The SAGE Encyclopedia of

Intercultural Competence

Edited by

Janet M. Bennett

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Editorial Board

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The Intercultural Communication Institute

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FOR INFORMATION:

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E-mail: order@sagepub.com

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#10-04 Samsung Hub
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About the Editors

Janet M. Bennett received her bachelor's degree with a double major in journalism and psychology from San Francisco State University, and her MA and PhD in communication from the University of Minnesota. After serving as a Peace Corps volunteer in Micronesia, she devoted her career to developing theory and training design in intercultural competence.

As an educator, she created the liberal arts program at Marylhurst College, where she was the chairperson of the liberal arts division, creating award-winning interdisciplinary programs for adult learners.

Dr. Bennett provides consultation, faculty development, and training in intercultural relations. In the global arena, she designs training for international education programs and conducts seminars in Asia and Europe. In the area of domestic intercultural relations, she creates train-the-trainer programs in intercultural competence for various organizations, conducts programs for university campuses, and is a sought-after speaker on intercultural topics at both academic and professional conferences.

She is the executive director of the Intercultural Communication Institute (ICI), a private, non-profit foundation designed to foster an awareness and appreciation of cultural difference in both the international and domestic arenas. ICI maintains an extensive library and sponsors the annual Summer Institute for Intercultural Communication, the Winter Institute, and the Qatar Institute. She is also the director of the Master of Arts in Intercultural Relations, a limited residency graduate program for professionals and other nontraditional students. She teaches training and organization development at three universities and has published multiple articles and chapters on intercultural theory and training in academic books and journals.

Francisca (Franki) Trujillo-Dalbey has a PhD in urban studies from Portland State University, where she also earned her master's degree with a specialty in intercultural communication. Franki is a consultant, teacher, and cross-cultural mediator, working specifically with nonprofit organizations on issues of domestic diversity (she is second-generation Latina), leadership, team building, employment law, and relationship building. Franki was also a senior civil rights investigator for the state of Oregon and worked for various employment-related programs focused on disability issues. She has a long history with the Intercultural Communication Institute in many capacities; she served for a number of years as coordinator of ICI's Summer Institute for Intercultural Communication (SIIC). She continues her involvement in the Masters of Intercultural Relations program as an advisor and faculty member. When she's not consulting, Franki can be found playing electric bass with her dance band, High Fidelity, hanging out with her husband and their two dogs, and enjoying her two grandchildren.

Contributors

Kris Acheson
Georgia State University

Rukhsana Ahmed
University of Ottawa

Lily A. Arasaratnam
Alphacrucis College

Maarten Asser
Culture Learning Group

Erin Barnhart
The International Partnership for Service-Learning and Leadership

Laura A. Bathurst
University of the Pacific

Janet M. Bennett
Intercultural Communication Institute

Martin F. Bennett
Independent Practitioner

Jeff Berglund
Kyoto University of Foreign Studies

John W. Berry
Queen's University, International Centre for the Advancement of Community-Based Rehabilitation

Dharm P. S. Bhawuk
University of Hawaii at Manoa

Dan Bommarito
Arizona State University

Richard Y. Bourhis
Université du Québec à Montréal

Terence Brake
TMA World

Jesse A. Brinson
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Benjamin J. Broome
Arizona State University

Kimberley A. Brown
Portland State University

Judee K. Burgoon
University of Arizona

Dominic Busch
Universität der Bundeswehr München

Patrice M. Buzzanell
Purdue University

Michael Byram
University of Durham, United Kingdom

Amanda Smith Byron
Portland State University

Deborah A. Cai
Temple University

Carolyn Calloway-Thomas
Indiana University

Donal Carbaugh
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Norma Carr-Ruffino
San Francisco State University

Chris Taylor Cartwright
Intercultural Communication Institute

George Cheney
University of Colorado at Colorado Springs

Winnie Cheng
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Tiffany Nok Hang Ching
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Leeva Chung
University of San Diego

Price M. Cobbs
Pacific Management Systems

John Condon
University of New Mexico

Anne P. Copeland
The Interchange Institute

Carlos E. Cortés
University of California, Riverside

Patricia O. Covarrubias
University of New Mexico

William E. Cross Jr.
University of Nevada, Las Vegas

Kenneth Cushner
Kent State University

Brian R. Davis
City University of New York

Kristin L. Deal
University of Denver

Shannon R. Dean
University of Georgia

Barbara R. Deane
DiversityCentral.com

Darla K. Deardorff
Duke University

Juergen Deller
Leuphana Universität Lüneburg

Tenzin Dorjee
California State University, Fullerton

Uttaran Dutta
Arizona State University

Andrea Edmundson
The Global eLearning Community

Sherifa Fayez
American Field Service, Cairo

Tatyana Fertelmeyster
Connecting Differences

Peony Fhagen-Smith
Wheaton College

Beth Fisher-Yoshida
Columbia University

Cheryl Forster
Portland State University & Bookmark Connections

Sandra M. Fowler
Independent Practice

Kerry Freedman
Northern Illinois University

Eric Friginal
Georgia State University

Gerald W. Fry
University of Minnesota

Adrian Furnham
University of California, Los Angeles

Cindy Gallois
The University of Queensland

Miguel Gandert
University of New Mexico

Ge Gao
San Jose State University

Lee Gardenswartz
Independent Scholar, Gardenswartz & Rowe

Dustin Garlitz
University of South Florida

Jennifer L. Gibbs
Rutgers University

Cristina B. Gibson
University of Western Australia

Eleanor Gil-Kashiwabara
Portland State University

Margery B. Ginsberg
Independent Practitioner

Michael Goh
University of Minnesota

Kristina Gonzalez
PNW Conference, United Methodist Church

Cornelius N. Grove
Grovewell LLC

Manuela Guilherme
Universidade Lusófona (ULHT)

Daniel Gulanowski
Carleton University

Allison Gundersen
Independent Practitioner

Ernest Gundling
Aperian Global

Alan Guskin
Antioch University

Rona Tamiko Halualani
San Jose State University

Mitchell R. Hammer
American University

Steve Hanamura
Hanamura Consulting, Inc.

Richard Harris
Chukyo University

Christiane Hartnack
University of the Danube

Fukumi Hauser
Senior Consultant for Corporate Social Responsibility

Robert Hayles
Senior Consultant for Effectiveness, Diversity and Inclusion

Chayla Haynes
University of Northern Colorado

Kristin L. Hibler
Mercy Corps

Dianne Hofner Saphiere
Cultural Detective/Nipporica Associates

Christopher Honeyman
Convenor Conflict Management

Ying-yi Hong
Nanyang Technology University

Juliane Marie-Luise House
Hellenic American University

Edward E. Hubbard
Hubbard & Hubbard, Inc.

