Intercultural Competence and Racial Awareness in Study Abroad

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Finally, my deep thanks go to the students in my sample. Thank you for trusting me with your feelings, opinions, and experiences and helping me to open the window a little further to understand intercultural competence and racial awareness.

ABSTRACT

Domestic race relations, particularly between Black and White Americans, continues to be an unresolved issue in this country. A parallel analysis informs us that increasing numbers of college students are choosing to study abroad, an experience proven to be one of intense introspection and personal growth. This study aims to show that White undergraduates who have substantive intercultural experiences with difference via participation in study abroad programs may develop positive racial identities and intercultural competence during and after education abroad. A powerful outcome is the potential of study abroad participants to move toward alleviating racial disparities and racism in America.

The design is a sequential mixed methods design using quantitative and qualitative methods. The research questions are: 1) *To what extent do White students' intercultural and racial orientations change as a result of having studied abroad*? 2) *How do White students articulate their intercultural competence development and racial attitude development as a result of having studied abroad?* 3) *Are the changes in a student's intercultural and racial orientations related?* and 4) *To what extent do White students perceive a change in their intercultural competence and racial identity?* The population are students from a large, Midwestern university who studied abroad for the spring 2008 semester.

The hypothesized connections between intercultural competence (Bennett, M., 1993) and White Racial Consciousness (Rowe et al., 1994; LaFleur et al., 2002) also appear in the empirical findings. Further, data from qualitative interviews indicate that

White students can articulate intercultural competence more easily than racial awareness; reasons for this difference are discussed.

Limitations of this study include the low response rate; and the variations in cultural difference that the students in the sample interact with during their study abroad experiences. Policy implications and research recommendations are offered.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This study is an analysis of the hypothesized connections between a model of

intercultural competence and two theoretical models of racial identity. The experiment is

a variety of semester-long study abroad experiences undertaken by American

undergraduate students. The presentation of this study begins with a description of the

problem that racial identity and intercultural competence are lacking among U.S.

Americans, and that college campuses and college students are frequently at the center of

incidents and exchanges. Hypothesized connections are drawn between intercultural

competence, conceptualized by Bennett (1993), and Black racial identity, conceptualized

by Cross (1991; Worrell, Vandiver, Cross, & Fhagen-Smith, 2004) and between Bennett

(1993) and White Racial Consciousness, conceptualized by Rowe, Bennett, and Atkinson

(1994) and LaFleur, Rowe, & Leach (2002). The intention is to investigate these

concepts and the theoretical connections within a sample of undergraduate students who

study abroad. Guiding questions conclude the chapter.

Problem Statement

Domestic race relations, particularly between Black and White Americans,

continues to be an unresolved issue in the United States. For example, in April 2007, the

White radio announcer Don Imus brought the problems to the surface with his racist

comment about the Black members of the Rutgers University women's basketball team.

Still, it took nearly two weeks of public outcry and, ultimately, a decrease in advertisers

for CBS Radio to fire the controversial host. In October 2007, Professor Madonna

Constantine of Teachers College, Columbia University, arrived for work to find a

hangman's noose hanging from her office door, placed by a still-unknown person or persons. In the days that followed, many in the TC community stepped forward with claims of "micro-aggressions" that minority group members receive from dominant group members within Teachers College (Teachers College, 2007). Much work lies ahead for this institution to improve its racial climate, but to its credit, it did not wait for others to define the incident as repugnant.

Further exacerbating tense race relations are the recent trends toward "race blind" policies of college admission and school district lines. At work are laws purported to protect certain statuses, such as racial minorities, from discrimination. What these laws do not address is what University of California, Berkeley Law professor Ian F. Haney López calls "colorblind white dominance," wherein "a public consensus committed to *formal* antiracism *deters effective remediation of racial inequality*, protecting the racial status quo while insulating new forms of racism and xenophobia," (Haney López, 2006, emphasis added). The manner in which the Imus comment was handled can be perceived as protecting the racial status quo until formal antiracist policies were threatened.

Since US college campuses are often the location for race issues to arise, students on American campuses are directly and indirectly influenced by how these issues are treated. The combination of diversity, multicultural, and intercultural education and experiences creates the potential for undergraduate students to develop more positive attitudes toward other races. Study abroad is a particularly ripe venue to further this potential as it offers students daily opportunities to engage with and reflect upon cultural and racial differences.

Significance of the Study

A positive racial identity in this study is defined as that in which an individual seeks accuracy with regard to the history and current issues about his or her own race, educates others of his or her race, and is aware of and responsive to others of different races. These qualities are likely deficient in the individuals responsible for the above examples. It can be expected that such individuals are also lacking in intercultural competence, where a person understands and accepts the complexity of cultural difference. Equal opportunities for all and a democracy where all voices are heard cannot happen as long as a significant portion of the population remains stagnant in their intercultural competence and racial identity: "A truly integrated workplace [school, neighborhood, etc.], where people of divergent racial backgrounds, languages, and cultural identities learn to interact and respect each other, is an essential precondition for building a broadly pluralistic movement for radical democracy," (Marable, 1996, p. 14). *This study aims to examine the proposition that Black and White undergraduates who have substantive intercultural experiences with difference via participation in study abroad programs can develop positive racial identities and intercultural competence during and after education abroad.* While not measured here, a powerful outcome is the potential of study abroad participants to move toward alleviating racial disparities and racism in America.

Definition of Terms

Before we begin a closer inspection of this study, it is useful to define and clarify some key terms. As used in this study, *identity* is defined as an individual's sense of self as he or she interacts with others. One's identity has the potential to develop and change

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over time, depending upon the intensity of social interactions and the availability of opportunities to develop understanding about these interactions. *Intercultural competence* (also termed *intercultural sensitivity*) is an individual's reaction to cultural difference. As an individual develops intercultural competence, he or she gains the ability to manage and understand increasingly complex intercultural situations and interactions. Borrowing from Ting-Toomey, *culture* as understood for this study is defined as "a complex frame of reference that consists of patterns of traditions, beliefs, values, norms, symbols, and meanings that are shared to varying degrees by interacting members of a community," (1999, p. 10). It is notable that while U.S. Americans, particularly Whites, typically hold a strong affiliation with their ethnic ancestry, their awareness of their own national culture is rather weak (Bennett, 1998). *Race* is a socially-determined classification of individuals based on physical characteristics such as skin color and facial features. Further, *racism* is unearned power and privilege that leverages one race (White) over other races in culture, politics, finances, education, health, housing, and more, simply on the basis of race. As a result, *racial identity* is about "the psychological implications of racial-group membership; that is, belief systems that evolve in reaction to perceived differential racial-group membership" (Helms, 1990, p. 4). *Ethnicity*, however, refers to one's culture, religion, beliefs, language, etc. that are markers of a person's heritage. This study does not address ethnicity for the reason that, in the United States, this author does not deem the lack of (or a negative) ethnic identity for White individuals to be a societal problem.

Purpose of Research

This study addresses the call for research on intercultural competence and racial identity development. There are three main purposes for this research. First, to further the understanding of Black racial identity development, White racial identity and attitudes, and intercultural competence development. Three theoretical and empirically measurable models will be utilized and represent the state of the art for this research topic. These are Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (1993), Cross's Nigrescence model (1991; Worrell et al., 2001), and the White Racial Consciousness Model (Rowe et al., 1994; LaFleur et al., 2002). The second purpose is to investigate the degree to which study abroad influences these forms of development. As an intense educational and personal experience, study abroad is perceived by participants as a life-changing event (Leggett, 2007; Brown University, n.d.). I aim to add to the growing body of research on study abroad to move beyond anecdotal remarks.

Third, in a broader sense this research is also intended to contribute to the understanding of college student development in theory and in practice. The findings will be useful for faculty and administrators who teach and work with students embarking on study abroad and those interacting with racially and culturally different others at home. Campus leaders who employ purposeful guidance and are knowledgeable about racial identity and intercultural competence can further enhance student interactions, orientations, curricula, and policies.

Background

Most Americans likely affiliate *diversity* with *race*, with good reason. Diversity has been considered a means to repair fractured race relations and racial imbalances in

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this country. Derald Wing Sue is a leading researcher in multicultural psychology and

counseling and testified before President Clinton's Race Advisory Board. He states that

"bigotry and racism continue to be two of the most divisive forces in our society. Most

citizens of this nation seem ill-equipped to deal with these topics" (2003, p. 16). In this

statement, Sue means White Americans who, as the numerical majority, have enjoyed

unearned racial power and privilege since the founding of this nation (Bell, 1997;

McIntosh, 2005; Rothenberg, 2004). He underscores the gravity of this problem by

emphasizing critical demands for improvement in areas such as education, criminal

justice, and business conduct or "our nation will not survive the inevitable turmoil," (p.

12). Research has pointed to a negative correlation between racial identity stages and

level of racist beliefs and attitudes for White Americans (Carter, Helms, & Juby, 2004)

and between ethnocentrism and the lack of interethnic communication (Toale &

McCroskey, 2001). If we substitute culture for race, the widely published intercultural

communication researcher Stella Ting-Toomey (2005, p. 214) informs White students of

their racial privilege and awareness that awaits them in study abroad: "if you look like

everyone else in the mainstream culture [of the United States], you may not even notice

the importance of your cultural membership badge until…your overseas travels."

In a small number of studies it is apparent that students do, in fact, notice this

importance and they discuss it while studying abroad (Cressy, 2004; Talburt & Stewart,

1999; Wilson-Oyelaran, 2006). More research is necessary in order to increase our

understanding of Black and White student attitudes about race and intercultural

competence during study abroad. This current study begins with a review of the relevant

literature. Presented here is a brief overview of the three main theories that serve as the

foundation for the conceptual framework: Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS; 1993), Cross's model of Nigrescence (1991; Worrell et al., 2001), and the White Racial Consciousness model (WRC; Rowe et al., 1994; LaFleur et al., 2002).

Conceptual Framework

The DMIS is a linear stage progression through two phases: *Ethnocentrism*, or "assuming that the worldview of one's own culture is central to all reality" (Bennett, M., 1993, p. 30); and *Ethnorelativism*, bringing cultural understanding in context to the forefront and resting on the "assumption that cultures can only be understood relative to one another" (p. 46). Six main stages comprise the DMIS: Denial, Defense, Minimization, Acceptance, Adaptation, and Integration. The Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI; Hammer & Bennett, 1998/2001) is the instrument that measures a person's tendency of intercultural competence on the DMIS. Sample IDI items are in Appendix A.

Nigrescence is defined as "a *resocializing* experience; it seeks to transform a preexisting identity (a non-Afrocentric identity) into one that is Afrocentric" (Cross, 1991, p. 190, emphasis in original). Cross's Nigrescence model has been tested and revised and is currently in its third conceptualization, called the expanded Nigrescence model (Worrell et al., 2001). In this iteration are four developmental stages through which a Black American progresses: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization. The Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004) measures a Black person's attitudes about race in relation to Nigrescence. Sample items from the CRIS are included in Appendix B.

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In contrast to the previous two theories, White Racial Consciousness is a typological model focused specifically on racial *attitudes* as stable and measurable indicators of a White person's racial consciousness. The authors who originally conceived of this theory acknowledge the change of attitudes over time, but "see no evidence that the process of changing attitudes is developmental" and reject such White racial identity models as weak approximations of the multifaceted, complex structure of identity (Rowe et al., 1994, p. 135). WRC is defined as "one's awareness of being White and what that implies in relation to those who do not share White group membership" (Rowe et al., 1994, pp. 133-134). In WRC there are two overall constructs, Racial Justice and Racial Acceptance. In each are two measurable attitudes: *Reactive* and *Conflictive* in Racial Justice, and *Integrative* and *Dominative* in Racial Acceptance. Findings in 2002 indicate that the Integrative and Dominative attitudes are opposite poles of the same item (LaFleur, Rowe, & Leach). The instrument that measures White racial attitudes is the Oklahoma Racial Attitudes Scale; sample items are included in Appendix C (ORAS; LaFleur et al.).

This analysis continues with a comparison of the DMIS to each of the racial development models. For the DMIS and Nigrescence there is a specific focus on the substages that define each stage. The analysis of the WRC theory shows comparisons of the attitudes alone. Theoretical connections are described briefly below.

For the DMIS and Nigrescence, hypothesized connections are drawn between Defense and Pre-encounter; Defense and Immersion-Emersion; Minimization and Pre-encounter; Ethnocentrism and Immersion-Emersion; and Adaptation and Internalization. The comparison between the DMIS and the WRC model showed the following

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hypothesized connections: Denial and Reactive; Reversal and Reactive; Minimization and Conflictive; Ethnocentrism and Conflictive; Defense and Dominative; and Adaptation and Integration. Either weak or nonexistent connections were found for Acceptance, and Integration on the DMIS and Recycling in Nigrescence.

Research Questions

From a theoretical standpoint it follows that developing intercultural competence and a positive racial identity or attitudes go hand in hand toward healing racial divisions. Such development for US undergraduates is expressed elsewhere as a matter of economic competitiveness and national security (Brustein, 2005; Business-Higher Education Forum, et al., 1986; Carlson, Burn, Useem, & Yachimovicz, 1990; de Wit, 1999; Fry, 1984; Laubscher, 1994; NAFSA, 2006). The argument posed in this paper is that it is a moral imperative. A person cannot claim competence if he or she looks for difference, interactions, and competence exclusively beyond or within our country's borders. The following research questions aim to determine in what ways racial identity and intercultural competence development are related:

1) To what extent do White students' intercultural competence and racial attitudes change as a result of having studied abroad?

2) How do White students articulate their intercultural competence development and racial attitude development as a result of having studied abroad?

3) Are the changes in a student's intercultural competence and racial attitudes related?

4) To what extent do White students perceive a change in their intercultural competence and racial identity?

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Organization of the Thesis

There are five chapters in this thesis. Chapter one is the introduction to the greater problem and context for the study. Key terms are defined and the research questions that guide the study are presented. Chapter two is a survey of the relevant literature and an in-depth exploration of the three theoretical models which constitute the basis for the conceptual framework. Chapter three describes the methodology, methods, and research design applied in this study; here, too, are details about the population, instruments, and analyses. Strengths and limitations are discussed. Chapter four begins with an overview of the sample and continues with results for each research question, including analysis and interpretation of quantitative and qualitative data. Chapter five presents key findings from the study and a review of the hypothesized and empirical connections between the theoretical models. Recommendations for policy, practice, and future research are made.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Overview

The following is a presentation of U.S. study abroad and relevant racial identity and intercultural sensitivity research. Next is the intended purpose of the research followed by a review of intercultural identity and racial identity theories. The latter half, and main focus, is a review of the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (Bennett, M., 1993), Black racial identity development or Nigrescence (Cross, 1991; Worrell, Cross, & Vandiver, 2001), and White Racial Consciousness (Rowe et al., 1994; LaFleur et al., 2002). The chapter culminates in a presentation of a new, integrated model of intercultural sensitivity and racial identity.

Background

Context of Phenomenon: U.S. Study Abroad

Of nearly 17.5 million undergraduate students enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities in fall 2004[1], 65.7% were White and 12.7% were Black (U.S. Department of Education, 2006). In contrast, in academic year 2004-05, 205,983 students studied abroad[2] of whom 83.0% were White and 3.5% were Black or African American (Institute of International Education, 2006). The Senator Paul Simon Study Abroad Foundation Act (Simon Act) aims to level the disparity between college enrollment and study abroad participation by targeting increases in students of color abroad. The goal is for one million students abroad by 2016. Using the 2004 undergraduate enrollment percentages cited above, this would mean in 2016, 657,000 White students and 127,000 Black

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[1] I assume a similar number were enrolled in spring 2005, but the source does not indicate this statistic.
[2] This figure includes graduate students.

students would go abroad, increases of 384% and 1,762% respectively. While this goal may not be realistic in such a short time frame, the important, driving factor is to increase the representation of students of color who study abroad.

The Simon Act[3] aims to increase dramatically the quantity and diversity of students studying abroad. In the November 2005 report that serves as the basis for the Simon Act, the Commission on the Abraham Lincoln Study Abroad Fellowship Program (Lincoln Commission) recommends "diversity of students, institutions, and destinations" (2005, p. xiii) with special foci on increasing the number of students of color abroad as well as expanding the number of students studying in nontraditional global destinations. The Lincoln Commission's chief argument is to send American students abroad in order to improve economic competitiveness and national security. Such arguments are commonly found in documents advocating campus internationalization (cf. Brustein, 2005; Business-Higher Education Forum, et. al., 1986; de Wit, 1999; NAFSA, 2006) and research in support of education abroad (cf. Carlson et al., 1990; Fry, 1984; Laubscher, 1994). This argument ignores a crucial and ongoing issue of domestic importance, namely that of racial relations between Black and White Americans. Paula Rothenberg is a writer and lecturer on topics of inequality, equity and privilege, globalizing the curriculum, and white privilege. She states that "a society that distributes educational opportunities, housing, health care, food, even kindness, based on the color of people's skin…cannot guarantee the safety or security of its people," (2005, p. 4).

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[3] The Simon Act was passed by the U.S. House of Representatives in June 2007 and referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where it languished in the fervor of the 2008 presidential election. In February 2009 it was reintroduced to the Senate with bipartisan support. Still, considering the current economic recession, this bill risks passage with no funding, a state that has occurred repeatedly for federal international education initiatives in recent decades.

In the United States internationalization initiatives have become a requirement for colleges and universities that provide an "education without boundaries" (Goucher College, 2007) and to educate "global citizen-leaders" (Macalester College, 2007). One of the chief components of internationalization efforts for nearly every four-year institution is sending U.S. students to study abroad. Many institutions have made this component the hallmark of their internationalization portfolio. For example, the University of Minnesota has a Curriculum Integration Initiative that is in the process of integrating study abroad into every undergraduate major (University of Minnesota LAC, 2007a). In 2001 that university was awarded grants from the Bush Foundation and the U.S. Department of Education toward establishing and implementing this initiative, a pioneering display not only of the institution's commitment to study abroad but the importance of such an initiative to external funding agencies. High-profile examples of successful campus internationalization such as these have caught the attention of national lawmakers as evidenced in the Simon Act.

While studying abroad undergraduates are faced with a multitude of new experiences that force them to address unfamiliar issues for the first time and familiar issues in different ways. Identity issues regarding race, culture, gender, age, language, and more are heightened – positively and negatively – when experienced in a new context. Further, students seek to make meaning out of the new awareness by exploring these identity issues in class discussions and casual conversations. College students have reached a maturity level to articulate what these interactions mean (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005); moreover, learning about oneself – one's identity – is often the most vivid and surprising insight that students encounter and grapple with while abroad

(Cornes, 2004). These intercultural interactions abroad can give credence to interactions with those at home who represent culturally different others, namely people of other races. Finally, experiences with racism and conversations about race are happening while students are abroad but few are documented in research (Brown University OIP, n.d.; Cressy, 2004; Talburt & Stewart, 1999; Wilson-Oyelaran, 2006).

As presented in the previous section, race is irrelevant to most White Americans. Since White students have traditionally participated in education abroad in high numbers, it follows that studies on racial identity in education abroad have been sparse. What is known about race and identity abroad has appeared in recent years. It is likely that re-entry interviews and surveys that focus on identity issues are conducted by education abroad professionals but are rarely published except for internal recruiting purposes (e.g., Brown University OIP, n.d.). Otherwise, published works on this topic typically reflect small, qualitative case studies that describe in phenomenological terms the experiences with race that students are having abroad (Cressy, 2004; Landau & Moore, 2001; Tolliver, 2000; Wilson-Oyelaran, 2006). All of these presentations provide vivid quotes in which students describe their changing attitudes, knowledge, and behaviors about race and racial relations in the U.S. Two (Cressy, 2004; Tolliver, 2000) give details about program design (e.g., a field trip to slave castles in Ghana) and subsequent, guided discussions about the experience or event. One piece that underscores the importance of the topic is an article by Talburt and Stewart (1999). Their study was designed to investigate language and culture learned abroad, yet the students' experiences and conversations about race were so vivid that the authors were compelled to include a discussion on these observations and interviews in addition to their study findings.

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Intercultural Research on American Students Abroad

The majority of the research conducted on intercultural sensitivity and adaptation with study abroad populations uses Bennett's intercultural sensitivity model as the theoretical construct (e.g., Anderson, Lawton, Rexeison, & Hubbard, 2006; Cohen, Paige, Shively, Emert, & Hoff, 2005; Engle & Engle, 2004; Medina-Lopez-Portillo, 2004; Vande Berg, Balkcum, Scheid, & Whalen, 2004). This trend is most notable since 1998 when the empirical measurement that accompanies the Bennett model, the Intercultural Developmental Inventory, was created (Hammer & Bennett, 1998/2001).

Other studies have used different instruments and methods to determine college students' intercultural sensitivity and adaptation. For example, a case study of 30 students was conducted using in-depth interviews to determine what extra-curricular activities during the study abroad experience contribute to cross-cultural learning (Laubscher, 1994). While diversity and difference are topics in this study, Laubscher uses them to refer to cultures outside of the U.S. Further, although three informants were students of color and approximately 10 students were in countries where White was not the dominant race, Laubscher investigates neither race nor racial experiences. Another qualitative study examined the intercultural communication competence of students who returned from studying abroad (Smith, 1997). Race is among the multiple cultural identities defined by the author but was not a salient topic for the students to mention in the interviews. There is no mention of race or ethnicity in the description of the sample.

A third study measured students' perceived and recalled attitudes with regard to intercultural awareness as one of four parts of global awareness (Chieffo & Griffiths, 2004). The authors designed their own survey instrument which they administered to an

experimental (study abroad) group and to a control (home campus) group. I question the reliability of the instrument for two reasons: it is short (26 items) in relation to the goal of determining global awareness; and 10 out of the 26 items are behavioral statements that favor the experimental group.

Racial Identity and Intercultural Sensitivity Research in Study Abroad

Research is lacking that investigates racial identity and intercultural sensitivity. Because undergraduate students are nearing maturity and adulthood, they are a population that is primed to handle the complexity of identity exploration. As noted by Stewart and Healy, "events occurring during the transition to adulthood had more impact than events earlier or later" (in Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004, p. 99). A few studies have investigated two identity constructs in study abroad but none have addressed race and intercultural sensitivity. Two examine gender and culture (Anderson, 2003; Twombley, 1995); and, while not conducted in a study abroad context, a study shows that ethnocentrism contributes to lack of interethnic communication (Toale & McCroskey, 2001). Thus there exists a dearth of research in this area.

There is a call for research design that investigates Black and White racial attitudes in the same study (Ansley, 1997; Sigelman & Welch, 1991). The basis for this argument is that single-race designs are too narrow to understand fully – much less transcend – the current attitudes and the complexity of how they are interrelated. Acknowledging the ever-growing diversity of our nation, Sue (2003) emphasizes that

> increasingly, you as a citizen, educator, or worker will come into contact with
> culturally different citizens who may not share your worldview, who operate from
> a reality different from yours…each of you must work harder to become

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culturally sensitive, aware, and skilled in functioning in a pluralistic society. (p.

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Although addressing Whites directly, Sue's assertion can be applied to the context of this study, a call for Blacks and Whites to develop a positive racial identity and intercultural sensitivity through study abroad.

