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THE INTERSECTION OF RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER IN MULTICULTURAL COUNSELING

CHAPTER 7

ACADEMIC ACCULTURATION

Race, Gender, and Class Issues

Gordon C. Nagayama Hall
Pennsylvania State University

Irene R. Lopez
Anita Bansal
Kent State University

Donald B. Pope-Davis ■ Hardin L.K. Coleman ■ Editors

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At the beginning of the 21st century, the United States is increasingly becoming a multicultural society. As of 2000, persons of color comprised 29% of the United States population, and within 50 years, nearly one half will be persons of color (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992). However, American psychology has been a reflection of the dominance of European American men over other groups in society (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1991; Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992). Thus, the structure of most graduate training programs in psychology reflects middle- to upper-class European American male values. The finished products of such training are also not necessarily relevant to the needs of the diverse clientele that they will serve (Hall, 1997). Thus, acculturation to the standards of traditional academic psychology may not adequately equip a trainee for the challenges of a multicultural 21st century. Making training sufficiently versatile to serve an increasingly diverse population should be a priority for training programs, whether they are internally (e.g., humanitarianism, interest

in diversity) or externally (e.g., legal, professional mandates) motivated to do so (Ridley, Mendoza, & Kanitz, 1994). The provision of psychological services that are responsive to the needs of individuals of diverse backgrounds is emphasized in ethical mandates and in accreditation requirements for training programs (American Psychological Association, 1986; American Psychological Association, Office of Ethnic Minority Affairs, 1993; Sue et al., 1992). The purpose of this chapter is to examine the limitations of monocultural graduate programs in training students to serve multicultural populations. We will provide a conceptual framework to help understand monoculturalism, multiculturalism, and the necessary steps toward change. Within the context of LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton's (1993) models of acculturation, we will discuss how monocultural academic training may be a form of acculturation that presents challenges to students and new faculty. Several models of program change will be reviewed (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1993; D'Andrea & Daniels, 1991; Ridley et al., 1994). Finally, we will articulate a mechanism for changing programs from a monocultural to a multicultural focus.

TABLE 7.1 Collectivist Versus Individualist Values

Collectivist	Individualist
Harmony and interrelatedness of nature and the universe	Dualism—mind and body are separate
Interdependence	Independence
Personal integrity is important	Personal resources such as possessions and expertise are important
Interpersonal sensitivity, compassion	Low need for affiliation
Family orientation	Individual orientation
Cooperation, equity	Competition, dominance
Respect for authority	Individual rights
Spirituality, acknowledgment of a higher, nonmaterial power that permeates all forms of life	Internal locus of control, view that life is not controlled by forces external to the self

NOTE: These values are summarized from Boykin (1983); Malgady, Rogler, and Constantino (1987); Markus and Kitayama (1991); Sue and Sue (1990); Triandis (1996); Uba (1994); and Wise and Miller (1983).

THE PROBLEM: MONOCULTURAL TRAINING IN A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

Academia is a culture, and those who receive academic training become acculturated to the culture of academia. Triandis (1996) defined culture as

shared elements . . . that provide the standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, communicating, and acting among those who share a language, a historic period, and a geographic location. The shared elements are transmitted from generation to generation with modifications. They include unexamined assumptions and standard operating procedures that reflect "what has worked" at one point in the history of a cultural group. (p. 408)

Acculturation has been defined as "the changes that groups and individuals undergo when they come into contact with another culture" (Williams & Berry, 1991, p. 632). One of the major changes involves gaining competence in the second culture (LaFromboise et al., 1993).

A shared language is one of the components of Triandis's (1996) definition of culture. The shared language in academic psychology has been developed primarily by upper-class European American men. The shared historic period

is the past century, and the shared geographic location is North America and Europe. Because of its relatively short history, most psychologists can trace their academic genealogy to European roots. The closer that trainees adhere to European American male middle- to upper-class values, the more likely they will be successful in their training and subsequent careers. Unique aspects of a trainee's background, such as cultural knowledge, have traditionally not been considered strengths (see Table 7.1).