Hyisung C. Hwang
San Francisco State University

Kazuko Ikeda
Pacific University

Luby Ismail
Connecting Cultures

Jane Jackson
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Ronald L. Jackson II
University of Cincinnati

David W. Johnson
University of Minnesota

Roger T. Johnson
University of Minnesota

Kay Jones
Aja Consultants, Inc.

Sonya Kaleel
Aperian Global

Istvan Kecskes
State University of New York, Albany

Brenden E. Kendall
Metropolitan State University of Denver

Min-Sun Kim
University of Hawaii at Manoa

Sang-Yeon Kim
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Young Y. (Yun) Kim
University of Oklahoma

Patricia M. King
University of Michigan

Elizabeth Kirkhart
Private Therapist, Moving Boundaries

Larry Kirkhart
Moving Boundaries

Jane Knight
University of Toronto

Tom Kochman
Kochman Mavrelis Associates, Inc.

David A. Kolb
Case Western Reserve University

Shahana Koslofsky
Pacific University

Steve J. Kulich
Shanghai International Studies University

Bruce LaBrack
University of the Pacific

Anja Langbein-Park
Culture Learning Group

Michelle LeBaron
University of British Columbia

Tae-Seop Lim
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Shuang Liu
The University of Queensland

Elizabeth Stallman Madden
University of Minnesota

Judith N. Martin
Arizona State University

Paul Kei Matsuda
Arizona State University

David Matsumoto
San Francisco State University

Jean Mavrelis
Kochman Mavrelis Associates, Inc.

Steven K. May
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Kelli McLoud-Schingen
Independent Practitioner

Lucia Ann McSpadden
Pacific School of Religion

Mary M. Meares
University of Alabama

Lars Meier
Technische Universität Berlin

Mark Earl Mendenhall
University of Tennessee, Chattanooga

S. Lily Mendoza
Oakland University

Josef A. Mestenhauser
University of Minnesota

Barbara Kappler Mikk
University of Minnesota

Andrew Molinsky
Brandeis University

Annie Montreuil
Université du Québec à Montréal

Dreama G. Moon
California State University, San Marcos

William S. Moore
Center for the Study of Intellectual Development

Thomas Winston Morgan
The International Partnership for Service-Learning and Leadership

Debashish Munshi
University of Waikato

Thomas K. Nakayama
Northeastern University

Kyoung-Ah Nam
American University

Luciara Nardon
Carleton University

Gayle Nelson
Georgia State University

Nancy O'Brien
University of Alabama

Julie M. O'Mara
O'Mara and Associates

John G. Oetzel
University of Waikato

Joyce S. Osland
San Jose State University

Michael Osmera
Independent Practitioner

R. Michael Paige
University of Minnesota

Anthony Pan
Aja Consultants, Inc.

Lynne Parmenter
Manchester Metropolitan University

Gillian Peiser
Liverpool John Moores University

Elvinet S. Piard
Indiana University East

Sheila Ramsey
Personal Leadership Seminars

Timothy Reagan
Nazarbayev University

George W. Renwick
Renwick and Associates

Alan Richter
QED Consulting

Karen Risager
Roskilde University

Rebecca Ropers-Huilman
University of Minnesota

Anita Rowe
Independent Scholar

Riikka Salonen
Global Inclusion Consulting

Lynn Santelmann
Portland State University

Victor Savicki
Western Oregon University

Barbara F. Schaetti
Personal Leadership Seminars

Véronique Schoeffel
Senior Independent Practitioner

Karin Schreiner
Intercultural Know How—Training & Consulting

Glen T. Sebera
Renaissance Consulting Group

Farzad Sharifian
Monash University

Daryl G. Smith
Claremont Graduate University

Peter B. Smith
University of Sussex

Miriam S. Sobre-Denton
Southern Illinois University

Kathryn S. Sorrells
California State University, Northridge

Nadezhda Sotirova
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Helen Spencer-Oatey
University of Warwick

Günter K. Stahl
Wirtschaftsuniversität Wien

Cookie White Stephan
New Mexico State University

Walter G. Stephan
New Mexico State University

Michael J. Stevens
Weber State University

Craig Storti
Communicating Across Cultures

Donna M. Stringer
Independent Scholar

Douglas Kent Stuart
Independent Scholar and Practitioner

Kiyoko Sueda
Aoyama Gakuin University

Chit Cheung Matthew Sung
Lancaster University

Jiro Takai
Nagoya University

Edward W. Taylor
Pennsylvania State University

Amanda Lanier Temples
Michigan State University

Stella Ting-Toomey
California State University at Fullerton

Mai P. Trinh
Case Western Reserve University

Linda R. Tropp
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Michael F. Tucker
Tucker International

Michael Vande Berg
Senior Independent Scholar and Practitioner

Luis A. Vazquez
New Mexico State University

Xiaoling Wang
Beifang University of Nationalities

Yi'an Wang
Shanghai International Studies University

Colleen Ward
Victoria University of Wellington

Kent Warren
Intercultural Communication Institute

Gordon Watanabe
Personal Leadership Seminars

Gary Weaver
American University

Liping Weng
Shanghai International Studies University

Barbara A. West
Culture Works

Bob White
Université de Montréal

Louise C. Wilkinson
Wilkinson Intercultural Consulting

Raymond Wlodkowski
Independent Practitioner

Ria Yoshida
Fisher Yoshida International

Muneo J. Yoshikawa
International Mentorship Graduate School

Introduction

"It depends."

In response to intercultural questions, the phrase *it depends* is a frequent answer. What is the role of status in Chinese culture? It depends. Why do tribal conflicts seem unresolvable? It depends. What is the source of prejudice? It depends. It depends on the context, the timing, the interwoven histories, the subtle nuances of beliefs, values, and assumptions. Interculturalists carry the ambiguity of the cultural interface as an inevitable part of their work.

One way to reduce this ambiguity in intercultural interactions is to develop *intercultural competence,* a set of cognitive, affective, and behavioral skills and characteristics that support effective and appropriate interaction in a variety of cultural contexts. Implicitly, this definition recognizes that knowledge alone does not equal competence; intercultural competence also requires motivation and skill. Such competence promotes interactions that accomplish the task at hand (effective) and do so while respecting the norms of the cultures involved (appropriate). Other works have expertly reviewed hundreds of potential intercultural competencies as determined by dozens of researchers. This encyclopedia concentrates on the conceptual background necessary to develop such skills and characteristics.

You might discover many definitions of culture within these entries since words mean what the author intends them to mean and authors reliably communicate their intended meaning. In general, however, the underlying concept of *culture* used in this encyclopedia refers to what has come to be known as *subjective culture*—the learned and shared values, beliefs, and behaviors of a community of interacting people. It reflects culture as a dynamic process, not a reified construct, and is based on the notion that culture continually undergoes transformation.

