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Self-Efficacy and Multicultural Teacher Education in the United States: The Factors That Influence Who Feels Qualified to be a Multicultural Teacher Educator

Paul C. Gorski^a, Shannon N. Davis^a & Abigail Reiter^a

^a George Mason University

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Self-Efficacy and Multicultural Teacher Education in the United States: The Factors That Influence Who Feels Qualified to be a Multicultural Teacher Educator

Paul C. Gorski, Shannon N. Davis, and Abigail Reiter
George Mason University

A growing body of scholarship in the United States focuses on the “multicultural” dispositions, ideologies, and attitudes that teachers carry from pre-service training into classroom practice. However, little attention has been paid to the dispositions, ideologies, and attitudes of multicultural teacher educators—those tasked with preparing teachers to teach multiculturally. This scholarly gap limits understandings of how and by whom this preparation is happening. The purpose of this study, drawing on scholarship about the role of efficacy in educational environments, was to fill part of that void by examining the experiences by which multicultural teacher educators in the United States come to feel qualified to teach multicultural teacher education courses. Results suggested higher efficacy among White and “other race” participants than African American participants and higher efficacy among heterosexual participants than their lesbian, gay, bisexual, or questioning counterparts. No significant differences across gender or other identities were found. Similarly, no correlation was found between participation in professional conferences, other professional development opportunities, or participation in professional associations and level of efficacy. Implications for the preparation and support of multicultural teacher educators are discussed.

In the twenty years since Grant (1992) lamented the lack of empirical scholarship on the preparation of U.S. teachers to teach in ways that are consistent with multicultural education theory—what we call multicultural teacher education (MTE)—scholars have produced a flurry of studies on the topic. Although these studies vary in theme and scope, they tend to focus on one of two primary

concerns: (1) the impact of a particular multicultural education class or program on teachers and their teaching (e.g., Ambe, 2006; Bruna, 2007; Li, 2007; Ross, 2008; Spinthourakis, 2007; Vavrus, 2009), or (2) the process of multicultural consciousness development among teacher education students (e.g., Case & Hemmings, 2005; de Courcy, 2007; Montgomery & McGlynn, 2009; Moss, 2008; Raible & Irizarry, 2007). Despite this growing body of research, very few scholars have examined national trends regarding the dispositions and practices of the teacher educators tasked with strengthening the multicultural dispositions or competencies of teachers, such as those teaching MTE courses.

For example, a growing body of scholarship considers teacher self-efficacy and its role in teacher effectiveness (Rots, Aelterman, Devos, & Vierick, 2010; Zientek 2007). A considerable portion of these studies address efficacy as it relates to equity, diversity, and multicultural concerns and teachers’ abilities to create equitable learning environments for their students (Lin, Gorrell, & Taylor, 2002; Stephenson, Anderson, Rio, & Millward, 2009). However, MTE research remains virtually void of studies that examine the efficacy of those who are preparing teachers to think and teach in equitable, multicultural ways.

As one step toward filling this gap, we conducted, and here report findings from, this study, based on analysis of data from a survey of U.S. education faculty ($n = 75$) who teach MTE courses—that is, courses on multicultural education, diversity education, and related topics—to current and future teachers across the United States. We entered this study with questions about the extent to which one’s identity—race, gender, sexual orientation—informed her or his level of comfort teaching about identity-related topics, such as how a multicultural teacher educator’s gender influenced her or his comfort teaching about patriarchy. After finding what, to us, was curiously little correlation across a variety of identities and topics, we were surprised to learn that the factors most influencing multicultural teacher educators’ comfort

Correspondence should be sent to Paul C. Gorski, George Mason University, New Century College, 4400 University Drive, MS 5D3, Fairfax, VA 22030. E-mail: pgorski1@gmu.edu

or discomfort teaching about identity or oppression were not identities, but the extent to which they felt qualified to teach MTE courses. And so our primary research question emerged somewhat organically: *How—based on what sorts of experiences—do multicultural teacher educators come to feel qualified to teach MTE courses?* By answering this question we hoped to gain insight into the extent to which personal, educational, and professional experiences available to multicultural teacher educators influence their self-efficacy related to teaching multicultural education courses.

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Contextualizing This Study

There exists little scholarship on the dispositions of multicultural teacher educators in the United States. However, two tracks of scholarship proved informative to the design of this study and the analysis of the data: (1) the nature and importance of self-efficacy among educators, and (2) challenges with which MTE faculty struggle in designing and teaching MTE courses.