One dimension along which European American men and others differ is individualism-collectivism (Greenfield, 1994). Whereas mainstream American culture tends to be individualistic, approximately 70% of the world's population tends to be collectivist (Triandis, 1989). Individuals of color in the United States also tend to have collectivist orientations (Greenfield, 1994). Collectivists identify themselves in terms of a group with whom they share a common fate (e.g., family, workgroup), individualists in terms of the individual (Triandis, 1996; Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990). Actions that enhance the individual, such as competition, are valued by individualists, whereas actions that enhance group cohesiveness, such as cooperation, are valued by collectivists. Group norms and sanctions guide behavior across situations in collectivist groups. Personal attitudes, which may be more situation specific, are more important for individualists (Triandis, 1996).

Academic psychology is based on Western individualist assumptions and methods (Greenfield, 1994) and may create a form of culture shock for those trainees who do not share those assumptions. For example, a first-generation American college student may feel intimidated by professors and may be reluctant to share their ideas or challenge the ideas of a professor. A person of color whose goal is to provide psychological services for his or her cultural community may not perceive training in individual counseling as relevant to the community's needs. A woman may perceive a relative lack of interpersonal sensitivity in counseling methods developed by men and presented by male faculty and supervisors. A person from a lower socioeconomic background may perceive economic and political change as more relevant solutions than intrapsychic exploration.

Many of the skills offered by monocultural training programs may appear irrelevant along dimensions of gender, ethnicity, and social class. Nevertheless, the credentials that such programs offer are still necessary to function in society as a helping professional. Without such credentials (e.g., training that is necessary for licensure), it may be difficult to provide services to ethnic minority and lower socioeconomic status communities.

What has worked during the past century is becoming less relevant as a new century has arrived in which most of American society does not consist of European American men (Hall, 1997). Most training that is being provided may not be adequately responsive to the needs of a diverse clientele insofar as clients' ethnicity, social class, and gender may create certain clinical judgment biases that may affect the quality of care received (Garb, 1997; Snowden & Cheung, 1990; Sue & Zane, 1987). A generic or universal training model may be inappropriate because all cultural groups do not uniformly benefit from psychological services (Snowden & Cheung, 1990; Sue & Zane, 1987).

Perhaps these biases are associated with the training environment. Although European American men and women are well represented as faculty in graduate departments of psychology (Pion et al., 1995), only about 5% of graduate faculty members are individuals of color (Bernal & Castro, 1994). The presence of faculty of color may increase attention to multicultural issues, although this is not necessarily a causal relationship (Bernal & Castro, 1994). Because most faculty of color have not had mentors of color, unless they make a concerted effort to change, they may also be susceptible to perpetuating culturally unresponsive training environments.

Although the importance of multicultural training should be self-evident (Arredondo, 1994; Essandoh, 1996; Ridley et al., 1994; Yutzenka, 1995),

multicultural training may not be a priority for many, if not most, graduate training programs (Myers, Echternach, & Trimble, 1991). Most graduate programs probably do not deliberately train students to hold ethnic, gender, and social class biases (Ridley, 1995). However, most faculty are European Americans who typically do not view themselves in terms of cultural identity (Helms, 1990). Thus, they may view themselves as individuals, not as European American or White. Moreover, graduate faculty may regard what they do as psychology, not a European American middle- to upper-class male psychology. They may regard the training they provide as universal or scientifically based. Indeed, individualist views of the self, which are typical of European American middle-class men, are often assumed in psychology to be universal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Even when cultural and feminist issues are considered, they tend to be treated as peripheral and not as part of the core training curriculum (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1991; Hall & Barongan, 1997; Leach & Carlton, 1997). Because of these biases, many programs may, in fact, train students to hold ethnic, gender, or social class biases. For training programs that do attempt to address multicultural issues, the last day of a course or a single course (that may not even be required) may become the repository or "ghetto" for the multiple issues that concern all "special" populations. Nevertheless, a lack of awareness of the sociocultural context and impact of training practices or a neglect of these issues may produce biases (Garb, 1997; Hall, 1990; Snowden & Cheung, 1990).