One of the primary academic disciplines focusing on intercultural competence is intercultural communication, a young field that originally emerged from studies of human communication. Decades ago, topics related to human communication often developed in departments of rhetoric. Influenced by psychologists such as Dean Barnlund and anthropologists such as Edward T. Hall, intercultural courses slowly began being developed in communication as many *speech communication* departments eventually changed their names to *human communication.* Teaching about intercultural communication required a frame shift for those teaching about interpersonal communication at that time. Interpersonal communication was based on the premise of similarity whereas, by definition, intercultural relationships involve difference.

LaRay Barna and Edward T. Hall each initiated courses in intercultural communication. At Portland State University (Oregon), Barna realized that international students experience severe culture shock due to their lack of understanding of American culture. At the U.S. Foreign Service Institute, Hall realized that members of the foreign service need more than history and political science to succeed in their work. During the 1960s and 1970s, culture became salient in communication. Indeed, Hall is often called the father of intercultural communication, whereas Barna might be called the mother. Each opened a door to a new field with enormous potential to improve human interaction.

Intercultural communication is the interactive process of negotiating shared meanings across cultures and is central to intercultural competence. While different disciplines debate the validity of any specific perspective, they agree on a few core elements that emerge from intercultural communication, including interaction analysis and based on subjective culture with a primary focus on difference rather than similarity.

Intercultural communication brings an interactive framework to the study of culture. The nature of the exploration is not only what preferred patterns exist in any given context in any given culture but also what happens when different patterns come into contact. If a person from a particular culture prefers to solve conflicts directly, what transpires when that person faces a conflict in a society where most people prefer to address such issues indirectly and promote harmony? And while focusing on similarity is a useful strategy in one's own culture, it is rarely useful for a deep exploration of other cultures. Finally, attention to patterns does not imply a focus on stereotypes. While there may be learned and shared patterns, it is unlikely that anyone you meet will subscribe to those patterns precisely; that is the nature of statistical norms.

Interculturalists are professionals who put these theories into practice by working with and researching individuals and groups, with cultural topics as the focus of the interface. They come from many disciplines and ground their work in a wide range of theoretical perspectives. What they often share in common is a commitment to understanding, analyzing, and highlighting significant intercultural issues, issues that matter to the relevant culture groups. Thus the life work of interculturalists is to build bridges among differences, softening the barriers to experiencing life with cultural others and probing the mysteries of unknown places and peoples. Intercultural competence is the foundation of this life work, without which the work becomes intensely more difficult, less credible, and potentially offensive.

Why Do We Need an Encyclopedia of Intercultural Competence?

We are well past the time when clichés about the global village provide a rationale for developing our knowledge, skills, and attitudes about cultural others. Instead, our daily lives have provided the proof. Our contact with unfamiliar others is continuous. We are also recognizing that cultural differences affect the bottom line of the corporation, the effectiveness of our healthcare, the welcoming of our religious institutions, the safety of our military, the retention of our students, and the very nature of our lives and work.

What this means is that cultural competence while sharing the planet with others is no longer merely a nicety but a necessity. As a necessity, it cannot remain the purview only of professionals; intercultural competence is now intrinsic to all aspects of our lives. The goal of this encyclopedia, therefore, is to bring a large body of concepts and theories related to intercultural competence to a wide range of readers in an accessible format.

The Development of the Encyclopedia

SAGE Publications' ever-attentive editors discovered that a demand exists for a readable publication that explains central perspectives on intercultural concepts. They suggested forming an editorial board to facilitate the project.

Engaging an editorial board is a diplomatic endeavor, inviting colleagues and friends to jump into the abyss with you for the sheer pleasure of making a contribution. Luckily, a splendid team of experienced editors was willing to make that leap, bringing with them alternative disciplinary and cultural perspectives. Kim Brown, Robert Hayles, Bruce LaBrack, Michael Paige, Nagesh Rao, and Stella Ting-Toomey signed on to determine the topics, nominate authors, provide advice, and in general support the editorial team in quality assurance.

To narrow the enormous possible areas of exploration, members of the team discussed broad topics that relate importantly to intercultural competence from the point of view of anthropology, communication, counseling, education, languages, linguistics, psychology, sociology, and training and development. Within each general area, various editorial board members suggested *headwords,* the individual entries, to be included. In addition, the editor combed a vast number of resources seeking contemporary subjects in dozens of other encyclopedias, handbooks, textbooks, and recent publications. A list of headwords was circulated to the team members who added, deleted, and eventually suggested leading senior scholars as contributors. When possible, we selected the original author of the theory or model to write the entry. We made a serious effort to ensure that contributing authors were culturally and globally diverse, bringing their own cultural styles to bear on the topics. Further, the authors were asked to apply an intercultural perspective to the topic, by which we meant that the entry should reflect interaction at the interpersonal or group level between people with different cultural identities. Those topics for which we could not immediately find authors were labeled "lonely headwords," and we pursued recommendations and references to find highly qualified headword writers. Authors expressed an unusual degree of enthusiasm for this venture, even suggesting new headwords and, better yet, agreeing to write about them.

Ultimately, the project includes 540,884 words, 20 themes, 261 headword entries, and 202 authors.

The Structure

From the reader's perspective, there are several approaches to using the encyclopedia in pursuit of an area of interest. The alphabetical list of entries allows the reader to locate topics, or the reader can turn to the Reader's Guide, which lists all the entries under a single theme, for instance, all the entries on *Adaptation*. The entries are of varying lengths, from 1,000 to 4,000 words. Each entry follows a similar outline in which the purpose of the entry is stated, followed by the development of the concept, model, or theory, examples, a list of cross-references, and a brief set of further readings. The cross-references, titled "See also," suggest related entries for the reader pursuing a specific topic.

The Reader's Guide organizes the range of headwords into the following 20 themes:

- **Adaptation**: The various forms of adjusting to or internalizing another cultural context
- **Applications of Intercultural Competence**: The role of intercultural competence in various professional contexts
- **Culture**: Forms of culture as well as different disciplinary approaches to culture
- **Culture Change**: What makes change effective or offensive across cultures
- **Diversity and Inclusion**: Contemporary viewpoints as practiced by professionals focusing on diversity, equity, and inclusion
- **Education**: The role of intercultural competence in teaching and learning
- **Ethics**: The interface between culture and ethics
- **Globalization**: The impact of globalization as culture influences organizational functions
- **Identity Development**: The psychosocial impact of identity development
- **Intercultural Communication**: Nonverbal communication, communicating across specific cultures, and the development of the field of intercultural communication in selected countries
- **Intercultural Competence**: Definitions, attributes, and assessments of intercultural competence
- **Intercultural Conflict and Negotiation**: Mindfulness, crisis intervention, and negotiation in intercultural contexts
- **Intercultural Training and Teaching**: Designing, implementing, and delivering culturally responsive education and training
- **Language/Linguistics**: The interface between intercultural competence and language fluency
- **Leadership Across Cultures**: Current perspectives on core global leadership topics
- **Media and Social Networks**: A selection of media topics related to education and training
- **Research Paradigms and Research Methods**: How researchers explore hypotheses in interculturally sensitive ways
- **Social Justice**: An intercultural perspective on significant issues of power and justice
- **Theories and Concepts**: A collection of primary theories that influence the development of intercultural competence and human interaction
- **Values**: Overviews of research on values, certain specific values, and their impact on human interaction across cultures

Every effort has been made to retain the writer's voice in each entry. While the encyclopedia guidelines demand a jargon-free, citation-free style, the voice of the writer is a compelling part of the submission. Because each entry brings a disciplinary viewpoint, a cultural stance, and a personal writing style, they are distinct and vibrant with cultural differences; in this case, the medium is part of the message.