Self-Efficacy

Scholarship on self-efficacy among educators focuses overwhelmingly on primary and secondary classroom teachers. However, because most teacher educators (including all but two of our participants) have been primary or secondary classroom teachers and carry that experience, at least to some extent, into their teacher education practice, the concerns raised and the analyses provided by this scholarship can help contextualize this study's exploration of multicultural teacher educators' sense of qualification to teach MTE courses.

Derived from a term introduced by Bandura (1982), teacher self-efficacy is the extent to which a teacher perceives her or his ability to achieve a certain level of learning among students (Yost 2002; Tschannen-Moran, Hoy, & Hoy, 1998). In essence, a teachers' self-efficacy is their self-perception regarding their teaching ability (Rots et al., 2010). Teacher efficacy has been related, as well, to teachers' perceptions of the extent to which their teacher preparation is relevant to their on-the-ground work as teachers (Darling-Hammond, Chung, & Frelow, 2002).

Teachers' levels of self-efficacy have been shown to affect their teaching (Housego, 1990; Ingvarson, Beavis, Kleinhenz, 2007; Zientek, 2007) and influence students' learning (Parker, 2002). According to Darling-Hammond, Chung, and Frelow (2002), teachers' feelings of preparedness are correlated with their senses of teaching efficacy, senses of responsibility for student learning, and intentions either to remain a teacher or leave the profession. As a result, teachers with lower levels of self-efficacy experience burnout (Skaalvik and Skaalvik, 2002) more quickly than those with higher levels, which strains their abilities to perform teacher duties effectively. Interestingly, teachers report that they are cognizant of the significance of their perceptions of their teaching abilities on their competency as teachers (Pantic and Wubbels, 2010), suggesting that teacher self-efficacy is, at least in part, conscious and active.

Teacher educators play important roles in guiding, supporting, and providing feedback to current and future teachers and, as a result, to strengthening their levels of self-efficacy (Montecinos and Rios, 1999). In this sense, the preparedness of teacher educators, including their own self-efficacy, is important to the production of confident and well-prepared teachers (Rots et al., 2010). Notably, then, research on self-efficacy among teacher educators is sparse. In fact, we found only one study that spoke directly to multicultural teacher educator self-efficacy. In their study of multicultural teacher education in one teacher preparation program, Assaf, Garza, and Battle (2010) found that many of their teacher educator participants felt unsure about their abilities to prepare students to teach "interculturally" because they did not feel adequately knowledgeable to do so. Unfortunately, the authors did not explicate the sorts of experiences (professional development workshops, conferences, or others), if any, their participants had available to them to strengthen their multicultural education knowledge or, more generally, their self-efficacy related to teaching MTE courses.

Challenges to Designing and Teaching MTE Classes

Although few have explored it as part of a central research question, several MTE scholars have addressed,

even if tangentially, the challenges faced by multicultural teacher educators in their efforts to design and teach MTE courses. Those they have named largely can be synthesized into two primary categories: (1) faculty ideologies and preparedness, and (2) resistance.

Faculty Ideologies and Preparedness. Sheets (2003) and Sleeter (2001) argue that MTE course design often is based largely on the ideological positions of individual MTE faculty. Cochran-Smith (2004), Gilliom (1993), and Vavrus (2002) claim that the ideological positions of those teaching MTE courses generally devalue social justice concerns or reframe “social justice” in hegemonic ways. It is important to note, however, that we could find no scholarship that more precisely identified the ideologies underlying these tendencies or the extent to which MTE faculty had access to professional development that encouraged them to develop a more counter-hegemonic approach to MTE.

Another possible challenge, highlighted by Trent, Kea, and Oh (2008) and Gordon (2005), is a lack of experience with, and understanding of, multiculturalism among U.S. multicultural teacher educators. Like primary and secondary teachers, teacher educators are disproportionately—about 88%—White (Sheets, 2003). Morrier, Irving, Dandy, Dmitriyev, and Ukeje (2007) speculate that the overwhelming whiteness of teacher educators might suggest general limitations in cross-cultural experience and understanding among many of them, hampering the extent to which they feel prepared to *do* multicultural education. In addition, several experienced and respected multicultural teacher educators have written about the ways in which they contend with these challenges in their practice (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Gordon, 2005; Nieto, 1998). Reflecting on an incident that highlighted her on-going struggles to provide authentic MTE, Cochran-Smith (2004), who has practiced MTE for more than 20 years, explained, “I labored with my colleagues to rethink and alter the curriculum and policies of our program, informed by new awareness of unintended discrepancies between our intentions and what was actually enacted” (p. 3).