Not only are traditional models inadequate to address the issues of non-European Americans, but these models may even not adequately address some European American problems. For example, the United States is the most violent nation in the world (Lore & Schultz, 1993). Self-control methods have been proposed to control violent behavior (e.g., Novaco, 1976). Such methods are individualistic because they depend on individuals' ability to monitor situations and control their own behavior. An individual who views controlling violent behavior to be in his or her best interests, such as to save a marriage or job, may be motivated to do so. However, when there is little incentive to control violent behavior, a person may not be motivated to do so even if he or she has acquired the requisite self-control skills. It is possible that collectivist approaches may be more effective than individualist approaches in reducing violent behavior (Hall & Barongan, 1997). In addition, poverty is one of the strongest predictors of violent behavior (Sampson, 1993). Poverty and concomitant violence might be dramatically reduced if economic resources in the United States were more equitably shared. Moreover, inculcating young children with norms of empathy,

cooperation, and interdependence could result in less of a tendency to aggressively strive for one's personal goals at the expense of others (Hall & Barongan, 1997). Thus, strengths may exist in nonindividualistic cultures that protect against certain forms of psychopathology. A Western monocultural approach to training may restrict trainees' capacity to become optimally effective in preventing and reducing psychological problems (Sue et al., 1992).

MODELS OF ACCULTURATION

Academic acculturation can be conceptualized in terms of the experiences of an individual from one culture who acquires competence in the second culture. Acculturation varies to the extent that an individual (a) retains his or her culture of origin, (b) becomes part of the second culture, and (c) becomes part of a third culture that results from a fusion of the first two cultures. LaFromboise et al. (1993) have described models of acculturation that may reflect acculturation experiences in academic training environments.

The *assimilation* model of acculturation involves absorption into the dominant or more desirable culture (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Acculturation assumes that effects of one's culture of origin persist and continue to affect a person's interactions with a second culture. The assimilation model assumes that one can leave his or her culture of origin behind and become part of a new culture. Individuals who immigrate to a second culture by choice may be more likely to desire to assimilate than involuntary immigrants who are forced to immigrate (e.g., slaves, refugees) (Ogbu, 1994). The cultural distance between one's culture of origin and the second culture may mediate one's ability to assimilate. An individual whose culture of origin is similar to the second culture may be able to assimilate easily into the second culture. Although a new identity is acquired in the second culture, dangers of assimilation are a loss of one's original cultural identity and rejection by both one's culture of origin and the second culture. Assimilation into a second culture may not be possible for an individual who has salient differences (e.g., skin color, cultural practices) from those in the second culture (Williams & Berry, 1991). The acculturation model accounts for the individual who is unable to assimilate completely into a second culture (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Although the individual may become a competent participant in the second culture, he or she will always be identified as a member of the minority culture. He or she also may be relegated to a lower status within the second culture and not completely accepted. When a person fails to assimilate into a second culture, he or she may become marginalized and not

identify with either his or her culture of origin or the new second culture (Berry, 1984). A second possibility is *separatism*, in which individuals or a group remain independent of the second culture (Berry, 1984). Both marginalization and separatism are associated with high levels of stress (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987).

In the *alternation* model of acculturation, an individual becomes competent in two cultures (LaFromboise et al., 1993). The two cultures are regarded as equal, rather than hierarchical, and the individual has positive relationships with both cultures without having to choose between them. A biculturally competent individual alters his or her behavior to fit a particular sociocultural context. For example, an individual may make a request of a Western individual in an assertive, direct manner, whereas he or she may make a request of an individual from an Asian background in a more deferential, indirect manner.

A pluralistic approach in which individuals maintain distinct cultural identities while cultures are tied together within a single multicultural social structure characterizes the *multicultural* model (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Individuals from one culture cooperate with those of other cultures to serve common needs. It is likely that groups will intermingle, leading to the evolution of a new culture.