In the process of limiting the topics, certain difficult choices inevitably needed to be made. For instance, it was decided not to include the many biographies of leading academic figures whose work has had a major influence on intercultural relations.

Further, despite the pervasive impact of certain simulations, assessment instruments, and other products, it was beyond the scope of this work to cover each of them. The reader may also wonder why some obviously relevant topic is not included.

It depends. Sometimes it relates to the availability of an author to compose the entry, sometimes it relates to the limits of the scope, and (heaven forfend) it could be that it is an oversight.

Several appendices include material to flesh out the reader's sense of this field.

- In Appendix A, we have provided Selected Readings on Intercultural Relations, a bibliography of more recent intercultural texts on education, global corporate competence, domestic diversity competence, team building, conflict, intercultural communication training, and intercultural training.
- Appendix B lists the major associations related to the topic culture, communication, and competence. While by no means comprehensive, it supplies the contact information and basic purpose of each association.
- Appendix C, the Intercultural Timeline, highlights the historical context of significant developments in intercultural communication, training, and research.

The Future of Intercultural Competence

Although soothsayers tread on precarious ground, the world in 2015 does not incline one to surmise that intercultural competence will be a passing trend. Rather it suggests that new contexts and approaches may be needed to heal a riling planet. Hazarding a few prognostications, one might observe the following future directions.

First, considerable research is reinforcing the notion that diminishing prejudice and stereotypes requires reduction of anxiety as our starting point. We live in an anxious world, fearful of the stranger. In the future, anxiety reduction will more clearly be viewed as the foundation for meeting cultural others.

Second, while most mission statements currently reflect the need for intercultural competence, few institutions and organizations have mastered the means to make those visions reality. They may increase representation of various cultural groups in an organization, but when those cultural groups meet, the employee may experience an unwelcoming environment; the student, an alienating classroom. Pressure from accrediting agencies and associations will continue to foster the development of intercultural competence.

Third, assessing intercultural competence is already a significant demand in a wide range of organizations, and this will continue to flourish, with more training and education forthcoming on how to improve results. In some parts of the world, assessment of intercultural competence or its related skills will be increasing, as practitioners are required to demonstrate the effectiveness of their methods and educators must prove that they have prepared global-ready graduates. As of this date, there are more than one hundred instruments in existence designed to measure intercultural patterns, values, development, and competencies. Both proprietary and published research will require expertise in such assessments.

Fourth is the probability that intercultural competence (or a similar concept by another name) will become a part of teaching about domestic diversity as well as global diversity. As we view world conflict in 2015, it is apparent that, due to domestic wars and migrations, immigrants and refugees have taken new positions throughout the world, and their interface with their host countries sometimes makes the headlines. Minority groups often state: "We take two steps forward and one step back." While intercultural competence is not a panacea for poverty, crime, joblessness, and hunger, it can support a more productive dialogue as we seek to resolve these social justice issues. Within organizations, intercultural competence is taking a more prominent role, again in both domestic and global contexts.

Fifth, recent experiments in the neurosciences have provided tantalizing data that relate to intercultural competence (for instance, the inverse relationship between empathy and anxiety). The role of neuroscience research and its relationship to human interaction will bring new insights for intercultural learning.

The sixth prediction is that the increasing number of bicultural and biracial marriages, the accessibility of learning abroad, the requirements for business interchange, and the likelihood that the neighbor at home or at work will be culturally different will lead to the recognition that becoming interculturally competent has many intrinsic rewards.

Finally, it must be asserted that the outcry for social justice will be heard—perhaps not a prediction, but a fervent desire.

As for any other predictions, it depends.

Acknowledgments

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In an endeavor such as this, the editors must assume responsibility for the inevitable omissions and errors that have escaped our watchful eyes, knowing that with things intercultural, the operant term is *forgiveness,* not perfection. In that light, those mistakes that are hidden within are ours, and we ask for your gracious indulgence.

Janet M. Bennett

A

ACCULTURATION

Acculturation refers to the process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between cultural groups and their individual members, as defined in the 1930s by Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville Herskovits. Such contact and change occur for many reasons (such as colonization and migration). It continues after the initial contact between the various cultural groups in culturally diverse societies, where ethnocultural communities maintain features of their heritage cultures over generations; and it takes place in all the groups in contact. The concept of *acculturation strategies* refers to the various ways in which individuals and groups seek to engage the process of acculturation. The concept of *adaptation* refers to the longer term outcomes of the process of acculturation. Occasionally, it is stressful, but usually acculturation results in some form of mutual accommodation between groups and among individuals. All three concepts are important in understanding *how*, and *how well*, acculturation takes place, and each is discussed in this entry.

The initial interest in acculturation examined the effects of European domination of colonial and indigenous peoples. Later, it focused on how immigrants and refugees changed following their entry and settlement into the receiving societies. More recently, much of the work has concentrated on how ethnocultural groups and individuals relate to one another and how they change as a result of their attempts to live together in culturally plural societies. Nowadays, all three foci are important areas of research, as globalization results in ever-expanding trading and political relations.

The concept of *psychological acculturation* refers to changes in an individual who is a participant in a culture contact situation, who is influenced directly both by the external (usually dominant) culture and by the changing culture (usually nondominant) of which the individual is a member. There are two reasons for keeping the cultural and psychological levels distinct. The first is that in cross-cultural psychology individual human behavior is viewed as interacting with the cultural and intercultural contexts within which it occurs; hence, separate conceptions and measurements are required at the two levels. The second reason is that not every group or individual enters into, participates in, or changes in the same way; there are vast group and individual differences in psychological acculturation, even among people who live in the same acculturative arena.

Acculturation Framework

A framework that outlines and links cultural and psychological acculturation and identifies groups in contact provides a map of those phenomena that need to be conceptualized and measured during acculturation research (see Figure 1).