Resistance. Even when those who teach MTE courses have the experience and understanding to do so effectively, they often are subject to considerable resistance, which might challenge their self-efficacy. This resistance can have many sources. Much of the strongest resistance come from students (de Courcy, 2007; Gayle-Evans & Michael, 2006; Thomas & Vanderhaar, 2008) and the institutional power structures in which teacher preparation programs are situated (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Juárez, Smith, & Hayes, 2008; Potts, Forster-Triplett, & Rose, 2008; Vavrus, 2002).

According to Vavrus (2002), schools of education do not, on average, consider the preparation of educators to assume “public positions on troublesome social and moral issues” (p. 41) as part of their visions for teacher education. So, although they might identify as a program goal the preparation of teachers for *diversity* or *multiculturalism* (Gordon, 2005), what they offer in practice tends to look more like monoculturalism (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Juárez et al., 2008; Ukpokodu, 2007) than social justice. Teacher educators who advocate for a social justice approach to MTE might be urged to tone down the political discourse (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2009; Ukpokodu, 2007) and focus, instead, on “tolerance” (Vavrus, 2002). As Juárez et al. (2008) explain, if teacher educators—particularly those from disenfranchised identity groups—push back against this pressure, they are “likely to be labeled ‘hostile,’ ‘not a team player,’ ‘mean,’ even ‘un-Christlike’” (p. 23). As a result of these conditions, multicultural teacher educators can struggle to find their place within academe (Gay, 2005), a condition that could impair self-efficacy.

Another form of resistance comes from students. The vast majority of teacher education students are White, middle class women (Cochran-Smith, 2004). Research has documented the ways in which, on average, they enter MTE courses with worldviews wrapped in dominant ideologies such as deficit ideology (Gorski, 2008; Valenzuela, 2002) and meritocracy (Bruna, 2007; Klug et al., 2006; Ukpokodu, 2007). Like students of every discipline they carry hegemonic notions of race (Bruna, 2007; Klug, Luckey, Wilkins, & Whitfield, 2006), class (Romo & Chavez, 2006), religion (Cannella, 1998), gender (Erden, 2009), sexual orientation (Asher, 2007), and language (de Courcy, 2007; Romo & Chavez, 2006) into MTE experiences. Frequently, they begin the MTE process in denial of their own privileges (Reed & Black, 2006; Sleeter, 1994) and the very existence of injustice (Case & Hemmings, 2005). When these worldviews are challenged, responses can be steeped in anger, defensiveness, and resentment (Asher, 2007). Such resistance may affect multicultural teacher educators’ notions of their preparedness to teach MTE courses.

Methodology

In order to identify how multicultural teacher educators come to feel qualified to teach MTE courses, we examined data from a survey of people teaching such courses. The survey was designed to uncover how U.S. multicultural teacher educators conceive of and teach multicultural education and related courses, as well as their levels of comfort doing so. Items on the survey were based on themes emerging from an analysis of MTE literature about how such courses are taught and designed and a

study of approaches to MTE as reflected in MTE course syllabi (Gorski, 2009). Before being distributed the survey was reviewed by six expert reviewers, then piloted by a sample of 10 multicultural teacher educators.

In one section of the survey, participants were asked the extent to which they felt qualified to teach their MTE courses. Later, in another section of the survey, participants were asked to identify the extent to which a variety of experiences helped prepare them to teach these courses. These experiences included undergraduate or graduate coursework on multicultural education, a graduate degree program related to multicultural education, their experience as a P–12 teacher or administrator, their membership in one or more professional associations, their association with one or more activist organizations, their participation in professional development workshops, their participation in educational activism, and their life experiences. The purpose of this particular section of the survey was to determine both *whether* multicultural teacher educators feel prepared to teach their courses and the experiences through which they are most and least likely to come to feel prepared to do so. We focused our attention on these items in order to ascertain the extent to which various types of educational and professional development experiences helped prepare multicultural teacher educators in the United States not only to teach, *but to feel qualified to teach*, MTE courses.

