who reviewed related studies in four primary domains: multicultural courses, peer-based interventions, service-based interventions, and diversity workshops and training. Although the overall conclusion was positive in that these various experiences were determined to reduce prejudice, multiple theoretical, empirical, and methodological limitations across studies meant that firm conclusions were not possible. Moreover, four specific limitations were noted: 1) lack of conceptualization or a guiding theoretical framework; 2) insufficient instruments employed to measure racial bias; 3) quasi-experimental designs (e.g., convenience sampling, short study durations, lack of control for confounds, the absence of longitudinal analyses); and 4) the insufficient demarcation of different groups on the basis of important background variables (e.g., race, gender), which may have obscured differences and inflated positive findings. In the context of overall positive findings – by addressing these limitations at the level of theory, methods, and analysis – Engberg believes that research in the effectiveness of multicultural education strategies such as the reduction of racial bias could significantly be enhanced.

The above literature reveals a number of important suggestions and themes, which we seek to address in the current study. In conducting our analysis, we will touch on a range of issues that were referenced above including 1) the processes by which multicultural content is conveyed; 2) the role that differences among students may play in

ultimate outcomes of such a course; 3) the relative degree to which faculty and students are or are not prepared for the multicultural education experience they are about to facilitate and encounter; 4) the effect that underlying psychological processes (e.g., affective, attributional) may have in mediating course outcomes; 5) whether the required course (e.g., in this case, a “World Cultures” course) actually achieved its desired impact of enhancing multicultural tolerance and appreciation by students; and 6) any implications that emerge from this analysis for the design, implementation, and understanding of how multicultural education should, and should not, be conveyed. In an attempt to address these questions, we next highlight Equilintegration (EI) Theory, the EI Self, and the Beliefs, Events, and Values Inventory (BEVI), an interrelated model, framework, and method that have been in development since the early 1990s, to examine and apprehend the processes by which beliefs and values are acquired, maintained, and transformed.

EI Theory, the EI Self, and the BEVI

Equilintegration (EI) Theory seeks to explain “the processes by which beliefs, values, and ‘worldviews’ are acquired and maintained, why their alteration is typically resisted, and how and under what circumstances their modification occurs” (Shealy, 2004, p. 1075). Derivative of EI Theory,

The Equilintegration or EI Self explains integrative and synergistic processes by which beliefs and values are acquired, maintained, and transformed as well as how and why these are linked to the formative variables, core needs, and adaptive potential of the self (Shealy, in press).

Informed by scholarship in a range of key areas (e.g., “needs-based” research and theory; developmental psychopathology; social cognition; psychotherapy processes and outcomes; affect regulation; theories and models of “self”), the EI Self seeks to illustrate how the interaction between our core needs (e.g., for attachment, affiliation) and formative variables (e.g., caregiver, culture) results in beliefs and values about self, others, and the world at large that we all internalize over the course of development and across the life span.

Concomitant with EI Theory and the EI Self, the Beliefs, Events, and Values Inventory (BEVI) is a comprehensive analytic tool in development since the early 1990s that examines how and why we come to see ourselves, others, and the larger world as we do (e.g., how life experiences, culture, and context affect our beliefs, values, and worldview) as well as the influence of such processes on multiple aspects of human functioning (e.g., learning processes, relationships, personal growth, the pursuit of life goals). For example, the BEVI assesses processes such as: basic openness; the tendency to (or not to) stereotype in particular ways; self- and emotional awareness; preferred strategies for making sense of why “other” people and cultures “do what they do”; global engagement (e.g., receptivity to different cultures, religions, and social practices); and worldview shift (e.g., to what degree do beliefs and values change as a result of specific experiences). BEVI results are translated into reports at the individual, group, and organizational levels and used in a variety of contexts for applied and research purposes (e.g., to track and examine changes in worldviews over time) (e.g., Anmuth et al., 2103; Atwood et al., 2014; Brearly et al., 2012; Hill et al., 2013; Isley et al., 1999; Hayes et al., 1999; Patel, Shealy, & De Michele, 2007; Pysarchik, Shealy, & Whalen, 2007; Shealy,

2000a, 2000b, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2012; Shealy, Bhuyan, & Sternberger, 2012; Tabit et al., 2011; for more information about the EI model and BEVI method, see Shealy, in press as well as www.ibavi.org/content/featured-projects).

Methods and Results

Study 1: When the Promotion of Cultural Engagement May Not Be Effective

Students enrolled in a midsized, rural, Midwestern university were selected for the following analysis (N=137), aimed at better understanding the degree to which individuals benefit or do not benefit from diversity courses (i.e. World Cultures) at the undergraduate level. World Cultures is part of a four course general education requirement that all enrolled students complete during their first two years of study. As described in the syllabus, the purpose of this course is to provide students with the necessary tools to understand and appreciate the diverse cultures that students will encounter throughout their personal and professional lives. Study 1 employed a one-group pretest-posttest design, utilizing a convenience sample.

All students who were enrolled in the World Cultures course described above during the spring 2011 semester were included in the analysis. Students registered for one of 4 sections of the course online; each section was taught by a different instructor. In terms of demographics, 3 students identified as Black or African American, 126 Caucasian/White, 0 Asian or Pacific Islander, 1 American Indian or Alaskan Native, 2 Hispanic/Latino, and 5 Other. The mean age was 18.91 (*sd* 2.8); the number of males was 111 and the number of females was 26.

Students who chose to participate in the research project were provided with a username and password and asked to complete the 336-item BEVI pretest during the

beginning of the course. Student participation was voluntary and informed consent was required before completion of the BEVI could commence. At the conclusion of the course, students were asked again to complete the BEVI as a posttest measure. Upon completion, analysis of pre-post data was analyzed across all BEVI scales using repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA). This study was exploratory in nature, and as such, research questions focused mainly on whether Time 1/Time 2 differences would be observed, and if so, on which BEVI scales. Given the goals of the course, it was anticipated that some changes would be observed – in a positive or desired direction – particularly on scales tapping greater sociocultural openness and engagement.

Table 1

Degree of Worldview Shift

Scales	Time			Gender		
	Pre	Post	F	Female	Male	F
Causal Closure	1.229	1.317	7.780 (1, 133)**	1.196	1.351	11.595 (1, 133)***
Basic Determinism	1.718	1.856	9.187 (1, 134)***	1.615	1.958	19.196 (1, 134)***
Emotional Attunement	3.013	3.133	6.920 (1, 133)**	3.257	2.889	13.581 (1, 133)***
Global Engagement	2.647	2.579	4.454 (1, 134)*	2.691	2.535	7.662 (1, 134)**

Note: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

As indicated in Table 1 (above), results overall suggest that the World Cultures course, designed to facilitate learning outcomes including sociocultural openness and tolerance for cultures different from one's own, appears to be associated with the opposite effects. More specifically, upon completion of the course, as compared to course entry,

students were more rigid in their belief systems, more inclined to endorse simple causal attributions regarding why human beings do what they do, more emotionally aware and activated, and less open to developing a deeper engagement with other cultures.

Although it cannot unequivocally be concluded that the course is “causing” these changes – or even that greater “negative” changes might have emerged had the course not occurred – it is striking that theoretically desirable attributes (e.g., openness, engagement) diminished over the duration of the course.

In addition to observed Time 1/Time 2 differences, a second trend emerged from the data analysis in terms of gender differences (see Table 1). Females endorsed a greater degree of openness and ability to hold cognitive complexity, as well as a less rigid sense of self, at both pretest and posttest when compared to males. When looking at each of the BEVI scales included in the analysis specifically, our results indicate that Basic Determinism and Causal Closure, which collectively measure (among other factors) the degree to which individuals prefer basic/simple explanations for why people are as they are and do what they do, indicate that females endorse this way of thinking to a lesser degree at both pretest and posttest. At the same time, scores on the Basic Determinism and Causal Closure scales increase for both genders from pre-course to post-course. On the Emotional Attunement scale, which measures the degree to which an individual is aware of and accessible to affect in self and other, results suggest that females endorse a higher degree of Emotional Attunement as compared to males at pretest and posttest; however, at course completion both males and females indicated a higher degree of emotional attunement. These intriguing results suggest perhaps that both male and female students may be more emotionally activated at the conclusion of the course, but

such activation is not experienced as positive, at least when juxtaposed with the overall pattern across the other scales noted above (e.g., which suggest less openness to, and engagement with, “the other” overall). One hypothesis we propose to explain this finding is the possibility that students are being reevaluating at a time of acute emotional activation (i.e., at the conclusion of the course). Implications for future research emerging from this finding includes: 1) Re-administer the BEVI after a specified amount of time has elapsed following course completion to determine whether allowing students additional time to reflect on course material would lead to deactivation on this specific scale, as well as across other BEVI scales (e.g., as a Time 3 administration); and 2) Extend the length of such courses over more than one semester. Perhaps providing students with additional structured time to engage in both course material and self-reflection would create a deeper sense of personal understanding regarding the etiology of one’s own beliefs and values, as well as allow for more openness related to diverse perspectives and cultural frameworks (e.g., see Wandschneider et al., in press).²

Finally, data from the Global Engagement BEVI scale – which measures an individual’s level of empathy, emotional openness, the degree to which he/she values respectful relations and healthy traditions within and between cultures, cultural awareness, inclination towards advocacy efforts, and concern for the environment – indicates a decrease on this scale both for males and females upon the completion of this course.