At the cultural level (Figure 1, *left*), we examine the original features of the two or more cultural groups prior to their major contact. It is essential to understand these precontact variations among the groups that are now attempting to live together

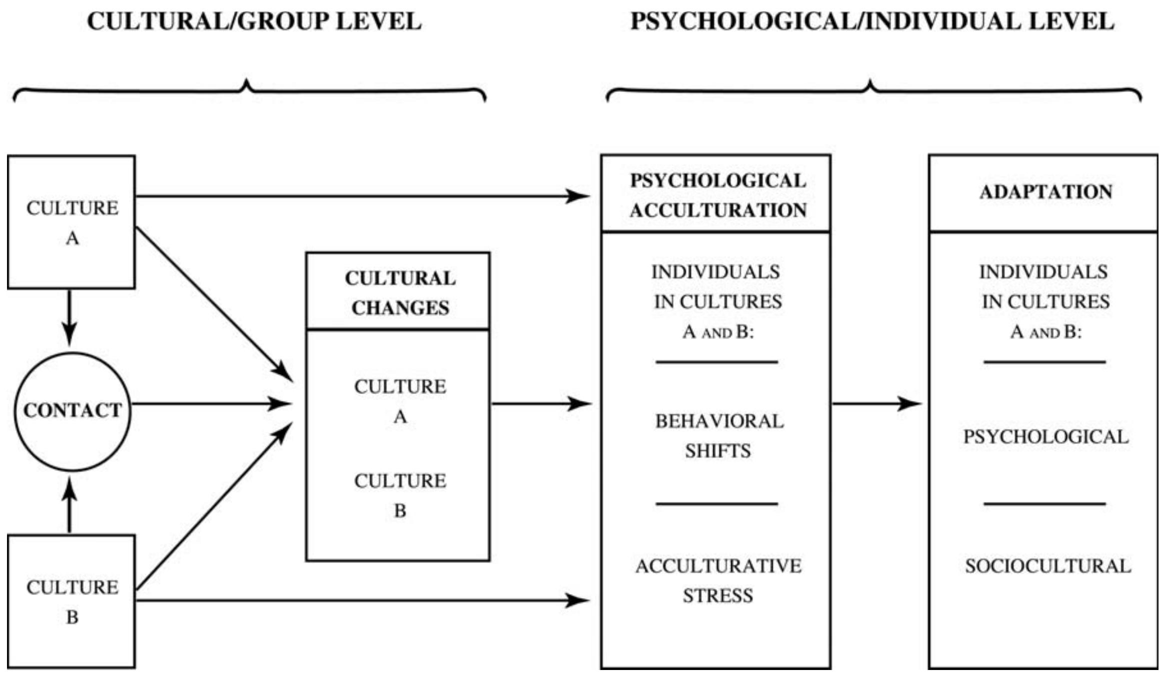

Figure 1 A General Framework for Understanding Acculturation at Cultural Group and Individual Psychological Levels

in a larger society. New settlers bring cultural and psychological qualities with them to the new society, and the existing society also has a variety of such qualities. The compatibility or incompatibility in qualities such as social structure, institutions, religion, values, attitudes, and personality between the two interacting cultural communities needs to be examined as a basis for understanding the acculturation process that is set in motion in *both* groups.

It is also important to understand the nature of their contact relationships. It may be one of domination of one group over the other, of mutual respect, or of hostility.

Finally, at the cultural level, we need to understand the resulting cultural changes in the groups that emerge during the process of acculturation. No cultural group remains unchanged following culture contact; acculturation is a two-way interaction, resulting in actions and reactions to the contact situation. In many cases, most of the change takes place in nondominant communities. However, all societies of settlement have experienced massive transformations following years of receiving new settlers, particularly in their metropolitan areas. The gathering of this information requires extensive ethnographic, community-level work. These changes can range from minor to substantial and from being easily accomplished to being a source of major cultural disruption.

At the individual level (Figure 1, *right*), there is a need to consider the psychological changes that individuals in all groups undergo and to examine their eventual adaptation to their new situations. These changes can be a set of rather easily accomplished behavioral shifts (e.g., in ways of speaking, dressing, and eating), or they can be more problematic, producing acculturative stress, as manifested by uncertainty, anxiety, and depression. As noted by Colleen Ward, adaptations can be primarily internal and psychological (e.g., a sense of well-being or self-esteem) or sociocultural (e.g., competence in the activities of daily intercultural living). The first refers to *feeling well*, the second, to *doing well.*

Acculturation Strategies

As noted previously, not every group or individual engages the acculturation process in the same way.

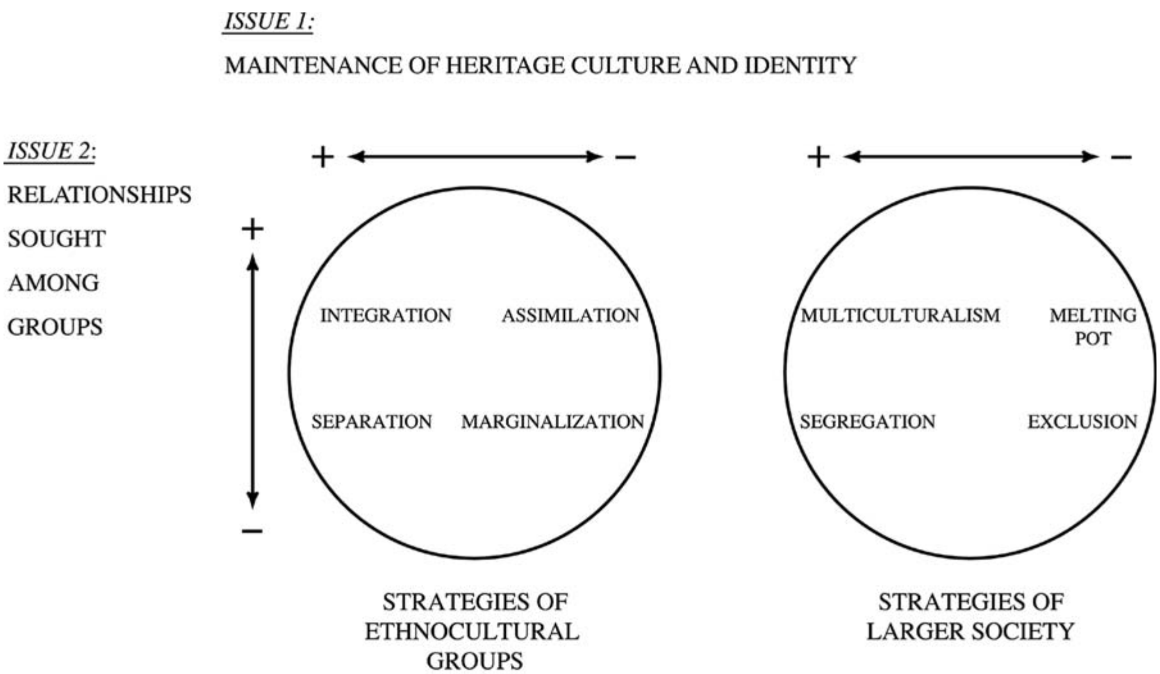

Figure 2 Acculturation Strategies in Ethnocultural Groups and in the Larger Society

The concept of *acculturation strategies* refers to the various ways in which groups and individuals seek to acculturate. These variations have challenged the assumption that everyone would assimilate and become absorbed into the dominant group. At the cultural level, the two groups in contact (whether dominant or nondominant) usually have some notion about what they are attempting to do (e.g., their colonial policies). At the individual level, persons will vary within their cultural group (e.g., on the basis of their educational or occupational background and personal goals).