Sample

Participants for the survey were identified through snowball sampling. Electronic messages describing the study and requesting contact by potential participants were posted to listservs frequented by people who teach MTE courses, including those hosted by Rethinking Schools, EdChange, and the National Association for Multicultural Education. Prospective participants were required to meet two criteria: (1) to have taught at least one course in the previous year in which the *central topic* was multicultural education or a related discipline, and (2) to have taught this course in an academic program in the United States designed for current or future teachers. Those interested in participating were invited to respond via electronic mail. The questionnaire used to collect data was created, distributed, and completed electronically. Eighty people completed at least part of the survey instrument, including 75 who completed the items relevant to this study. Table 1 summarizes our sample.

Data Analysis

We used regression analysis to determine whether a variety of identity characteristics or particular personal or professional experiences were correlated with par-

Table 1. Sample Summary

Identity	Percentage of total participants
Gender	
Women	71.8%
Men	28.2
Transgender	0.0
Race	
White or European American	70.9%
Black, African, or African American	17.4
Latina/o, Chicana/o, or Hispanic, non-White	7.0
Asian, Asian American, or Pacific Islander	4.7
American Indian or Native American	2.3
Multiracial	2.3
Arab or Arab American	0.0
Sexual orientation	
Heterosexual	76.7%
Lesbian	7.0
Bisexual	7.0
Gay Man	4.7
Questioning	2.3
Queer	2.3
Rank	
Full Professor	11.6%
Associate Professor	22.1
Assistant Professor	39.5
Instructor	16.3
Graduate Teaching Assistant	4.7
Other	5.8

ticipants' levels of self-efficacy as evidenced by their feelings of being qualified to teach their MTE courses. The findings of those analyses are summarized in Table 2.

Identity Characteristics

Notable correlations were evident between identity-related factors and participants' feelings of being qualified to teach MTE courses. There were no statistically significant differences in participants' feelings of being qualified across gender or religion. However, being White and "other race" (a category, created in order to facilitate analysis despite small numbers of participants from certain communities of color, combining all people who did not identify as "Black, African, or African American" or "White or European American") both were correlated positively with feeling qualified. Similarly, being lesbian, gay, bisexual, or questioning (LGBQ) was negatively correlated with feeling qualified to teach MTE-type courses. (Again, the LGBQ designation, combining participants who identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, and questioning, was created to facilitate analysis due to relatively low numbers of participants identifying with each of these identities.) Additionally, years of experience teaching MTE courses were positive-associated with feeling qualified to teach those courses.

Table 2. Summary of Results Predicting Participant’s Feelings of Being Qualified to Teach Their MTE Courses

Predictor	Direction of statistically significant association
Preparation for Teaching MCE-type Courses	n/a
Your own undergraduate or graduate coursework related to multicultural education and related fields	n/a
A graduate degree program explicitly related to multicultural education	n/a
Your experience as a P-12 educator and/or administrator	n/a
Your association with one or more professional organizations	n/a
Your associations with one or more activist organizations	n/a
Your participation in professional development workshops related to multicultural education	n/a
Your participation in educational activism	n/a
Your life experiences	+
Background Characteristics	
Sex (female = 1)	n/a
Race	White (+), Other race (+)
Religion	n/a
Sexual Orientation (LGBTQ = 1)	-
Years taught MCE-type Courses	+

Note. n/a means the association was not statistically significant. All listed associations reflect regression coefficients statistically significant at $p < .05$ (one-tailed tests). Sample size varied for the analyses as not all participants had each experience. Race analysis can be interpreted as White participants feeling more qualified to teach than other participants and those of another race feeling more qualified to teach than other participants. African American participants were not statistically significantly more likely to feel qualified to teach than were other participants.

Personal or Professional Experiences

None of the educational experiences about which participants were asked on the survey—their undergraduate or graduate coursework, a degree program related to multicultural education—were correlated at a statistically significant level with participants’ senses of feeling qualified to teach MTE courses. Nor were their teaching or activist backgrounds, such as experiences as P–12 educators or educational activists, predictive of their feelings of being qualified. Similarly, no statistically significant correlation was found between their professional development experiences, including associations with professional organizations, and their feelings of being qualified to teach MTE courses.

In fact, of items related to experiences that might have helped prepare participants to teach MTE courses, the only one that was statistically significantly correlated with feeling qualified to teach such courses was “life experiences.”

Discussion

Due to the scarcity of research on the dispositions or self-efficacy of multicultural teacher educators, there is little prevailing knowledge against which to consider these findings. However, these findings have important implications regarding the ways multicultural teacher educators in the United States can be better prepared and supported in their work. When we consider these implications in the larger sociopolitical context of schooling, many are consistent with scholarship related to multiculturalism in the overall education milieu.