² Indeed, although such results are striking – particularly in light of the specific goals of this course – they are not without precedent from other analyses of this nature (e.g., see Wandschneider et al., in press).

In short, from a programmatic standpoint, a course designed to create deeper understanding of the larger world should theoretically be associated with a greater sophistication regarding why humans do what they do as well as greater engagement with the larger world. However, as evidenced by these results, participation in the course appears to be associated with the opposite tendencies, a finding that not only is supported by the above statistically significant findings, but also by other trends across various scales, such as Identify Diffusion, which suggests that individuals may feel more unclear or stuck vis-à-vis who they are and where they are going at the conclusion of the course ($p < .08$). Moreover, as noted above, females in general appears to be significantly more open than males to the sorts of outcomes that would theoretically be desirable for such a course, not only across the scales listed above, but on other BEVI Scales such as Socioemotional Convergence, which indicates that females at this developmental stage may have a greater capacity than males to “hold” complexity, in terms of beliefs and values that may superficially appear opposed, but in fact are reconcilable ($p < .001$). In other words, females overall tended to be significantly more open than males to the content and objectives of this World Cultures course, a gender-based finding that receives strong support from other Forum BEVI Project analyses (Pendleton, Cochran, Kapadia, & Iyer, in press).

In addition to gender, previous research has indicated a multitude of variables which have the potential to impact the effectiveness of multicultural interventions, including but not limited to, instructor characteristics (Banks, 1994; Gay, 2010; Bennett, 2003). Thus, as is discussed next, it would be useful to hone in on the relative contribution of specific variables to such learning processes and outcomes (see Wandschneider et al., in press).

Study 2: Exploring the Complex Factors that Influence Sociocultural Openness

In conducting this project, the researchers were interested in gaining a better understanding of who learns what and under what circumstances as well as the factors which interact to produce particular outcomes; but we also wished to understand *why*, from an explanatory standpoint, these processes may or may not occur. Study 1 was designed to evaluate the “what” of this equation, whereas further analysis (Study 2) was designed in an attempt to gain insight into the “why” dimensions. Findings of Study 1 (i.e., that individuals showed decreases in openness and engagement after completing a course designed to produce the opposite effects) beg an overarching question of why students are responding in this way. On the one hand, experimental and mixed methods approaches could allow for a fine grained analysis of relevant variables (e.g., potential variation among instructors, the effects of modified approaches to content delivery, examination of qualitative data to ascertain why, and which, students are having negative or positive experiences of this course). Although this sort of research is worthy of pursuit, a more basic and immediate question could be examined from the larger database of which the World Cultures participants are a part. Specifically, as noted above, the Forum BEVI Project is a multi-institution, multi-year initiative designed to understand the processes and outcomes of international, multicultural, and transformative learning. A fundamental rationale for conducting this project was the proposition that human beings learn differently in part because of who they are prior to engagement in the experience itself. Thus, it may be erroneous to attribute the results of a learning experience only to the experience itself, since there is good reason to believe that there is an interaction between who people are prior to the experience with the experience itself.

This fundamental proposition is at the core of the Forum BEVI Project, and is highly relevant to the current discussion. Why? Because if students differ in their predisposition to an intercultural experience, and we could identify both commonalities and differences within a specific learning cohort, it might be possible to approach that cohort in a more nuanced and sophisticated manner vis-à-vis multicultural coursework, rather than assuming that they all are equal. It might even be possible to integrate those very findings (about similarities and differences) into the learning experience itself. To examine these issues, we conducted a series of analyses from a larger dataset of 2,331 participants from 11 universities throughout the United States, who had completed the BEVI under the auspices of the Forum BEVI Project (see Wandschneider et al., in press; www.ibavi.org/content/featured-projects). Analysis of variance (ANOVA), regression analysis, and structural equation modeling (SEM) were employed to analyze the results of this exploratory study.

The first set of analyses examined whether and which demographic variables might differentiate the sample at an item level of analysis, with a particular focus on sociocultural and global engagement items. As noted above, gender proved to be a highly discriminating formative variable throughout this project (e.g., Pendleton et al., in press). For example, on the BEVI question – *We should try to understand cultures that are different from our own* – significant differences emerged at the level of gender ($p < .01$), accounting for 5.2% of the variation in responding ($R^2 = 0.052$). In short, females appear to believe it is more important to try to understand cultures that are different from their own than do males. Similar gender-based differences ($p < .01$) also emerged for the BEVI question, *I enjoy learning about other cultures*. Females indicated greater enjoyment

accounting for 7.0% of the variation in responding ($R^2=0.070$). As a final exemplar, for the BEVI item – *We should do more to help minority groups in our society* – both gender and political orientation differences were observed at the $p<.01$ level of significance.

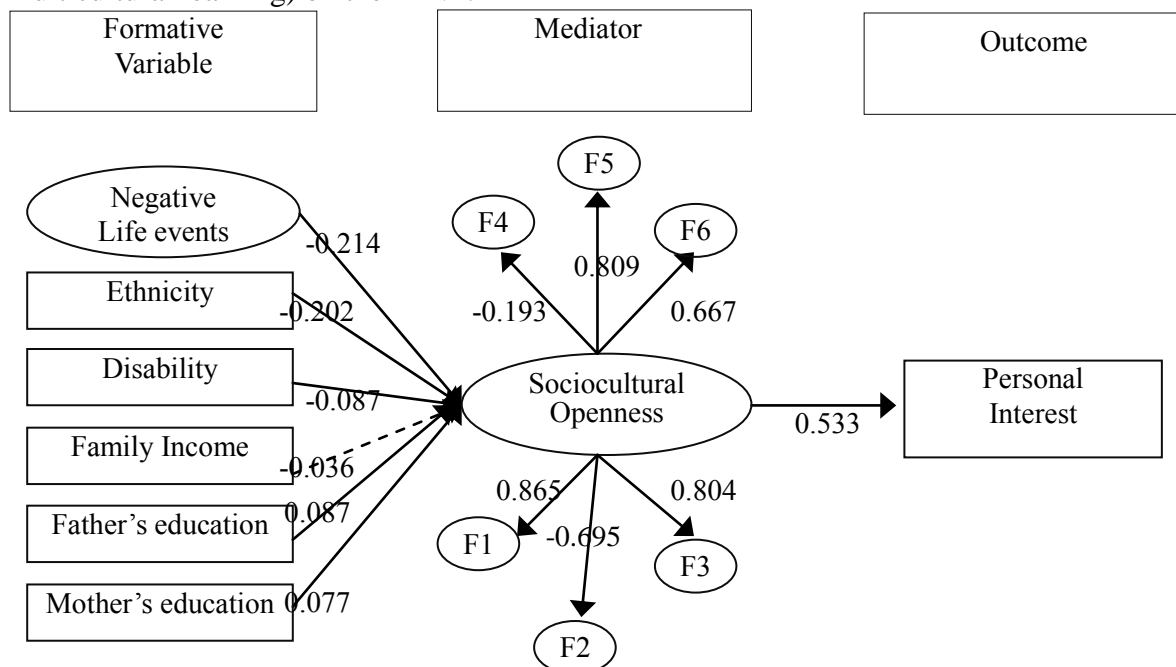
Specifically, females endorsed this statement more strongly than males ($R^2=0.044$), as did Democrats when compared to other political affiliations including Republicans, Independents, and Other ($R^2=0.093$) (see Edmunds, Federico, & Mays, in press).