Four acculturation strategies have been derived from two basic issues facing all acculturating peoples. These issues are based on the distinction between the orientations toward one's own group and those toward other groups in the larger society. This distinction is rendered as a relative preference for (a) maintaining one's heritage culture and identity and (b) having contact with and participating in the larger society along with other ethnocultural groups. The individual responds to these two issues on attitudinal dimensions, varying along bipolar dimensions ranging from positive to negative preferences. Recent research has demonstrated that these two dimensions are independent of each other. Hence, they are presented orthogonally in Figure 2.

The acculturation orientations held by members of ethnocultural groups are shown in Figure 2 (*left*); the views held by members of the larger society are shown in Figure 2 (*right*).

Orientations to these issues intersect to define four acculturation strategies. For members of nondominant ethnocultural groups, when these individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures, the *assimilation* strategy is defined. In contrast, when individuals place a high value on holding on to their original culture and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, then the *separation* alternative is defined. When there is an interest in maintaining one's original culture while being in daily interaction with other groups, *integration* is the option. In this case, there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained while the individual seeks at the same time, as a member of an ethnocultural group, to participate as an integral part of the larger social network. Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss) as well as little interest in having relations with others (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination), then *marginalization* is defined.

The original definition of acculturation clearly established that both groups in contact would change and become acculturated. The four terms used above described the acculturation strategies of nondominant peoples. Different terms are needed to describe the strategies of the dominant larger society. These other terms are presented in Figure 2 (*right*). When these strategies concern the ways in which the larger society expects others to acculturate, they have been referred to as *acculturation expectations*. If the dominant group expects assimilation, this is termed the *melting pot*. When the dominant group forces separation, it is called *segregation*. Marginalization when imposed by the dominant group is called *exclusion*. Finally, in the case of integration, when diversity and equity are widely accepted features of the society as a whole, it is called *multiculturalism*. With the use of these concepts and measures, comparisons can be made between the strategies and expectations used by individuals and their groups and between nondominant peoples and the larger society within which they are acculturating.

Building on these four ways of acculturating, researchers have emphasized other issues, such as the relative status of the groups in contact and the behavioral domains that were being changed during acculturation. The acculturation strategies (including the ideologies and policies) of the larger society as well as the preferences of nondominant peoples are core features in acculturation research. Inconsistencies and conflicts between these various acculturation preferences are common sources of difficulty for those experiencing acculturation. This can occur when individuals do not accept the main ideology of their society (e.g., when individuals seek integration in a society where the melting pot is official policy or when immigrant children challenge the way of acculturating set out by their parents). Generally, when acculturation experiences cause problems for acculturating individuals, we observe the phenomenon of acculturative stress, with variations in the levels of adaptation.

Adaptation

As noted above, there are two forms of adaptation examined in acculturation research: (1) psychological and (2) sociocultural. Sociocultural competence comes closest to the notion of intercultural competence being addressed in this encyclopedia. Much research has shown that those seeking the integration way of acculturating (i.e., maintaining a double cultural engagement) achieve the best psychological and sociocultural adaptations, while those who are marginalized have the poorest outcomes. Assimilation and separation strategies are typically associated with intermediate levels of adaptation, clearly illustrated in recent research on immigrant youth. We can now claim that there is a clear best practice: Those who engage both their heritage cultures and participate in the daily life of the larger society (by way of the integration/multicultural strategy) have greater success in intercultural living. That is, those seeking the integration pattern of acculturating (i.e., maintaining a double cultural engagement) achieve the best psychological and sociocultural adaptations, while those who are marginalized have the poorest. Assimilation and separation strategies are typically associated with intermediate levels of adaptation.

Implications

The implications of knowing about and using the three core concepts (acculturation, acculturation strategies, and mutual adaptation) are powerful. In culturally diverse societies and organizations, these ideas and the empirical research findings affect how, and how well, people engage each other across cultural boundaries. In particular, the benefits of pursuing and achieving integration (as defined here as the joint involvement in both cultural contexts) are far-reaching for those engaged in intercultural living. Individuals and families who engage in the acculturation process need to be informed of the advantages of the integration acculturation strategy. This is the case for both those who have immigrated to the new society and those who are already settled. All groups and individuals can benefit from being made aware of the advantages of integration.

John W. Berry

See also Assimilation; Cultural Self-Awareness; Ethnic Cultural Identity Model; Hybridity; Intercultural Competence Development; Theory of Acculturation

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Anxiety and Uncertainty Management

The anxiety and uncertainty management (AUM) theoretical research program is based on two interrelated theories designed by William Gudykunst to study intergroup communication and intercultural adaptation. Anxiety and uncertainty are the emotional and cognitive responses people experience when they interact with others who are culturally different and they must adjust to a new cultural milieu. Anxiety is often associated with feeling uneasy, tense, worried, or apprehensive about what might happen, whereas uncertainty involves the inability to make predictions about what might happen. Managing levels of anxiety and uncertainty between minimum and maximum thresholds is essential for achieving optimal outcomes of effective communication and intercultural adaptation. The AUM theories represent a major theoretical research program that informs these two important topics in intercultural communication. While the theoretical program has evolved over the years, it remains important to intercultural communication research and practice.

This entry provides a brief overview of the AUM theory of effective communication. Specifically, it reviews both its metatheoretical and its theoretical assumptions, provides a summary of its 47 axioms, and addresses the importance of the theory.

Assumptions

There are both metatheoretical and theoretical assumptions underlying the AUM theory of effective communication. The three metatheoretical assumptions are as follows: (1) all cultures share the basic processes of communication, but the rules that govern the individual's interpretation of the content of communication vary from culture to culture; (2) meanings are *constructed* in communication, and the recognition of different subjective realities in searching out and explaining communication patterns is important; and (3) there are many things outside of the individual that could influence communication, but a person can also exert influence if the person is mindful.

The AUM theory is guided by four theoretical assumptions. The first theoretical assumption concerns uncertainty, which is a human condition that is cognitively based. Individuals are motivated to engage in group behavior to manage uncertainty. However, since they experience more uncertainty when they communicate with outgroup members than with ingroup members, they are not as motivated to manage their uncertainty about outgroups. Cultures differ in how much uncertainty is valued and what they perceive to be the minimum and maximum thresholds for uncertainty. The *minimum threshold* refers to the degree to which we need uncertainty to stimulate interest.

The *maximum threshold* refers to the point at which uncertainty is so high as to be uncomfortable. Effective communication requires uncertainty to be sufficient for interest but limited to a comfortable degree.