Contact Theory

In the past sixty years it has been hypothesized and tested that coming into contact with people who are culturally or racially different from oneself can result in a reduction of prejudice and increase of tolerance. Social-psychologist Gordon W. Allport (1954) is most famous for his theoretical and empirical work in this area. He emphasized that certain characteristics of interracial interactions were necessary for a significant reduction of prejudice to occur. The people coming into contact must be of equal status and united toward a goal. Societal structures that support the common humanity between the people involved (such as laws or community beliefs) foster an atmosphere that supports an increase of tolerance (Allport, 1954, p. 281). Allport also recommends increasing knowledge about other groups, but that education alone is not powerful enough to reduce prejudice. In recent years Pettigrew (1998) revised Allport's (1954) theory to add the potential for friendship to occur between the interacting members. Both scholars acknowledge that no amount of quality contact is likely to impact those who are already very prejudiced. Contact theory is relevant to this study as it shows that under certain circumstances individual levels of tolerance can increase when someone interacts with others who are culturally or racially different. For this exploratory study, however, an

experiment employing recommendations from Allport (1954) and Pettigrew (1998) will not be performed. Instead, contact theory will inform the qualitative interview questions.

Theories of Intercultural Identity and Development

Typological Identity Theories

In contrast to the thin treatment of race and identity in education abroad, intercultural issues and constructs have been studied frequently in the broader, theoretical literature. Many of these originate in intercultural communication. Three such theories exist regarding intercultural identity. This study draws upon intercultural sensitivity as a main theoretical construct. The following is a presentation and critique of other theories that are respected in the literature and that relate to the study at hand.

In Cupach and Imahori's identity management theory, cultural and relational identities are central to three phases: "trial-and-error," convergent/divergent, and competence (in Gudykunst, 2005). This is exclusively a communication basis with a focus on facework (e.g. saving or losing face) in dyadic communication. Next, cultural identity theory was developed by Collier and Thomas (1988). The fundamental concept is managing one's dominant cultural identity in intercultural communication contexts. The authors propose that identity is constituted of three interdependent and variable aspects: scope, salience, and intensity.

Finally, Ting-Toomey's identity negotiation theory (1999) in some ways fits well with the study at hand. Mindfulness, or "the readiness to shift one's frame of reference," is a fundamental construct (1999, p. 46). Ting-Toomey employs four primary identity domains: culture, ethnicity, gender, and personality. The core element of culture and the dialectics of five themes of identity serve as the basis for this theory. These dialectics are

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1) identity security – identity vulnerability, 2) identity inclusion – identity differentiation, 3) identity predictability – identity unpredictability, 4) identity connection – identity autonomy, and 5) identity consistency – identity change. Ting-Toomey states that "we can predict that individuals who can creatively handle the challenges of the identity dialectics…would be the ones who become dynamic biculturalists or dynamic cultural transformers," (2005, p. 225).

The above theories present different approaches of typology to how an individual processes his or her sense of self. The first two, Cupach and Imahori (in Gudykunst, 2005) and Collier and Thomas (1988) consider culture as a main and unchanging dimension of identity. An individual retains his or her cultural sense of self even as variance occurs along sub-dimensions. Further, to different degrees all three theories describe cultural variance in intercultural contexts, but the progression of variance remains unknown until an ideal endpoint, or dynamic biculturalism/cultural transformers as Ting-Toomey (2005) calls them. None addresses intercultural interactions and growth when power and oppression are present in the relationship.

Power Issues in Identity Development Theories

The following theories address power issues within an evolutionary intercultural framework. As noted above, power is a key construct of racial interactions in the United States. According to Kim (2001), intercultural personhood is the transformation of an individual along a spiral dynamic of stress-adaptation-growth. One is "rooted in, embracing, and not discarding the original cultural identity…(while) adaptation means the resolution of internal stress that promotes the qualitative transformation toward growth…(resulting in) an emerging identity that is broader than the original" yet

maintains some aspects of it (p. 67). Also, the transformation to intercultural personhood

encompasses the main domains, cognitive, affective, and behavioral. Yoshikawa

describes what it is like to achieve in these areas: one is "much freer than ever before,

not only in the cognitive domain (perception, thoughts, etc.) but also in the affective

(feeling, attitudes, etc.) and behavioral domains," (in Kim, 2001, p. 198).

In conducting her research to advance this theory, Kim presents examples of

outgroups, namely Native Americans and immigrants and refugees to the U.S. As such,

ethnic identity becomes a key component of the theoretical development, along with

communication competence, functional fitness, and psychological health. Similar to

theorists whose focus is ethnic identity (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1983; Phinney, 1990,

1992), Kim's treatment of ethnic identity is primarily that of culture and communication

and traditions related to one's ethnicity. Race is not discussed at all and therefore power,

privilege, and oppression are not part of Kim's theory of intercultural personhood.

Oppressed Groups and Intercultural Sensitivity Development

The final theoretical model of intercultural development is that best suited for the

description and parameters of this study. Milton Bennett's developmental model of

intercultural sensitivity (DMIS, 1993) is a linear stage model based on intercultural

communication concepts and phenomenology. It describes an individual's experience

with cultural difference in moving through three ethnocentric stages (denial, defense, and

minimization) and three ethnorelative stages (acceptance, adaptation, and integration).

Progression from one stage to the next entails the "underlying assumption…that as one's

experience of cultural difference becomes more complex and sophisticated, one's

potential competence in intercultural relations increases," (Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman,

2003, p. 422). Regarding power dynamics in intercultural interactions, Milton Bennett

(1993, p. 28) points out that "oppressed people may navigate the development of

intercultural sensitivity differently from those in dominant groups." From start to finish

the DMIS progression seems to have been designed for dominant, or White, groups,

while Bennett (1993) and Bennett and Bennett (2004) give insight at each stage for the

likely experience of difference for oppressed, or Black, groups.

Theories of Black and White Racial Identity Development

Black Racial Identity Theories

Black racial identity has been investigated since the 1930s. Until the 1970s the

common assumption and resulting focus of research was a deficit or self-hatred model of

psychological development (Cross, 1991). As a result of the Black Social Movement

several scholars, independent of one another and reaching similar conclusions, published

between 1968 and 1976 radically new insights into the stages of Negro-to-Black

conversion, or a metamorphosis from negative identity to positive identity in the context

of the historical treatment of Blacks and the social change occurring at the time (in Cross,

1991, pp. 157-158: cf. Cross, 1971; Jackson, 1976a; Milliones, 1973; Thomas, 1971).

Since that time several theories of Black identity development have been

proposed. The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI; Sellers, Smith,

Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998, p. 19) approaches Black identity in two ways, using

the traditional "mainstream" approach of Blackness as deficit and the modern

"underground" approach of an Afrocentric, anti-racist identity. The MMRI presents four

dimensions of Black racial identity: salience, centrality, regard, and ideology. In his

1991 book *Shades of Black*, William E. Cross, Jr. details an exhaustive examination of

Black racial identity theories since the 1930s and determined that the traditional approach to Black identity neglected the positive ways in which Blacks develop their identity.

The original Cross model of Nigrescence (1971, 1978) was revised by Helms in 1990. Helms reduced the original five stages to four: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization. Further, she states that each stage can be considered bimodal, meaning that each stage has two different means of identity expression. Helms presents selections from interviews as examples of a Black person's beliefs at different stages. Helms's revision presents qualitative data that sheds light on Nigrescence but there is no discernible difference from the Cross model.

White Racial Identity Theories

White racial identity has had less attention from research scholars, likely because "White people do not see themselves as White," rather they focus on other identities, such as religion or ethnicity (in Helms, 1990, p. 50). Most researchers that have investigated White racial identity show some variation of a typology or a path from a racist White identity to a nonracist White identity (in Helms, 1990, pp. 51-52: cf. Ganter, 1977; Gaertner, 1976; Hardiman, 1982; Helms, 1984; Kovel, 1970; Jones, 1972; Terry, 1977). Also evident in some White identity theories is a White person's need to be accepted by other Whites (in Helms, 1990).

Hardiman, for example, presents a five-stage White Identity Development Model (1982) developed from the autobiographies of White anti-racist activists. The stages are: Lack of Social Consciousness, Acceptance, Resistance, Redefinition, and Internalization. The stages of this model are similar to the one developed by Helms (1990) but no empirical measurement accompanies Hardiman's model.

Janet Helms is the Augustus Long Professor of Counseling, Developmental, and Educational Psychology at Boston College. Her model, White Racial Identity Development (1990, 1992), has been used extensively in research studies. As a theoretical construct, Helms (1990, 1992) shares with Cross (1991; Worrell et al., 2001) and Bennett (1993) the linear progression of statuses (in Pope-Davis, Vandiver, & Stone, 1999). This model has two phases and six statuses of White identity development: Phase 1, Abandonment of Racism: Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration; and Phase 2, Defining a Nonracist Identity: Pseudo-Independence, Immersion-Emersion, and Autonomy. Still, the Helms model and instrument that accompanies it have come under negative scrutiny. Rowe, Bennett, and Atkinson (1994) criticize Helms's White racial identity theory as overly focused on relationships with outgroups and based on minority identity development and its concomitant focus on oppression and adaptation. The instrument, White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS; Helms & Carter, 1990), has failed validity testing (Behrens, 1997; Pope-Davis et al., 1999). Further, this instrument is only available in a paper-and-pencil format. For these reasons of empirical questionability and logistical restrictions, Helms's model (1990) will not be used in this study.

<div align="center">Intercultural Sensitivity and Racial Identity</div>

As it shows increasing complexity of self-knowledge and ability to manage interactions with racially different others, Cross's Nigrescence (1991; Worrell et al., 2001) is an exciting model to examine against Bennett's DMIS (1993). Furthermore, a typological model of racial awareness, White Racial Consciousness (Rowe et al., 1994; LaFleur et al., 2002), has risen as a theoretically and empirically sound model. To date,

neither Nigrescence nor White Racial Consciousness have been studied in parallel with the DMIS and therefore this study will break new ground. All three models are presented in detail below. First are individual descriptions of each, followed by the hypothesized connections between the DMIS and the racial identity models.

Identity

The intercultural sensitivity model and racial identity theories that serve as the core for this study are rooted in the interplay between an individual and his or her social group, or psychosocial relativity. These models depict identity as a dynamic, lifetime process of becoming that is represented in three interrelated paths:

1) carrying over, in an intact state, certain traits or components linked to the 'old' self;

2) the transformation of old elements into new elements; and

3) the incorporation of new dimensions of self that are not traceable to ether old or transformed traits associated with the former self (Cross, 1991, p. xiii).

These theories, and this discussion, do not address personal identity or universal identity. *Personal identity* is the combination of characteristics that are unique and which separate an individual from the rest of humanity while *universal identity* encompasses the characteristics that all people share (Cross; Sue, 2001). This study is an investigation of *group identity*, or *reference group orientation* (Cross), where an individual shares some characteristics with others yet maintains some unique characteristics as well. Markers of group identity include, for example, race, culture, gender, and ethnicity. Each person is a member of multiple groups but the salience of one group over another is different from person to person and can change depending on the context (Sue). Membership in some

groups, like race, is immutable and socially determined. An individual, therefore, both receives from society and achieves within himself or herself their group identity. In other words, "perceived group membership exerts powerful influence over how society views sociodemographic groups and how its members view themselves and others," (Sue, p. 793).

An individual's identity, or how one sees himself or herself in relation to the world around him or her, is simultaneously stable and subject to change. "A person's identity filters incoming experiences so that the information 'fits' into his or her current understanding of self and the world in which he or she lives," (Cross, 1991, p. 199). Regarding the stage development of identity, the term *current* is key in the above statement. As our understanding of ourselves and our world changes, our identity must change to suit that new understanding. This literature review will highlight studies in the areas of intercultural sensitivity development and racial identity development or typology and construct a conceptual framework that posits a theoretical relationship between a model of intercultural competence development and Black racial identity development and White racial consciousness type, respectively. The goal is to understand more deeply to what extent, if at all, the filter of identity adjusts when Black and White Americans study abroad. Intercultural competence will be presented first, followed by Black racial identity and White racial consciousness. In this section I will focus on a review of the theoretical literature but will include relevant empirical literature as well. Finally the conceptual framework will be detailed with relationships – strong, weak, and nonexistent – presented to map the racial identity models in relation to intercultural competence.

The primary dependent variables in this study are Black racial identity and White racial consciousness. These two are selected because the identity literature has treated them separately (Cross, 1991; Rowe et al., 1994; LaFleur et al., 2002). As far as foundational work on the development of racial identity models goes, Cross's model of *Nigrescence*, or the process of becoming Black (1991), is considered a landmark piece (Ashmore et al., 2004; Helms, 1990). Nigrescence has frequently been used as the basis for creating other stage models of identity development (e.g., women, gay/lesbian, and minority[4]; Evans, Forney & Brito-DiGuido, 1998).

Development of Intercultural Sensitivity

Developing intercultural sensitivity is an area of research that is still new in academia. Until approximately twenty years ago it was occasionally investigated by anthropologists (e.g. Hall, 1976), psychologists (e.g., Allport, 1954; Tajfel, 1982), and sociologists (e.g., Glaser, 1946; Sherif, 1958). Despite its recency as an independent field, there is a firm and growing base of research in this area. Most current researchers and theorists have their roots in intercultural communication (e.g., Bennett, J., 1993; Bennett & Bennett, 2004; Bennett, M., 1993; Kim, 1994; 2001; Ting-Toomey, 1999, 2005). Intercultural sensitivity is defined as "a continuum of increasing sophistication in dealing with cultural difference," (Bennett, M., 1993, p. 22).

One researcher has taken a comprehensive view of intercultural competence. Milton Bennett's (1993) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) is a linear stage progression through two phases: *Ethnocentrism*, or "assuming that the worldview of one's own culture is central to all reality" (p. 30); and *Ethnorelativism*, or

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[4] Atkinson, Morten, & Sue (1983) use this term in their minority identity development model.

bringing cultural understanding in context to the forefront and resting on the "assumption

that cultures can only be understood relative to one another" (p. 46). The stages of the

DMIS are similar to William Perry's theory of college student ethical and intellectual

The Ethnocentric Stages
    I.   Denial
- Isolation
- Separation

    II.   Defense
- Denigration
- Superiority
- Reversal

    III.   Minimization
- Physical Universalism
- Transcendent Universalism

The Ethnorelative Stages
    IV.   Acceptance
- Respect for Behavioral Difference
- Respect for Value Difference

    V.   Adaptation
- Empathy
- Pluralism

    VI.   Integration
- Contextual Evaluation
- Constructive Marginality
- Encapsulated Marginality (Bennett, J., 1993)

Figure 1. The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (Bennett, M., 1993, p. 29).

development (1999) and, as will be described later in this chapter, parallel to several

stages of Cross's Nigrescence (1991; Worrell et al., 2001) and the four types in White

Racial Consciousness (Rowe et al., 1994; LaFleur et al., 2002).

    There are six stages that progress from Ethnocentrism through Ethnorelativism.

An overview of the DMIS is shown in Figure 1.

The first stage is *Denial*, where the existence of cultural difference is unacknowledged. Even when confronted with cultural difference, it has no meaning for someone at this stage, particularly for those in the subset isolation. The lack of knowledge and contact with culturally different others stems from "broad, poorly differentiated categories" (Bennett, M., 1993, p. 31) such as an assumption that all Black people live in poor, crime-ridden ghettos. The subset separation is creating barriers that physically or socially separate one's group from others. If the intention is to keep others away then separation may seem benign, but its malignant side quickly becomes clear in the objectification of others to "subhuman status" (p. 33) such as in genocides. In general, those who are different can be passively ignored as irrelevant to one's worldview.

The second stage is *Defense*. Persons in this stage perceive threats to their reality from culturally different others and seek ways to fight against such intrusions. Proactive steps against difference mark this stage. An individual in the subsection denigration, on the one hand, will express negative stereotypes as truth and displays a general hostility toward other cultures. Denigration combined with rationale has given rise to groups such as Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan (Bennett, M., 1993). Superiority, on the other hand, "emphasizes the positive evaluation of one's own cultural status" as the "acme of development" (p. 37). Other cultures and worldviews are considered inferior. The third marker of the Defense stage, reversal, is not necessarily a stage that every individual experiences but it occurs often in intercultural interactions. A person in reversal rejects and denigrates his or her own culture in favor of another, or has "gone native." Reversal is also the typical starting point on the DMIS for people of color.

The last stage in Ethnocentrism is *Minimization*. Minimization entails trivializing cultural difference and emphasizing similarity based on assumed universal characteristics. It is indicated first by physical universalism, akin to applying Sue's (2001) universal identity to group identity in that all humans express the same range of emotions, have the same biological functions, and such. Its parallel indication is transcendent universalism, signaled by a fundamental belief in a "single transcendent principle, law, or imperative" (Bennett, M., 1993, p. 43) such as from a religion or ideology. Still at work is the unconscious use of and belief in one's own worldview as central to existence and interpretation, and that remaining true to oneself will result in positive interactions. A person in the Minimization stage has the potential to revert back to Defense (as in reversal) or to move on to Ethnorelativism.

Acceptance is Milton Bennett's (1993) fourth stage and it begins the Ethnorelative phase. Here, "cultural difference is acknowledged and respected" (p. 47). A person in this stage no longer sees violations of his or her own worldview as wrong or threatening but begins to accept them as expressions of cultural relativity. Respect for behavioral difference is indicated primarily in communication – variations are allowed in spoken language and nonverbal behavior. A more insightful marker of Acceptance is respect for value difference, or "acceptance of the different worldview assumptions that underlie cultural variation in behavior" (p. 49). An individual begins to understand the complexity of the world as humans have created it and that it is all in dynamic movement or process. Retreat to Ethnocentric stages is still possible at Acceptance, especially if the concepts are too threatening to accept or if a particularly negative event occurs that seems to negate the achieved acceptance. Maintaining insight and respect for cultural

differences while valuing the integrity of cultures is a sign of moving to the Adaptation stage.

The difference between Acceptance and *Adaptation* is similar to that of the first two stages of Ethnocentrism: the difference between belief (passive) and behavior (active). Further, rather than maintaining an "either/or" dichotomy as in Ethnocentrism, a person in Adaptation displays "new skills appropriate to a different worldview [that are] are acquired in an additive process" (Bennett, M., 1993, p. 52, emphasis omitted). Taking or understanding the perspective of someone else marks the first part of Adaptation: empathy. Here, one's frame of reference shifts so that the experience of another person can be imagined. A negative aspect is blanket approval of all perspectives as permissible under the guise of cultural relativity. The other part of Adaptation, and likely an advance from empathy, is pluralism. There are two aspects of pluralism: one, a culture must be understood in the context of that culture, and two, when a person has "two or more internalized cultural frames of reference [and] 'respect for difference'…becomes synonymous with 'respect for self'" (p. 55). It is possible to express pluralism by accident, having not moved through the previous stages. For example, if a person has experience with only two cultures and cannot generalize understanding and respect for cultural difference beyond these two. With an exception that will be explained in the section that brings together Nigrescence and the DMIS, Ethnorelativism must be conscious and achieved by linear movement through the stages of this model.

The final stage in the DMIS is *Integration*, where one exists and interacts "within a collection of various cultural and personal frames of reference" (Bennett, M., 1993, p.

59). Integration is also the attempt to incorporate various parts of one's identity into a new, unique whole. Contextual evaluation, the first form of this stage, is "the ability to analyze and evaluate situations from one or more chosen cultural perspectives" (p. 61). Knowing the appropriateness of behavior and communication – and consciously choosing to consider and to act among multiple, culturally appropriate ways – separates this stage from Adaptation. The sense of ease and natural confidence with cultural difference is contrasted by the second form, constructive marginality. Someone in this stage is alone in his or her cultural identity and is "struggling with the total integration of ethnorelativism" (p. 63). In the negative sense, termed encapsulated marginality, this person has no cultural identity, no reference group, and thus lives a lonely and possibly dysfunctional existence. This identity solitude can also result in a positive perspective on adaptation and choice, where "a person [can] construct appropriate frames of reference for particular purposes" (p. 64). Janet Bennett (1993, p. 118) describes it best as she says, "The suggestions here is of continual and comfortable movement between cultural identities such that an integrated, multicultural existence is maintained, and where conscious, deliberate choice making and management of alternative frames prevail." In contrast to the encapsulated marginal, the constructive marginal tolerates ambiguity well and has a self-defined frame of reference. Janet Bennett's (1993) in-depth analysis of Integration and Milton Bennett's (1993) comprehensive presentation of the DMIS (cf. Bennett & Bennett, 2004) integrate many concepts and parallels to race, power, and privilege. These will be highlighted later in the conceptual framework.

Two separate research groups have established the reliability and validity of the empirical measurement, the IDI. The instrument was found to be a reliable measurement

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of intercultural sensitivity that approximates the DMIS stages (Paige, Jacobs-Cassuto, Yershova, & DeJaeghere, 2003). Construct validity was established by Hammer, Bennett, and Wiseman (2003).

<center>*Nigrescence: Black Racial Identity Development*</center>

Cross's model of Nigrescence (1991; Worrell et al., 2001) has risen to the forefront of theories of Black racial identity development largely due to the strength of its concepts over time (evident in its basis for subsequent identity models), the openness of the researchers to critique and change, and the valid and reliable instrument that measures development along the Nigrescence model, the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Worrell et al., 2001). It is similar to a linear stage theory although one concept, recycling, separates it from true step-by-step models of stage development in which a stage is achieved and not returned to. For the purposes of this study I will treat it as a stage theory, particularly since the DMIS includes a similar retreat concept (reversal).

I. Pre-encounter
- Assimilation
- Miseducation
- Self-Hatred
II. Encounter
III. Immersion-Emersion
- Anti-White
- Intense Black Involvement
IV. Internalization
- Black Nationalist
- Biculturalist
- Multiculturalist Racial
- Multiculturalist Inclusive
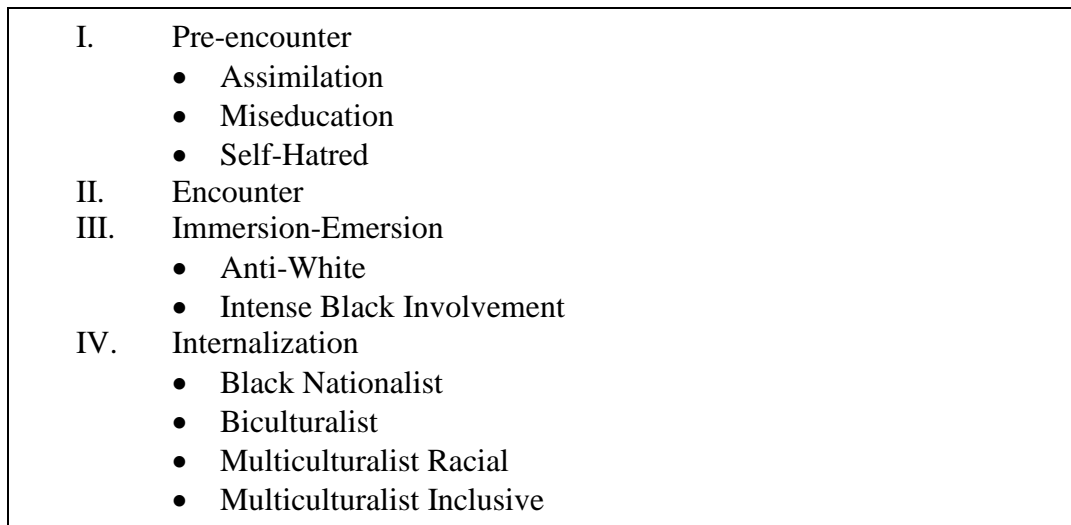
Figure 2. Cross's Nigrescence Stages and Identity Clusters: 2000 Expanded Nigrescence Model (adapted from Worrell et al., 2001, p. 202).