Structural Equation Models (SEM) examined the relationship between 1) specific formative variables, including Negative Life Events on the BEVI (which measures the degree to which individuals report unhappy childhood experiences and difficulties in life), 2) mediators, including Sociocultural Openness on the BEVI (which measures, among other sub-factors, the degree to which individuals are inclined toward the beliefs and values of cultures that are different from their own), and 3) outcomes (which in Figure 1, indicates the degree of *interest* an individual expresses in engaging in international or multicultural learning; and in Figure 2, indicates the degree of *satisfaction* an individual expresses after participating in an international or multicultural learning experience).³

³ As described in Shealy (in press), Negative Life Events consists of self report statements regarding one's own upbringing and life history. Among other dimensions, Socioemotional Convergence measures the degree to which individuals demonstrate and overarching capacity to "hold complexity" (i.e., avoid black and white characterizations regarding how the world "is" and "should be"). For more information, see www.thebevi.com

From an interpretive standpoint, ethnicity is a dummy measured variable; value "0" indicates the respondent is a minority, and "1" means the respondent is a Caucasian. Disability also is a dummy variable; "0" indicates the person is not eligible to services for students with disabilities, and 1 means otherwise. Family income is measured by a series of numbers indicating the respondent's annual family income. It ranges from "1" (Less than \$10,000) to "10" (\$175,000 or more). Both father's education and mother's education are ordinal measured variables. They range from "0" (Some high school or less) to "8" (Doctoral degree). The dependent variable "Democrat" also is a dummy variable; "0" means not a Democrat, and "1" means a Democrat. It is not clear why "disability status" is negatively associated with Sociocultural Openness. Although an empirical and theoretical question, it could be that self-identification

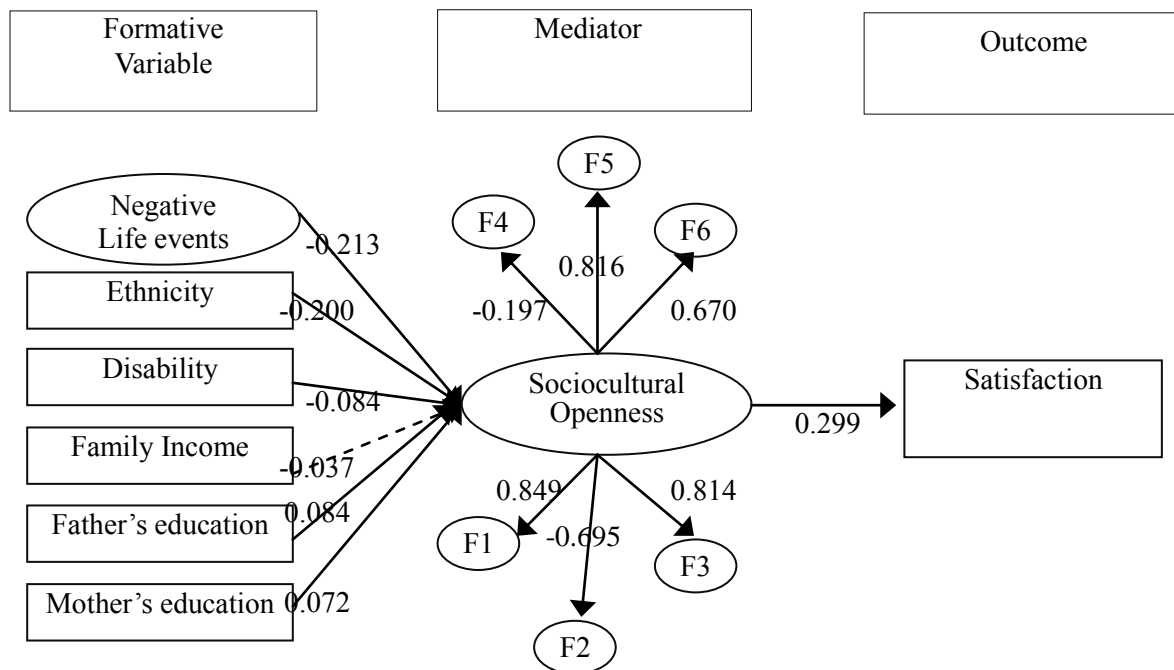
Figure 1: The SEM association of formative variables (Negative Life Events), mediators (Sociocultural Openness), and outcomes (personal interest in international or multicultural learning) on the BEVI.



Note: $X^2=9031.527$, $df=1207$, $p=0.0000$, $RMSEA=0.053$, $CFI=0.939$.

as “disabled” (e.g., with a psychological condition) may be associated – at an aggregate level – with less psychological “energy” / capacity to engage with cultural practices and perspectives that are different from one’s own, at least as measured by this construct on the BEVI. Finally, we used WLSMV (weighted least squares, robust standard errors, and mean and variance adjusted chi square test statistic) as the estimator for all the structural equation models because the variables have ordinal measure or dummy measure.

Figure 2: The SEM association of formative variables (Negative Life Events), mediators (Sociocultural Openness), and outcomes (reported level of satisfaction upon the conclusion of an international or multicultural learning experience) on the BEVI.



Note: $X^2=8954.646$, $df=1207$, $p=0.0000$, $RMSEA=0.052$, $CFI=0.939$.

Taken together, the above two Structural Equation Models offer a number of intriguing findings. For example, a higher degree of Sociocultural Openness – as well as interest in and satisfaction from a wide range of international and multicultural learning experiences – was associated with a lesser degree of reported negative / unhappy life events, a greater tendency to report non-Caucasian status along, a lesser tendency to report “disability status” (e.g., physical, psychological), and a greater tendency to report more education by fathers and mothers alike. From an Equilintegration or EI theoretical perspective, such results make sense, particularly in light of the needs-based considerations that are at the core of this framework. Specifically, the greater the degree one reports that their “core needs” were met in a “good enough” manner, the more likely

that same individual will demonstrate the capacity and inclination to attend to “other” as well as “the larger world” in addition to the concerns of one’s “own self” (e.g., see Shealy, in press).

This tentative proposition receives additional support from a final level of analysis, consisting of correlation matrix data between Sociocultural Openness and other BEVI scales as presented in Table 2 below on the “long version” of the BEVI ⁴ (see also www.thebevi.com/docs/bevi_scale_pairwise_correlations_and_significance_levels.pdf). Essentially, these correlations suggest that the inclination to be open and accepting of cultural difference is associated with various other belief / value constructs. More specifically – and in full recognition that these are oblique constructs (i.e., statistically overlapping but differentiable factors, derived on the basis of Exploratory Factor Analysis) – individuals who are higher in sociocultural openness tend to report that they had more core needs met (e.g., for acceptance, affiliation) during childhood and adolescence (Needs Closure); are more likely to be concerned about the environmental and natural world (Ecological Resonance); are more likely to hold and tolerate cognitive / affective complexity or ambiguity (Socioemotional Convergence); are less likely to deny basic thoughts, feelings, or needs (Basic Closedness); are less likely to feel stuck, lost, or confused (Identity Diffusion); are more likely to be interested in and open to affect in self and other (Emotional Attunement); are less likely to report traditional religious beliefs (Socioreligious Traditionalism); are less likely to insist that they are completely confident and assured about who they are (Hard Structure); are less likely to report experiencing

⁴ These findings are derived from the “long BEVI” on the basis of EFA findings. See Shealy, in press for more information about the “long” and “short” versions of the BEVI.

unhappy childhood events or experiences (Negative Life Events); and, are less likely to express contrary or argumentative attitudes for the sake of doing so (Divergent Determinism).

Table 2

Correlation Matrix Findings Illustrating the Relationship between Sociocultural Openness and other BEVI Scales

BEVI Scale	Correlation
Needs Closure	-.90
Ecological Resonance	.88
Socioemotional Convergence	.82
Basic Closedness	-.81
Identity Diffusion	-.71
Emotional Attunement	.77
Socioreligious Traditionalism	-.62
Hard Structure	-.58
Negative Life Events	-.57
Divergent Determinism	-.50

Discussion

We are inclined to agree that the goals of multicultural education are worthy, if not necessary and inevitable. These include the promotion of cultural awareness and understanding, inclusion of marginalized social groups, encouragement of students to be active participants in the knowledge construction process, and ultimately, increasing tolerance for diversity. Nonetheless, evidence suggests that the reach of multicultural

education often exceeds its grasp (e.g., Banks, 1993; Bennett, 2001, 2003; Gorski, 2006), especially if we do not appreciate that urging individuals to engage in anti-prejudice thought and activity may inadvertently result in more rigid and stereotyped beliefs about the self, the world, and others (e.g., Legault et al., 2011). As the interrelated analyses presented in Study 2 suggest, people bring a range of different attributes and experience to any international or multicultural experience (such as their experience of their own life history). These differences are associated not only with the capacity to be open to different cultures, but may further influence the degree to which people are inclined to engage in and enjoy diversity experiences. On the basis of such findings, we offer the following suggestions to educators, researchers, and practitioners who wish to promote understanding within and between cultural groups, which we believe fall under the rubric of best practices.