The second theoretical assumption is about anxiety, which is the emotional equivalent of uncertainty and is characterized by feelings of uneasiness, tenseness, worry, and apprehension. Individuals experience more anxiety when they communicate with those outside their own group than with members of their own group. Communication is more effective when anxiety, like uncertainty, is between the minimum and maximum thresholds (i.e., it should be high enough to make one feel motivated but not so high as to make one uneasy and tense).

The third theoretical assumption involves the meaning of effective communication, which requires that a message be interpreted in a way similar to the way it was intended. However, people's tendency to use their own frames of reference to interpret messages can be a major barrier to effective communication.

The fourth and final theoretical assumption pertains to mindfulness, which involves the creation of new categories, openness to new information, and awareness of more than one perspective. Practicing mindfulness is essential to effective communication and can prevent misinterpretation and misunderstanding.

Causal Relationships

The AUM theory consists of a total of 47 statements of causal relationships in the form of axioms. Axioms are propositions or principles that are perceived to be self-evidently true. The theory is organized around two *basic* causes, seven *superficial* causes, and one *essential practice*. The two basic causes are anxiety and uncertainty, which are the key influences on effective communication. The seven superficial causes include self-concepts, motivation, reactions to strangers, social categorization, situational processes, connections with strangers, and ethical interactions. Their influence on effective communication is mediated through anxiety and uncertainty. The one essential practice is mindfulness, which makes anxiety and uncertainty management possible.

There are certain conditions associated with all of these causal relationships, including ideas such as the degree to which

- individuals' social identities are secure,
- individuals are either mindful or not mindful,
- individuals are not overly vigilant, and
- levels of anxiety and uncertainty are between the minimum and maximum thresholds.

Two Basic Causes

The two basic causes generate a set of causal relationships that directly influence effective communication. Specifically, they are as follows:

- An increase in the ability to describe strangers' behavior will produce an increase in the ability to predict strangers' behavior accurately.
- An increased knowledge of strangers' languages will produce a decrease in anxiety and an increase in the ability to predict strangers' behavior accurately.
- An increase in the mindfulness of the communication process with strangers will produce an increase in the ability to manage anxiety and uncertainty.
- An increase in mindfully recognizing and correcting the pragmatic errors that occur during conversations with strangers will produce an increase in the effectiveness of their communication.
- An increase in the ability to manage anxiety about interacting with strangers and in the accuracy of their predictions and explanations regarding strangers' behavior will produce an increase in the effectiveness of communication.

Seven Superficial Causes

The seven superficial causes create many sets of causal relationships. Specifically, individuals' self-concepts influence their anxiety and uncertainty. This set of causal statements can be summarized by stating that an increase in the degree to which individuals' social identities and personal identities guide their interactions with strangers and an increase in their self-esteem and in the ingroup-specific collective self-esteem will produce a decrease in their anxiety and an increase in their confidence in predicting strangers' behavior. In contrast, an increase in perceived threat to individuals' social identities will produce an increase in anxiety and a decrease in their confidence to make predictions accurately.

Individuals' levels of motivation also influence their anxiety and uncertainty. To summarize, an increase in the need for group inclusion and the need to sustain one's self-conceptions when interacting with strangers will produce an increase in anxiety, whereas an increase in the degree to which strangers confirm self-conceptions and in the ability to predict strangers' behavior will produce a decrease in anxiety.

Reaction to strangers is another superficial cause outlined in the theory. This set of causal relationships states that an increase in the ability to process complex information about strangers and to empathize with strangers and the degree to which strangers converge toward a person will produce a decrease in anxiety and an increase in the ability to predict strangers' behavior accurately. An increase in uncertainty orientation will produce an increase in the ability to predict strangers' behavior accurately, and an increase in tolerance for ambiguity will produce a decrease in anxiety. However, an increase in rigid attitudes toward strangers will produce an increase in their anxiety and a decrease in the ability to predict strangers' behavior accurately.

The set of causal relationships with regard to social categorization suggests that people can decrease anxiety and increase accurate predictions if they increase the

- understanding of similarities and differences between their groups and strangers' groups,
- personal similarities they perceive between themselves and strangers,
- variability they perceive in strangers' groups,
- perceptions that they share superordinate ingroup identities with strangers,
- positive expectations for strangers' behavior, and
- ability to suspend negative expectations for strangers' behavior when they are activated.

Furthermore, an increase in their ability to categorize strangers in the same way they categorize themselves will produce an increase in their ability to predict strangers' behavior accurately.

Situational processes also generate a set of causal relationships stating that an increase in the cooperative structure of the tasks on which people work with strangers, in the normative and institutional support for communicating with strangers, and in the power they perceive that they have over strangers will produce a decrease in their anxiety and an increase in their confidence in predicting strangers' behavior. In addition, an increase in the percentages of one's ingroup members present in a situation will produce a decrease in anxiety.

Another superficial cause involves connections to strangers. There are five causal relationships in this set that will produce a decrease in anxiety and an increase in the ability to accurately predict strangers' behavior. They include an increase in the attraction to strangers, in the quantity and quality of the contact with strangers and members of their groups, in the interdependence with strangers, in the intimacy of relationships with strangers, and in the networks shared with strangers.

Ethical interactions with strangers also influence anxiety and uncertainty. This set of causal relationships states that an increase in people's ability to maintain their own and strangers' dignity in their interactions, in their respect for strangers, and in their moral inclusiveness toward strangers will produce a decrease in their anxiety.

Eight Causal Relationships

Finally, in the context of cultural variability, there are eight causal relationships postulated in the AUM theory. First, an increase in cultural collectivism (i.e., focus on the group) will produce an increase in the sharpness with which the stranger/ingroup distinction is drawn. Second and third, an increase in cultural uncertainty avoidance (i.e., the extent to which one tolerates ambiguity) will produce an increase in ingroup members' xenophobia about interacting with strangers and an increase in the sharpness of the stranger/ingroup distinction drawn based on age, respectively. Fourth, an increase in cultural masculinity (i.e., the extent to which one values unequal sex roles) will produce an increase in the sharpness of the stranger/ingroup distinction drawn for opposite-sex relationships. Fifth, an increase in cultural power distance (i.e., the extent to which unequal power relationships are accepted) will produce an increase in the sharpness of the stranger/ingroup distinction drawn for relationships involving unequal statuses. Sixth, an increase in cultural individualism (i.e., focus on the individual) will produce an increase in ingroup members' use of person-based information to manage uncertainty with strangers and an increase in the focus on cognitive understanding to communicate effectively with strangers. Seventh, an increase in cultural collectivism will produce an increase in ingroup members' use of group- and situation-based information to manage uncertainty with strangers and to focus on maintaining good relations between communicators. Finally, when there are clear rules for stranger/ingroup interactions, an increase in cultural avoidance will produce a decrease in the anxiety and uncertainty experienced when communicating with strangers, and vice versa.