In the expanded Nigrescence model (Worrell, et al., 2001) there are four developmental stages through which a Black American progresses: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization. Except for Encounter, each stage has identity markers or clusters that represent possible expressions of Nigrescence at a particular stage. All are listed in Figure 2. Movement toward a positive Black identity is perceived to be along the four stages. Except for the Anti-White and Intense Black Involvement clusters, it is not expected, and likely unrealistic, that an individual achieve a positive identity by moving through each identity cluster. The researchers acknowledge the ongoing development and discovery of the Nigrescence model, now in its third version. The following discussion presents each stage and a discussion of each cluster as they are currently understood in the 2000 expanded model (Worrell et al., 2001).

The first stage is *Pre-encounter*, where a Black person has a non-Afrocentric identity. Race has little to no salience for an individual at this stage. The three identity clusters are Pre-encounter Assimilation (P-E Assimilation), Pre-encounter Miseducation (P-E Miseducation), and Pre-encounter Self-Hatred (P-E Self-Hatred) (Worrell et al., 2001). An individual in P-E Assimilation claims an American identity and regards race as unimportant in his or her life. This person is not against Blacks but race is not salient for him or her. Other identities, such as socioeconomic class or sexual orientation, as well as an overall White (also called Eurocentric) perspective, are more salient. P-E Miseducation differs in that this cluster is marked by a belief in negative stereotypes about Blacks that are perpetuated in American society. It can be construed that race is higher in salience, but in a negative way. Further, an individual in P-E Self-Hatred not only believes but internalizes the negative stereotypes, resulting in hatred of Blacks as a

group and hatred of him or herself. P-E Self-Hatred is the only cluster where group identity is found to have an effect on individual identity (or personality).

This stage is followed by *Encounter*, typified by one event that shatters or a series of ongoing events that chip away at a person's Pre-encounter worldview. There are two steps to Encounter: the experience of it and the personalization of it. It is the personalization, or powerful and personal meaning, that propels the individual "into at least considering a different interpretation of the Black condition," which did not occur in Pre-encounter (Cross, 1991, p. 201). The encounter can be a positive or a negative one. It brings up heretofore unacknowledged emotions directed inward to the self (e.g. guilt, anxiety) and outward against Whites and White-dominated society (e.g. fury). These emotions and new awareness lead to a search for meaning in Afrocentric ways.

This search for meaning is known as *Immersion-Emersion*, the third stage of Nigrescence (Cross, 1991). It is a stage of simultaneously tearing down the former perspective and building the new, Afrocentric one, while negating all that is White or glorifying Blackness or both. It is a stage of in-between, where the old values and identities are rejected but the new ones are still unfamiliar. The feelings of anger and guilt that mark the Encounter stage are funneled into the experience of one or both identity clusters that characterize this stage: Anti-White and Intense Black Involvement. Anti-White identity is demonstrated by a demonization of Whiteness. All that seems to represent Whites and White culture is rejected outright, usually in favor of Blacks and symbols of Blackness and Africa. Thus Intense Black Involvement centers on the pride and superiority of Blacks. Outward displays of unity with Black culture are obvious in hair, dress, and sometimes a change of name. A person at this stage can show movement

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through it by first embracing an Anti-White identity, evolving to a combination with Intense Black Involvement, and exiting the stage high in Intense Black Involvement (Worrell et al., 2001).

Following the emotional turmoil of Immersion-Emersion is *Internalization*[5], marked by a return to one's familiar personality but with a deeper understanding of, appreciation for, and, most of all, self-assured acceptance of the complexity of what it means to be Black. Someone at Internalization may embrace a Black Nationalist, Biculturalist, Multicultural Racial, or Multicultural Inclusive identity. As noted by Vandiver (2001, p. 169), "what distinguishes the internalized identities from each other is the number of salient multiple identities beyond being Black." Focusing on one's Black identity and community is evident in a Black Nationalist. This can be confused with Intense Black Involvement, but the difference is that a Black Nationalist has developed a realistic and balanced perspective on what it means to be Black and what Whites represent in American society and culture. A Biculturalist has fused his or her positive Black identity with one other culture, such as American culture. The Multiculturalist Racial person has incorporated three or more dominant perspectives, including a positive Black identity plus at least one other racial reference group. Finally, an individual with a Multiculturalist Inclusive identity also has three or more identities, including Black, plus gender, sexual orientation, etc. The predominant expression of an Internalized Black identity is the ease and sophistication with which the person expresses the salience of his or her racial identity. Malcolm X's writings and speeches after his experience in Mecca are possibly those of a person at the Multiculturalist Inclusive cluster of Internalization:

[5] In the expanded model of Nigrescence (Worrell et al., 2001), what was formerly a fifth stage, Internalization-Commitment (Cross, 1991), has been collapsed into the fourth stage of Internalization.

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[Malcolm's] new vision did not question the basic integrity of the Black

experience, rather it made Blackness his point of departure for discovering the

universe of ideas, cultures, and experiences beyond Blackness, in place of

mistaking Blackness for the universe itself (Cross, Parham, & Helms, in Cross,

1991, pp. 218-219).

In Cross's original version of the model (1971) his conception of Nigrescence was

that as each stage was achieved, an individual progressed to the next stage and never

revisited previous stages. Research by Parham since then has pointed to the potential for

recycling throughout a lifetime. Life-changing events such as marriage, raising children,

or other impactful encounters may cause the individual to revisit a certain stage or to

recycle through Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization (in Cross, 1991).

Finally, the Nigrescence model has an accompanying instrument called the Cross

Racial Identity Scale (CRIS); the CRIS has been tested for empirical strength. Initial

validation tests (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002) showed promising

results and a subsequent study more firmly established both reliability and validity of the

CRIS (Worrell, Vandiver, Cross, & Fhagen-Smith, 2004).

White Racial Consciousness

As the dominant race in America, White people have enjoyed the benefits of

power and privilege over people of other races since the founding of this country. The

pernicious part of this enjoyment stems from the fact that many, if not most, Whites are

completely unaware of their unearned status. These facts make fighting racism difficult,

for how do you encourage someone to change or give up something that they do not

believe they have? Researchers and activists of different races (including White) argue for re-education of Whites (e.g., Helms, 1992; Kivel, 1996; Sue, 2003; Tatum, 1992).

Further, as a White person's experience of race is different from that of a Black person's, so is White racial identity development theory different from Nigrescence. A White person, for example, cannot experience a personal racist encounter because racism involves power and oppression of Whites over other races, not the opposite.

White Racial Consciousness (WRC; Rowe et al., 1994; LaFleur et al., 2002; Leach, Behrens, & LaFleur, 2002) is a typological theoretical model which focuses on White persons' attitudes about race. It includes two racial attitude orientations, Racial Acceptance and Racial Justice. Within these orientations are four types of attitudes. Racial Acceptance contains the bipolar construct of Dominative-Integrative while Racial Justice contains two independent constructs, Conflictive and Reactive. The authors formulated this theory in response to two problems with Helms's White Racial Identity Development Model (1990): first, the unresolved challenges of testability of Helms's WRIAS instrument; and second, the belief of the WRC authors that the core problem of Helms's model is at the conceptual level. In 1995, Rowe, Behrens, and Leach claimed that models like Helms's were conceptually problematic for three reasons: "the inappropriate use of the developmental concept, the use of an inappropriate parallel with minority identity development, and the use of the term *White racial identity*, when little attention is actually given to White identity," (p. 224, emphasis in original). In essence, the WRC authors seem to be approaching White racial identity from a position opposite Helms. First, Helms began with the large, comprehensive, and complex concept of White racial identity and has attempted to explain that with an instrument that is as yet

undetermined. Alternatively, WRC seeks to investigate one aspect of identity, that of

racial attitudes, perhaps with the aim to construct a view of identity one aspect at a time.

Further, while Cross's Nigrescence model is robust in conceptual and empirical analyses,

Black Americans' experience of race is dissimilar (not opposite) to the experience of

White Americans. Basing the White Racial Identity Development model on Nigrescence

is comparing apples to oranges. WRC categories are based on Phinney (1989) and the

exploration and commitment to racial issues (Rowe et al., 1994). Finally, reflecting on

the testing issues with WRID, White Racial Consciousness focuses exclusively on

attitudes within a social-cognitive framework in order to test with greater success a more

limited area of White racial identity (Leach et al., 2002).

Still, it may be considered problematical to compare Bennett's (1993) linear stage

model of intercultural sensitivity to the typology model of White racial consciousness

(Rowe et al., 1994; LaFleur et al., 2002). A stage model that predicts movement from

one stage to a subsequent stage is a different structure than a typology model that has

neither predictions nor expected beginning or end points. It is useful, therefore, to

examine a study which compared the instruments which measure the White Racial

Identity Development Model (Helms, 1990), a linear stage model of White identity

development, and White Racial Consciousness (Rowe et al., 1994; LaFleur et al., 2002),

the typology model under consideration in this study.

A sample of 387 people completed instruments that measure each model

respectively: the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS; Helms & Carter, 1990)

and the Oklahoma Racial Attitude Scale-Preliminary Form (ORAS-P; Choney & Behrens,

1996). In that study, researchers Pope-Davis, Vandiver, and Stone (1999) conducted

exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses on the responses to both instruments. Four

factors resulted and overlap between the instruments occurred in two of the four factors.

The researchers conclude that "(t)he ORAS-P and the WRIAS appear to measure similar

constructs of White identity," and recommend replication and further study of the

concept of White identity development (Pope-Davis et al., 1999, pp. 77-78). The close

nature as determined by this empirical analysis of Helms's stage model (1990) and the

typology model by Rowe et al. (1994) and enhanced by LaFleur et al. (2002),

compounded by the insurmountable issues with the WRIAS instrument (Helms & Carter,

1990), lends credence to use of the White Racial Consciousness typology model in

comparison to the DMIS (Bennett, M., 1993).

In next section the four types of White Racial Consciousness will be described. A

visual representation of WRC is in Figure 3.

Types of White Racial Consciousness

Examining the White Racial Consciousness model depicted in Figure 3, we first

see the two orientations, Racial Justice and Racial Acceptance. The dotted line

separating them indicates an individual's ability to move between orientations in no

prescribed manner. We also see the four attitudes, Reactive, Conflictive, and the bipolar

construct of Dominative-Integrative. Dotted lines surrounding these attitude types also

indicate fluidity from one type to the next. The implication is that, resulting from

experiences that cause conflict with previous attitudes, an individual can move to any

other type. Finally, an individual may hold attitudes in more than one type, but one type

will typically be expressed to a greater extent than the others.
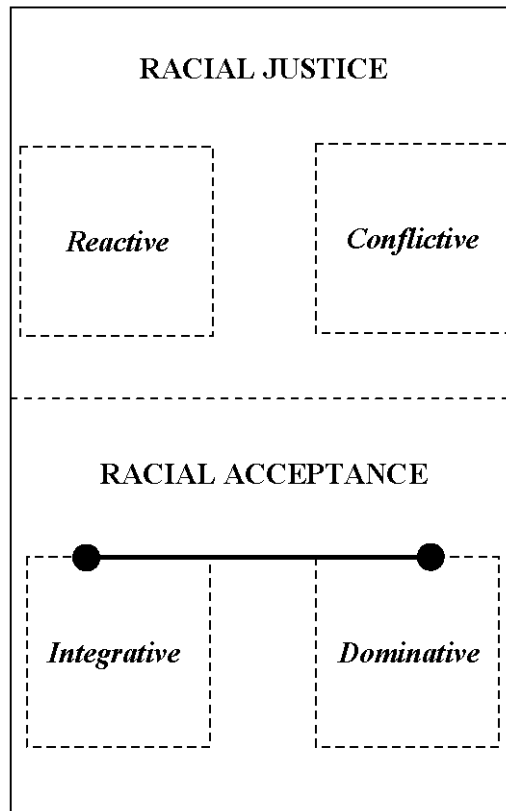
Figure 3. White Racial Consciousness model (Rowe et al., 1994; LaFleur et al., 2002).

The *Dominative* type is one end of the Dominative-Integrative bipolar construct

of White Racial Consciousness, indicated by the bar that joins them. Individuals whose

attitudes are mainly within this type express the feeling, either passively or actively, that

Whites are superior to people of color and their cultures. Ignoring disadvantages

throughout history to today, people in the Dominative type perceive social struggles of

people of color to advance economically and to achieve a better education as the outcome

of undesirable personal characteristics of people of color. Following from this is the

attitude of entitlement to privileges and advantages that Whites have in this society.

Those have passive Dominative expressions have typically not examined their beliefs and, moreover, likely would not call themselves racist. Active expressions include overt racist behaviors either directly or indirectly aimed at people of color.

At the other end of this bipolar construct is the *Integrative* type. As may be expected, the expressions of this attitude are opposite the Dominative attitude. These individuals "value a culturally pluralistic society" and hold pragmatic views about racial issues that are "solidly based on moral responsibility," (Rowe et al., 1994, p. 141). There is a comfort in their own White racial awareness and in interactions with people of color. All individuals in Integrative act in passive ways against racism and racist policies and practices; some also take active steps, such as donating to anti-racism organizations or protesting against social inequalities.

Those who hold *Conflictive* attitudes are opposed to racial discrimination, but in conflicting ways. While they are against obvious, discriminatory practices toward people of color, they are also against programs and policies that they perceive to be discriminatory toward Whites, such as affirmative action. Within this type are twin beliefs in American society as a meritocracy and in individualism. Both of these beliefs are based on justice, fairness, and equality; racial inequality and injustices are things from the past. Today, to those in the Conflictive type, anyone who works hard enough will achieve their desired results.

The final type is *Reactive*. White Americans who hold this attitude take a knee-jerk, unexamined reaction to racial discrimination. While there is a vigilance for both obvious and insidious racial discrimination not present in either the Dominative or Conflictive attitudes, there is also the tendency to hold a false sense of commonality with

people of color. So-called White attitudes of individuality and personal responsibility are termed prejudicial while deviant behaviors performed by people of color are excused as survivalist or noble. Due to the lack of consideration of the issues from the perspective of people of color, and the lack of their own introspection of what it means to be a White American, this attitude is ethnocentric in its manner of approaching racial issues.

In its construction as a typology, WRC differs from Cross (1991; Worrell et al., 2001) and Bennett (1993). Of importance for the conceptual framework that will be described in the next section, there are some fundamental similarities between Milton Bennett's DMIS (1993) and Cross's Nigrescence model (1991, Worrell et al., 2001) and White Racial Consciousness (Rowe et al., 1994; LaFleur et al., 2002). As individuals move ahead in developing intercultural competence or a positive racial identity, old ideas are discarded and new ones are experimented with.

<div align="center">Toward an Integrative Conceptual Framework</div>

In this section I will present my model that integrates the above intercultural development and racial identity theories. My synthesis of these models takes the stages of intercultural sensitivity and posits how each DMIS stage relates to Black and White identity development.   As has been described earlier, Bennett's DMIS has six stages with two to three subscales in each stage. Cross's expanded model of Nigrescence (Worrell et al., 2001) has four stages with up to four subscales in each stage. The White Racial Consciousness model created by Rowe et al. (1994) and LaFleur et al. (2002) has two orientations and four types. Parallels between the theoretical constructs are drawn in Figure 4 and described below.

I hypothesize that intercultural skills and attitudes learned or enhanced in the study abroad experience may be applied to racial awareness and interactions with Americans of different races.

| Cross (1991), Worrell et al. (2001) Expanded Nigrescence Model | Bennett (1993) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity | Rowe et al. (1994), LaFleur et al. (2002) White Racial Consciousness Model |
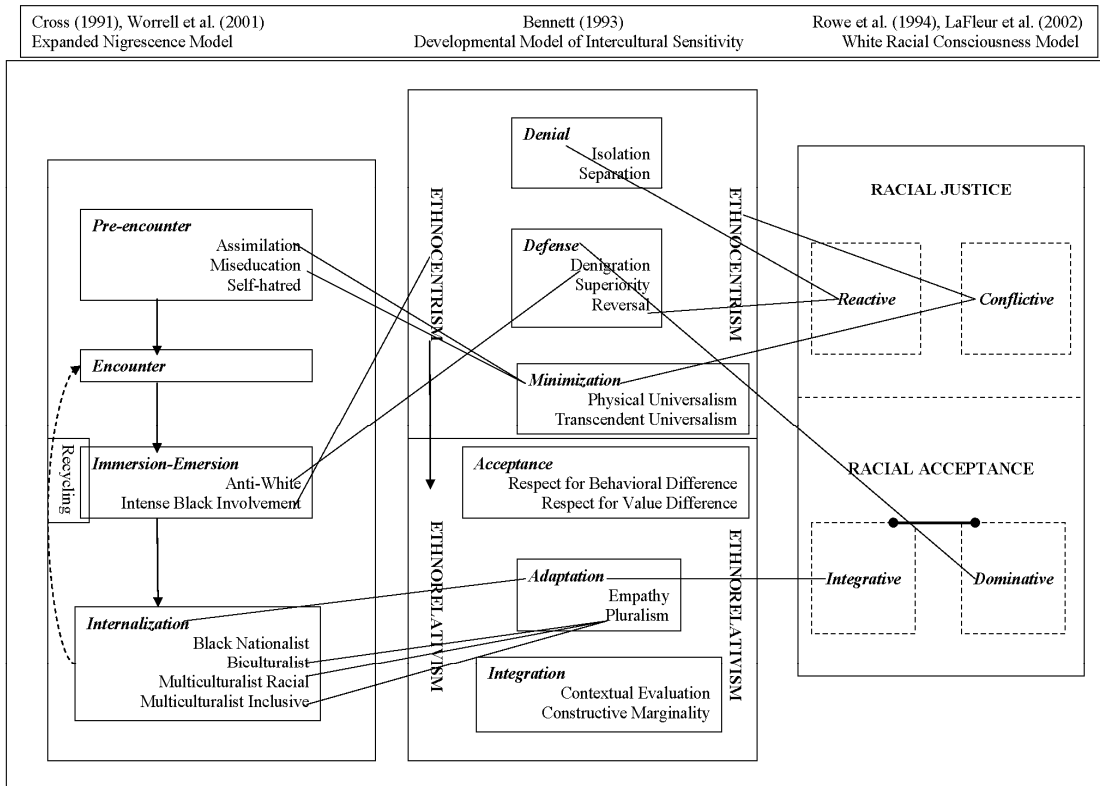
Pathways between intercultural sensitivity and racial identity: An integrative theoretical model

Figure 4. Pathways between intercultural competence and racial consciousness: An integrative theoretical model.

Intercultural Sensitivity Development and Nigrescence

Ethnocentrism is comprised of phases in which a person has considered difference only in terms of his or her own cultural reality, if he or she has considered difference at all.

Denial and Nigrescence

The first stage of the DMIS, Denial, is the starting point toward intercultural sensitivity for those who have no conception of cultural difference. Individuals express this stage by isolating or separating (sometimes both) themselves from culturally-different others and therefore perpetuate the attitude that people different from themselves do not exist or do so outside of their own existence. As a minority group, however, Blacks represent the difference that is being denied. It follows that "people of oppressed groups tend not to experience the stage of denial" for in a White-dominated society it is frequently Blacks and the difference that they represent that are denied by Whites (Bennett, M., 1993, p. 33). Assimilation or Self-hatred in the Pre-encounter stage of the Nigrescence model may be similar to Denial of one's own Blackness, but neither is equivalent to denial of cultural difference because it is impossible to isolate or separate from oneself. Further, while people in the Anti-White and Intense Black Involvement subscales in the Immersion-Emersion stage of Nigrescence do isolate and separate themselves from others (especially Whites) in order to redefine their racial identity, it is not from a position of power that they do so. Denial is "a luxury of the dominant group" (Bennett, M., p. 33) and in these Nigrescence stages a Black person is still using frames of reference based on White constructs.

In fact, despite the negative or nonexistent attitudes and characteristics toward Blacks and Black culture – and positive attitudes toward Whites and White culture – in this country it is nearly impossible for a Black person to experience Denial as described in the DMIS. As such, we cannot draw a parallel from the Denial stage to any stage of Nigrescence.

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Defense and Nigrescence

In the Defense stage, an individual expresses denigration of or superiority over other cultures, or both. For the most part, this DMIS stage seems to parallel the Immersion-Emersion stage of Nigrescence. At that point, a Black person is likely to express his or her identity in Anti-White or Intense Black Involvement ways. As someone who has experienced oppression and is building a "beleaguered identity," a Black person "may spend more time in the superiority form of defense," and denigrate other cultures, White culture in particular (Bennett, M., 1993, p. 38). This expression is similar to the Anti-White and pro-Black identity in Immersion-Emersion. Intense Black Involvement can be seen as ethnocentric, or Afrocentric, since the individual is focusing on building his or her identity in Black culture. There is an important difference between the DMIS and Nigrescence, in that Defense for a Black person serves "more as a vehicle for challenging rather than preserving the status quo and the cultural prejudice it manifests toward them" (p. 38). Further, while parallels appear to exist between Intense Black Involvement and Ethnocentrism, it does not seem to be the case with Intense Black Involvement and Defense since the individual does not express outright denigration or superiority.

The last substage of Defense is reversal. As we recall, it is here that an individual rejects his or her native culture in favor of the host culture. Bennett (1993) points out that for people of color in the U.S., reversal may be their first stage on the DMIS. A Black person in the Self-Hatred identity cluster of the P-E stage has not only rejected but loathes Black culture while maintaining a preference for Whites and White culture.

Minimization and Nigrescence

The hallmark of Minimization is the assertion that, overall, everyone is the same. Similar to denial, such an assertion is usually the luxury of a person who represents the dominant culture. Bennett implies that a Black person may spend a brief period in Minimization but is unlikely to remain for very long. I propose that, while possibly tenuous, there may exist a relationship between Minimization and the Assimilation and Miseducation identities of Pre-encounter. An individual in Assimilation has internalized racism and therefore minimizes his or her Blackness in order to be accepted by Whites. Here, it is mostly a conscious and purposeful Minimization that a Black person practices. In Miseducation, again race is of low salience and the information about Blacks and Black culture that an individual receives is distorted, false, or both. Again, this person seeks to minimize his or her Black self, but primarily in order to accept himself or herself. A Black person in Minimization also uses one worldview, but he or she has assumed a White worldview.

Ethnorelativism (Acceptance) and Nigrescence

At the acceptance stage of the DMIS the individual's experience of difference has shifted from ethnocentric to ethnorelative. This shift is a major cognitive shift and, if the individual succeeds in achieving it (meaning, they do not experience reversal to an ethnocentric stage), "cultural difference is more likely to be enjoyable and actually sought after" (Bennett, M., 1993, p. 47).

As for the first ethnorelative stage, Acceptance, there appears to be no theoretical relationship between it and particular identities in Nigrescence. There is, however, a

similarity between the experience of entering Ethnorelativism and exiting Immersion-Emersion. In the former, the individual experiences a substantive change in worldview and appreciates the complexity and lack of threat of cultural difference for the first time. It is a step toward a mature, sophisticated, and intercultural worldview. This transition seems to be similar to the one from Emersion to Internalization, in which a Black person recognizes and appreciates the "substantive, textured, and complex" nature of what it means to be Black (Cross, 1991). This recognition, however, is of Black culture and not (yet) intercultural. The hypothesized similarity exists in the calm, awakening experiences of an individual's transitions in each model. Another similarity is the propensity in acceptance to reverse and at Emersion to recycle to an earlier stage in the respective models.

Adaptation, Integration, and Nigrescence

In the review of Nigrescence above, I referred to the fact that Cross's model is currently in its third version as a result of empirical findings on the experience of Black identity development in relation to the theory (Worrell et al., 2001). In Cross's original and revised models of Nigrescence, the final stage was called Internalization-Commitment (1991). This stage was tested using the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Worrell et al., 2001) yet never appeared in empirical findings and subsequently was collapsed with Internalization (Worrell, 2001). Bennett's DMIS has also been tested empirically using the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), the instrument designed to measure an individual's approach to cultural difference. The IDI, however, does not measure the final stage on the DMIS, Integration. Because of the current inability for

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researchers to investigate empirically the Integration stage and the likelihood that I will use the IDI and the CRIS to investigate my research questions, the parallels to Nigrescence that follow focus on the fifth DMIS stage, Adaptation.