The *fusion* model of acculturation posits that cultures sharing an economic, political, or geographic space will fuse together until they are indistinguishable and form a new culture (LaFromboise et al., 1993). This model differs from the assimilation model insofar as aspects of the culture of origin are integrated into the new culture. It also differs from the multicultural model in that cultures of origin are not distinctively maintained. What typically occurs, however, when there are cultural minority groups is that the minority groups become assimilated into the majority group at the price of their cultural identity.

In summary, these models of acculturation involve varying levels of retention of one's culture of origin as well as varying levels of incorporation of a second culture. Acceptance into the second culture is determined by one's similarities to those in the second culture, with some persons who are different not being accepted. Some models involve acceptance and integration of more than one culture.

ACADEMIC ACCULTURATION

Academic institutions serve as agents of socialization and tend to acculturate students to the status quo. When students and institutions use the same methods

to cope with institutional acculturation, their expectations converge, and acculturation may occur without much difficulty (Coleman, 1995). For example, a student who expects to assimilate into academic culture and is accepted by the academic culture may not experience conflict. Conversely, a student who is interested in developing a personal cultural identity in an academic culture that does not accept other cultures may experience more conflict.

D'Andrea and Daniels (1991) and Ridley et al. (1994) have discussed differing stages of multicultural counselor training that are analogous to stages of acculturation. D'Andrea and Daniels's Level 1 (*cultural encapsulation*), Stage 1 (*cultural entrenchment*) and Ridley et al.'s (1994) *generic* framework of multicultural counseling training are analogous to the assimilation model (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Theories are taught from a monocultural perspective and assumed to be universally applicable and value neutral. The persons providing training in such programs often have negligible experience in working with persons of different cultural or socioeconomic backgrounds (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1991). Nevertheless, individuals are viewed as having similar concerns that are independent of gender, culture, and socioeconomic status and are expected to assimilate into the dominant culture. At this stage, theories of psychology and models of training are perceived as being universal and should not be adapted to accommodate "special" groups. Similarly, multiculturalism is simply viewed as an extension of the political correctness movement (Ueach & Carlton, 1997).

Ethnocentric faculty may regard themselves as expert purveyors of knowledge, having little to gain from discussions with students, particularly those who differ from themselves (see D'Andrea & Daniels, 1991). Difficulties that students experience in applying Western methods to clients for whom these methods may be ineffective may be attributed by faculty to deficits in the students or clients. Rather than question the utility of the established methods, it is much easier to blame the student for a lack of skill or the student or client for being resistant or defensive.

The assimilation model describes the expectations in many psychology training programs. Students are expected to become part of the academic psychology culture. Students are voluntary immigrants (Ogbu, 1994) to the extent that they are not forced to be in school. Therefore, many students may desire to assimilate into the academic culture. It is possible that those individuals who are accepted into mainstream academic training have the least amount of identification with their culture of origin to begin with. These individuals may be

more similar on many dimensions than those who are not accepted by the faculty who are training them and thus may find it relatively easy to assimilate (Williams & Berry, 1991). Assimilation may, however, come at the expense of a student's culture of origin. Gloria and Pope-Davis (1997) have pointed out that traditional faculty may prefer traditional students who are able to devote nearly all their time to academic pursuits; a graduate student who is a single parent may be viewed as neglecting his or her academic work when he or she is spending time caring for the family. The student also risks family rejection by devoting too much time to academic work. Similar rejection may occur from the student's cultural group of origin for assuming a "White identity."

A psychologist who is not accepted by the mainstream may have limited options. Distance from the values of one's culture of origin may occur during academic training, particularly if that culture of origin is not European American and male. Thus, an academically trained psychologist may not readily find acceptance in his or her culture of origin. Because psychology is currently dominated by European American men, separatism also may be a relatively unviable option. Credentialing (e.g., licensure) and much of the market for a psychologist's skills lie within the mainstream.