For example, Juárez et al. (2008) pointed to the heightened hostility and resistance with which multicultural teacher educators from disenfranchised communities contend—an extension of the reproduction of social conditions like White hegemony in teacher education (Noel, 2010) and academia more generally (Aguirre, 2010; Reason & Evans, 2007). The lower sense of feeling qualified to teach MTE courses among African American participants (as compared with White participants) and LGBTQ participants (as compared with heterosexual participants) likely are, to some extent, symptoms of White hegemony, heteronormativity, and other such conditions: constant pressures on and challenges to their self-efficacy. Meanwhile, these same conditions likely

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contributed to the elevation of heterosexual and White participants' senses of being qualified to teach their courses—what might be interpreted as inflated senses of self-efficacy—both because their privilege shielded them from a portion of the resistance or questions about professionalism experienced by their less-privileged colleagues and because of the elevated self-sense indicative of living with privilege.

What sense can be made, then, of the fact that gender identity and religious identity were not correlated with participants' senses of being qualified to teach their MTE courses? After all, just as scholars have detailed White hegemony in academia, they have documented systemic sexism (Brinkman & Rickard, 2009; O'Reilly & Bowman 1984) and Christian hegemony (Schlosser & Sedlacek, 2003; Seifert, 2007) in higher education. It could be that the high percentage of women represented on education faculties relative to those in most other fields has a mitigating effect on the self-efficacy of female multicultural teacher educators or that the virtual absence of Christian privilege in MTE discourses (Amosa & Gorski, 2008) is reflected in these results. In order to move beyond speculation, however, more attention should be paid to these dynamics.

Similarly, what sense can be made of the fact that of-color-ness, excepting African American-ness, is correlated positively with feeling qualified to teach these courses? Certainly, although some contend that White hegemony is felt most harshly in the United States by African Americans, most would argue that other people of color are affected by it in similarly devastating ways. The relatively low number of participants who were neither African American nor White limits the extent to which conclusions can be drawn from the race complexities found in the analysis. But it does point to a possible focus of continuing scholarship that could provide important contours to the work of those who, like Juárez et al. (2008), have explored the hostility with which many multicultural teacher educators of color contend.

These findings raise questions, as well, about how multicultural teacher educators are prepared to teach, and supported in their teaching of, MTE courses. Multicultural teacher education scholars heretofore have paid little attention to the foci of MTE-related professional organizations, the nature of professional development opportunities available to multicultural teacher educators, and other common avenues for multicultural teacher educators' preparation and support. In one relevant study that does exist, an analysis of the content and philosophical frameworks of concurrent sessions offered during three recent annual conferences of the National Association for Multicultural Education (NAME), Amosa and Gorski (2008) found several sessions related to White privilege and a few sessions about homophobia, but no sessions about how to navigate the White hegemony,

heterosexism, or other dynamics of teacher preparation programs; the kinds of dynamics that have deleterious effects on the efficacy of African American and LGBTQ multicultural teacher educators. Although this is only a three-year snapshot and not a criticism of NAME, which chooses out of the proposals it receives, it does hint at the lack of attention these concerns receive *even within the multicultural education community*.

Similar results were found by Gorski (2010) in a study about the literature that has the greatest influence on the ways in which multicultural teacher educators design their MTE courses. The texts most commonly identified by respondents were almost exclusively focused on identity politics in classrooms and schools; virtually none paid any attention to the efficacy of teacher educators or the power dynamics with which they contend. Other studies on the foci of scholarship in multicultural education and MTE (e.g., Grant & Gibson, 2011) has attended largely to how it is distributed across identities and oppressions; none has specifically addressed what might be missing as it relates to the preparation of multicultural teacher educators.

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In addition, because very few studies have examined national patterns in the content of MTE courses, it is difficult to assess with much confidence why participants' own coursework did not influence their sense of preparedness to teach the MTE courses they are charged with teaching. Scholars who have studied these patterns (Furman, 2008; Gorski, 2009) have suggested consistently that MTE courses, on average, lack the depth and complexity required to help facilitate students toward a strong multicultural consciousness. These dynamics need more scholarly attention before cause-and-effect assumptions can be made, but it might be the case that, now that they are grappling with the challenges of teaching their own MTE courses, some MTE faculty find little of value in how multicultural concerns were presented in their coursework as undergraduate or graduate education students.