Adaptation on the DMIS can be illustrated as "both-and." In the ethnocentric stages, cultural difference is threatening because of the anticipated replacement of one worldview over another, as in "either-or." In Adaptation empathic and pluralistic skills are added which enhance and expand, not replace, one's current worldview. An individual expresses an ease with allowing the shift "of cultural frames of reference by the people communicating" (Bennett, M., 1993, p. 52). Comparatively, in Nigrescence, a Black person at the Internalization stage has a high salience for Blackness and Black is his or her central identity. Further, in the Biculturalist, Multiculturalist Racial, and Multiculturalist Inclusive identities, one or more additional saliences are also high, in that "the full complexity and inherent texture of the Black condition become the point of departure for serious analysis" of other cultures (Cross, 1991, p. 211). A difference between the two is the central feature of Black identity in the Internalization stage, while Bennett indicates no particular identity that remains salient in Adaptation.

Intercultural Sensitivity Development and White Racial Consciousness

In the next section we will review the DMIS stages again but change our focus of analysis to White Racial Consciousness (Rowe et al., 1994; LaFleur et al., 2002).

Denial and White Racial Consciousness

Ethnocentrism is evident in a White person in the Reactive type of White consciousness development. The truly ethnocentric marker of this type is being unaware

of the use of White criteria to evaluate Blacks. Further compounding the racist way of life, the White person is isolated and separated from Blacks yet lacks conscious awareness of maintaining this division. Denial is expressed in Whites who deny noticing race when interacting with a Black person. As the dominant race in the United States, Whites have the luxury of denying the existence of cultural difference.

Defense and White Racial Consciousness

In the Defense stage of the DMIS, an individual proactively expresses denigration of or superiority over other cultures, or both. This expression is similar to the Dominative attitude of WRC, in which views White Americans as superior over people of color and their cultures. Reversal is a substage of Defense. It is here that an individual rejects his or her native culture in favor of the host culture. In WRC, Reversal is paralleled by Reactive, in which "individuals…tend to feel that they have much in common with racial/ethnic minority persons" (Rowe et al., 1994, p. 140). Still, some of the perspectives a White person displays in this type are perceived as over identification, paternalistic, and grounded in White experience.

Minimization and White Racial Consciousness

As in the comparison of Minimization and Nigrescence, the comparison of Minimization with White identity development is not neatly drawn from Bennett (1993) to WRC (Rowe et al., 1994; LaFleur et al, 2002). Conflictive can be seen as ethnocentric, as a White individual does not express outright denigration or superiority yet often voices opposition to programs or policies whose aim is to reduce or eliminate discrimination (Rowe et al, 1994, p. 138). Conflictive is also somewhat similar to Minimization on the

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DMIS, in which an individual has moved beyond negative attitudes toward other cultures and seeks similarities among all people. For White Americans, this can feel like a safe place to be. I propose that, while possibly tenuous, there may exist a relationship between Minimization and Conflictive. An individual in the Conflictive type may experience marginality of being rejected by both Whites and Blacks, but this is not similar to marginality in the Integration stage of the DMIS.

Acceptance and White Racial Consciousness

Acceptance marks a White person's transition to Ethnorelativism and openness and respect for cultural difference. In terms of the WRC model (Rowe et al., 1994; LaFleur et al, 2002), Acceptance does not match any particular type.

Adaptation (Integration) and White Racial Consciousness

As was detailed in the Adaptation, Integration and Nigrescence section above, the instrument that measures a person's reaction to cultural difference, the IDI, does not currently measure the Integration stage. This analysis, therefore, will be limited to the Adaptation stage.

A person in the Adaptation stage of the DMIS has achieved respect for other cultures including his or her own. What is most relevant to the Integrative status is the pluralism segment of Adaptation. Adaptation on the DMIS can be illustrated as thinking – and acting and communicating – "outside the box." An individual expresses an ease with allowing the shift "of cultural frames of reference by the people communicating," (Bennett, M., 1993) and an ease with his or her expanded worldview. Comparatively, in WRC, individuals in the Integrative type "appear to have integrated their sense of

whiteness with a regard for racial/ethnic minorities. They value a culturally pluralistic

society and often have a more complex or sophisticated understanding of the

sociopolitical factors affecting racial/ethnic minority issues," (Rowe et al, 1994, p. 141).

In a similar manner Bennett says that pluralism is "the existence of two or more

internalized cultural frames of reference," (1993, p. 55).

What is not present

In reviewing all three theoretical models, I conclude that some stages and

substages hold a too weak or nonexistent relationship to the DMIS, and vice-versa. In

Nigrescence, Encounter seems to have no relationship to any DMIS stage. While Bennett

refers to negative episodes in Defense that force an individual to acknowledge cultural

difference for the first time, the key difference from Encounter is the personalization of

the Encounter episode. There is no stated equivalent in the DMIS. As a point of interest,

the CRIS instrument that empirically measures a Black person's identity in Nigrescence,

does not currently measure the Encounter stage.

One of the Nigrescence identity clusters also seems to have no equivalent on the

DMIS. Black Nationalist is a positive identity but no other identity has salience for such

a person. For an individual in this identity cluster, empowerment and activism are solely

focused on the Black community (Vandiver, 2001).

Now looking at the DMIS, one primary stage and three substages do not relate to

either Nigrescence or White Racial Consciousness. The first stage of Ethnorelativism,

Acceptance, seems to have a weak relationship to later stages in both Cross's (1991,

Worrell et al., 2001) and the WRC (Rowe et al., 1994; LaFleur et al., 2002) models since

it represents the transition from Ethnocentrism. Still, the stage itself – noted by respect for behavioral and value differences – has no direct peer in either racial identity model. Alternatively, Minimization as a primary stage has theoretical relationships to both racial identity theories. Its substages, physical and transcendental universalism, however, do not relate strongly enough to these theories.

Summary

In this chapter we have explored the theoretical landscape of intercultural competence and of Black and White racial identity. Having conducted this literature review, three theoretical models rose to the surface as the best examples to conduct both hypothetical and empirical investigations. First, each theory was presented in its own right. Second, the similarities between the DMIS and Nigrescence were hypothesized, followed by the similarities between the DMIS and WRC. The hypotheses concluded with parallels that were not present.

Ultimately, this literature review resulted in the addition of two research questions. It became clear that empirical data may not exhibit a complete understanding of this groundbreaking examination of multiple theories. Questions were added to explore the lived experience of intercultural competence and racial identity among the participants in the sample.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I present my methodological rationale and corresponding research design. Following this overall perspective I discuss the population and sampling plan, data collection, and the instruments used to collect the data. I conclude with a discussion of the data analysis procedures for the study.

Introduction

This study is an attempt to gain greater understanding of rather complex theoretical constructs – intercultural competence, racial identity and attitudes, and intersections between them – during study abroad, a period of intense individual development. The pragmatic rationale suits this investigation as it "seeks to clarify meanings and looks to consequences," all with the understanding "that scientific research always occurs in social, historical, political, and other contexts," (Cherryholmes, 1992, p. 14). A pragmatic researcher advocates for employing procedures that are most suitable for the project. This project contributes to the theoretical constructs of intercultural competence and racial identity by two means: measuring development along these constructs using the results of the surveys and, by way of individual interviews, inquiring into the experiences of culture and race of Black and White undergraduates who studied abroad.

Research Design

A mixed methods research design is most suitable for this study. Specifically, it is an explanatory, sequential design in which quantitative methods and analysis are the

first means and qualitative data collection and analysis the second means (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). As such, there are two distinct stages as shown in Figure 5.

Stage One **Quantitative data collection** **Pre-test** Study Abroad experience **Post-test**		Stage Two **Qualitative data collection** **In-depth interviews**
Stage One Quantitative data analysis - Statistically significant results - Statistically nonsignificant results - Key significant orientations - Distinguishing demographic cases - Individuals in sample who volunteer for interview	Select participants for in-depth interviews	Stage Two Qualitative data analysis - Explain significant and nonsignificant results in survey data - Identify items that vary from survey data - Search for meaning in addition to quantitative data

Figure 5. Explanatory sequential mixed methods design.

Stage one encompasses the quantitative data collection and analysis. There are two phases of the data collection: phase one, prior to the study abroad experience, and phase two, after the conclusion of the study abroad experience. Quantitative data analysis began at the conclusion of quantitative data collection. The data analysis was conducted with two aims: first, to answer the relevant research questions; and second, to select participants for follow-up interviews.

Once the interview participants were selected, stage two of the design began. This stage involved up to ten individual and in-depth interviews. Upon completion all of the interviews the qualitative data analysis was conducted.   Specific procedures for data collection and analysis will be discussed in the next section.

Population

The population are undergraduate students who studied abroad from the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities, and who racially or ethnically self-identify on the Learning Abroad Center application form as either Black or White. The main Twin Cities campus of the University of Minnesota is located in the city of Minneapolis with a smaller campus in a suburban area of St. Paul. In spring 2008 there were 27,242 undergraduate students enrolled on the Twin Cities campus. Of this total, 4.7 per cent were Black and 78.1 per cent were White (University of Minnesota Office of Institutional Research, 2008).

The Learning Abroad Center (LAC) is the administrative office where University of Minnesota students investigate and enroll in study abroad programs. In spring 2008, 629 students participated in study abroad programs administered by the LAC. This represents 2.3 per cent of the total undergraduate population on the Twin Cities campus. Further looking at the racial breakdown of undergraduates who studied abroad (LAC students) in spring 2008, 0.7 per cent were Black and 72.8 per cent were White (see Table 1; Gayle Woodruff personal communication, January 17, 2008). It is worth noting that the remaining students either identified as Multiethnic (n=11) or did not provide a racial or ethnic identification (n=155).

Table 1

University of Minnesota and Learning Abroad Center Enrollments

Enrollment	Total	Black	White
University of Minnesota, Twin Cities undergraduates (spring 2008)	N = 27,242	N = 1,290 4.7 % of total enrollment	N = 21,274 78.1 % of total enrollment
Learning Abroad Center (spring 2008)	N = 629 2.3 % of total undergraduate enrollment	N = 5 0.7 % of LAC enrollment	N = 458 72.8 % of LAC enrollment

Prior to conducting this study the researcher had neither contact with nor influence upon the population. Upon conducting the interviews, the researcher knew the quantitative results of all the students but did not reveal the scores; further, none of the students asked for them.

Sampling

Regarding the quantitative data collection, there are two factors about the population that led me to decide against sampling and instead to recruit from the entire population. First, the population of Black LAC students who study abroad in any given semester is low (LAC estimates are only 10 to 15 students; Sophie Gladding personal communication October 2007). Second, in previous research conducted with all LAC students there have been low response rates (approximately 15-20%; Sophie Gladding, personal communication October 2007). Further, as there was a low number of Black students (n=5) and a high number of non-identified students (n=155), the latter were included in the sample. Thus, the entire population (N=629) of White, Black,

Multiethnic, and non-identified LAC students who studied abroad for the spring 2008 semester were contacted.

For the qualitative portion, I purposefully sampled those White individuals whose quantitative scores indicate change from the pre-test to the post-test. Due to a low response rate of Black students (n=1), this section of the study had to be deferred to a future study.

Data Collection

Permission was received on January 9, 2008, from the University of Minnesota's Institutional Research Board to conduct this study. The study number is 0711P21349 and the documentation can be found in Appendix D.

Data were collected from Black and White undergraduate students who studied abroad from the University of Minnesota for the spring 2008 semester. All subjects participated in the treatment, a study abroad program of their choice that lasted one semester. Data collection instruments for each student are three surveys administered online and one individual interview with the researcher. These are described below.

Surveys

Each respondent completed three self-report inventories plus a brief demographic survey (Appendix F). Except for the demographic survey, all instruments have been tested and validated. All students completed the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) and the Ten-Item Personality Inventory (TIPI). The IDI is a 50-item measurement of an individual's response to cultural difference along five subscales defined in the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS): Denial/Defense, Reversal, Minimization, Acceptance/Adaptation, and Encapsulated Marginality (Hammer &

Bennett, 1998/2001). The IDI is a proprietary instrument, therefore only selected items are included in Appendix A. As its title suggests, the TIPI is a 10-item measurement of personality along five dimensions known as the Big-Five: Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Emotional Stability, and Openness to Experience (Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swann, 2003; Appendix E). While the TIPI is not as robust an instrument as the 40-item Big-Five Inventory, it is satisfactory for the purposes of secondary analysis. The last instrument that all students completed is a 9-item demographic questionnaire designed specifically for this study (Appendix F).

To test racial identity, Black LAC respondents completed the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) and White LAC respondents completed the Oklahoma Racial Attitudes Scale (ORAS). The CRIS is a 40-item measure of six subscales of Nigrescence: Assimilation, Miseducation, Self-Hatred, Anti-White, Afrocentricity, and Multiculturalist Inclusive (Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004; Appendix B). The ORAS is a 21-item measure of four attitudes of White Racial Consciousness: Reactive, Conflictive, and the binary attitudes of Integrative and Dominative (LaFleur et al., 2002; Appendix C). Consistent with previous research using racial attitudes instruments (Helms & Carter, 1990; Marcell, 2004; Pope-Davis et al., 1999), these sections of the survey were re-titled "Social Attitudes."

The instruments were administered as pre-tests in January and February 2008, prior to the LAC students' departure for their study abroad destinations. The post-test occurred from May to July 2008, varying upon the completion dates of their study abroad programs.

Interviews

All selected students who agreed to be interviewed participated in a single, individual interview that lasted approximately one hour. As only one Black student completed both the pretest and posttest surveys, the Black portion of this study was postponed. For the White students, I contacted eleven for interviews based on comparison of the pre- and post-tests and of the tests with my conceptual framework (for message requesting an interview, see Appendix G). I offered a $25 Target gift card to each potential interviewee. Eight students responded and were interviewed in October 2008. Seven interviews were conducted in person on or near the Minneapolis campus of the University of Minnesota; one was conducted by telephone.

The interview questions were designed to build from articulation and perception of change with regard to culture to an articulation and perception of change with regard to race. See Appendix H for the complete interview protocol used in this study.

Recruitment and Data Collection Procedures

The LAC sent the recruitment messages to all LAC students identified in the sample (Appendix I). I designed a series of three messages per the findings and recommendations of survey researcher Don Dillman (2000). The three messages sent on Friday, January 11, 2008; Wednesday, January 16, 2008; and Tuesday, January 22, 2008, respectively. Due to a low response rate to these three messages, I obtained IRB permission to send two additional messages to the population; these were sent on February 7 and 12, 2008 (Appendix J).

All survey respondents were offered a $5 amazon.com e-gift certificate for the pretest and the posttest. I also offered all interviewees a $25 Target gift certificate.

Survey Procedure

All instruments except the IDI were entered onto a secure survey website within the University of Minnesota's College of Education and Human Development. The online IDI was available via the website of the Intercultural Communication Institute, the organization that administers the IDI. Respondents accessed the online instruments via a link in an email message. A link to the second, duplicate set of instruments was emailed to the pretest respondents after they completed their semester program abroad.

Data Analysis

Quantitative

The quantitative analysis involves answering two of the four research questions:
1) *To what extent do White students' intercultural competence and racial attitudes change as a result of having studied abroad?*
3) *Are the changes in a student's intercultural competence and racial attitudes related?*

Due to the low response rate of White LAC students, interpretation is only generalizable to this data set. Statistical data analysis was conducted using SPSS 16.0 statistical analysis software. Analysis techniques for this data set are measures of association including central tendency and variability. Further, a minimum of 35 respondents to the pretest and posttest permits more robust analyses such as t-tests and correlation. In order to maintain this minimum, it was necessary to conduct mean

replacement value for some of the ORAS responses. Question 1 concerns the relationship between results of IDI and ORAS scores from pre-test to post-test, where the pre-test serves as the independent variable and the post-test as the dependent variable. Question 3 concerns prediction of the ORAS by the IDI, which involves correlation analysis.

Qualitative

The qualitative analysis will answer the remaining two research questions:

2) *How do White students articulate their intercultural competence development and racial attitude development as a result of having studied abroad?* and

4) *To what extent do White students perceive a change in their intercultural competence and racial identity?*

These questions were written with a phenomenological approach in mind; therefore this approach was used for analysis. Analyzing in a phenomenological way means determining the deeper meanings or themes of an individual's experiences with a phenomenon (van Manen, 1990). I began by deriving all themes that appear in the interview transcripts. This manner of inductive coding was conducted in order to reduce bias, build theory, and build knowledge about the lived experience of intercultural competence and racial identity. I then reduced these themes to the "essential components (that) describe the lived experience" of the LAC students (Lichtman, 2006).

Results from these statistical procedures and qualitative interpretations are described in the following chapter.

Strengths and Limitations of the Study

There are four strengths that bolster this study. First is the use of mixed methods to gather and analyze the data. Empirical data and analysis provided reliable quantitative results while interview data and inductive analysis gave valuable insights. This triangulation of data allows for greater understanding of the concepts by synthesizing data from several sources.

Second, the study is firmly rooted in established theoretical models of human development. The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (Bennett, M., 1993) and White Racial Consciousness (Leach et al., 2002) are models that have been developed and refined by major scholars in those fields. The work conducted in this study brings to light both theoretical and empirically tested relationships between them that were heretofore unknown.

The third strength is the use of established instruments – the IDI and the ORAS – that were developed specifically for the relevant theoretical models. The IDI has been externally tested for validity and reliability. The revised version of the ORAS used in this study (Vandiver & Leach, 2005) is still in the testing phase, but it is a refinement of earlier versions that have been constructed and tested by Beverly Vandiver, a leading scholar in instrument construction around racial identity and awareness.

The final and greatest strength is the herald of a new discovery of relationships between the DMIS and WRC. Interacting, living, working, studying, worshipping – all these activities and more that make up daily life in the United States are increasingly being done with people who are culturally and racially different from ourselves.

There are three limitations of this study. First, the researcher encountered an insurmountable difficulty in recruiting a large enough Black sample. An even smaller amount of Black students studied abroad in spring 2008 than in previous semesters (5 compared to 10-15). Thus, the relationships between Nigrescence and the DMIS could not be tested. Further, in the qualitative portion of the study, the researcher did not want to compare a case study of one Black student against the responses of eight White students. The decision was made, therefore, not to continue with the quantitative or qualitative portion of Black students' intercultural competence and racial awareness in this study.

Second, the survey sample size is small at 35 and the response rate is low (5.61%). While the findings are informative for the U.S.-American college- and university-level community, I cannot advocate for generalization beyond this population. Third, I cannot claim causality of study abroad impact on either intercultural competence or racial awareness.

Fourth, the qualitative interviews and analyses were conducted by the researcher alone. No measures were taken to attempt to secure validity, such as triangulation with additional data or expert checking conducted to probe themes that I may have left unexplored.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

The dual purpose of this study was first to investigate and compare two theoretical constructs of human development that previously had not been compared; and second, to inquire into the perceptions and understandings of the sample's intercultural competence and racial awareness. As was learned in chapter two, indeed, theoretical parallels exist between intercultural competence and Black racial identity and between intercultural competence and White racial awareness. Because only one Black survey respondent was attained, investigation of that portion of the study will be postponed to another project. The remaining focus will be exclusively on responses of the White students. In this chapter the quantitative and qualitative data collected in this study will be presented. Some answers are reached, while some additional questions have been generated.

To begin, descriptive statistical analyses are distilled to offer a profile of the students in this study. Next, inferential statistical analyses are employed to answer two research questions: 1) *To what extent do White students' intercultural competence and racial attitudes change as a result of having studied abroad?* and 3) *Are the changes in the students' intercultural competence and racial awareness related?* It should be noted that this data set fails the test of normality of data, therefore nonparametric tests are used where necessary. The latter two questions are answered by inductive content analysis of the interview transcripts: 2) *How do White students articulate their intercultural competence development and racial attitude development as a result of having studied abroad?* and 4) *To what extent do White students perceive a change in their intercultural competence and racial identity?*

Profile of Participants

Completed pre-test and post-test surveys were received from 35 White students resulting in a 5.61% response rate. Three possible reasons exist for this low rate. First, the researcher did not meet the students prior to sending them the recruitment email message. This absence of a personal connection in which trust is established may have prevented some students from participating. Second, the topic of race and cross-racial interactions can be sensitive and can raise fears and uncertainties that were undesirable for some students to explore. Finally, some students among those who participated indicated the timing of the request coincided with their hectic preparations for moving abroad. Despite receiving the offer of an incentive, one or more of these barriers may have prevented some students from responding.

In response to the requests for participation in January and February 2008, 66 students contacted the researcher indicating their interest. Of these, 45 completed the pretest; four more partially completed the pretest. Upon completion of the study abroad programs, the researcher contacted the 45 pretest completers to remind them of the study and to request their participation in the post-test. Thirty-six students completed the post-test; all students except one identified as White, Caucasian, or European-American. Due to participation of only one Black student the scope of the study was reoriented to an investigation of White students only.

Demographic Information

The participants in this study are all undergraduates who studied abroad from the University of Minnesota in spring 2008. Most were seeking degrees from the University

of Minnesota, while approximately five[6] were degree-seeking students at other colleges and universities located in the Midwestern United States. Females accounted for 77.1% (n=27) and males accounted for 22.9% (n=8). A total of 94.3% of respondents were within the traditional undergraduate age range of 18 to 22 years. The semester standing of nearly half of the students was Junior (48.6%), followed by Sophomore (28.6%) and Senior (20%). There were no Freshmen in this study. The students were asked to provide the name of their major course of study (see Appendix K). These majors were then coded according to the 14 University of Minnesota colleges that have undergraduate majors. Codes were added for Foreign Language and Dual (dual majors across two colleges) majors. Dual majors within a college are not distinguished. Including Foreign Languages (20.0%), nearly half (45.7%) of all participants had majors in the Liberal Arts (25.7% not including Foreign Languages). The next largest percentage of students participating in this study were those in Business, at 20%. Three colleges had three students each: Biological Sciences, Design, and Dual (8.6% each). Education and Human Development (5.7%) and Technology (2.9%) round out the final numbers for the Major category.

When asked how much time they had previously spent in abroad or in another culture, 40% indicated they had never lived in another culture prior to their spring semester 2008 abroad. A slightly larger percentage of students had spent less than three months abroad or in another culture (42.9%). A handful of students had spent more than three months in another culture prior to studying abroad (Table 2). The students were

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[6] This approximation is based on the email address provided to me by each student. Since students from outside the University of Minnesota must register as non-degree students when participating in university-sponsored study abroad programs, they are eligible for a University of Minnesota email address.

also asked in what country they spent their formative years, birth to age 18; all indicated

they had spent all or most of that time in the United States. The great majority of the

students, therefore, had spent little to no time outside of the United States prior to their

spring 2008 semester abroad.

Table 2

Previous Time Spent Abroad or Living in Another Culture

Never lived in another culture	Less than 3 months	3 to 6 months	7 to 11 months	1-2 years
n = 14	n = 15	n = 3	n = 2	n = 1
40%	42.9%	8.6%	5.7%	2.9%

Study Abroad Program Information

All of the students participated in programs of 4.3 months average length and in

which they remained in one location for all or most of their education abroad. Most of

the students (60%) studied abroad in a European country. Twenty percent went to

Australia or New Zealand. Those who went to Latin America and Africa constituted

14.3% and 5.7%, respectively. See Appendix L for a complete list of all countries.

To the question, "What is the predominant nature of your study abroad program?"

the students were offered four options to describe the type of study abroad program.