First, understand the etiology and nature of beliefs and values. It is important for multicultural educators to appreciate the complex and interacting factors that culminate in how and why people experience society and culture the way they do. For example, we need to understand what prejudice is, how prejudicial beliefs are acquired, and why *all* human beings are capable of such experiences. Moreover, as the above data indicate, it is important to understand the cultural self as integrally related to other aspects of self, such as religious or political convictions (or lack thereof), environmental values, and the capacity to attend to affect in self and other. In short, we need to demonstrate a sophisticated understanding of beliefs and values and of human nature – from a theoretical, empirical, subjective, and real world perspective – in order to grasp and convey the complexity of why we are who we are in an informed and accessible manner

(Shealy, 2004, in press; Shealy, Bhuyan, & Sternberger, 2012). Our understanding of such matters should be integrated into all aspects of multicultural coursework and programs in order to enrich and humanize our pedagogy. A lack of sophistication at this level may lead to interventions that are experienced by recipients as superficial and polemical, if not alienating. The types of perspectives that we are offering here dovetail nicely with initiatives that are attempting to increase awareness and competency around multicultural education within teacher training programs as well. For example, the international education organization – NAFSA – is attempting to integrate international perspectives into teacher preparation programs, including Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (InTASC) criteria. We see the data presented here as having a strong bearing not only on the content that is integrated into these standards, but also aspects of process, as well as education, training, and learning writ large (e.g., see *Cultivating the Globally Sustainable Self*, 2014).

Second, process is as important as content. When we introduce content that may violate the extant belief / value structure of our audience, we bear a particular responsibility to anticipate and address such processes proactively, in an effective and respectful manner. Because such material inherently is evocative, it stands to reason that participants in multicultural experiences are differentially activated even before the experience begins; such activation may run the gamut from highly favorable to highly unfavorable for reasons that may not be at all clear to the individual who is experiencing the reaction. If we do not recognize that such processes potentially are operative, create time and space for individuals to become aware of what they believe and feel, and normalize such experiences, we unwittingly forfeit the opportunity to focus on what we

are trying to accomplish: deepening the capacity and inclination for reflection on self, others, and the larger world. Put in more positive terms, if we do attend to such processes, we are that much more likely to lower defensiveness and heighten receptivity to the content we are about to share. By stepping back from the content of “what we should believe” in order to emphasize process-reflection on “why we believe what we believe,” we open up a space in ourselves – and others – to reflect openly. In so doing, we may cultivate self-awareness as well as the necessary and sufficient competencies to facilitate such complex pedagogical processes and outcomes. In short, whereas most people are able to learn sufficient content knowledge vis-à-vis multicultural education, the capacity to deliver such knowledge with wisdom and care may be the most important competency of all.

Third, appraise worldviews before, during, and after an intervention. Conveying multicultural content to an audience without knowing what that audience already believes about such content is counterproductive at best, and anathema to the respect, growth, and development we are trying to promote. Likewise, assuming that all is going well, or that we achieved our goals – in the absence of any data to affirm such conclusions – is an indefensible practice for any multicultural educator, mainly because the whole purpose of such intervention is to promote deeper reflection and awareness, if not belief / value change. In the pursuit of such goals, it is imperative that educators be flexible in their approach and willing to modify both content and methodology in order to improve effectiveness through routine assessment of beliefs and values, as well as related personal experiences, before, during, and after interventions. Research repeatedly has demonstrated that effective teachers are those who reevaluate constantly themselves and

their teaching methods. As indicated above, the BEVI offers one, and by no means the only, method for facilitating such objectives, by helping individuals understand what they believe and value, and how their beliefs and values are similar to, or different from, the group to which they are a part. As interventionists, such awareness helps us develop, present, and sequence content and processes in a more deliberate way in order to foster self-awareness and understanding in a more accessible manner.

Ultimately, any type of valid assessment that appropriately ascertains what an audience actually believes and feels is worthy of development and implementation. However, because most people *want* to be perceived by others as being non-prejudicial, it is important that researchers conduct high quality assessments that are psychometrically sound (e.g., reliable and valid) in order to attenuate the likelihood of social desirability response confounds. This point cannot be overemphasized. In short, especially with affectively loaded material as is the case in the multicultural realm, it is imperative that we know who our audience is before we intervene, how we are doing as processes unfold, and whether and to what degree we achieved our goals. Ecologically valid assessment is indispensable to pursuing such means and ends.

Fourth and finally, own personal beliefs and values. Individuals who assume a position of authority vis-à-vis multicultural education bear a particular responsibility to know themselves overall as well as their own issues and biases in particular. Along these lines, agitated diatribes by a multicultural educator or scholar about “power and privilege” or “micro-aggressions” may be cathartic for the presenter and induce guilt in the audience, but the transformational impact of these interventions is questionable. As the aforementioned results suggest, this approach may increase defensiveness, resistance,

and dismissal, and possibly a change in one's beliefs in the opposite direction of what was intended. Since people tend to be suspicious of those in positions of power who use their platforms to "work out" issues under the aegis of multicultural paradigms and epistemologies, we contend that it is better to strive for authentic, caring, and sustained engagement regarding multicultural issues and processes.

As noted above, the capacity for prejudice and misuse of power is part of the human condition, and not the purview of any one group. Wise multicultural interventionists acknowledge and communicate such realities. Their audiences are likely to appreciate and resonate with such self-aware candor. In short, as educators, researchers, and practitioners, we must recognize that we are not somehow immune to the same biasing forces and factors that shape all human beings, and should acknowledge and account for these very real possibilities in ourselves, in the roles we assume, pedagogies we develop, and interventions we deliver.

Appendix A

Annotated Bibliography: Organized by Topic⁵**THEORIES OF CULTURAL IDENTITY CHANGE**

Banks, J.A. (1994). *Multiethnic education: Theory and practice*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

James Banks, a pioneer in the field of multicultural education, analyzes the historical origins of multicultural education, including its goals and aspirations, as well as the processes by which individuals come to understand beliefs and values relative to their own culture, as well as cultures different from one's own. Banks' Typology of Ethnic Identity consists of six stages beginning with *ethnic psychological captivity*, wherein individuals internalize negative ideologies and beliefs about their own ethnic group, resulting in "ethnic self-rejection and low self-esteem" (p.224). During this stage, the individual feels shame relative to his/her ethnic group which may lead to avoiding individuals of other ethnic groups or significant attempts to become "highly culturally assimilated" (p.224). In the second stage, *ethnic encapsulation*, a split emerges in the experience of dominant and marginalized cultural groups, such that groups that are marginalized may become relatively "insular" whereas dominant groups develop "mythical" feelings of superiority. During the *ethnic identity clarification* stage, all groups regardless of ethnicity begin to experience a more objective view of positive and negative attributes relative to their own group affiliation. During stage four, *bi-ethnicity*,

⁵ In order to facilitate future scholarship and practice in these areas, and consider relevant perspectives and approaches in greater detail, an annotated bibliography of selected literature is included in this dissertation.

individuals are motivated to function in two cultures and acquire the necessary skills in order to do so.

We can describe such an individual as biethnic... many African Americans, in order to attain social and economic mobility, learn to function effectively in Anglo-American culture during the formal working day. The private lives of these individuals, however, may be highly African American and monocultural (p.226).

In the *multi-ethnicity and reflective nationalism* stage, individuals who have developed cross cultural competencies deepen their understanding of other cultures, moving beyond an awareness of obvious aspects (holidays, food) to deeper considerations such as the values and practices of another culture. Finally, individuals enter the *globalism and global-competency* stage, in which they learn to balance their global, national, and ethnic identities.

Bennett, M.J. (1986). A developmental approach to training for intercultural sensitivity. *International Journal of International Relations*, 10, 179-196.

Bennett argues that to be effective in teaching intercultural communication, the subjective experience of the trainee must be considered. More specifically,

Since intercultural sensitivity is not 'natural' to any single culture, the development of this ability demands new awareness and attitudes. As trainers, we need to know how the attitude of intercultural sensitivity develops so we can facilitate precise movement in that direction (p.180).

Understanding where individuals may be classified along a continuum of cultural sensitivity can assist educators in selecting appropriate methods and sequencing certain

programmatic elements based on how students might respond to such material. Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity is a model that can be of assistance in this process, which begins with a period of *denial* by members of the majority group. Here, individuals are not aware that worldviews exist that are different from their own as a result of isolation from such cultural differences. During the second stage, *defense*, recognition of differences occurs, with accompanying efforts directed to preservation of one's own views through denigration of other cultures and/or the attribution of superiority to one's own. In the third stage, *minimization*, cultural differences are acknowledged yet minimized, overshadowed by perceived cultural similarities. Individuals in this stage minimize cultural differences through a belief in certain universal principles that are thought to underlie all of human behavior. The fourth stage, *acceptance*, is characterized by the recognition that individuals of diverse cultures have different worldviews and ways of behaving. Here, difference is no longer seen as a "thing" but rather as a "process" (p.185). During the fifth stage, *adaptation*, behavioral and psychological changes occur in the way that one's own reality is processed, in one's conduct towards different cultures, and in the capacity to take the perspective of a culture that is different from one's own. The final stage, *integration*, is characterized by contextual evaluation, or the ability to evaluate phenomena from another perspective or within different cultural contexts, and constructive marginality, in which people are able to stand apart from all cultural perspectives, including their own, while also engaging in an ongoing process of self-examination vis-à-vis culture.