The term *separatism* may be laden with negative connotations. However, forms of separatism exist in psychology. For example, one who specializes in his or her training in a certain area of psychology (e.g., child clinical psychology, neuropsychology) and immerses himself or herself in this area to the relative exclusion of other areas of psychology might be considered a "separatist." If separatism is conceptualized as specialization, then a separatist could conceivably target his or her training and professional experiences to emphasize women's, ethnic minority, or class and urban issues to the relative exclusion of European American men's issues. However, one would need to be in a large, supportive, non-European male community to survive as a separatist. Nevertheless, as non-European male communities increase in size, separatism may become increasingly viable for those psychologists who are not accepted by the mainstream. Several graduate programs are already developing multicultural specialty training (Ponterotto, 1997). Thus, specializing in areas other than European American male psychology eventually may become as plausible as any other type of specialization.

The *interdisciplinary* training design—in which a student receives training in psychology as well as training in another discipline, such as ethnic studies and anthropology, to acquire multicultural skills (Ridley et al., 1994)—is anal-

ogous to the alternation model of acculturation (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Psychology programs that allow or encourage interdisciplinary training recognize that their own program may not provide all the necessary training. Interdisciplinary training allows the student to develop expertise in at least two substantive areas. However, most training may occur outside the program, and the psychology program may not view itself as responsible for multicultural training (Ridley et al., 1994). Moreover, if social and political changes are the solutions to some problems, many psychologists may question whether such change can be accomplished within psychology.

The student's professional identity in the interdisciplinary approach tends to be fragmented, and he or she may find it difficult to integrate cultural principles directly into psychological theory, research, and practice. There also is a natural tendency for individuals exposed to two cultures to identify with one more than the other (Phinney & Alipuria, 1996). A variation of the interdisciplinary approach within a psychology department is the *area of concentration* training design (Ridley et al., 1994). This allows the student to develop a specialty in multicultural issues by receiving multicultural training. However, multicultural expertise tends not to be regarded as a core component of training, and a student may elect not to be involved in such training.

D'Andrea and Daniels's (1991) Level 2 (*conscientious level*), Stage 3 (*cultural integrity stage*); Ridley et al.'s (1994) *integration* design; and Atkinson et al.'s (1993) *synergistic stage*, in which there is an infusion of multicultural training into all areas of the training program, are analogous to the multicultural model of acculturation (LaFromboise et al., 1993). A step further is D'Andrea and Daniels's Level 2 (*conscientious level*), Stage 4 (*infusion stage*), in which multicultural training becomes more synonymous with generic counseling (Leach & Carlton, 1997). This next step is analogous to the fusion model of acculturation (LaFromboise et al., 1993). In these integrative approaches, multiculturalism is not only valued but also becomes the mainstream. The creation of new cultural structures and beliefs is emphasized rather than preexisting cultural similarities or differences among groups (Coleman, 1995). Such integration of multicultural issues is difficult to implement both in society and in graduate training (LaFromboise et al., 1993; Leach & Carlton, 1997). Although such multicultural integration may be necessary for the demands of a multicultural society, changes at multiple levels in society would be necessary for such approaches to become widely influential. Nevertheless, the development of integrated multicultural training in multiple training programs may be a major step toward increasing the influence of the approach.

DOMAINS OF CULTURAL COMPETENCE

A multicultural psychology will best serve the needs of a multicultural society. Yet, there is much work to be done for psychology to become multicultural. This work means taking some personal risks as well as supporting others who are willing to do so. Otherwise, psychology will continue to be dictated by the inertia of the monocultural status quo. The purpose of this section is to identify some specific domains in which training programs can become increasingly culturally competent.

Sue et al. (1992) have identified three domains of cultural competency: (a) beliefs and attitudes, (b) knowledge, and (c) skills. To develop a training program in psychology that is appropriate for a multicultural society, a program must find ways to provide students competence in each of those domains. Beliefs and attitudes involve an awareness of personal biases and stereotypes that may hinder effectiveness in multicultural contexts. Moreover, beliefs and attitudes include the development of a positive attitude toward multiple cultural groups. Knowledge of one's worldview and the worldviews of others is the second dimension (see Landrine, 1992). The third dimension, skills, involves the intervention techniques and strategies necessary for effective work in multicultural contexts. Although these dimensions of cultural competency were proposed for individual counselors (Sue et al., 1992), they are also applicable to training programs.