They could select all that apply. All programs were described as predominantly one or

two types; none were described as combinations of three or four types. More than 1/3 of

the programs (34.3%, n=12) were described as predominantly *Regular courses alongside

host country students*. Further, *Classes designed for study abroad students* was most

often cited in combination with another program type (28.6%, n=10). Students were

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more likely to include *Field study: research and/or internship* in combination with another program type (14.3%, n=5) than as a single, predominant type, and no student described their program as *Campus of a U.S. institution in another country* as a single, predominant type. (Appendix M).

Validity and Reliability

Content and construct validity of the IDI were addressed by the IDI scholars (Hammer et al., 2003). They noted the achievement of content validity via expert raters and that of construct validity via examination against two related models. Based on previous versions which had unacceptable validity results (Marcell, 2004), the ORAS was revised. The revised version used in this study is the result of data analyses and instrument revisions conducted by Vandiver and Leach (2005). No validity documentation on the current version of the ORAS is available for reporting at this time.

Reliability of Quantitative Data

Reliability analyses were conducted on the IDI and the ORAS pretest and posttest data. Only the ORAS has reverse-scaled items; the appropriate items were switched in order to achieve the highest coefficient alpha.

As reported in Table 3, the internal consistency reliability of three IDI scales in this study were consistent with those reported by Hammer, Bennett, and Wiseman (2003). Two scales in the current study, however, had noticeably lower reliability: Denial-Defense and Minimization. According to Kline (2000) regarding tests that measure diverse, psychological constructs, lower coefficient alpha levels are expected and acceptable. Further, these scales are particularly representative of the sample in this study as will be presented later in this chapter. As a result, the minimum coefficient

alpha level in the current study is .55. Therefore while Denial-Defense and Minimization

for the current study do not have as high levels as in the previously reported study

(Hammer et al., 2003), they are acceptable in this study.

Further examination of coefficient alpha levels as reported in Table 3 shows that

two of the three ORAS scales show internal consistency reliability. For both the pretest

and the post-test, the Reactive and Conflictive scales show strong reliability with a

minimum coefficient alpha of .77 and maximum of .88. The Dominative/Integrative

subscale, however, shows disappointingly low coefficient alpha levels, .17 for the pretest

and .35 for the post-test. It must be assumed, therefore, that the Dominative/Integrative

construct of White Racial Consciousness was not adequately tested with this sample and

therefore this construct cannot be reliably interpreted further in this study and will not be

used in any analysis.

Table 3

Reliability of IDI and ORAS Using Alpha Coefficients

IDI	Coefficient Alpha of Current Study		Coefficient Alpha Reported by Hammer, Bennett, and Wiseman (2003)
Scale or subscale	Pretest	Posttest	
Denial-Defense Scale (n=13)	.76	.69	.85
Reversal Scale (n=9)	.81	.87	.80
Minimization Scale (n=9)	.58	.76	.83
Acceptance-Adaptation Scale (n=14)	.85	.82	.84
Encapsulated Marginality Scale (n=5)	.84	.86	.80
ORAS	Pretest	Posttest	
Dominative/Integrative (n=6)	.17	.35	--
Reactive (n=7)	.77	.86	--
Conflictive (n=7)	.88	.88	--

Research Question 1

To what extent do White students' intercultural and racial orientations change as a result

of having studied abroad?

The first question seeks to investigate what effect study abroad has on

intercultural competence and racial awareness. As discussed in the literature review,

previous studies have shown that even a study abroad experience of a short duration such

as a four-month to five-month semester has a significant effect on intercultural

competence as measured by the IDI. Here we will discover this sample's IDI results and,

for the first time, results of the racial awareness scores for students who participated in

study abroad as measured by the ORAS.

The IDI results begin our analysis. As shown in Table 4, IDI Overall Profile

results in the post-test show a decrease in ethnocentric scores and an increase in

ethnorelative scores. No scores indicated a primary issue in Encapsulated Marginality.

Table 4

IDI Overall Profile Scores by Scale: Pretest and Post-test

	Pretest	Post-test
Denial-Defense or Reversal	25.7%	28.6%
Minimization	68.6	60.0
Acceptance-Adaptation	5.7	11.4
Encapsulated Marginality	0	0

The overall Developmental Score on the IDI typically ranges from 55 to 145. In

this study as well, the individual scores had a range almost as wide. The pretest

administration showed the lowest score to be 48.45 and the highest to be 115.91. The

scores from the post-test ranged from a low of 59.22 to 123.26.

A comparison of mean scores from the pretest and the post-test IDI

administrations is shown in Table 5. The overall mean IDI score on the pretest was 85.90.

This means that, as a group, these students began their study abroad experience in either a

high Denial-Defense stage or the Reversal stage. Upon the end of the semester, the group

mean was 91.17, a change of slightly more than five points. While not enough to warrant movement out of Minimization, this is positive change toward ethnorelativism. Further, as was suggested by the large range of scores above, the standard deviation for both administrations show that the students widely differed from each other at the beginning and even more so at the end of their study abroad programs.

Table 5

Comparison of Mean Scores: IDI

	Pretest		Post-test	
	M	SD	M	SD
Overall Profile (Developmental Score)	85.90	12.91	91.17	16.02
Denial-Defense	4.20	0.46	4.26	0.39
Reversal	3.25	0.65	3.53	0.79
Minimization	2.52	0.53	2.50	0.62
Acceptance-Adaptation	3.33	0.59	3.58	0.56
Encapsulated Marginality	3.79	0.83	3.84	0.81

Next, we examine overall results from the ORAS scores. As is expected of a typological concept, there is no single, global score to determine a White person's racial consciousness on the ORAS. The developers of this concept therefore suggest examining all three scores for an understanding of the issues that have greater and lesser degrees of relevance to the group or individual. Recalling that the reliability results for this study were too low to keep the Dominative/Integrative subscale, the examination will be of the Conflictive and Reactive subscales only.

Table 6

Comparison of Mean Scores: ORAS

	Pretest			Post-test		
	M	SD	Range	M	SD	Range
Conflictive	15.13	5.57	7 - 28	15.17	5.49	7 - 29
Reactive	18.05	5.17	9 - 27	18.34	6.06	9 - 31

The group scores of the ORAS (Table 6) are less revealing than those for the IDI.

Vandiver and Leach (2005) explain that for the Conflictive and Reactive scales, "the

higher the score a person receives on the scale, the more likely it is that the scale

dimension identifies the person's view," (p. 3). The highest possible score for each scale

is 35; none of these mean scores approach this level. As a group, however, the study

abroad students increased slightly in both Conflictive and Reactive. Particularly on the

Reactive scale, they described their racial awareness with even more disparity on the

post-test than on the pre-test, as shown by the standard deviations.

The Wilcoxon signed-rank test[7] (Field, 2005) was used to measure the statistical

significance of the change in IDI and ORAS scores between the pretest and posttest

administrations. Results are presented in Table 7.

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[7] Because the data in this study are nonparametric, the Wilcoxon signed-rank test is used in lieu of the t-test.

Table 7

Pretest and Posttest Means on IDI and ORAS Scales

	Pretest		Post-test		Wilcoxon Test	
	M	SD	M	SD	Z-score	*Sig.**
Overall Profile (Developmental Score)	85.90	12.91	91.17	16.02	-2.26	.02*
Denial-Defense	4.20	0.46	4.26	0.39	-1.16	.25
Reversal	3.25	0.65	3.53	0.79	-2.22	.03*
Minimization	2.52	0.53	2.50	0.62	-.32	.75
Acceptance-Adaptation	3.33	0.59	3.58	0.56	-2.79	.01*
Encapsulated Marginality	3.79	0.83	3.84	0.81	-.68	.50
Conflictive	15.13	5.57	15.17	5.49	-.04	.97
Reactive	18.05	5.17	18.34	6.06	-.39	.69

*p < .05

The conclusion is that in study abroad there is a statistically significant increase in the Developmental Score of intercultural competence from before departure to after the program is finished. Further examination of the IDI scales shows that statistically significant increases also occurred in the IDI subscales Reversal and Acceptance-Adaptation. As a group, the students whose primary developmental issues were in Reversal moved toward positive impressions of the study abroad host country and toward negative impressions of the U.S. Those students whose primary developmental issues were in Acceptance-Adaptation became more ethnorelative in their interactions with those who are culturally different from themselves. The Wilcoxon results for the IDI

scales of Denial-Defense, Minimization, and Encapsulated Marginality show that these changes are not statistically significant.

The results from the ORAS pretest and posttest administrations show that the changes for neither the Conflictive nor Reactive scales are statistically significant. While the negative z-scores indicate increases in these scales, the increases are not statistically significant. This indicates stable levels of racial awareness for this group.

The first half of the answer to research question 1, therefore, is that as a result of study abroad there is positive and statistically significant change in the students' IDI developmental score. For most students in this sample, this study abroad experience was their first time to spend more than a few weeks abroad. Further, they were in academic settings and living arrangements that were culturally different from what they are accustomed to in the Midwestern United States. These likely had an influence on this change toward increased ethnorelativism on the DMIS. The answer to the latter part of this question, however, is that the sample's racial awareness did not show statistically significant change. Most of the sample (82.9%) went to countries where Caucasians are the dominant race. The students ORAS scores indicate low levels of racial awareness in the U.S. (pretest completed prior to departure for study abroad). The lack of change likely means that their levels of awareness were not challenged to any degree during study abroad that would cause significant change between their pretest and posttest scores, a possible cause for the consistency of these results.

As this empirical result – change in intercultural competence but not in racial awareness – was anticipated during the design of this study, the second research question

was drafted in order to explore in a deeper way how students talk about culture and race in their own words.

<div align="center">Research Question 2</div>

How do White students articulate their intercultural competence development and racial attitude development as a result of having studied abroad?

To address the question of articulation of culture and race, eight students were interviewed individually. The Interview Protocol was developed for this study (Appendix H). Overall, the students exhibited more comfort with expressing their insights into culture (e.g., American or Midwestern, host country) than race. The findings indicate some attitudes and awareness that correspond to areas on the DMIS and WRC, respectively, while other attitudes and awareness expressed by the students indicate additional themes that expand upon these theoretical models. The findings will be presented first by intercultural competence and second by racial awareness as they address the question of articulation of these real-life issues.

<div align="center">*Articulation of Intercultural Competence*</div>

Approximately seven themes for intercultural competence were distilled from the interviews. Three of these themes fall under the DMIS: *Minimization, Ethnocentrism*, and *Ethnorelativism*. The majority of the codes are included under one of these three themes, indicating that the DMIS is a theory that reflects well the experiences of cultural difference of this group. Four themes are outside of the DMIS: *Definitions of culture* and *Guided conversations about culture* ("How the respondents articulate culture"), and *Criticism of (White) American culture* and *Openness to preferred cultures* ("Additions to DMIS"). While these themes include fewer codes, the researcher deems these to be

important to answering the research question and to expanding upon the DMIS as a theoretical model. In order to focus on the question at hand, the themes of *Definitions of culture* and *Guided conversations* will be expanded upon below.

Definitions of Culture

As a group, the students interviewed expressed wide variation in their definitions and understandings of culture, ranging from shallow to deep. This range corresponds to the similarly wide variations in the group's IDI scores. When asked what comes to mind when hearing the word "culture," most students gave vague, superficial impressions. One example is from Carl, who studied abroad in Berlin, Germany. To him, culture is a quaint, old-fashioned characteristic that others (non-Whites) have:

"(I think of) minorities, because usually it's used in conjunction with celebrating culture. When I think of celebrating culture, I think of different races…or once-a-year celebrations of past traditions or things like that, that people maybe don't do as much in modern times just because everything has gotten mixed together, especially in America. There aren't as many groups that maintain their own identity. When I think of culture I think of that celebration of either the past and each individual race's identity."

Another example of a superficial understanding of culture comes from Andrew, who studied abroad in London. He offered the example of food several times in our discussion. The first time I asked, he said,

"…when I hear the word 'culture' I think of food. I think that's what works in every culture. I guess, what comes to mind is, culture is the things you do when you have

free time. We're all forced to eat, we're all forced to go places, do things. It's how

we do things and how we choose to do things differently than other people, that's our

culture."

Despite coming from a bi-racial, bi-ethnic background (Mexican American and White

American) and having studied abroad prior to spring 2008, Andrew maintains this

superficial idea of culture. He indicated that he identifies as White and grew up in a

largely White American, middle-class community in Wisconsin; that is the same

community to which he intends to return upon graduation. I perceive that it is this

intention to return which encourages Andrew to shield himself from a deeper

understanding of culture. While he never said so outright, in order to fit in to his

Wisconsin community he seems to perceive that he must maintain the same values and

worldviews.

"Honestly, I'm from <X community>, Wisconsin and I want to go back and work at

the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*. Odds are I'll go a lot of other places before I wind

up there, but I've basically seen half of the world and I'm OK with that for right now.

I'll go on vacation later but I don't need to be immersed again for a while."

Several of the students, including Carl and Andrew, indicated similar desires to remain in

or return to largely monocultural and monoracial communities. To varying degrees,

therefore, this superficial understanding of culture may be a determined, purposeful one.

It also shows that in their home communities, these students likely did not encounter, or

did not value, people who are models of ethnorelativism.

Two students expressed conceptions of culture that were initially vague but seem to

approach or test out more complexity. This may be a result of appearing nervous or

unsure in the early portion of our interview and seeming to relax further on. When first

asked, Madeline said, "I think, your overall lifestyle is somewhat your culture. What you

believe in and how you use that to get by in your daily life." Later, she pointed to

variations of family and school structures as specific examples of culture and cultural

differences.

Also, Val initially stated that culture consisted of a common language and

environment in which we are raised. When prompted how to describe her own culture,

she first responded that she did not know and second replied that her family experiences

with culture were around holidays and celebrations, such as Christmas and birthdays.

Later, Val expanded upon the impact of one's environment on our culture. I asked her to

comment on the relationship between culture and race:

"They're a lot different. My best friend is Korean (American), but I'd say she's the

exact same culture as me because she grew up in the neighborhood next to mine, so I

don't see her as having a different culture at all. But they overlap; a lot of times one

race will have its own culture if you all are in a different environment together. I

guess it comes down to which environment you're in. And then race is genetically

determined and culture I don't think is."

Moreover, at the end of our conversation Val noted her desire to think about and learn

more about the topics we discussed before making more concrete statements.

One student had the deepest, most internalized definition of culture of all. Audrey

studied abroad in Spain but this was not her first time to live abroad. Prior to starting

college she had taken a "gap year"[8] after high school and attended a year of high school in Argentina. She noted that while this year was an intense immersion into another language and culture, it wasn't until she lived abroad in Spain that her understanding of other people and other cultures "really stuck." Audrey defines culture as, "a group of people having the same norms and social reality and so they all agree on what they're doing as part of their life and it's very right to them and it makes sense to them." While this may have begun as a definition she learned, unlike other students who seemed to parrot such definitions Audrey has internalized it and formed it in her own words.

Knowledge of culture, and knowledge of one's self within a culture, are crucial to the ability to articulate what culture means. This conscious awareness is further crucial to moving toward ethnorelative manners of interacting with others. As noted at the beginning of this section, the IDI results for the students in this study had a wide range, similar to the wide ranges of culture definitions. Further, the definitions that skewed toward superficial correlate to the finding that the IDI group mean rested in Minimization, which is skewed in the ethnocentric range of the DMIS.

Guided Conversations About Culture

The second theme of intercultural competence is *Guided conversations about culture*. All of the students who had difficulty articulating culture also noted that their discussions about culture were in guided sessions, in a class or with a cultural informant. Outside of these guided sessions virtually none of the students could recall having

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[8] A "gap year" is a year after high school graduation and prior to attending college. Students who take this year off typically go abroad either to study (not for credit) or to volunteer.

spontaneous conversations about culture, such as with friends or roommates, even during their study abroad experience.

Paige, who studied abroad in Australia, grew up in a small town north of Duluth, Minnesota, which she describes as monocultural and monoracial yet her family was "open-minded" about people from other cultures. She told me about having boyfriends from other cultures and races, including Brazil, Somalia, and Peru. Even so, Paige could not recall instances of talking about cultural issues except in her classes. In response to her interest in Aboriginals in Australia and the issues they face, I asked her if she talked to her classmates about those topics. She answered,

> "I don't think I really had too many one-on-one conversations with anybody in
>
> my class. But, within professor-guided discussions, most of the people in the
>
> classes already have pretty open minds, and so the discussions went fairly well;
>
> people were pretty understanding of the Aboriginal viewpoint."

If guided by someone who is knowledgeable and experienced, discussions about complex issues (such as marginalized groups) can be safe ways for students to test their ideas and opinions as they form and change. Still, as we see next, limiting the conversation place to the classroom and focusing the topic on "the other" also limits the opportunities for growth beyond the classroom and toward oneself as a cultural being.

Val, whose best friend since childhood is Korean-American and whom we met above, studied abroad in New Zealand. Similar to Paige, she, too, had in-class guided conversations about those who were different from herself; in Val's case it was an American fiction class and the topic that they addressed was race.

"In my fiction class we read a lot of books about race, so we discussed it and…we

read a book called *Chinaman*, which is a book about Chinese immigrants in the

US and we read about African Americans in the US. In the class it seemed like

everyone was really for equal societies and everything like that. But we didn't

really talk about how the issues were panning out in New Zealand."

Also in that class Val stated that little reference was made to American life outside the

context of the books they read. I asked if her New Zealand classmates or instructor

looked to the Americans for insights. She said, "Not too much. We had one lecture

about malls, so I got to explain about the Mall of America." In this case I perceive it to

be less Val's fault and more the instructor's for not engaging the students in discussing

how the topics relate to them. In-class modeling of how the course material applies to

life outside the classroom is a key step of giving students the tools they need to begin

talking about culture and race outside of a guided format.

Outside of classroom settings some students did learn about culture, however. In

their respective locations, Katherine and Carl had "cultural informants," or persons who

could view and interpret the host culture from an objective or different point of view.

Carl, who studied abroad in Germany and whom we met above, indicated deep

admiration for and interest in Germany. He had lived there the summer before studying

abroad and has plans to attend a Masters degree program there in the future. Still, there

was one element of German culture to which he could not come to terms without talking

to an informed person. That issue was Carl's physical disability. He said,

"the German response to a disability…is a lot different or a lot more closed than

Americans. Whereas Americans might simply ask you, 'if it's OK, can I ask you

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what happened?', Germans would probably just stare and not ask anything. I

think the general rule is, 'you can stare as much as you want just don't make any

contact, don't talk to him.'"

It was the staring that Carl disliked, and the distance from him that Germans would take

upon noticing his disability. He discussed his frustration with an American woman who

had lived in Germany for some time. While she did not offer her own insights, it was her

agreement with Carl that validated his frustration and allowed him to move on from it.

Immediately after relating this story to me, Carl changed courses to describe living in the

multicultural city of Berlin and how he interacted with people of other countries and

cultures daily: "(I)f you did feel uncomfortable, don't take it personally or don't get too

bent out of shape because, especially in a large city, it's going to happen." This may also

be Carl's way of coming to terms with how he felt about German reactions to his

disability.

Katherine studied abroad in Spain and chose to live in a homestay with a woman

she called her *señora*. Several times in our conversation Katherine affectionately referred

to her *señora* and the deep learning she gained from her. For example, she asked her

señora about disparaging remarks she heard older Spaniards using about Moroccans. Her

señora told her not to "take it personally because they just resent everyone, it's not really

a specific group, it just happens, a certain group comes up in conversation." Her *señora*

also referred to Catalonia's history and "fighting spirit" against anyone who appeared to

be an intruder. Katherine then linked this conversation to a Spanish history class she was

taking, saying that "I learned [historical details] through my history class, which I'm

really glad I took, because when my *señora* is talking to me about these things, I think

that I understand it a little bit better." So we see that when students have the opportunity to apply and discuss in-class lessons to real-world people, issues, and situations, the learning intensifies.

Articulation of Racial Awareness

With regard to racial awareness, nine themes emerged from the interviews. Three of these themes fall within the WRC types of *Conflictive, Reactive*, and *Dominative*. Three refer to *General negative attitudes* or *General positive attitudes*, plus impressions of *Affirmative action*, that lie outside of the WRC model. Finally, three address articulation of race or racial awareness: *Lack of articulation of Whiteness, Intellectual agreement or "silent witness,"* and *Difficulty of racial divides*. I noted both the students' clear articulations as well as their struggles and stumbles to say what they thought, therefore these latter three themes contain many codes, mostly regarding the struggles. As it was a topic that nearly every student spoke on at length, affirmative action will be discussed in chapter 5.

Lack of Articulation of Whiteness

All of the students interviewed for this study were raised in largely monoracial environments in Minnesota or Wisconsin. Considering they were surrounded by others of the same race that further dominates the greater American society, and that the greater White American society has done little to articulate what it means to be a White American, it is not surprising that this subset had difficulty expressing themselves on this topic. Katherine grew up in a rural subdivision outside of Madison, Wisconsin. She

described her racial identity in terms of what she is not; specifically, she described her half-Mexican, half-White American cousins as opposite herself:

"a lot of my cousins are half Mexican and half of whatever the rest of me is: a German, Lithuanian mess. So, that's always really interesting because they have experienced a lot of things that I have not and they go to a school in West Bend, which is a town north of Milwaukee, very big, it's very urban sprawl. They face a lot of gangs going on in their schools and things that I never had to deal with growing up, and they feel a lot of pressure because they are half Mexican. They feel that racial pressure to be like everyone else…I feel like they have a different identity and they search for their identity a little bit more because they're a mix."

Often when asked questions that explicitly involve race (e.g., "Did you think about race while you were abroad?"), students would avoid or ignore race and shift to culture. For example, when asked if he thought about race while he was abroad, Carl said, "Yes, in my observations." He then stated that national culture could be used as a synonym for race, and continued with an example of observations of Lithuanian, Ukrainian, and Spaniard "international-type" students and business people in Berlin. When asked what is it like to be a White person in the U.S., Carl again used culture in his response: "It's pretty easy, I think, because we're the majority…You just feel normal or whatever else. Especially in the Midwest, there's much less culture – minorities and stuff like that." While his response is vague, indicating a lack of articulation about what it means to be White, he recognizes the ease with which White Americans live their lives in this country.

Based on her romantic relationships with boys of other races and cultures, I thought Paige might have a clearer concept of her own racial identity than the other students. She could articulate an intellectual understanding of White privilege from readings and class discussions (see the next section), but when asked if she and her Somali boyfriend talked about the different university experiences they have based on being White or Black, she replied: "I don't think I ever really brought it up too much. Within talking about our families and how they might react to us dating one another, we did talk about that more…but not in general." Even in a close relationship, this interracial couple almost exclusively followed the rules of not talking about race that White Americans typically follow.

At the end of our interview Val expressed her inner frustration with not being able to articulate her thoughts and feelings about racial issues: "I have thought and I probably do have strong opinions about them, but I feel like it's such touchy stuff, I really want to think about (it) before I…I don't know." On the other hand, Katherine clearly stated her lack of consideration of race in her daily life:

> "I don't think about race on a daily basis, if I think about it. Do I know people of other races in my classes? Yes. Do I talk to them every day? Yes. I just don't really think about it consciously."

As I expected most of the students not to have considered race and, furthermore, might be uneasy about addressing this sensitive topic, before asking questions about race I inoculated them by granting permission to give the response, "I never thought about that." The final student in my interview group is Samantha. She studied abroad in Costa Rica and is from Park Rapids, Minnesota, a predominantly White community which

borders a Native American reservation. For Samantha, the concept of racial difference involved Native Americans to a large degree and Mexicans to a much less degree. She had already told me about racial tension between her community and the Native Americans. When I asked how the relations were between Whites and Indians[9] in the context of our discussion about affirmative action, she said: "I guess I haven't thought of it too much. I would assume that the White person would feel more like they should get this job because the person from the reservation has…the reputation…(of being a) lazy criminal."