Helms, J.E. (1990). Toward a model of white racial identity development. In J.E. Helms (Ed.). *Black and white racial identity* (pp. 49-66). Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Helms proposes a model of racial identity development, consisting of six stages, which focuses specifically upon relations and interactions between Black and White individuals. According to Helms, White individuals enter the first stage, *contact*, when they encounter “the idea or the actuality of Black people” (p.55). During this stage, White individuals either are curious or fearful of Blacks depending upon their familial environment and an “inconsistent awareness of being White” (p.55). Behaviors characteristic of this stage include limited interactions with Black individuals; when they do occur, such encounters are marked by cognitive comparisons of such individuals to racial stereotypes. The second stage, *disintegration*, typically is marked by feelings of anxiety as White individuals become consciously aware of their ethnicity and its associated privilege, with concomitant feelings of dissonance resulting from “moral dilemmas associated with being White” (p.58). During the third stage, *reintegration*, individuals acknowledge their White identity and retreat back into White culture through avoidance or overt discrimination, while also experiencing reactive anxiety and anger perpetuated by feelings of White superiority and Black inferiority. During the *pseudo-independence* stage, White individuals begin to redefine their Caucasian identity in more positive ways. Here, Whites start to question the idea that Blacks are inherently inferior, and acknowledge their role in a racist society. This “racist identity” causes discomfort, propelling the individual to self-reflect on his/her feelings related to racial identity that emerged in the previous stages. As a result, the individual may seek increased interaction

with Blacks; yet, this interaction tends to focus on trying to modify Black behavior so it is more consistent with “White criteria for success and acceptability” (p.61). During the fifth stage, *immersion/emersion*, Whites seek out more accurate information regarding their roles and responsibilities in a racist society, shifting from a paternalistic stance vis-à-vis Blacks to greater advocacy efforts with other Whites in an effort to promote change. In the final stage, *autonomy*, Whites pursue opportunities to learn from other cultural groups, internalizing a clearer sense of their own racial identity and that of others.

McAllister, G., & Irvine, J.J. (2000). Cross cultural competency and multicultural education. *Review of Educational Research*, 70, 3-24.

McAllister and Irvine (2000) evaluate the preparation that pre-service teachers receive as part of their multicultural training; their findings suggest that although much attention has focused on *content* little has been focused on the *process* of cross-cultural learning. The researchers examined three models of cross-cultural development, including Helms’s Racial Identity Theory, Bank’s Typology of Ethnicity, and Milton Bennett’s Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity, in order to describe the processes associated with modification of attitudes and behaviors relative to self and other as cultural entities. The researchers argue that process-oriented models can assist educators in understanding why teachers are resistant to multicultural education, how course content should be sequenced, and how environments that are conducive to learning can be created.

ORIGINS AND PRINCIPLES OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Allport, G. W. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Allport's seminal text offers insight into the nature of prejudice, evaluating its etiology and impact on individuals and groups from a number of diverse perspectives. Recommendations related to ways in which discrimination practices can be reduced are also offered, including legislation, research, educational programs, activities that encourage contact between diverse individuals, psychotherapy, and modification of messages transmitted by and through mass media. In the preface, Allport states

The present volume does not pretend to deal with the science of human relations as a whole. It aims merely to clarify one underlying issue- the nature of human prejudice. But this issue is basic, for without knowledge of the roots of hostility we cannot hope to employ our intelligence effectively in controlling its destructiveness (xv).

Aronson, E. (2012). *The Social Animal* (11th ed.). New York, NY: Worth Publishers.

In his text, Aronson reviews multiple lines of research that have emerged primarily from the field of social psychology, and the implications of these findings on our understanding of how individuals are influenced by one another, act in ways that may be inconsistent with privately held beliefs, and engage in aggressive and seemingly irrational behaviors. Aronson's exploration of concepts including prejudice and cognitive dissonance is critical in discussing multicultural interactions and efforts, such as educational programs, aimed at improving intercultural relationships.

Banks, J.A. (1993). *The canon debate, knowledge construction, and multicultural education. *Educational Research*, 22, 4-14.*

Banks provides a succinct explanation as to how the knowledge construction and deconstruction process is integral to multicultural education in the sense that it deepens

one's own awareness of self, which includes a thorough analysis of the experiences that contribute to personal beliefs and values. He contends that multicultural education should:

...help students to understand how knowledge is constructed. Students should be given the opportunity to investigate and determine how cultural assumptions, frames of references, perspectives, and the biases within a discipline influence the ways the knowledge is constructed. Students should also be given opportunities to create knowledge themselves and identify ways in which the knowledge they construct is influenced and limited by their personal assumptions, positions, and experiences. (p.11)

Banks, J.A. (1996). The canon debate, knowledge construction, and multicultural education. In J.A. Banks (Ed.). *Multicultural education, transformative knowledge, and action: Historical and contemporary perspectives* (pp. 3-29). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Banks proposes five types of knowledge that should be taught in multicultural curriculum: personal/cultural, popular, mainstream academic, transformative academic, and school knowledge. Specifically, personal or cultural knowledge refers to the influence of personal experiences across diverse environments that contribute to the types of interpretations and explanations that students hold. Popular knowledge consists of concepts, interpretations, and beliefs that are depicted by and through the mass media, including movies and television. Mainstream academic knowledge refers to the traditional "Western-oriented canon" (p. 14), such as that seen in the social and behavioral sciences. Transformative academic knowledge has to do with challenging

current paradigms and mainstream academic knowledge in such a way that current theories and explanations are able to be reviewed and revised. Lastly, school knowledge encompasses facts that are present in student texts, instructor lectures, and other media forms.

Banks, J.A. (2005). Multicultural education: Characteristics and goals. In J.A.

Banks, & C.A. McGee Banks, (Eds.). *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives (5th ed.)*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

In this chapter, Banks explores the nature of multicultural education, including its historical development and contemporary application. Additionally, he explores the overarching culture of the United States, as well as its subcultures, and how categories within these are socially constructed. He further explores the dimensions of multicultural education, including content integration, the knowledge construction process, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and an empowering school culture and social structure (p.20), and the ways in which these dimensions must be considered when implementing multicultural education in schools.

Bennett, C. I. (2001). Genres of research in multicultural education. *Review of*

***Educational Research*, 71, 171-217.**

This source was used to provide an introduction to multicultural education including its history, major political movements influencing its development, and the ways in which a clear definition and purpose since inception has been clearly lacking. Bennett succinctly describes the different genres of research that have emerged from the multicultural education field, as well as the implications of these diverse genres in terms of practice.

Gorski, P.C. (2006). Complicity with conservatism: the de-politicizing of multicultural and intercultural education. *Intercultural Education*, 17, 163-177.

Gorski analyzes conceptualizations of multicultural education offered by leading multicultural education pioneers Nieto (2000), Sleeter (1996), Grant and Sleeter (1998) and Banks (2004) in order to identify defining principles that exist across the field according to these scholars. His analysis yielded the following five overarching commonalities, which include: “Multicultural education is a political movement and process that attempts to secure social justice for historically and presently underserved students”; “Multicultural education recognizes that, while some individual classroom practices are consistent with multicultural education philosophies, social justice is an institutional matter and as such, can be secured only through comprehensive school reform”; “Multicultural education insists that comprehensive school reform can be achieved only through critical analysis of systems of power and privilege”; “The underlying goal of multicultural education—the purpose of this critical analysis—is the elimination of educational inequities”; “Multicultural education is good education for all students” (p.165).

Gorski, P.C. (2009). What we’re teaching teachers: An analysis of multicultural teacher education coursework syllabi. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 25, 309-318.

Using qualitative content analysis, Gorski evaluated 45 syllabi from multicultural teacher education courses taught within the United States. His focus was on the ways in which multicultural education is outlined in course descriptions, goals, and objectives.

Findings suggest that although the majority of the courses included in his analysis were intended to prepare teachers with “cultural sensitivity, tolerance, and multicultural competence” (p.316), only 26.7% were designed in such a way that they were consistent with the defining principles of multicultural education.

In other words, most of the syllabi failed to frame multicultural education as a political movement concerned with social justice, as an approach for comprehensive reform, as a critical analysis of power and privilege, or as a process for eliminating educational inequities (p.316).

Gorski’s methodology in terms of gathering the syllabi for his review employed snowball sampling, which resulted in syllabi being obtained from broad geographic regions across the country as well as courses designed for the graduate and undergraduate level student. However, Gorski conducted analysis across all syllabi, regardless of geography (unequal percentage of syllabi were obtained and analyzed from regions all over the country) or difficulty level (undergraduate versus graduate).

Sleeter, C.E., & Grant, C.A. (1987). An analysis of multicultural education in the United States. *Harvard Educational Review*, 57, 421-444.