Beliefs and Attitudes

A first step in changing a monocultural perspective may be an awareness of personal biases that may negatively affect others (D'Andrea & Daniels, 1991; Sue et al., 1992). Personal biases are not unique to European American men. Any person may hold ethnocentric biases. However, it is particularly incumbent on European American men in psychology to become aware of personal biases because they hold and have held positions of power in the profession. People of color, women, and persons from particular socioeconomic backgrounds also may hold negative stereotypes about their own group or other groups. These stereotypes are perpetrated in society and need to be overcome.

Knowledge

Another initial step would be to seek experiences involving persons of diverse backgrounds. This could be accomplished on personal and professional levels by joining organizations that address gender, cultural, and class issues. Within the American Psychological Association, Divisions 9 (Social Issues), 27 (Community), 35 (Women), 44 (Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual), and 45 (Ethnic Minorities) are some relevant groups. Following this initial awareness should come a realization that any individual's efforts—particularly if that person is not a woman, an ethnic minority, or from a lower socioeconomic background—will be inadequate to fully address gender, cultural, and class issues. Thus, women, ethnic minority persons, and persons from different socio-economic backgrounds will need to be recruited to help change monocultural environments.

It is generally unappealing to enter an organization as the only minority person. Sometimes, the organization's effort to recruit a minority person is taken and may preclude the possibility of recruiting additional minority persons. An even more insidious approach involves the recruitment of a minority person in an effort to demonstrate failure: "See, we gave a minority person a chance, but it didn't work." There typically does not exist much professional or social support for minority persons in monocultural organizations. Yet those monocultural organizations that are the least appealing to minority persons are the very organizations that need minority persons the most. Indeed, there is evidence that although entry-level standards tend to be set lower for ethnic minority persons than for those from the majority, standards for success tend to be set higher for ethnic minority than for majority persons (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997). Thus, there may be built-in barriers in some monocultural organizations that limit the amount of success that ethnic minority persons are capable of achieving.

It is more likely that a person will successfully adapt to a second culture if there are mechanisms of social support (Williams & Berry, 1991). Such social support can be created by institutions in hiring more than one minority person at a time (Ridley, 1991). Another such mechanism could be hiring a person and his or her spouse or significant other. Perhaps the most impact on the workplace environment would be created by hiring minority persons at senior and administrative levels who can effectively change the environment.

Students and junior faculty are often advised for their survival to avoid becoming involved in organizational politics (e.g., Zanna & Darley, 1987). It is

probably unwise and possibly dangerous to demand wholesale changes on entering a new organization. Nevertheless, organizational politics is the primary vehicle for change in most organizations. Students and faculty are likely to have the strongest political influence if they are able to establish themselves as valued colleagues on the basis of their productivity and contributions to the organization. However, there may be a danger that the strength of one's own values will become diluted while attempting to conform to organizational values in a monocultural organization. It may become increasingly difficult to "bite the hand that feeds you" as one becomes co-opted by an organization. Competence and acceptance in a second culture can occur to the detriment of one's culture of origin. Thus, it is important to maintain a multicultural perspective. Personal success in a monocultural organization should not preclude one's collective responsibility for multicultural change. Competence and acceptance within a monocultural organization should provide a platform for change. Rather than becoming absorbed by the system, it is important to infuse the system with the multicultural emphasis described earlier in some of the acculturation models.

Often, change at the national level can facilitate local change (Ridley et al., 1994). Professional organizations can exert pressure on local organizations to change. For example, the American Psychological Association (APA) accredits its graduate programs in psychology. It is critical that the accreditation process requires attention to issues of diversity. Thus, participation within APA of persons committed to multicultural principles is critical. A lack of participation by minorities in mainstream psychology, however, may be a victory for those who prefer to ignore multicultural issues (Lu, 1996).