This lack of articulation about race and what it means to be White resulted in two additional sub-themes: *misconceptions of racism* and *racist preferences*. Two students have developed a misconception of what racism is. The first is Paige, who initially stated that she has never felt racism and quickly corrected herself upon recalling how, "(Black) people look(ed) at me differently because I was dating a Black guy," and "there was one or two comments…on Facebook, kind of referring to…my ex-boyfriend dating a White girl." This was not racism but at minimum curiosity and at maximum marginalization. Samantha claimed to receive racist jokes in emails. She describes them as,

> "I read little jokes, moderately racist jokes in emails. How a White person acts, a
> Mexican acts, and a Black person acts, and you'll laugh – I'll laugh – because I'll
> read the White things and go, 'it's true, I do kiss my cat on its head,' whereas
> according to the joke, Black people and Mexican people say how disgusting that
> is."

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[9] This is the term that Samantha used.

Again, this is a misconception of racism simply because three different races are compared to each other. In the case of this joke, it is an overgeneralized stereotype. Neither Paige nor Samantha has had enough experience with or conversations about racism to be able to recognize it when it does – and does not – occur. These may seem to be innocuous examples with little meaning, even to the students themselves. Yet when uneducated ideas such as these are viewed from the lens of their voting decisions in an election or into what neighborhood they will move or whether or not they support affirmative action and why, these innocuous examples can become one of many ill-informed touch points that form the basis for crucial decision making.

The result of little to no articulation of race in her daily life which I call *racist preferences* came from Madeline. She described London society as more racially equal than the Twin Cities based on the larger amount of contact with each other that different races have in London.

> "I just think that people were more mixed together over there. Especially in some of my classes, there would be someone of color there but they would fit in with all of the other White students just as if the person was White themselves. But here you do see some more segregation, you see the people of color stick together and the White people stick together."

To Madeline, racial equality is when people of color act like White people do. This is of more serious concern than the misconception of racism examples above because it is a powerful lack of value and appreciation for different ways of social interactions; it shows Madeline's clear preference for White ways and behaviors as opposed to those of people of color. To her, if more integration occurred in the Twin Cities then more people of

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color would act like White people do. If Madeline only has one concept of positive

behavior, the White concept, then if increased integration with people of color does not

lead to more White behavior she (and like-minded others) is likely to reject the people of

color and integration.

Intellectual Agreement Against or "Silent Witness to" Racism

The second main theme of racial awareness is *intellectual agreement against or*

the "silent witness" to racism. This theme emerged as the students repeatedly noted how

they learned about issues like White privilege in a class or they observed negative racial

interactions, yet they rarely recalled participating in conversations or interacting with

either Whites or people of color on these topics.

When asked what it means to be a White person in the U.S., three students

volunteered knowledge about White privilege. Samantha had learned about it in a class

and described how being in the majority made it easier for a White person:

> *Samantha*: I've taken a couple of psychology classes, too, so I know there's a lot
>
> of special things that just being White, you get special things like – how do I say
>
> it –
>
> *Researcher*: Like, privileges?
>
> *Samantha*: Yeah, privileges, that's the word I'm looking for. Just random
>
> privileges you don't even realize you're getting because of your color.
>
> *Researcher*: What kind of privileges?
>
> *Samantha*: I'm thinking of like, school and jobs, sort of things, where people
>
> won't have as many preconceived judgments about you if they see you're their

own color or they see that you're part of that majority of people who are generally

from a middle-class family and don't have a background of having many

problems of like being jailed or stuff like that.

It is the final line of Samantha's description of White privilege that is problematic and

shows how little, if at all, she has moved beyond learning about White privilege in the

classroom. Paige also learned about White privilege in a class but seems to have

internalized the concept more.

Paige: In my studies in college, I've come to realize how easy things can be, how

many opportunities we're given. I have read about White privilege and I agree

with it.

Researcher: What did you read?

Paige: How there's some given things, I guess, in our society, how we can

arrange to be in the company of people the same color if we want to. We can

open the newspaper and on the front page, we're likely to see a person of our

color displayed; flip on a TV and we're likely to see TV shows, sitcoms, news

anchors of our color, things like that.

Paige has taken the next step from in-class learning to finding concrete examples of

White privilege in her daily life, as opposed to Samantha who not only had vague

examples of education and jobs, but those who do not benefit from White privilege are

criminals. This difference between these two students further brings to light the concept

of change in racial awareness that will be explored under research question 4 below.

Val's explanation of what it means to be a White person in the U.S. also indicates an intellectual understanding of racial disparities but reveals no day-to-day experience with these. Our conversation went as follows:

Val: I think you take for granted – I don't think you're as aware of different interactions, I guess.

Researcher: Different interactions with…?

Val: Or I guess you probably take for granted how someone of another race might feel, or have challenges and you don't think a White person faces these challenges if you're in the majority, I guess.

Researcher: What kind of challenges do you think people of color have that White people don't have?

Val: I guess economic problems.

Using hesitant language, Val states here that Whites take for granted how people of color feel – a manner and statement that emphasize the lack of communication between Whites and people of color. This lack of communication may create internal disturbance within students who have anti-racist beliefs yet do not yet take action against racist language or behaviors. Audrey gave an example of this as she told me about hearing derogatory remarks against immigrant racial minorities in Spain:

Audrey: One thing that did bother me was that they have huge immigration, I think they're the second behind us. They have immigrants from Eastern Europe and Northern Africa and they're kind of racist and not accepting of immigrants and I'd hear a lot of slurs and stuff and that would bother me.

> *Researcher*: [Because you speak Spanish fluently] you could understand what they were saying.
>
> *Audrey*: Right, and it was pretty derogatory. As far as immigration, I think from my experience, I'm not articulating this very well because I haven't ever said it out loud, but I'm more prone to support immigration and be very sensitive about the issue because of what I've known and seen.

Audrey's key statement is *I'm not articulating this very well because I haven't ever said it out loud*, an acknowledgement of her own lack of understanding of the greater impact of racist language and behaviors around her precisely because she has not had – or taken advantage of – opportunities to talk about them.

Difficulty of Racial Divides

The final theme that addresses the question of how students articulate racial awareness is how *racial divides are difficult to bridge*. More than half of the interviewees indicated desires to reach across racial divides but were inhibited by their lack of knowledge for how to do that. Andrew described a lack of familiarity and perpetuated stereotypes as blocking his access to better interracial understanding in the U.S.:

> *Andrew*: (H)ere, I don't think that there *are* large differences but we *feel* there are, so things get weird. People don't feel as comfortable, people don't feel familial [sic], therefore they don't get comfortable.
>
> *Researcher*: Right…it's harder to get to know somebody of a different race here than it is there (in London)?

Andrew: Yeah.

Researcher: Why do you think that is?

Andrew: I think that is because…we have stereotypes of different kinds of people.
May it be any kind of race, or whether it be White people. Even I succumb to
stereotypes about White people...But, I think because of those (stereotypes) it's
difficult for us to step beyond that and not make a 'them – us' kind of division,
and just think of 'we.' And I think in London…they've kind of gone a little bit
further beyond that. It's more of a 'we.' I think we're getting better (in the U.S.)
but I don't think we're there yet.

Andrew compares race relations in the U.S. to what he observed in London, a society
where he sees the racial divide as less than what exists here. Later, when asked about
relations between Black and White Americans, Andrew stated that a separate space must
exist for himself and his Black acquaintances because without that separate space, if we
act like our Black or White selves, then positive interactions cannot exist. For Andrew,
Black-White relations were the thorniest issue we discussed:

"when I'm with a Black person that's my friend, they are a different person when
they're with me than when they're with their Black friends. And likewise, I can
tell that I'm changing, too, from when I'm just with my White friends. We kind
of meet on a separate plane of 'gray' instead of Black and White…We know
we've changed, but it's just where we can deal with each other better. So I think
that's the same of all different cultures, though. It's really difficult to pretend that
someone else is part of your culture. But at the same time, if you understand that

you're different, you can meet each other halfway. I think that typifies

relationships between Black and White people in the United States."

Unlike Madeline above, who seemed relieved when she saw Black students in London

"acting White," Andrew sees the falsity in that behavior. Still, "dealing with each other

better" by creating a separate space to interact, as Andrew says, is a defensive way to

bridge a racial divide and implies that a task must be accomplished reluctantly and the

interaction is temporary.

One student referred to the difficulty of being White as a barrier to bridging

divides. Audrey acknowledges the strained relationships that stem from the U.S. history

of slavery and its aftereffects. While she would prefer to disregard that difficult history

and move toward improved relations she understands that is not possible, yet she does not

know how to move through the strain to get beyond it: "I also think being White is really

hard, too, because I want to, just gloss over all the problems from slavery and how it

residually affects people now." She goes on to describe as "hostile" the relations

between Black and White Americans: "I think it's a little bit hostile because there's a

strong desire to mix but I don't think I know how to. I don't think it's as easy as it

seems."

In summary, the students in this study articulated intercultural competence largely

in superficial ways. Still, they also showed that in guided conversations where they apply

their knowledge to real-life situations, they can delve deeper into intercultural

understanding. In contrast, they hardly had the words to describe their racial awareness

and therefore could describe their thoughts in terms of people of color (or, what they

were not) or in misconstrued, avoidant, or hesitant ways that show this group has a severe

lack of racial awareness.

<div align="center">Research Question 3</div>

Are the changes in a student's intercultural and racial orientations related?

Moving on to the third research question, the researcher is seeking to determine

whether the theoretical relationships presented in the literature review are also present in

the empirical data. As we remember, connections were made between the DMIS and

WRC as seen in Table 8.

Table 8

Theoretical connections between the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity and White Racial Consciousness

DMIS	WRC
Defense ………………………………………………..……………	Dominative
Reversal …………………………………………………...………………	Reactive
Minimization …………………………………………………...…………	Conflictive
Ethnocentrism …………………………………………………...…………	Reactive
Adaptation …………………………………………………………………	Integrative

The nonparametric correlations test used in this study is Kendall's tau. Similar to

Pearson's Correlation Coefficient, this test determines the strength and significance of

relationships between variables for nonparametric data. In Table 9 we see the results

from the pretest and Table 10 has the results from the posttest. Directional hypotheses

were made based on the researcher's understanding of the theoretical concepts and based

on the z-scores in Table 7, therefore the tests are single-tailed. If we focus on the

Conflictive and Reactive scales of the ORAS, we see parallel, significant relationships

with IDI scales for the pretest and the posttest.

In the pretest and the posttest, Conflictive is significantly and negatively

correlated with the IDI Developmental Score ($p < .05$; pretest $R = -.36$; posttest $R = -.24$)

and with the Denial-Defense scale ($p < .05$; pretest $R = -.44$; posttest $R = -.28$). In the

posttest, Conflictive is also significantly and negatively correlated with the Acceptance-

Adaptation scale ($p < .05$; $R = -.22$). This means that as this group's Conflictive scores

increased, their IDI scores decreased.

The Reactive scale of the ORAS paints a slightly different picture. First, it shows

significant relationships with three IDI scales: Denial-Defense ($p < .05$; pretest $R = .30$;

posttest $R = .27$), Acceptance-Adaptation ($p < .05$; pretest $R = .29$; posttest $R = .25$), and

Encapsulated Marginality ($p < .05$; pretest $R = -.31$; posttest $R = -.27$). The latter,

however, has the only negative relationship with Reactive. This means that as the

Reactive scores for these students increased, so did their Denial-Defense and Acceptance-

Adaptation scores but not so for their Encapsulated Marginality scores. Neither ORAS

scale has a statistically significant relationship with either the Reversal or Minimization

IDI scales in either survey administration ($p > .05$;).

Table 9

Relationships Between IDI and ORAS Scales: Pretest (Kendall's τ)

Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Overall Profile (Developmental Score)	1.00							
2. Denial-Defense	.54**	1.00						
3. Reversal	.46**	.091	1.00					
4. Minimization	.47**	.24*	.12	1.00				
5. Acceptance-Adaptation	.05	.13	-.28*	.01	1.00			
6. Encapsulated Marginality	.08	.03	.33**	-.01	-.38**	1.00		
7. Conflictive	-.36**	-.44**	-.14	-.20	-.16	.06	1.00	
8. Reactive	.12	.30*	-.18	.01	.29*	-.31*	-.52**	1.00

*$p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 10

Relationships Between IDI and ORAS Scales: Posttest (Kendall's τ)

Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Overall Profile (Developmental Score)	1.00							
2. Denial-Defense	.62**	1.00						
3. Reversal	.64**	.33**	1.00					
4. Minimization	.45**	.31**	.15	1.00				
5. Acceptance-Adaptation	.13	.23*	-.10	.10	1.00			
6. Encapsulated Marginality	.08	.02	.15	-.03	-.15	1.00		
7. Conflictive	-.24*	-.28*	-.14	-.12	-.22*	.06	1.00	
8. Reactive	.17	.27*	.07	.07	.25*	-.27*	-.38**	1.00

*$p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

In summary, there exists a statistically significant and negative relationship between Conflictive and the overall IDI scores. This relationship indicates that, for this group, as the students gained greater intercultural competence their conflicting racial attitudes diminished. Further, the direction of this relationship suggests that the racial attitudes the students release are those that are negative toward people of color or that they are developing more positive attitudes toward people of color. Alternatively, there is a statistically significant and positive relationship between Reactive and IDI scores of Denial-Defense and Acceptance-Adaptation.[10] This appears to be contradictory, as these IDI scores are at opposite ends of the scale. For the majority in this sample, they lived most of their lives at a distance from those who are racially and culturally different from themselves. Still, Minnesota has a strong history of welcoming immigrants and refugees to the Twin Cities. My own experience with Minnesotans, as a "transplant" from New York City to the Midwest, was initially a shock because this welcoming atmosphere was not the embrace that I expected; instead I was held at arms' length, at a distance. In my sample, therefore I interpret this correlation as an intellectual alignment with and compassion for people of color, but no desire for day-to-day closeness, a theme that also resounded strongly in my qualitative interviews. Racial fairness and equality are generally considered beneficial and are generally supported, but are opposed when they impact one's personal space and life.

Yet how can there also be a positive correlation between Acceptance-Adaptation and Reactive? This is interesting because it seems to contradict the findings regarding Denial-Defense. Recall that on the DMIS, someone at the Acceptance-Adaptation level

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[10] Because no IDI scores for this group indicated Encapsulated Marginality, this relationship will not be discussed.

exhibits the development of a sophisticated level of intercultural competence, yet the Reactive scale on WRC defends that people of color are downtrodden and deserve every help that they can get – help that White people are obligated to give. Further examination of the IDI results for my sample shows that this Acceptance-Adaptation level may, in fact, be an overestimation of how well the students are adapting to and accepting of people of other races and cultures. To quote Hammer and Bennett (1998/2001, p. 44) on this very issue, "While *you* may feel comfortable in the other culture, members of that culture may not. Perhaps it is *they* who are doing all the adapting," (emphasis in original). The mean scores Minimization for my sample indicate that this, in fact, may be the location for the correlation. Now the positive correlation becomes more clearly understood: suppression of cultural difference and emphasis of similarity in Minimization has a relationship with the Reactive attitudes of over-identification with people of color and ethnocentric grounding in the White experience.

<div align="center">Research Question 4</div>

To what extent do White students perceive a change in their intercultural competence and racial awareness?

The final research question addresses whether the students detected or expressed change in their intercultural competence and racial awareness. Data from the individual interviews will be used to answer this question. More students indicated transitions in their intercultural competence than in their racial awareness. Again, this is similar to the results presented for research question two, which showed statistically significant change in IDI results but not in ORAS results. Perceived change in intercultural competence will be addressed first, followed by perceived change in racial awareness.

Intercultural Competence

Four students expressed themselves in ways that indicated two themes of transition: they had recently transitioned to their current stage of intercultural competence and could reflect back on the journey they had taken; or they were experimenting with the next stage.

In considering his impression of the U.S. and Americans having returned from studying abroad in Germany, Carl noted how his impression changed often during his stay in Germany.

"It's tough because…my view kind of fluctuated when I was over there…and looking back to what was going on (in the U.S.,) and then coming back to the States and reflecting on how the culture was in Europe, and where I fit in the middle of that."

The U.S. presidential election prompted many conversations with the students in my study and the host nationals they met. From talking with Germans and learning about the German system, Carl broadened his perspective on our U.S. political party system:

"the spread of political ideologies is much greater over in Germany and in Europe. That was one thing that I took away, that we are in the middle of the road politically…it was very funny to hear the European perspective on American politics and the thoughts that some of my European friends had on…how conservative or narrow the range of politics is in the States."

Carl also noted an increase in his own comfort in interacting with people of different races and cultures as a result of study abroad, indicating a perceived movement from Defense to Minimization on the DMIS:

"I have much less fear of interacting with people of different races. Yes, thoughts about how that person might be different based on skin color or race…still go through my head, but it's much easier to get past that point and just work with them. Talk with them, to see who they are as a person, versus a class or race they fall into. I'd say, (study abroad) hasn't fundamentally altered how I regard race and culture, but it has gone so far as to increase my comfort with interacting with people of different races and cultures."

Madeline also perceived within herself a change from Defense to Minimization having studied abroad in London. Finding similarities is clearly important to her and a sign of her own growth having returned to Minnesota:

"now I have two French girls in one of my classes. Probably (before studying abroad) I would have thought of them as kind of different and not the same but now that I've had the experience (in London) with so many people from throughout the world, I know they're really not that different. I would talk to them just as I would anyone else, I don't look at them as they're foreign or from somewhere else but that they are the same, want the same out of school…and they are really not different from myself just because they grew up somewhere else."

Other students were exploring movement from their current stage of intercultural competence to a new one. Katherine went to Morocco for a short vacation, where she seemed to be testing out acceptance of cultural difference from the safe space of an all-inclusive bus tour. She began by talking about how she is exploring cultural difference by rejecting fear and embracing curiosity about those who are different from herself:

"I think it's silly when people fear someone who's just different than them. I mean, maybe sometimes there are occasions to be feared, but a lot of times you're afraid of your own lack of knowledge and, if you had that knowledge and if you took the time to learn something new, learn about a different culture, then there's no reason to be afraid, and you replace that with curiosity."

Katherine was pushing her own boundaries of cultural difference by journeying to a country that contains many superficial and deep differences from Spain and from the U.S. Still, I place Katherine in the testing and exploring phase of the new stage of Acceptance because the embrace she gave to cultural difference, in the case of her trip to Morocco, was still an embrace from a safe distance. Moreover, she rejected as "silly" when other people have fears about difference, a rejection that is still an ethnocentric point of view.

Samantha is another student who was testing out a new stage of intercultural competence. Like Katherine, she seemed to be considering Acceptance even as she maintained some distinct, ethnocentric ideas. Samantha and her host mother had a discussion about wealth and poverty in Costa Rica and in the United States. To her host mother's mind, there were no homeless people in the U.S. and virtually nothing Samantha said would change her mind. I asked her what she took away from that conversation, to which she responded,

"I thought, 'wow, are they ever wrong!' Of course (it made me think) of examples how I'm not rich, how other people aren't rich, how of course, we're college students so of course we're not rich, how yeah, we can pay for a plane ticket here but it makes us more poor than others. Looking back on it, it's kind of

       – well, how many preconceived judgments or generalizations do we have about

       other cultures that are totally off key like that?"

More than most students I interviewed, Samantha frequently displayed her ability to take

and accept another's perspective, as she does above. Even after stating her case for how

wrong her host mother was, she turns the question on herself and reveals how likely it is

that she, too, has misconceptions about others.

<p align="center">Racial Awareness</p>

       Recognition of their change in racial awareness did not come as easily as that of

intercultural competence to these students. This does not come as a surprise given that

they acknowledge some to no contact with people of color in the U.S., and even less

while they were abroad. For them, race was hardly an issue unless it was raised by others.

Two students had classes on their campuses abroad in which race and racial issues were

discussed. These students spoke to me in ways that indicated discomfort with their

current level of awareness and the need to move beyond it, but trepidation in venturing

into an unknown area, too. The themes that come from these students are the desire for

more (time, knowledge) to inform their opinions and an increase in their intellectual

agreement against racism.

       Throughout our interview I could not pinpoint the source of Val's nervous

appearance and hesitation to give clear answers to some of my questions. It was at the

end that she revealed that she didn't trust her gut instincts but wanted more time and

information before voicing her opinions:

       "It's interesting, though, all these questions, I feel like I want to think about them

       for a long time before I make a statement one way or the other about it because

it's so blurry. I don't want to just base what I'm saying on my own experiences

or what I think…There's so much information that you wouldn't know unless you

either read about it or hear it."

The key phrase for Val is, "it's so blurry." This was the second time in our interview that she used this term. The first was when she recalled some occasions when she heard her White friends repeat racially-charged jokes they heard the Black comedian Dave Chappelle use. She believes whether it's funny or not depends on who is saying the joke. She also thinks Chappelle is funny but her White friends repeating his jokes were not. This indicates an early, albeit "blurry," understanding of power in racist language and in the color of the person using that language. Val has heard racist jokes said by friends that cause her uncertainty but she is not yet sure why, resulting in her desire for more time and information to inform her opinions.

Before she arrived in Australia, Paige admits to naïvely thinking she was going to a country that had its race relations worked out much better than we have in the United States. Having lived there and studied Australian and Aboriginal history and issues, she now believes that the opposite is true: that despite our continued difficulties, Americans seem to be closer to a solution than Australians.

"I think the biggest lesson I learned about culture in Australia was that they don't

have (race relations) as figured out as I thought they did, comparatively speaking

with the United States…I didn't know such animosity existed (between Whites

and Aboriginals in Australia), and so I guess I learned that racism is still very

prominent in the world today, that it's not just in the United States."

Throughout our interview Paige only noted impressions such as these and never mentioned any behaviors she took, or even anti-racist conversations she had. I was surprised to find, therefore, a letter she wrote to the editor of the *Minnesota Daily* student newspaper approximately one month after our interview. In that letter she protested a major news network's biased coverage of racial minority immigrants. This tells us that in our interview, Paige was close to the verge of transitioning from being a passive anti-racist to an active one. Not long afterwards she had taken an important step of publicly articulating her beliefs.

On the one hand, the students expressed more awareness of their change in intercultural competence than in racial awareness. They were eager to share with me examples and stories from cultural experiences they had abroad and how those experiences shaped their worldviews. This perception of their own change is parallel to the empirical results for statistically significant change on the IDI. On the other hand, the students who appeared to be exploring change in their racial awareness seemed to be finding their own way and stumbling across learning experiences. Their revelations tell us that there are no well-marked paths to White racial awareness as there is for intercultural competence.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to investigate hypothesized relationships between two theoretical constructs of intercultural competence and racial awareness as experienced in semester-long education abroad opportunities of 35 Midwestern American undergraduate students. The exciting discoveries began with the empirical relationships that are similar to the hypotheses and extend to how the students articulated culture, race, and change. A presentation of the model with all relationships is introduced first, followed by a synthesis of the key findings for intercultural competence and racial awareness. Affirmative action proved to be a topic about which all of the students had an opinion; their responses are analyzed. Ways are then suggested for how the results can and should impact policy and practice. The main focus is on race and racial awareness for Whites as these areas proved to need the greatest efforts. The chapter concludes with strengths and limitations and recommendations for future research.