The authors propose two main purposes for their article: 1. “...to bring conceptual clarity to the field by examining what multicultural education means;” and 2. “...to evaluate the literature for its contributions to both the theory and the practice of multicultural education, including its limitations (p.422).” Through their comprehensive analysis, Sleeter and Grant (1987) contend that “clearly, the term multicultural education means different things to different people. The only common meaning is that it refers to changes in education that are supposed to benefit people of color (p.436).” Interestingly,

at the time this article was written, the authors found that “there are virtually no research studies on multicultural education (p.438).” This demonstrates the relative newness of research dedicated to understanding how multicultural education is implemented in the classroom (including both issues of process and content) as well as how students respond to such material, and how pedagogy can be modified in order to maximize student receptiveness.

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN LEARNING INSTITUTIONS

Wyatt-Nichol, H., & Antwi-Boasiako, K.B. (2008). Diversity across the curriculum: Perceptions and practices. *Journal of Public Affairs Education, 14, 79-90.*

Wyatt-Nichol and Antwi-Boasiako (2008) evaluated the 2009 National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA) standards – Diversity Across the Curriculum – which now requires master’s degree programs in public affairs, policy, and administration to include a diversity focus in their program activities and curricula. The researchers were interested both in determining the extent to which diversity training is included in these programs, as well as the perception of the standard itself according to program administrators. Results suggest that although administrators who responded to the researchers’ survey felt that it was important for graduate programs to promote diversity awareness, the majority of training opportunities were limited to courses that assimilated diversity issues into existing courses. In addition, 68% of those surveyed indicated that they did not intend to increase the number of stand-alone diversity courses offered in the program.

In examining administrator perceptions, two themes emerged: lack of clarity in terms of how such standards should be implemented, as well as the need for flexibility in

terms of standard implementation. The research of Wyatt-Nichol and Antwi-Boasiako succinctly demonstrates the divide between diversity education theory and practice (e.g., although the administrators felt that diversity education was important, few were inclined to create novel opportunities).

SELF-AWARENESS AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Camicia, S.P. (2007). Prejudice reduction through multicultural education:

Connecting multiple literatures. *Social Studies Research and Practice*, 2, 219-227.

Banks (1994), a scholar in the field of multicultural education, identifies prejudice reduction as one of the primary goals of multicultural education; following this, Camicia reviews how prejudice develops, how the knowledge construction process as outlined by Banks can be used to reduce prejudice in the classroom, and finally, provides specific information relative to intergroup contact and how this can be applied in a classroom setting to reduce prejudicial beliefs, attitudes, and values. He states that schools “have the potential to be effective agents of social change” (p.225) by providing students with the necessary tools to deconstruct prejudice through comprehensive examination of conventional narratives across subject areas.

Brown, E.L. (2004). What precipitates change in cultural diversity awareness during

a multicultural course: The message or the method? *Journal of Teacher Education*, 55, 325-340.

Brown’s research evaluates the influence of instructor methodology on cultural diversity awareness in teacher education students. To examine these effects, 109 Junior-level students of varying racial backgrounds enrolled in a midsized, urban, Midwestern

university participated in the study. However, it should be noted that only data derived from Caucasian students ($n=100$) was used in statistical analysis. Students were divided into two groups: Group 1 was taught by the investigator and employed all instructional strategies and materials implemented in the pilot phase of the study; Group 2 was taught by two instructors who had previously taught the course and followed their previous course format. The study employed a mixed-methods design. Qualitative data in the form of reflective journals, reaction papers, field experiences, and research projects were collected throughout the semester in order to measure incremental changes in student attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. In addition, students were administered the Cultural Diversity Awareness Inventory (CDAI) as a pretest and posttest measure in order to quantitatively examine the effects of instructional methodology on changes in cultural diversity awareness. The CDAI is a 28-item questionnaire which uses a 5-point Likert scale and demonstrates excellent psychometric properties. For the purposes of the current study, the instrument items were divided into five subsections, including diversity awareness, classroom environment, family/school interaction, cross-cultural communication, and alternative assessment. Previous researchers have consistently identified these areas as essential in preparing multicultural educators.

Quantitative results indicated a significant relationship between CDAI scores at pre and posttest depending upon course format. Group 1 displayed changes in total diversity and family/school interactions and communication subtests ($p<.001$) as well as for environment ($p<.01$). Group 2 showed statistically significant change between pre and posttest scores in the total diversity and environment subtests ($p<.05$). Except for the environment subtest, actual scores on all subtests improved more for Group 1 compared

with Group 2. In terms of qualitative data, the researcher was unable to compile accurate statistics for Group 2 because assignments were often incomplete. Results from Group 1 indicate that by the study's conclusion, 95% indicated a need to raise their cultural awareness and increase sensitivity in multicultural classroom settings, as well as in social interactions with teachers, students, and parents. In addition, 65% indicated they would research different cultures represented in their respective classrooms, 83% stated they would get involved in community projects in their school's neighborhood, and 63% indicated they would invite parents and students to informal gatherings throughout the school year. Students also responded that the best approach in terms of community/school interaction was to understand beliefs, values, and traditions of students. In addition, 100% indicated they would employ a variety of instructional strategies in order to address the needs of culturally diverse students.

Overall, the results of this research study indicate that a single, stand-alone cultural diversity class has the potential to increase some factors of cultural diversity awareness; however, results also indicated that some factors remain uninfluenced. Brown postulates that student past experiences, motivation to change, and the resistance level upon which they enter the class influence this overall process. Future researchers may want to consider a longitudinal study design which allows researchers to determine whether lasting effects emerge from such practices.

Brown, E.L. (2004b). Overcoming the challenges of stand-alone multicultural courses: The possibilities of technology integration. *Journal of Technology and Teacher Education*, 12, 535-559.

Brown evaluates different sources of student resistance, ways in which this resistance influences the effectiveness of multicultural courses, and why this is such an important factor for educators and administrators to consider. In addition, she outlines the different factors that may help to maintain student resistance.

...student resistance is further exacerbated by the lack of opportunity to: build and sustain a class community, facilitate postclass peer interaction and support, augment student/expert dialogues, develop interdisciplinary connections, and monitor preclass preparation and comprehension. Finally, the race, ethnicity, and/or gender of an instructor, may also influence resistance. (p. 537)

Mildred, J., & Zuniga, X. (2004). Working with resistance to diversity issues in the classroom: Lessons from teacher education training and multicultural education. *Smith College Studies in Social Work*, 74, 359-375.

Mildred and Zuniga, following the research of many other scholars, address the issue of student resistance, identifying in the process how this resistance manifests (e.g., found that student resistance is often demonstrated via a lack of awareness of the relevancy of diversity issues, lack of acknowledgement in terms of the need to self-reflect, and minimizing or undermining classroom activities [consciously or unconsciously] that are designed to address these issues).

Sfeir-Younis, L.S. (1993). Reflections of the teaching of multicultural courses. In D. Schoem, L.Frankel, X. Zuniga, & E. Lewis (Eds.), *Multicultural teaching in the university*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Sfeir-Younis (1993) describes three basic principles that apply to all multicultural education: 1) an individual's race, gender, ethnicity, and cultural background influence

his/her worldviews, as well as the experience he/she has in the classroom and understanding of course content; 2) power dynamics in the classroom influence student participation, their ability to trust and feel safe in the classroom environment, and the interactions in which they engage; and 3) the educational experience should be approached in such a way that all students in the classroom are able to benefit through the recognition and validation of diverse student experiences.

EXAMINING THE EFFECTS OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Brown, K.M. (2006). Leadership for social justice and equity: Evaluating a transformative framework and andragogy. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 42, 700-745.

Brown argues that it is important for educational institutions to

“bridge theory and practice, to make connections between course material and the broader social context, to explain to preservice teachers how they might take an active part in bringing about social change, and to validate and incorporate with course content adult learners’ personal knowledge and experience. The exploration of new understandings, the synthesis of new information, and the integration of these insights throughout personal and professional spheres can lead future educational leaders to a broader, more inclusive approach in addressing issues of student learning and equity. Although an awareness of and openness to issues of diversity and culturally inclusive education is an important prerequisite of administrators’ ability to lead for social justice and equity, it is only a prerequisite” (Brown, 2006, p.703).

Following this prerequisite, she argues that based on the extensive research conducted in regards to the role of beliefs and attitudes (Bandura, 1986; Dewey, 1993; Pajares, 1992; Rokeach, 1968) it is imperative that preservice educational programs assess if and how their existing curriculum impacts student-held beliefs and attitudes, identify ways in which they can be further targeted, and modify existing curriculum in such a way that personal beliefs regarding diversity are addressed.

Employing a mixed-methods approach, grounded in a combination of adult learning, transformative learning, and critical social theories, Brown (2006) evaluated the relative impact of transformative learning strategies on preservice teachers' beliefs and attitudes relative to diversity and multiculturalism, as well as specific instructional methodologies. Participants included 40 educational administration graduate students, who were recently enrolled full-time in a Southeastern university, two-year Master of School Administration program. Students were administered the Cultural and Educational Issues Survey, Version B, which is a 63-item Likert scale questionnaire aimed at discerning preservice leaders' attitudes concerning issues of education and culture; previous analysis has reported this instrument has strong reliability (Cronbach's alpha 0.92). In addition, a qualitative measure (journal entries) was used to facilitate and monitor student self-awareness and self-reflection.