More scholarly attention should be paid to all of these conditions: to all of the mechanisms by which multicultural teacher educators might—and some would argue *should*—have been, and be, better prepared and supported through coursework, professional development opportunities, scholarship, and other potential pathways to stronger efficacy. Meanwhile, organizations such as NAME, the International Association for Intercultural Education, and the Association of Teacher Educators, which count among their members a large number of multicultural teacher educators, might try to find ways to support practitioners, not just in terms of skills and content knowledge, but also in terms of how to sustain themselves and their self-efficacy through often-hostile work environments. They might, as well, push privileged-identity multicultural teacher educators to continue examining the implications of their privilege and to strengthen their abilities to advocate, not just for their own voice and access, but also for that of their colleagues from disenfranchised communities. Similarly, MTE scholars might grapple more frequently and vigorously with these questions, focusing not just on how we prepare teachers, but also on how we prepare and support the teacher educators charged with preparing socially just teachers.

Considering the larger community of multicultural teacher educators, these findings raise compelling questions as well about the kinds of support and development opportunities available to them and why these opportunities do not appear to strengthen their self-efficacy. Assuming that such opportunities *could* provide the kinds of consciousness and skill-building that would help multicultural teacher educators feel more qualified to teach these courses, the fact that participants' feelings of qualification were not correlated significantly with their graduate or undergraduate coursework on multicultural education, their association with professional or activist organizations, or their participation in professional development workshops might suggest that these sorts of experiences are failing to adequately address the broad needs of their constituents. Again, with the exception of the one study of sessions offered at the NAME conference (Amosa & Gorski, 2008), which found very few sessions focused on anything other than identity-related content knowledge and skill-development, and no sessions at all about the self-efficacy of multicultural teacher educators, there is insufficient contextual scholarship on these conditions to reach even a working conclusion on this matter. More scholarship is needed on how *or whether* multicultural education professional organizations, special interest groups, or educational activist organizations—educational associations that often include large numbers of multicultural teacher educators—could better identify and address those constituents' needs in order to strengthen MTE practice systemically.

Equally intriguing is the fact that participants' experiences, either as primary or secondary educators or as education activists, had no significant influence on their feelings of being qualified to teach MTE courses. Although it is difficult to know without more research into the intricacies of these relationships how to interpret such a disconnect, it is interesting to consider that, while these specific experiences were unrelated to participants' senses of being qualified, the extremely-general item, "life experiences," was found to correlate positively with their feelings of qualification. In order to better understand how multicultural teacher educators come to feel qualified to teach MTE courses, future MTE scholarship will need to parse out "life experiences." If the sorts of professional and educational experiences to which multicultural teacher educators have had access have not succeeded, in their minds, in strengthening their self-efficacy as multicultural teacher educators, and if life experiences *have* done so, what is the nature of the kinds of life experiences that do facilitate or predict stronger self-efficacy? The answer to this question could prove insightful in terms of how to restructure or modify professional and educational opportunities to be more contributive to the preparation and support of multicultural teacher educators.

Conclusion

Research on the effects of MTE on the dispositions, self-efficacy, and practices of current and future educators is essential for toning MTE theory and practice. Equally essential, but notably less understood, are the dispositions, self-efficacy, and practices of multicultural teacher educators and their implications for MTE. There can be little hope of optimizing MTE or strengthening self-efficacy related to equity concerns among P-12 educators if we do not pay parallel attention to that of the people who prepare teachers to teach in multicultural, equitable ways. This study represents one effort to bolster our understanding of the latter.

Findings suggested that African American multicultural teacher educators tend to feel less qualified to teach their MTE courses than either their White counterparts or their of-color counterparts who were not African American; that heterosexual multicultural teacher educators felt more qualified to teach their MTE courses than their LGBTQ counterparts; and that, among several personal, educational, and professional experiences about which participants were asked, the only one associated with self-efficacy regarding their teaching of MTE courses was "life experiences." These findings raised questions, not only about how one's identities across race and sexual orientation influence her or his MTE-related self-efficacy, but also about whether those organizations meant to

support and prepare multicultural teacher educators are providing the kinds of support and preparation opportunities that maximize their constituents' self-efficacy. These findings are important to MTE theory and practice for a variety of reasons, including the fact that the efficacies of multicultural teacher educators and those they teach are intertwined (Rots et al., 2010).

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