Contributions to Theory

An important feature of this study has been to investigate theoretically derived connections between two models of human development, the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS; Bennett, M., 1993) and the White Racial Consciousness model (WRC; Leach et al., 2002). The theoretical relationships between these models were presented in detail in chapter 2. The presentation of the findings for the empirically tested relationships and the evidence from the qualitative interviews was given in chapter 4. Here we bring together the hypotheses and the empirical results. See Figure 6 for a graphic display of these results.

The most exciting connections that appeared in both theory and empirical testing are between ethnocentrism on the DMIS and Conflictive and Reactive on WRC. Because the Dominative-Integrative scale did not satisfy reliability tests, correlation analyses could not be performed. I surmised that those who hold attitudes such as rejecting obvious discrimination against people of color (Conflictive) and having unexamined pro-minority attitudes (Reactive) also maintain an ethnocentric White American worldview. I found that this ethnocentric attitude toward racial and cultural difference does appear in my statistical results. Three of the five statistically significant correlations were between Reactive or Conflictive and an ethnocentric subscale.

A feature of the IDI that deserves increased attention is the statistically significant, positive relationship between Acceptance-Adaptation and Reactive on WRC. As posited in chapter 4 with support from Hammer and Bennett (1998/2001), this is likely a false reading and, instead, is indicative of a relationship between Minimization and Reactive. I call this Minimization "cloaking" as Acceptance-Adaptation.

There are some connections that remain untested. Since none of the students in my sample generated IDI scores in Reversal, this relationship with Reactive on WRC remains theoretical only. Also, due to the low reliability scores for this sample's Dominative-Integrative scale, the relationships with Defense and Adaptation, respectively, could not be tested.

Bennett (1993)
Developmental Model of
Intercultural Sensitivity

Rowe et al. (1994),
LaFleur et al. (2002)
White Racial Consciousness
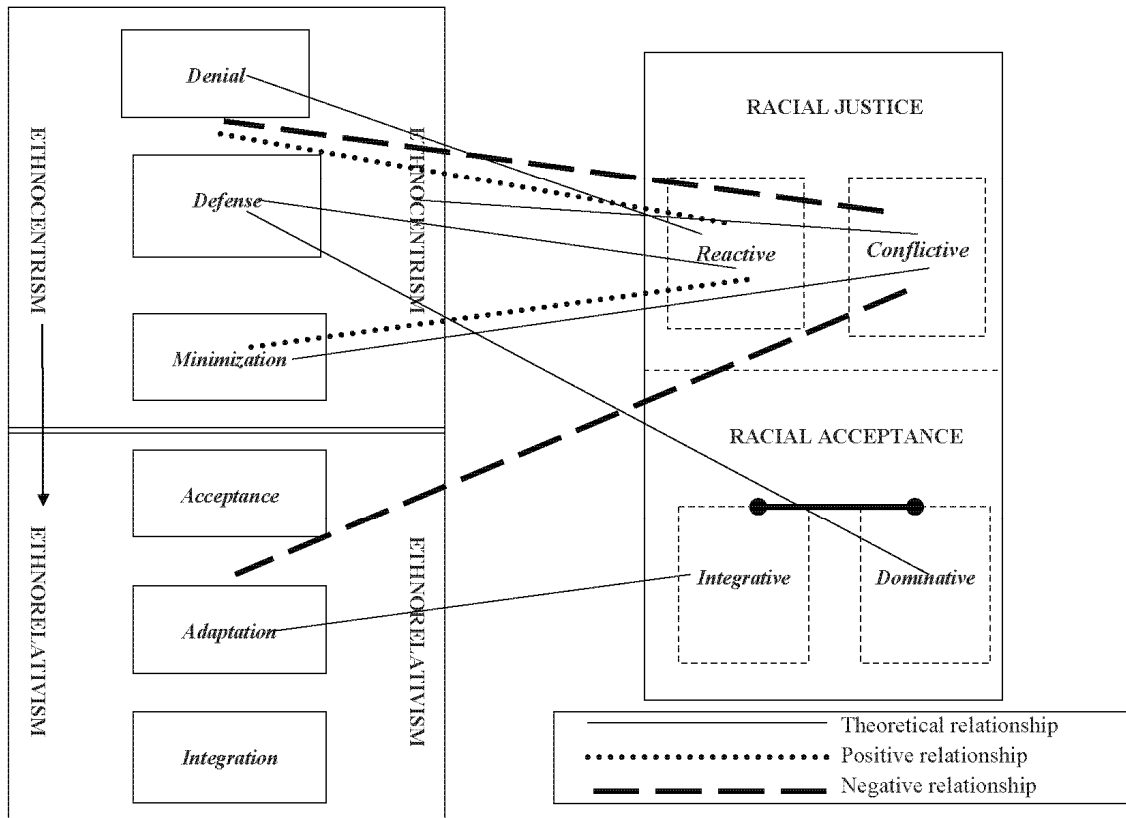
The Stallman Model (revised)

Figure 6. Stallman Model – Revised. Theoretical and empirical relationships between the DMIS and WRC are mapped. Theoretical relationships are shown in the single lines; negatively correlated relationships are shown in the broken, dashed lines; positively correlated relationships are shown in the dotted lines.

Key Findings

Intercultural Competence

Regarding statistical significance, measurable change was noted between the pretest and posttest IDI administrations. While the amount of change is small (5.27 points) and does not indicate movement out of the Minimization stage and into

Acceptance, the change is still positive and toward the ethnorelative end of the scale. Positive change on the IDI as a result of study abroad is also reported with other samples (Cohen et al., 2005; Anderson et al., 2006) and therefore shows that the sample in the current study experienced intercultural competence change in similar ways to other undergraduates who study abroad.

What is unexpected in the current study is the juxtaposition of 1) the largely superficial ways that the students articulate culture, and yet 2) their ability to perceive their own change in intercultural competence. Furthermore, the four students who showed the ability to perceive their own change in intercultural competence also had large changes of at least 10 points from the pretest to the posttest, either positive or negative, in their IDI Developmental Score (Carl and Madeline had negative change; Katherine and Samantha had positive change). While only one student achieved a change of one standard deviation (Madeline; SD = 16.02), this finding suggests that the students can point to and talk about the very changes they are experiencing in their intercultural competence. This is an encouraging finding, particularly since two of these students (Carl and Katherine) had cultural informants, whether of U.S. or the host culture, with whom they could talk about their questions regarding culture. Still, the other two students – Madeline and Samantha – also showed the ability to articulate the changes they were experiencing despite less opportunities to debrief their experiences with informed hosts or Americans. What is at the source of this relationship between intercultural competence change and articulation of it remains unknown; possibilities include the conscious awareness of embarking on an intercultural experience; reading books or attending lectures on intercultural competence; and the generally positive

connotation that is associated with intercultural awareness and competence among study abroad participants.

Racial Awareness

The results of the ORAS pretest and posttest for this sample showed no statistically significant change in White racial awareness. In fact, by reviewing the mean scores on the Conflictive and Reactive scales (Table 6, Comparison of Mean Scores – ORAS), it can be said that the students began and ended at levels of minimal awareness. This suggests what was revealed in the individual interviews: that these students hardly consider themselves in racial terms, whether in the U.S. or while they were abroad. If they do, it is as the standard against which people of color are compared. This coincides with Whiteness as an "unexamined norm" that other scholars have written about (Gannon, 1999; Tatum, 1999). Whether Whiteness was or was not the norm in the locations where they were studying seems to have had no effect on the awareness of these students.

When prompted, some students could only articulate their Whiteness by presenting examples of people of color – namely, what it means *not* to be White (cf: Feagin, in McKinney, 2005, p. xiii). This suggests that, to them, people of color have a race and racial awareness but Whites do not. Further, some students implied that being White was superior to being of color. This lack of articulation, combined with few sustained interactions with people of color, seem to have led to misconceptions about racism, racist preferences, and silently witnessing racist behaviors. Contrary to the students above who had cultural informants, none of these students mentioned any racial informants – of any color – with whom they can safely explore their racial awareness. In fact, two students indicated the desire to return to their home communities and to fit in

there, suggesting that racial awareness is not valued and therefore they reject it. Beverly

Daniel Tatum writes that "though they want to step off the cycle of racism, the message

from the surrounding White community seems to be, 'Get back on!'" (1999, p. 100).

Among all of the students there was also a struggle to bring words to the surface

to describe their opinions about issues regarding race – if they had opinions at all. One

topic about which they all had an opinion, however, was affirmative action. Since this

topic generated the most conversation and is a recurring topic of national discussion, I

present an analysis of it below.

Affirmative Action

One interview question was inserted in order to ask students' opinions about race

without using the word "race." As such, affirmative action can serve as a proxy for race

and therefore the question, "what do you think about affirmative action?" was included.

As opposed to other questions, every student had a distinct response to this one. Tatum

has found the same in her work with White students: "Even those Whites who have not

given much thought to their racial identity have thought about affirmative action," (1999,

p. 114). Three of the students were in favor of affirmative action, although one of these

is also a direct beneficiary[11] (a full, four-year college scholarship). All three expressed

opinions that affirmative action was a benefit to American society as a whole, particularly

in terms of offering opportunities to attend college. Comparing food stamps or welfare to

college admission, Andrew said, "it's the difference between perpetuating poverty and

raising someone up out of poverty." Audrey went so far as to say that if she were to lose

a job opportunity due to an employer's affirmative action policy, she would accept it. All

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[11] While this student identifies as White and was raised in a White-dominated environment, he is 1/8 Mexican.

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three students have the understanding that the life chances and opportunities are not equal among the races in the United States and that affirmative action, while not a perfect solution, is necessary.

The remaining five students gave negative views of affirmative action. All showed a belief in American society as meritocratic and that affirmative action served as reverse discrimination against Whites. Researchers have investigated affirmative action beneficiaries and outcomes and have found practically no evidence of this "White disadvantage" (Hartmann, 1996; Bowen & Bok, 1998; Winant, in Tatum, 1999). In fact, it is often White females who have benefited the most from affirmative action policies (Hartmann, 1996), yet the only student who acknowledged awareness of this fact was Carl, who holds the belief of White male superiority that less qualified, less prepared women and people of color are taking engineering positions away from White men like himself. Hartmann's research, however, shows further that gender segregation in the labor market and marked disparities in pay rates still favor White men.

Some students may have been supported by their Minimization attitudes regarding cultural difference, that people of different races in America are equal or are becoming so, therefore affirmative action unnecessarily and unfairly creates inequality. Katherine expressed such an opinion when she said that affirmative action "rewards differences…(instead of) embracing the similarities." For all of these students, college admission and scholarships were, as could be expected, the examples voiced most often. Three believe they were personally and negatively affected by affirmative action, citing specific cases of students of color against whom they believe they were compared. None of the students cited examples of other groups that colleges select for preference or

diversity, such as athletes, legacies, children of politically powerful, and students from geographically diverse locations (Valle, 1996). Admittedly, my question was about affirmative action and the overall topic was race, which likely pointed the students' responses toward race-based decisions. Yet even in the larger debate about affirmative action, including recent Supreme Court decisions, rarely are other preferred selections in college admission held up for scrutiny.

As already presented regarding their own White identity and race in general, what the students were basing their opinions on is misinformation regarding affirmative action, how it works, and what the outcomes are meant to achieve. Two students used the term *affirmative action* interchangeably with *quotas*. This confusion also exists in the public debate and is used to fan the flames toward incineration of affirmative action policies. In fact, quotas are only legal when specific, numerical allocations are ordered by a court to temporarily rectify racial discrimination; in other cases they are illegal and discriminatory (Hartmann, 1996; Tatum, 1999).

As set out by President Lyndon Johnson in 1965, affirmative action is an unspecified requirement for employers to "take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, color, religion, sex or national origin." Later amendments broadened protected groups. In practice, it has been recognized that equal employment as a goal can only be met by "affirmative actions" against discrimination taken in other segments of society, namely education (Tatum, 1999). For better and for worse, the lack of specification has resulted in two policy orientations: process-oriented attempts and goal-oriented attempts. Most affirmative action policies are based on process-oriented

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attempts, which "focus on creating a fair application process, assuming that a fair process will result in a fair outcome," (Tatum, 1999, p. 117). Public advertisements, nondiscriminatory requirements, and similar treatment of applicants are supposed to result in a diverse application pool and, ultimately, selection of the best candidate. Programs of this type are generally favored by those who also believe in meritocracy, yet this orientation is rarely effective since the best candidates are often those of the dominant group. Goal-oriented programs, which also incorporate a fair process, have the additional purpose of selecting among the qualified applicants "those…who move the organization closer to its diversity…goals," (Tatum, 1999, p. 118). The scholarships that some students in my study claim to have been denied are more than likely part of goal-oriented affirmative action programs. Even if the final pool of qualified applicants are all from a dominant group, selection of the candidate who has, for example, notable and positive experiences working in diverse groups, moves that organization toward its diversity goals. Goals should never be a limitation but an aspiration. As much as affirmative action is merely one portion of the debate of racial and gender disparity in the United States, still more public discussion of the nuances of effective affirmative action policies is necessary in order to have a more complete understanding of how these may or may not fulfill our goals of equal opportunities. Victoria Valle, a college admission professional, voices the measured opinion of other Americans, researchers and general public alike: "Do we still need affirmative action? Yes. Do we need to redefine it? Probably," (1996, p. 215).

In my research on affirmative action, the literature regarding White American opinions largely favors those that are against it (Curry, 1996; Clark & O'Donnell, 1999;

Tatum, 1999; McKinney, 2005). The exception is when the White authors refer to themselves (Clark & O'Donnell, 1999; McKinney, 2005). While it is a minority, if three students in my study could articulate positive opinions about affirmative action, why are voices like theirs nearly silent from the literature at large? I address this question and others in the next section, implications for policy and practice.

<center>Implications for Policy and Practice</center>

The intended audience for this study are, in higher education: campus policy makers and faculty in charge of the general education curriculum, student affairs administrators, and education abroad administrators both U.S.-based and those based abroad. External to academia, the audiences are intercultural and diversity trainers and researchers of intercultural competence and racial awareness. The findings contained in this study can and should be put to great use by these groups.

We have learned that the education abroad experience can have a positive impact on levels of intercultural competence. Interviews with eight students in the sample point to the influences of cultural informants in the host country and a general orientation to the study abroad experience as a cultural one. Whether formally or informally, opportunities to debrief, explore, and gain a deeper understanding of one's own and the host culture should be purposely integrated into the study abroad program.

The findings also illustrate that White students need opportunities to explore what it means to be White. American society needs this, too, in order to move through our current polarized racial positions toward positive interracial relations. Aimed at this goal, four practice suggestions are offered below.

Break the silence about race, racism, White identity development

"I'm not articulating this very well because I haven't ever said it out loud." This sentiment, expressed in an interview for this study, shows one effect of silence even for a White American who has positive attitudes toward people of color. The inability to articulate how we feel about race, racism, and our own White identity leads to larger issues. As Howard states, "it is the unexamined nature of White dominance that is often our problem…If we do not face dominance, we may be predisposed to perpetuate it," (2006, p. 30). By breaking the silence within the White community and engaging in dialogue to understand ourselves and our roles in and our impacts on American society, we can begin to promote "positive cross-group relations," (Tatum, 1999, p. 113).

Sustained conversations with groups of undergraduates that are facilitated by an instructor trained in intercultural competence and racial identity and awareness should be incorporated into the undergraduate curriculum. In addition, some study abroad orientation sessions and in-country courses explore what it means to be an American. The dimension of racial awareness should be included as a key topic. Beverly Daniel Tatum, now president of Spelman College, has published books and articles in part based on her years of experience teaching undergraduate courses on racism. In these courses she requires the students to take a personal journey through their experiences with race and racism and to reflect on what they are learning in the class. She has done a great service to all of these students, the White students in particular, by giving them the space to speak and learn about a topic that is otherwise taboo in White culture. More colleges and universities should require such a course as part of the general education.

My findings of the positive interactions two students had with cultural informants in their study abroad host country may also prove to be useful in race education formats. It would be useful to have White "racial informants," such as anti-racist activists or diversity trainers, upon whom the students could rely for insights and information. People of color should also be available as allies.

Moreover, these reflections and discussions on what it means to be a White American can and should be continued during the study abroad experience. Being removed from U.S. soil is a unique opportunity, allowing for exploration of challenging issues in a neutral territory.

But don't break spirits or communication

While some shame, fear, guilt, and other emotions are almost unavoidable in the exploration of Whiteness in America, courses and training should neither fixate upon these nor stop when they reach a boiling point. There is much to be gained and "just as the identities of people of color include more than simply being victims, the identities of Whites are about more than being victimizers," (Nieto in Howard, 2006, p. xvi). Tatum (1999) has made it a practice to invite a White anti-racist researcher or activist as a guest speaker. These people can serve as models of anti-racist work, often the first that students will have seen or heard of. Multicultural educator Gary Howard (2006, p. 8) prefers to avoid the "blame and shame" approach to teaching White educators about White dominance. His approach is to bypass what is perceived as *politically correct* and aim for what is *personally conscious*.

Mentors to serve as culture and race guides

Two of the students interviewed for this study voluntarily mentioned the beneficial guidance they received regarding host culture while studying abroad. In one case the guide or mentor was a host mother while in the other case the mentor was an American expatriate whom the student met. In neither case was the cultural mentoring structured or expected, but in both cases the students gained insights into the host culture and their place in it. In his case study of American faculty study abroad directors, Goode (2007) notes how even faculty who are passionate about taking students abroad are little aware of their own intercultural competence and pay little attention to their students' intercultural development. Vande Berg (in press) extols the benefits of cultural mentors, namely interculturally-competent faculty, who provide study abroad students with active interventions meant to maximize the intercultural learning opportunities. He describes such mentors as possibly "the single most important intervention we can make in student intercultural learning abroad," (p. 11).

Whither racial identity mentors? None of the students in this study could articulate racial identity nor did they mention anyone who gave them guidance or mentorship in developing a positive racial identity. During the study abroad program, mentorship should offer guidance on cultural learning and the beginnings of how to connect the study abroad experience to life upon returning to the U.S. It would be particularly useful to provide students with both cultural and racial mentors for the re-entry period, in order to bridge the study abroad experience of interacting with those of cultural differences to the U.S. experience of interacting with those of cultural and racial differences. As noted earlier in this section, in the courses they teach, racial identity

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scholars and instructors Beverly Daniel Tatum and Gary Howard advocate including Whites who are examples of positive racial awareness. Future studies which incorporate intentional mentorship regarding intercultural competence and racial consciousness in the study abroad context should seek to have positive effects on students.

Recommendations for Further Research

Continue multidimensional, multimethod explorations of identity

In this study two dimensions of identity have been explored. Past studies have focused on one of these dimensions, intercultural competence (Kitsantas, 2004; Anderson et al., 2006). While we have learned a great deal about intercultural competence, the profound growing experiences that students have during education abroad bring other areas of identity and development to the fore. As racial and cultural interactions have been growing in importance and frequency for American society and will continue to do so, it is recommended that future studies repeat this design.

For repeated studies, a larger sample is recommended both to perform further statistical analyses and to conduct a rigorous test of the model. The results of this study show early insights into the relationships between the DMIS and WRC; a larger sample of at least 100 respondents will allow for greater testing and is more likely to result in a normally distributed sample.

Also, inclusion of a control group is recommended to come to a closer determination whether study abroad has a statistically significant (or non-significant) effect on intercultural competence and racial awareness.

The results for the third research question which show statistically significant correlations between intercultural competence and racial awareness are tantalizing but need to be explored in more depth with a larger sample size. Particularly for White students, who showed greater change and perception of their own change with regard to intercultural competence rather than racial awareness, I propose that the skills and attitudes they develop with *culturally* different others can also be utilized with *racially* different others.

Finally, the original study included a theoretical comparison of Black identity development, or Nigrescence (Cross, 1991), with the DMIS. It is recommended that future studies incorporate a test of this aspect of the model. It is theorized that the manners in which Black and White Americans achieve racial identity and awareness and intercultural competence is different and that each has approaches to learn from.

Strengths and Limitations

To reiterate, the greatest strength of this study is the discovery of relationships between intercultural competence and White racial awareness. This study shows that in circumstances where undergraduate students are in daily contact with another culture, an increase in intercultural competence but no change in racial awareness occur. Yet, as this study shows, these concepts have many similarities between them. As revealed in the qualitative interviews, it seems that the lack of articulation about racial awareness is a major source of the weakness in racial awareness. Still, causality cannot be claimed due to the small sample size. While pretest and posttest results show a statistically significant increase in intercultural competence, other, untested variables may have had an impact.

Conclusion

I embarked upon this study with the goal of adding to the existing body of knowledge on identity development and education abroad. I accomplished this goal twofold, first by presenting an original theoretical comparison of the three main theories, and second by investigating this comparison in a mixed methods study.

This study's greatest contribution is the in-depth examination of intercultural competence and Black and White racial identity. Further studies would do well to build upon this foundation, by employing mixed methods and incorporating meaningful, respectful interventions that aim to improve interactions between Black and White Americans.

I was humbled by the struggle and the honesty that the students expressed in our relatively short interviews. I can only hope that in educational settings which are mindfully designed for intercultural and racial development, students like those in this study will achieve greater clarity, understanding, and appreciation for their own culture and race and those of others. In fact, the results and analysis offer a larger promise for social justice regarding race relations. As they struggled to speak, the students expressed the need to develop a positive racial identity; to reduce prejudice; to increase intra-racial awareness (particularly for White Americans), and to increase intercultural competence. Until higher education can guide students in exploring race and culture, we are only partially fulfilling our promise to prepare students for the multicultural nation and world in which we live.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Sample Items: Intercultural Development Inventory

The 50 items on the IDI are scored on a five-point, Likert-style scale.

Respondents choose from the following: (1) Disagree, (2) Disagree somewhat more than

agree, (3) Disagree some and agree some, (4) Agree somewhat more than disagree, and

(5) Agree.

Sample Items:

Denial: "It is appropriate that people do not care what happens outside their
              country."

Defense: "If only other cultures were more like ours, the world would be a better
              place."

Minimization: "People are the same; we have the same needs, interests, and goals in life."

Acceptance: "I have observed many instances of misunderstanding due to cultural
              differences in gesturing or eye contact."

Adaptation: "I can look at the world through the eyes of a person from another
              culture."

Integration: "I do not feel I am a member of any one culture or combination of
              cultures."

Appendix B: Cross Racial Identity Scale

The 40 items on the CRIS are scored on a seven-point, Likert-style scale.

Respondents choose from the following: (1) Strongly disagree, (2) Disagree, (3) Somewhat disagree, (4) Neither agree nor disagree, (5) Somewhat agree, (6) Agree, and (7) Strongly Agree.

Sample Items:

When I walk into a room, I always take note of the racial make-up of the people around me.

I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am American.

I sometimes struggle with negative feelings about being Black.

My relationship with God plays an important role in my life.

Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work.

I believe that only those black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America.

Appendix C: Oklahoma Racial Attitudes Scale

The 21 items on the ORAS-R are scored on a five-point, Likert-style scale.

Respondents choose from the following: (1) Strongly disagree, (2) Somewhat disagree,

(3) Neither agree nor disagree, (4) Somewhat agree, and (5) Strongly agree.

Sample Items:

Minorities deserve special help in education.

Welfare programs are used too much by minorities.

I am comfortable with my non-racist attitude toward minorities.

If a minority family with about the same income and education as I have moved next door, I would not like it at all.