Results based on the quantitative analysis suggest that participating in transformative learning strategies may improve preservice teachers' attitudes relative to diversity in education (posttest scores were significantly lower than pretest scores at the $p < .001$ level); however, the author cautions this interpretation for several reasons. First, it cannot be determined whether results are attributable to the transformative learning

strategies employed or the instructors' personal style and/or the course material. Second, the study employed a small sample size and did not utilize random assignment, limiting definitive interpretations of the observed results. Qualitative analysis suggests indicated that:

“During a 2-year period, students wondered, questioned, and hesitated. They reportedly stretched themselves, pushed their boundaries, grew, and developed. Many of the learner responses were emotionally laden. At times, they revealed being amazed, enthralled, awakened, and grateful. At other times, they were afraid, stressed, angry, and guilt ridden” (Brown, 2006, p. 719).

The students reported growth in the areas of “awareness of self”, “acknowledgement of others”, and “action” through policy practice. Especially within the context of this review, which is aimed at comprehensive understanding of the internal processes that facilitate diversity awareness and worldview transformation, it was noted that questions remain as to whether students within the sample actually changed, and if so, how and why. Overall, Brown (2006) argues that the results of this study “can help educational administration programs begin to better understand the connections between leadership preparation experiences and the knowledge, disposition, and skills garnered” (p.732).

Brown, R. (2010). *Prejudice: Its Social Psychology*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Brown provides a comprehensive review of prejudice, including issues of epistemology, personality characteristics, social categorization, developmental processes, intergroup relations, and interventions aimed at reducing prejudice. To this end, he states:

A substantial body of research has shown that contact between groups can reduce prejudice provided that it takes place under certain conditions. These are: there should be social and institutional support for the measures designed to promote the contact; the contact should be of sufficient frequency, duration and closeness to permit the development of meaningful relationships between members of the groups concerned; as far as possible the participants in the contact situation should be of equal status; the contact should involve co-operative activity (p.269).

Dee, T. S. (2005). A Teacher Like Me: Does Race, Ethnicity, or Gender Matter? *The American Economic Review*, 95, 158–165.

Previous research has demonstrated that demographic matches between student and teacher could affect educational outcomes, such as teachers' perceptions of their students. Based on the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988, Dee explored this phenomenon and found that both White and minority (i.e. Black and Hispanic) students are more likely to be perceived as disruptive by a teacher who does not share the student's racial traits. These findings have critical implications for the social and academic success of the student in the classroom.

Engberg, M.E. (2004). Improving intergroup relations in higher education: A critical examination of the influence of educational interventions on racial bias. *Review of Educational Research*, 74, 473-524.

Engberg reviewed studies in four primary domains including multicultural courses, peer-based interventions, service-based interventions, and diversity workshops and training in order to assess the ability of each in effecting change on students' racial bias. In his analysis of studies that evaluated the effectiveness of service interventions,

including service-learning and other programs designed to have students of diverse backgrounds working together towards a common goal, Engberg found that overall these interventions are effective in reducing racial bias (12 positive; 1 mixed). In regards to peer intervention studies, such as those examining intergroup dialogue, peer-facilitated training programs, and living-learning communities, the results are less definitive (14 positive; 5 mixed; 1 no change observed). In the context of higher education curriculum, multicultural interventions including ethnic studies, non-requirement diversity courses, and required diversity courses, were shown to be primarily effective (17 positive; 7 mixed; 5 no change observed). Lastly, diversity workshops/training interventions designed to improve relationships among diverse groups were found to be effective overall (9 positive; 1 mixed; 1 no change observed).

In terms of strengths of the studies analyzed in this review, Engberg states that taken in aggregate, the studies employed a broad range of methodological approaches, including qualitative, quantitative, and mixed-methods, as well as sophisticated research designs which helped to control for validity threats. However, and at the same time, multiple limitations were reported which make it difficult to arrive at firm claims related to findings. Engberg groups these limitations into four categories, including: lack of conceptualization or a guiding theoretical framework; insufficient instruments employed to measure racial bias; research methodology including quasi-experimental designs, convenience sampling, short study durations, lack of control for confounds, and the absence of longitudinal analyses; and finally, grouping all participants together regardless of characteristics such as race and gender, which may have influenced findings in a positive direction. Engberg was unable to arrive at any definitive conclusions related

to overall effectiveness of the various programs/interventions he analyzed; however, he reports that the positive nature of the collective results included in this analysis is hopeful in terms of current programs and future development of existing programs in reducing racial bias.

Gay, G. (2010). Acting on beliefs in teacher education for cultural diversity. *Journal of Teacher Education, 61*, 143-152.

In her article, Gay reviews the differences in characteristics which exist between students and instructors, stating that “Teacher education continues to be dominated by European American students and instructors, but the children to be taught in public schools are radically different in both aspiration and actuality” (p.143). She goes on to recommend that educators focus on increasing their own self-awareness, including apprehending one’s own beliefs and values, since such factors may significantly impact how content is developed and conveyed.

Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E., & Schwartz, J. L. K. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The Implicit Association Test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*, 1464–1480.

Greenwald, McGhee, and Schwartz employed the Implicit Association Test (IAT) to evaluate its effectiveness in measuring implicit attitudes through a series of three separate experiments. Overall, results suggest that the IAT is

“sensitive to automatic evaluative associations” and that “these findings are encouraging in regard to the usefulness of the IAT to measure implicit attitudes but do not establish that usefulness beyond doubt. Key issues still to be considered are (a) the IAT's immunity to self-presentation forces and (b) possible

alternative interpretations of IAT results in terms of variables that may be confounded with evaluative differences among the categories examined in the three experiments....” (p.1476).

The IAT was one of the measures used in the Legault, et al. (2011) study which evaluated the effectiveness of motivational messages in prejudice reduction among undergraduate students. Given the methodological concerns indicated above, it is important to consider internal validity threats, and the implications these might have in terms of interpretations derived from the reported data.

Henry, P. J., & Sears, D. O. (2002). The Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale. *Political Psychology*, 23(2), 253-283.

Henry and Sears evaluate the concept of “symbolic racism” as defined by previous researchers, and critique different measures that have been developed to measure racial attitudes. Their goal, as presented in this article, is to “present an up-to-date symbolic racism scale” (p.258) which addresses the “measurement questions” (p.258) posed relative to other existing measures. The article details the development of their Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (SR2K) and reports on psychometric properties of the scale including internal and external validity and reliability. The authors conclude with an important caveat:

Just as updating has been necessary for earlier measures of old-fashioned racism and of symbolic racism as well as for the MRS [Modern Racism Scale], so updating ultimately will be necessary for the SR2K scale, as attitudes and the language in which they are expressed continue to evolve in the coming years (p.279).

Legault, L. & Green-Demers, I. (2012). The protective role of self-determined prejudice regulation in the relationship between intergroup threat and prejudice. *Motivation and Emotion*, 36(2), 143-158.

Utilizing a self-determination theory frame, the authors were interested in examining the influence of motivation to regulate prejudice and intergroup threat in relation to attitudes regarding Arab-Muslims. The authors conducted two studies in order to evaluate this perceived relationship, concluding that:

... our results suggest that motivation to be nonprejudiced and intergroup threat interact in important ways, such that having self-determined motivation to be nonprejudiced *absorbs* the negative effects of threat, whereas non-self-determined prejudice regulation *amplifies* the impact of threat on prejudice (p.14).

Emerging from these findings, the researchers state the following:

...an important application of the current project is the personal development of strategies to reduce prejudice. If people are able to spend some effort identifying their motivation toward the control of racial bias, and subsequently improve and recast their motives, vast strides in prejudice reduction may be feasible.... Future applications might focus on the development of prejudice regulation interventions aimed at educating and supporting people in their motivational pursuit of personal egalitarian ideals (p.156).

These findings are consistent with the goals and purpose of this research, and therefore, are considered seminal in terms of future implications within the field of multicultural education.

Legault, L., Green-Demers, I., & Eadie, A. L. (2009). When internalization leads to automatization: The role of self-determination in automatic stereotype suppression and implicit prejudice regulation. *Motivation and Emotion, 33*, 10–24.

The authors offer a succinct description of internal and external motivation from a self-determination theory perspective and how this relates to prejudice regulation.

If motivation to regulate prejudice is self-determined, it may be: *intrinsic*- such that prejudice regulation is inherently satisfying and egalitarian goals are pursued out of interest; *integrated*- wherein the regulation of prejudice is integrated within the self and core value system, and behaving in nonprejudiced ways constitutes an expression of self or a reflection of one's innermost intentions; or *identified*- meaning that goals to be nonprejudiced are seen as important, and egalitarianism is valued or personally-endorsed. Conversely, prejudice regulation can also be determined by controls in the social context (e.g. for the purpose of social inclusion or to avoid ostracism; to appease standards of political correctness; or to acquiesce to self-imposed constraints regarding the expression of prejudice), and thus reflect low levels of self-determination (p.11).