Another arena in which change is necessary is managed care. Managed care corporations typically do not recognize multicultural expertise as a specialty. Moreover, psychologists who are approved by managed care panels tend to be the most experienced. The most experienced psychologists often are not women, ethnic minority men, or those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Insofar as multicultural health care providers may effectively reduce and prevent psychological problems among multicultural persons, a multicultural health care workforce makes economic sense. Therefore, psychology must demonstrate and emphasize the benefits of multicultural expertise. For example, there is preliminary evidence that multicultural training improves treatment outcome with clients of color (Yutrenka, 1995). Even more effective may be the participation of multicultural administrators within managed care corporations.

Individual support of national organizations that advocate multicultural issues is critical if there is to be national attention to multicultural issues. Several of these organizations within the American Psychological Association are mentioned above. In addition, there are the Asian American Psychological Association, the Association of Black Psychologists, the National Hispanic Psychological Association, and the Society of Indian Psychologists. These organizations can also offer professional and social support to minority persons who work in isolated environments.

Skills

By recruiting students and faculty of diverse backgrounds, a training program can achieve diversity. However, achieving a multicultural environment in which multiple cultural approaches are not only tolerated but also valued may be much more difficult (Atkinson, Brown, & Casas, 1996; Sue, 1996). Simply recruiting diverse faculty and students to a program and even providing financial incentives are not adequate substitutes for creating a supportive environment in which mentoring occurs (Atkinson et al., 1996). A deliberate integration of gender, cultural, and class issues into all aspects of a curriculum and an evaluation of the extent to which such integration is successful are critical for effective training. Several innovative methods for evaluating multicultural competence have been proposed (Pope-Davis & Coleman, 1997).

Access to training experiences with diverse populations in terms of gender, ethnicity, and social class, including appropriate supervision, should be the responsibility of all graduate training programs in counseling, clinical, and professional psychology. One method of increasing multicultural awareness issues in graduate programs is to actively seek minority clientele. Gaining access to ethnic minority populations may be more difficult in some geographic locations. However, with extra effort, some success may be achieved. For example, students and a professor at a Midwestern graduate program initiated a clinical practicum opportunity at an African American church in a nearby community. Endeavors such as this should be encouraged and facilitated by both students and faculty.

The process of changing a monocultural program to be multicultural may seem to be an abstract endeavor, particularly for the majority of psychologists who have not had access to multicultural training. Thus, concrete examples of model multicultural programs are needed. Several model programs have been

identified (Ponterotto, 1997). Particularly helpful is an article on the evolution of the counseling psychology program at the University of California, Santa Barbara into a multicultural program (Atkinson et al., 1996).

The supply of psychologists who have been trained in programs committed to multicultural training falls far short of society's demand for multicultural psychological services. Most psychologists who provide training and services have not received multicultural training. Thus, postdoctoral and continuing education programs need to emphasize multicultural training. As with the APA accreditation process, efforts are necessary to ensure that all states require multicultural continuing education to maintain licensure. The National College of Professional Psychology has developed training in the understanding and treatment of substance abuse disorders for psychologists who did not have access to such training in their own graduate education. This training was developed in large part because of market demands for psychologists to provide services for substance abusers. The market for psychologists with expertise in multicultural issues is also expanding. Thus, large-scale continuing programs, possibly as part of the National College of Professional Psychology, should be developed for gender, cultural, and class issues.

Conclusion

The identification of traditional Western psychology as the source of gender, cultural, and class difficulties and a concomitant call for change may be viewed as provocative. However, the existing power structure has long tended to project the blame for these difficulties onto women, persons of color, and those of lower socioeconomic status. There are many reasons for the unresponsiveness of traditional Western psychology to persons who are not European American middle-to upper-class men. Some traditionalists may be oblivious to the changes that have already been occurring in American society during the past four decades. Others may recognize that society is changing but may hope to preserve their dominance and may be unwilling to relinquish power. Still others may sense a need to change but may not know how. Our goal is not simply to displace those in power but to work together to create a psychology that is responsive to all persons in society by integrating the best aspects of multiple approaches, both Western and non-Western (Hall & Barongan, 1997). We strongly believe that multicultural training should not be regarded simply as an

ideal but as a basic requirement for all training in psychology. Accommodation in academic training should be to multiple cultures, not just to a single one.

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