Appendix D: Institutional Review Board Study Permission

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Twin Cities Campus

Research Subjects' Protection Programs

Institutional Review Board: Human Subjects Committee (IRB)
Institutional Animal Care and Use Committee (IACUC)
Institutional Biosafety Committee (IBC)

Mayo Mail Code 820
D-528 Mayo Memorial Building
420 Delaware Street S.E.
Minneapolis, MN 55455

612-626-5654
Fax: 612-626-6061
irb@umn.edu
iacuc@umn.edu
ibc@umn.edu
www.research.umn.edu/subjects

January 9, 2008

Elizabeth M Stallman
Educational Policy & Admi3345
Room 330 WullH
86 Pleasant St S E
Minneapolis, MN 55455

RE: "Pathways between Intercultural Competence and Racial Identity: A Mixed Methods
Investigation of Black and White College Students who Study Abroad"
IRB Code Number: **0711P21349**

Dear Ms. Stallman

At its meeting on January 9, 2008 the IRB: Human Subjects Committee reviewed your response to
its deferral and approved the referenced study. For your records and for grant certification
purposes, the approval date for the referenced project is December 5, 2007 and the Assurance of
Compliance number is FWA00000312 (Fairview Health Systems Research FWA00000325,
Gillette Children's Specialty Healthcare FWA00004003). Research projects are subject to
continuing review and renewal; approval will expire one year from that date. You will receive a
report form two months before the expiration date. If you would like us to send certification of
approval to a funding agency, please tell us the name and address of your contact person at the
agency.

The code number above is assigned to your research. That number and the title of your study
should be used in all communication with the IRB office.

IRB approval of this study includes the consent form and recruitment materials received December
13, 2007.

The IRB would like to stress that subjects who go through the consent process are considered
enrolled participants and are counted toward the total number of subjects, even if they have no
further participation in the study. Please keep this in mind when calculating the number of subjects
you request. This study is currently approved for 100 subjects. If you desire an increase in the
number of approved subjects, you will need to make a formal request.

Driven to Discover℠

As Principal Investigator of this project, you are required by federal regulations to inform the IRB of any proposed changes in your research that will affect human subjects. Changes should not be initiated until written IRB approval is received. Unanticipated problems and adverse events should be reported to the IRB as they occur. Research projects are subject to continuing review and renewal. If you have any questions, please call the IRB office at 612-626-5654.

On behalf of the IRB, I wish you success with your research.

Sincerely,

Cynthia McGill, CIP
Research Compliance Supervisor
CLM/bw

CC: R Paige

Here are a number of personality traits that may or may not apply to you. Please write a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with that statement. You should rate the extent to which the pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.

Disagree strongly	Disagree moderately	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree moderately	Agree strongly
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

I see myself as:
1. _____ Extraverted, enthusiastic.
2. _____ Critical, quarrelsome.
3. _____ Dependable, self-disciplined.
4. _____ Anxious, easily upset.
5. _____ Open to new experiences, complex.
6. _____ Reserved, quiet.
7. _____ Sympathetic, warm.
8. _____ Disorganized, careless.
9. _____ Calm, emotionally stable.
10. ____ Conventional, uncreative

(Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swann, 2003)

Appendix F: Demographic Questionnaire

1) Where will (did) you study abroad for spring 2008? Please select from the drop-down box below. If the country where you will study (studied) abroad is not listed, please click Other and type the name of the country in the box provided.

Australia
Austria
Belgium
Chile
China (PRC)
Costa Rica
Czech Republic
Ecuador
France
Germany
Greece
Ireland
Italy
Japan
Mexico
New Zealand
Russia
South Africa
Spain
Switzerland
United Kingdom
Other:

2) How long is (was) your study abroad program? Please type the number of months in the box below.

3) What is (was) the predominant nature of your study abroad program? If your program is (was) a significant mixture of two or more of the following types, please select those that apply.

☐ Regular courses alongside host country students

☐ Classes designed for study abroad students

☐ Field study: research and/or internship

☐ Campus of a U.S. institution in another country

☐ Travel seminar or shipboard education program

☐ A significant mixture of two or more of the above program types

4) What is your gender?

☐ Female

☐ Male

5) How old are you? Please type your age in the box below.

```
┌─────────────────────┐
│                     │
│                     │
└─────────────────────┘
```

6) What is your semester standing?

☐ Freshman

☐ Sophomore

☐ Junior

☐ Senior

7) What is your major? Please type the name of your major in the box below.

```
┌─────────────────────┐
│                     │
│                     │
└─────────────────────┘
```

8) Apart from your upcoming (recent) study abroad experience, what is the longest period of time you have lived in a culture other than your own?

☐ Never lived in another culture

☐ Less than 3 months

☐ 3-6 months

☐ 7-11 months

☐ 1-2 years

☐ 3-5 years

☐ 6-10 years

☐ Over 10 years

9) In what country did you primarily live during your formative years (up to age 18)?

☐ United States

☐ Other:

10) If you are selected for an interview I will contact you by email. What email address do you prefer AND check most often? (The email address you enter here will be used only for contacting you for a possible interview.)

October 6, 2008

Dear <student first name>,

I hope your return to life in the U.S. has gone smoothly after your semester abroad. Thank you again for agreeing to take part in my dissertation research. Over the past several months I have gotten some helpful and rich responses to my survey questions. I have just selected some students to take part in a one-to-one interview with me, and you are one of those I selected. Congratulations!

Do you have an hour this week to sit down and talk with me? We'll talk about your study abroad experience in relation to the people you interacted with and some conversations you may have had about culture and race. It will be an easygoing conversation. I am truly interested in hearing your perspectives and what you think. Of course, everything we say will remain confidential. As a thank you, I will give you a $25 gift card (to Target) for participating in this interview with me.

We can either meet in person on campus or talk by telephone. Please contact me to set up a time to talk (email: stall044@umn.edu; cell phone:). If this week is not good, let's look at a date and time in the coming weeks.

Thanks, and I really look forward to talking to you!

Elizabeth

What the Study Is About
I am conducting my doctoral dissertation research at the University of Minnesota. My topic is to understand intercultural competence and racial identity in Black students and White students who study abroad. Students take the same survey at the beginning and end of their study abroad experience. Selected students will be asked to participate in a one-to-one interview.
My approved IRB study code is 0711P21349.

~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~
Elizabeth M. Stallman
PhD Candidate
Comparative and International Development Education
University of Minnesota

Appendix H: Interview Protocol

Pathways interview protocol – second revised draft
October 22, 2008

Thank you again for participating in this interview with me.
*phone = silent; *pseudonym.
I will keep all of your responses confidential. Is it OK if I record our conversation?

As you know, I am interested in learning more about undergraduate students and how their study abroad experiences shape their cultural and social viewpoints. I will ask a series of questions about your experiences abroad and what you think or feel about them. I am not looking for certain "right" answers or viewpoints – I truly want to know what you think.

1)   Where are you from? How would you describe yourself?

2)   When you hear the word "culture," what comes to mind? How do you define it?

3)   What kinds of family experiences have you had around cultural differences?

4)   Where did you study abroad? Why did you choose <x country>?

5)   With whom did you spend the most time? Why do you think that was?

6)   While you were abroad would you say you had more, less, or about the same contact with people who were culturally different from you?

7)   What was the greatest challenge you faced around cultural differences while studying abroad?

8)   How do you think you relate to people of other cultures as a result of SA?

        >>probe>>

9)   What is your viewpoint around cultural differences now?

10)   What is your impression of the US and Americans now?

Now I'd like to ask some questions that have to do with your viewpoints about race and society. For some of these questions you may not have considered the question before or may not have an answer. It's OK to say, "I never thought about that."

11)   Describe for me what it is like to be a White person in the US.

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Is that the same/different from being a White person in (study abroad city or country)? How?

How do you describe relations between White people and Black people in the US?

> …In (x city/ x country)?

12) Did you think about race while you were abroad? Tell me more about that.

How is that the same or different from thinking about race here in the States?

13) While you were abroad, if I had been with you on a day when you had a conversation about race or racial differences, what would I hear you say?

What feelings, impressions did you take from that conversation?

Looking back, would you do or say anything different?

14) What do you think about Affirmative Action?

15) If you were able to speak candidly with a Black person, what would you say?

16) How do you see the relationship between these statements:

Spending time with people of different races

Spending time with people of different cultures

17) To what extent did study abroad influence your thinking about race?

How did your thinking change? What happened to cause that change?

18) How many friends of other races do you have? How many Black friends do you have?

19) Thinking about our conversation today, what did you learn while abroad that you can apply to your life back here in the US?

20) Is there anything we didn't cover today that you'd like to say?

If I need to contact you to clarify anything, can I use your <xyz> email address?

Thank you for our conversation! I really enjoyed it. Here is your Target gift card.

Appendix I: Recruitment Email Messages

From: Global CI [globalci@umn.edu]
Sent: Friday, January 11, 2008 3:55 PM
To: undisclosed-recipients:
Subject: Study abroad survey coming soon
Friday, January 11, 2008
Dear U of M study abroad student,
In a few days you will receive an e-mail request to take part in an online survey and interviews about intercultural competence and racial identity. It is for my dissertation research. I am a doctoral student here at the University of Minnesota and the Learning Abroad Center is sending this and future emails on my behalf. This study has been approved by the Learning Abroad Center and your participation is optional.
I am contacting you in advance because I have found many people like to know ahead of time that a survey will be sent to them. This study is an important one as it looks at students' study abroad experiences and asks about your impressions of intercultural competence and racial identity. This is the first time this kind of research has been done.
Thank you for your time and consideration. It is only with the generous help of students like you that this research can be successful.
Sincerely,
Elizabeth Stallman
Ph.D. Candidate
Comparative and International Development Education
University of Minnesota
P.S. The survey will arrive in a few days. Please be sure to fill it out!

No virus found in this incoming message.
Checked by AVG.
Version: 7.5.557 / Virus Database: 270.11.31/2028 - Release Date: 3/28/2009 7:16 AM

file:///C|/Documents%20and%20Settings/Elizabeth%20Stallma...0and%20Sections/Recruitment%20prenotice%201%201.11.08.htm3/28/2009 1:44:34 PM

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From: Global CI [globalci@umn.edu]
Sent: Wednesday, January 16, 2008 4:40 PM
To: undisclosed-recipients:
Subject: University of Minnesota Study Abroad Survey
STUDY ABROAD CHECKLIST:
☑ Plane ticket
☑ Backpack
☑ Passport
☑ Survey and amazon.com gift certificate
Yes! If you agree to take two online surveys you'll receive a $5 amazon.com e-gift certificate, good for
things like music downloads and (of course) books. The survey is for my dissertation research here at
the University of Minnesota. My topic is to understand intercultural competence and racial identity in
Black students and White students who study abroad.
How does it work?
You take the first survey before you leave and the second one once your study abroad program is over.
It's all online, which makes it easy for you to fill out wherever you are on the planet. The surveys each
take about 40 minutes from start to finish.
But wait…there's more?
It gets even better. I will interview up to ten people who fill out both surveys. *Everyone* who has an
interview gets a $25 cash card.
Sound good? Click here and let's get started! By clicking on the email link, you affirm that you have
read and agreed to the terms of consent at the end of this message. I will send you the survey link, login
information, and amazon.com gift certificate as soon as I receive your message: stall044@umn.edu .
Thank you,
Elizabeth Stallman
PhD Candidate
University of Minnesota
The Learning Abroad Center and the Institutional Review Board at the University of Minnesota have
reviewed and approved my research study. Your participation in this study is optional.
Consent Form

Pathways Between Intercultural Competence and Racial Identity:

A Mixed Methods Investigation of Black and White College Students Who Study Abroad

You are invited to be in a research study of the effect study abroad has on Black and White
undergraduate students' intercultural competence and racial identity. You were selected as a possible
participant because you are a Black or White undergraduate at the University of Minnesota who will
study abroad for spring semester 2008. We ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may
have before agreeing to be in the study.
This study is being conducted by: Elizabeth Stallman, PhD candidate, Department of Educational Policy
and Administration, University of Minnesota. My advisor is R. Michael Paige.

Background Information

The purpose of this study is to determine what effect studying abroad for one semester has on the way Black undergraduates and White undergraduates 1) report their preferences for handling cultural difference and 2) their attitudes about race and racial issues.

Procedures:
If you agree to be in this study, I would ask you to do the following things:
You would complete one online survey before studying abroad and the same online survey after studying abroad.
Some students will be requested to participate in one, one-hour interview. The interview will be audio recorded.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study

This study has minimal risk due to the sensitivity about the topic of racial identity. The survey includes some questions that may be challenging as they explore beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions that deal with racial identity and prejudice. There are no direct benefits to participation.

Compensation:
All survey respondents will receive a $5 amazon.com e-gift certificate. All interviewees will receive a $25 gift card.

Confidentiality:
The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report I (Elizabeth Stallman) might publish, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify an individual. Research records will be stored securely and only I will have access to the records. Electronic survey data will be on a secure University of Minnesota survey website, downloaded via an encrypted network, and stored in a local file only accessible by me. The login codes will be locked in a drawer and shredded at the conclusion of the study. All tape recordings will only be accessible to me and will be kept in a locked drawer. The recordings will be erased upon verification that the transcription is complete and accurate.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:
Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Minnesota. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time with out affecting those relationships.

Contacts and Questions:
The researcher conducting this study is: Elizabeth Stallman. You may ask any questions you have to me. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact me at Department of Educational Policy and Administration, 330 Wulling Hall, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455, 612-759-8926, stall044@umn.edu. My advisor is Dr. R. Michael Paige (tel 612-626-7456; r-paig@umn.edu).

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher, **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650.

This email serves as a copy of this information to keep for your records.
Statement of Consent:

"I have read the above information. If I had questions I have asked them and have received answers. By clicking on the email link I indicate my consent to participate in the study."
Click here to request a link to the survey:
stall044@umn.edu
(Elizabeth Stallman, Researcher)

From: Global CI [globalci@umn.edu]
Sent: Tuesday, January 22, 2008 4:55 PM
To: undisclosed-recipients:
Subject: Last chance! Study abroad survey
Tuesday, January 22, 2008
Dear U of M study abroad student,
Last week you received a survey about intercultural competence and racial identity. Your
name was drawn randomly from a list of all Learning Abroad Center students who will study
abroad for the spring 2008 semester. My name is Elizabeth Stallman and I am conducting
the research that has been approved by the Learning Abroad Center.
If you have already completed and submitted the survey, thank you! If not, please do so
today by sending me an email to get the survey link, login information, and amazon.com gift
certificate: stall044@umn.edu. By clicking on the email link, you affirm that you have read
and agreed to the terms of consent at the end of this message.
This is the last invitation you will receive to participate in this research. It is important that
as many students as possible take the surveys and participate in the interviews.
I am especially grateful for your help because it is only by asking students like you to share
your insights that we can improve our understanding of the nature of intercultural
competence and racial identity among study abroad students. Your participation in this
study is optional.
Best regards,
Elizabeth Stallman
Ph.D. Candidate
University of Minnesota

Consent Form

Pathways Between Intercultural Competence and Racial Identity:

A Mixed Methods Investigation of Black and White College Students Who Study Abroad

You are invited to be in a research study of the effect study abroad has on Black and White
undergraduate students' intercultural competence and racial identity. You were selected as a possible
participant because you are a Black or White undergraduate at the University of Minnesota who will
study abroad for spring semester 2008. We ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may
have before agreeing to be in the study.
This study is being conducted by: Elizabeth Stallman, PhD candidate, Department of Educational Policy
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Background Information

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Black undergraduates and White undergraduates 1) report their preferences for handling cultural
difference and 2) their attitudes about race and racial issues.

Procedures:
If you agree to be in this study, I would ask you to do the following things:
You would complete one online survey before studying abroad and the same online survey after studying abroad.
Some students will be requested to participate in one, one-hour interview. The interview will be audio recorded.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study

This study has minimal risk due to the sensitivity about the topic of racial identity. The survey includes some questions that may be challenging as they explore beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions that deal with racial identity and prejudice. There are no direct benefits to participation.
Compensation:
All survey respondents will receive a $5 amazon.com e-gift certificate. All interviewees will receive a $25 gift card.
Confidentiality:
The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report I (Elizabeth Stallman) might publish, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify an individual. Research records will be stored securely and only I will have access to the records. Electronic survey data will be on a secure University of Minnesota survey website, downloaded via an encrypted network, and stored in a local file only accessible by me. The login codes will be locked in a drawer and shredded at the conclusion of the study. All tape recordings will only be accessible to me and will be kept in a locked drawer. The recordings will be erased upon verification that the transcription is complete and accurate.
Voluntary Nature of the Study:
Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Minnesota. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time with out affecting those relationships.
Contacts and Questions:
The researcher conducting this study is: Elizabeth Stallman. You may ask any questions you have to me. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact me at Department of Educational Policy and Administration, 330 Wulling Hall, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455, 612-759-8926, stall044@umn.edu. My advisor is Dr. R. Michael Paige (tel 612-626-7456; r-paig@umn.edu).

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher, **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650.
This email serves as a copy of this information to keep for your records.
Statement of Consent:
"I have read the above information. If I had questions I have asked them and have received answers. By clicking on the email link I indicate my consent to participate in the study."
Click here to request a link to the survey:
stall044@umn.edu
(Elizabeth Stallman, Researcher)

From: Global CI [globalci@umn.edu]
Sent: Tuesday, February 12, 2008 4:58 PM
To: undisclosed-recipients:
Subject: Final Reminder: U of M Study Abroad Survey 2008
Dear U of M study abroad student,
About a month ago you received an email inviting you to participate in a study about intercultural competence and racial identity of undergraduates who study abroad. If you have already completed and submitted the survey, please accept my sincere thanks. The comments of people who have already responded include valuable information about intercultural competence and racial identity.
I still need more responses so I am emailing you this last time. The deadline is: Wednesday, February 13, 2008.
If you are interested, please send me an email to get the survey link, login information, and $5 amazon.com gift certificate: stall044@umn.edu. By clicking on the email link, you affirm that you have read and agreed to the terms of consent at the end of this message.
Thank you in advance for taking the survey. Your participation in this study is optional.
Best regards,
Elizabeth Stallman
Ph.D. Candidate
University of Minnesota

Consent Form

Pathways Between Intercultural Competence and Racial Identity:

A Mixed Methods Investigation of Black and White College Students Who Study Abroad

You are invited to be in a research study of the effect study abroad has on Black and White undergraduate students' intercultural competence and racial identity. You were selected as a possible participant because you are a Black or White undergraduate at the University of Minnesota who will study abroad for spring semester 2008. We ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study. This study is being conducted by: Elizabeth Stallman, PhD candidate, Department of Educational Policy and Administration, University of Minnesota. My advisor is R. Michael Paige.

Background Information

The purpose of this study is to determine what effect studying abroad for one semester has on the way Black undergraduates and White undergraduates 1) report their preferences for handling cultural difference and 2) their attitudes about race and racial issues.
Procedures:
If you agree to be in this study, I would ask you to do the following things:
You would complete one online survey before studying abroad and the same online survey after studying abroad.
Some students will be requested to participate in one, one-hour interview. The interview will be audio recorded.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study

This study has minimal risk due to the sensitivity about the topic of racial identity. The survey includes some questions that may be challenging as they explore beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions that deal with racial identity and prejudice. There are no direct benefits to participation.

Compensation:

All survey respondents will receive a $5 amazon.com e-gift certificate. All interviewees will receive a $25 gift card.

Confidentiality:

The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report I (Elizabeth Stallman) might publish, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify an individual. Research records will be stored securely and only I will have access to the records. Electronic survey data will be on a secure University of Minnesota survey website, downloaded via an encrypted network, and stored in a local file only accessible by me. The login codes will be locked in a drawer and shredded at the conclusion of the study. All tape recordings will only be accessible to me and will be kept in a locked drawer. The recordings will be erased upon verification that the transcription is complete and accurate.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Minnesota. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time with out affecting those relationships.

Contacts and Questions:

The researcher conducting this study is: Elizabeth Stallman. You may ask any questions you have to me. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact me at Department of Educational Policy and Administration, 330 Wulling Hall, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455, 612-759-8926, stall044@umn.edu. My advisor is Dr. R. Michael Paige (tel 612-626-7456; r-paig@umn.edu).

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher, **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650.

This email serves as a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent:

"I have read the above information. If I had questions I have asked them and have received answers. By clicking on the email link I indicate my consent to participate in the study."

Click here to request a link to the survey:

stall044@umn.edu

(Elizabeth Stallman, Researcher)

Appendix J: Institutional Review Board Additional Permission

Cynthia McGill

From:	Elizabeth Stallman [stall044@umn.edu]
Sent:	Wednesday, January 30, 2008 7:15 PM
To:	mcgil018@umn.edu
Cc:	'Michael Paige'; 'Elizabeth Stallman'

Subject: Stallman IRB Code Number 0711P21349

Dear Ms. McGill,

I am a doctoral student with IRB code number 0711P21349. I recently began the pretest phase of data collection for my dissertation. My study is to compare empirically the intercultural competence and racial identity of University of Minnesota undergraduates who study abroad for spring 2008. I am contacting you to ask if I can send one to two additional emails to my sample.

The third and final email message went out to the sample on Tuesday, January 22. My response rate is currently too low for empirical analysis: 5.72 per cent. My advisor, Michael Paige, recommends at least one if not two more email messages in order to bring the response rate higher.

I would like to send out the next message very soon. Please let me know what I can do.

Thank you,

Elizabeth Stallman

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Elizabeth M. Stallman
PhD Candidate
Comparative and International Development Education
University of Minnesota

No virus found in this outgoing message.
Checked by AVG Free Edition.
Version: 7.5.516 / Virus Database: 269.19.16/1251 - Release Date: 1/30/2008 9:29 AM

2/6/2008

Appendix K: Student Majors

	Frequency	Percent
Biological Sciences	3	8.6
Business	7	20.0
Design	3	8.6
Education and Human Development	2	5.7
Foreign Language	7	20.0
Liberal Arts	9	25.7
Technology	1	2.9
Dual	3	8.6

Appendix L: Study Abroad Destinations, by Country

	Frequency	Percent
Argentina	1	2.9
Australia	3	8.6
Costa Rica	2	5.7
Ecuador	1	2.9
France	3	8.6
Germany	3	8.6
Hungary	1	2.9
Ireland	1	2.9
Italy	3	8.6
Morocco	1	2.9
New Zealand	4	11.4
Norway	1	2.9
Senegal	1	2.9
Spain	5	14.3
United Kingdom	4	11.4
Venezuela	1	8.6

Appendix M: Type of Study Abroad Program

	Frequency	Percent
Regular courses alongside host country students	17	48.6
Classes designed for study abroad students	20	57.1
Field study: research and/or internship	7	20.0
Campus of a U.S. institution in another country	2	5.7

Percentages do not total 100 due to multiple selection option.

Programs Described as *Regular courses alongside host country students (N=35)*

	Sole selection	Combination
Regular courses alongside host country students	12	
+ Classes designed for study abroad students		5
+ Field study: research and/or internship		0
+ Campus of a U.S. institution in another country		0
Total	12 (34.3%)	5 (14.2%)

Programs Described as *Classes designed for study abroad students (N=35)*

	Sole selection	Combination
Classes designed for study abroad students	10	
+ Field study: research and/or internship		4
+ Campus of a U.S. institution in another country		1
+ Regular courses alongside host country students		5
Total	10 (28.6%)	10 (28.6%)

155

Programs Described as *Field study: research and/or internships (N=35)*

	Sole selection	Combination
Field study: research and/or internships	2	
+ Campus of a U.S. institution in another country		1
+ Regular courses alongside host country students		0
+ Classes designed for study abroad students		4
Total	2 (5.7%)	5 (14.2%)

Programs Described as *Campus of a U.S. institution in another country (N=35)*

	Sole selection	Combination
Campus of a U.S. institution in another country	0	
+ Regular courses alongside host country students		0
+ Classes designed for study abroad students		1
+ Field study: research and/or internships		1
Total	0	2 (5.7%)