Legault, L., Green-Demers, I., Grant, P., & Chung, J. (2007). On the self-regulation of implicit and explicit prejudice: A self-determination theory perspective. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 33*, 732–749.

The authors were interested in: 1. classifying motivation to be nonprejudiced from an SDT perspective into categories, and 2. assessing the influence of high and low self-determined motivation to regulate prejudice on both implicit and explicit prejudice. Three separate experiments were conducted in order to achieve these goals. Building upon previous research, findings provide a deeper understanding of the nature of the correlation between motivation and prejudice regulation, pointing to the powerful impact of antecedents in influencing the regulation of prejudice, as well as individual differences, in the process.

Self-determination theorists suggest that self-determined motivation may develop from less self-determined motivation given the right environmental circumstances. Because the effective regulation of prejudice appears to be a complex process of self-determination, there is a need to understand the individual and social antecedents that give rise to motivation to be nonprejudiced... On understanding that motivation is important in the development, experience, and expression of both prejudice and nonprejudice, it becomes just as clear that various personal and social antecedents may give rise to such motivation. If we are to understand the ways in which prejudice is reduced, then we must understand its precursors in sequence. Because it appears that self-determined motivation to be nonprejudiced is related to less biased attitudes and because past research suggests that self-determined motivation can be learned, it is our hope that the identification of factors that give rise to self-determined egalitarianism will bring us closer to the application of motivational and regulatory strategies to reduce and eliminate prejudice (p.748).

Legault, L., Gutsell, J., & Inzlicht, M. (2011). Ironic effects of anti-prejudice messages: How motivational interventions can reduce (but also increase) prejudice. *Psychological Science*, 22, 1472-1477.

Using the theoretical foundation of self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2002), Legault et al. (2011) developed two prejudice-reduction interventions designed to induce either internally generated motivation to reduce prejudice (autonomous) or externally elicited motivation (controlled). In line with past work suggesting that those with an autonomous motivation to be nonprejudiced display less prejudice and discrimination than those with a controlled motivation (e.g., Legault & Green-Demers, 2012; Legault, Green-Demers, Grant, & Chung, 2007; Legault, Green-Demers, & Eadie, 2009; Plant & Devine, 1998), the authors created two different types of motivational messages. These messages were conveyed in brochures, which were framed as a campus-wide initiative to reduce prejudice and promote diversity. Thus, non-Black undergraduates (N=103) were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: the autonomy brochure condition, the controlling brochure condition, or the no-brochure condition. The autonomy brochure aimed to promote autonomous motivation toward prejudice reduction by emphasizing the value, importance, and personal significance of nonprejudice and diversity. It outlined the various benefits of diverse and fair classrooms and societies, and also highlighted the ways that diversity and intergroup relating can be meaningful and enjoyable. The controlling brochure, in contrast, targeted controlled motivation by stressing the social requirement to be nonprejudiced. The need for political correctness was underscored and the negative consequences of failing to behave in nonprejudiced ways were described. Students in the no-brochure (i.e., neutral)

condition read basic information related to the definition and problem of prejudice, but motivation to be nonprejudiced was not manipulated. After carefully reading the brochures, participants' degree of autonomous vs. controlled motivation to be nonprejudiced and their level of prejudice were ascertained using the 24-item Motivation to be Nonprejudiced Scale (Legault et al., 2007) and the Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale (Henry & Sears, 2002).

Results indicated that those in the autonomy brochure condition demonstrated significantly less prejudice than those in the no-brochure condition. In other words, supporting autonomous motivation for being nonprejudiced decreased prejudice. In contrast, promoting prejudice reduction using controlling tactics elicited an ironic effect; those who read the controlling brochure demonstrated more prejudice than those in the no-brochure condition. As the authors noted, attempts to control prejudice reduction using pressure and external incentives was worse in terms of outcomes than doing nothing at all. Because the researchers employed an explicit measure of prejudice which they thought might have alerted subjects to the fact that their level of prejudice was being assessed (thus affecting validity through social desirability effects), they conducted a follow-up study using more implicit manipulation and measurement.

In this second experiment, 109 non-Black undergraduate students were once again randomly assigned to conditions aimed at manipulating autonomous or controlled motivation to reduce prejudice. However, in this study, motivational priming was achieved more subtly through the use of items embedded in a survey. That is, participants were induced to agree with either autonomous reasons (e.g., "I value diversity") or controlled reasons (e.g., "Prejudiced people are not well-liked") for being

nonprejudiced (versus a neutral, no-prime condition). Motivation to be nonprejudiced was then assessed before participants completed the Symbolic Racism Scale and performed the Implicit Association Test (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998), which is a measure of automatic racial bias. Results suggested that the priming manipulation was successful in targeting differences in the source of motivation to regulate prejudice. That is, those primed with autonomous motivational content displayed more autonomous motivation to be nonprejudiced compared to those primed with controlled motivation or no motivation. Complementing findings from the first experiment, priming autonomous motivation to be nonprejudiced reduced prejudice relative to the neutral, no-prime condition. In addition, priming controlled motivation to be nonprejudiced ironically increased prejudice, relative to no motivational priming. Importantly, these effects held across both implicit and explicit measures of prejudice. Thus, even subtle or implicit messages relating to motivation to control prejudice can exert vastly divergent effects on prejudice and attitudes toward outgroups. Moreover, the source of motivation matters. Interventions that support autonomous motivation to be nonprejudiced appear to be more effective than the controlling approach that is so often used in anti-prejudice programming and policy. Indeed, whether it is explicitly controlled or subtly prompted, Legault et al., (2011) show that external motivation to comply with nonprejudiced standards is more detrimental to the goal of prejudice reduction than doing nothing at all.

Lopez, W.L., & Sabudeco, J.M. (2007). Culture of peace and mass media. *European Psychologist, 12*, 147-155.

Lopez and Sabudeco argue that the promotion of positive intergroup relations is important because increased diversity means we must work across, as well as within, our

own social group, which not only increases our interdependence, but may also be associated with inevitable cross-group tension.

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 751 - 83.

The authors conducted a meta-analysis of research evaluating the effectiveness of intergroup contact on the reduction of prejudice, finding that 94% of the samples that were included in the analysis “show an inverse relationship between intergroup contact and prejudice” (p. 766). This was the first published study to evaluate intergroup contact on such a large scale; also noteworthy, statistical findings were incredibly robust.

Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75(3), 811-832.

We believe discounting the role of internal motivation simply because external motivation may exist in many situations belies the complexity of contemporary conflicts associated with motivations to respond without prejudice. Indeed, it is our position that both sources of motivation, internal and external, exist and affect people's prejudice-related reactions, though to varying degrees for different people. (p.811).

In keeping with the goals of the present research, the authors state:

We believe that empirically disentangling internal and external sources of motivation to respond without prejudice paves the way to examine the

impact of these distinct motivations on efforts to avoid prejudice and thus may improve our understanding of the dynamic forces associated with controlling prejudice. In addition, it is our hope that the internal and external motivation measures will facilitate future efforts to identify factors that may promote or thwart prejudice reduction.

Stangor, C. (2009). The study of stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination within social psychology: A quick history of theory and research. In T.D. Nelson (Ed.), *Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination*. New York, NY: Psychology Press.

Many disciplines, including psychology, sociology, and education have attempted to understand why prejudice and stereotyping occur, identifying factors such as social categorization, parental influence, interaction with peers, media influence, heritability of attitudes, individual differences in authoritarianism or social dominance orientation, previous personal experiences, and extant contingencies. Stangor reviews existing research related to each of these variables, providing a comprehensive understanding of the interacting factors that contribute to the development and maintenance of prejudice and stereotyping.

Steele, C.M., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype Threat and the intellectual test-performance of African-Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69, 797-811.

The researchers explored stereotype threat, which is defined as “being at risk of confirming, as self-characteristic, a negative stereotype about one’s group” (p. 797) across a number of different studies to determine the extent to which stereotype-threat

impacts performance. Their findings suggest that inducing stereotype threat had a negative impact on overall performance; the implications of these findings, specifically in terms of performance on standardized tests, are discussed in detail.

Whitehead, K.A., & Wittig, M.A. (2005). Discursive management of resistance to a multicultural education program. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 1*, 267-284.

Whitehead and Wittig note that "...if students reject the messages of an intervention, fail to recognize its value and actively participate in it, then it is unlikely that the intervention will achieve its desired results" (p.4). This article provides a deeper understanding of the nature of student resistance in diversity education, the implications of such processes, and suggestions related to acknowledging, addressing, and working through student resistance.

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