The Significance of the AUM Theory

The AUM theory of effective communication provides both comprehensive and specific postulations of potential causes that influence communication effectiveness. It is based on a theoretical framework that is informed by interdisciplinary research, and it links and integrates research findings from multiple disciplines. There have been studies on some aspects of the theory, yet there is a plethora of causal relationships awaiting rigorous investigation and revision. The vitality of the AUM theory demonstrates that it not only explains effective communication but also can be applied by individuals to improve the quality of their own intercultural competence.

Ge Gao

See also Ingroup/Outgroup; Mindfulness; Social Identity Theory; Theory of Acculturation; Value Dimensions: Hofstede

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Applied Linguistics

Applied linguistics is for many scholars a direct extension of theoretical linguistics, with its primary divisions of syntax, semantics, morphology, and phonology. For others, applied linguistics is a field drawing from multiple disciplines: computational linguistics, teacher education, psychology, sociology, and neuroscience. For still others, applied linguistics seeks to resolve issues of power and inequality centered around language. The scholar Alan Davies uses the term *linguistics applied* in the first case described above. For the second, he uses the term *applied linguistics*, and for the last, he uses the term *critical applied linguistics*. In all these cases, research about language, languages, and language users is being used to mediate some type of social problem. For the interculturalist, applied linguistics is a field in and of itself that links language and culture at either an individual or a social level. Sometimes theory informs practice, and sometimes practice informs theory.

This entry describes the history of applied linguistics as a field of study and application and discusses the three types of applied linguistics and the various ways linguists use their skills to address social issues.

The original domain of applied linguistics throughout much of the world was in the field of language education. In the United States, individuals interested in applied linguistics and language pedagogy met in the early 1970s to form a professional association that would give them greater latitude than they were able to obtain within the Linguistic Society of America. At first, they were a special-interest group within the organization Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages.

The American Association for Applied Linguistics was founded in 1977. In Europe, particularly in Great Britain, foundational work done by Pitt Corder resulted in one of the earliest PhD programs in applied linguistics at the University of Edinburgh in 1957. The British Association for Applied Linguistics was founded in 1967, and the Australian Association of Applied Linguistics was founded in 1976. Currently, the largest professional organization serving this field is IAAL, the International Association for Applied Linguistics, founded in France in 1964. All these organizations have regular meetings, professional publications, and ethical commitments to work to consistently draw on dimensions of language to resolve social problems.

Over time, scholars and practitioners interested in mediating social problems linked to language have explored issues as varied as machine translation, mother tongue rights, study abroad, and best practices for language acquisition and learning. Additionally, scholars and practitioners have explored various concerns within professional fields such as law and medicine. Applied linguists have been employed as expert witnesses to document and weigh in on cases ranging from those addressing language prejudice in the workplace, where those with nondominant accents are restricted from a typical career path, to cases documenting whether pilot error or international language misunderstandings have caused accidents. Medical training for young physicians now includes explorations of doctor–patient discourse to enable physicians to truly answer patient questions. The cross-cultural dimension of this is particularly important. In addition to doctor–patient discourse, applied linguistics can assist caregivers whose first language is not the same as the patients' in working more effectively with them. Applied linguists are even working in counterterrorism units to identify the accents and mother tongues of individuals.

Both individual language acquisition and processing issues fall within the domain of applied linguistics and social issues. The rights of individuals whose first language is Sign Language or whose mother tongue is dying are analyzed, and the creation of policies to protect them falls in the domain of applied linguistics. Social issues range from how to identify traumatic incidents associated with language in order to provide appropriate language and cultural adjustment services to new immigrants, to identifying bias in high-stakes tests administered internationally, such as the Internet-based TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language).

As noted above, critical applied linguists consistently search for dimensions of power and inequality reinforced by particular policies and practices. While the work of their colleagues who are applied linguists or linguists applied may also examine inequality and maintenance of language rights, the dimensions of power and inequality are constants in even the most scholarly analyses of critical applied linguists.

For the interculturalist, applied linguistics can be seen as a sister field, available to assist in the identification of language and cultural adjustment problems, whether for immigrants, inbound international students, or outbound, study-abroad students. Research-grounded solutions can then be proposed. Additionally, research methods now common to applied linguistics are relevant to the work of interculturalists.

Applied linguists frequently seek answers to who is allowed in and who is left out of conversations and written collaborations. Researchers who examine sociocultural variables in language use and acquisition draw on pragmatics and semantics. For example, rules for apologizing in one language vary greatly from rules for apologizing in another. Applied linguists identify the rules and behaviors in such settings; thus, their research frequently informs training programs for business professionals who intend to work globally. Increasing collaboration is occurring between researchers using corpus linguistics and interculturalists. *Corpus linguistics* involves computational analysis of large blocks of language called *corpora*. A *corpus* is simply a naturally occurring block of text available for electronic searches. Thus, an interculturalist seeking to play a role in conflict mediation might examine the written words used in speeches or newspaper accounts of particular events to determine instances of partiality, drawing on research techniques from applied linguistics.

Professional language educators employ best practices drawn from the work of applied linguistics. Additionally, recommendations from interculturalists reinforce appropriate pedagogy for teachers of English language and indeed for all foreign- and second-language educators, to support simultaneous language and culture learning. Applied linguistics is invaluable to interculturalists.

Kimberley Brown

See also Concordances; Culturally Responsive Pedagogy; English as a Lingua Franca; Identity; Intercultural Code Switching; Intercultural Communication and Language; Linguaculture; Pragmatics; Semantics; Sign Language; Teacher Education; World Englishes

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Ascribed and Achieved Status

In each society and/or cultural group, people are viewed as having an ascribed status or an achieved status. These terms are ways of describing an individual's placement in the social hierarchy or culture. In the purest form, *ascribed status* is a status that an individual is born with and can't control, such as race. *Achieved status* is an earned status that usually reflects an individual's effort. It is a status that is acquired, such as becoming a doctor or an elected official.

This entry provides examples of how achieved and ascribed statuses might influence each other and vary by circumstance, including the complexities related to navigating these social positions.

Achieved and Ascribed Status: Variations by Circumstance

The definitions of achieved and ascribed status can be confusing or can be considered a bit of a gray area at times. In some cases, a particular status might be considered achieved for some and ascribed for others. For example, being a member of the wealthy class is an achieved status for adults, but if a child is born into a wealthy family, that wealthy status is ascribed to the child. Such children can later, as adults, make choices and take actions that either keep them in the wealthy class/status or move them out of that class/status.

Broader systemic barriers may be an important consideration in determining the distinction between achieved and ascribed status. For example, some might think that poverty or homelessness in adulthood is the result of someone not working hard enough to earn enough money to live in housing. However, the larger systemic situation of lack of affordable housing, lack of employment opportunities, possible mental illness (an ascribed status that is particularly challenging in the context of inequitable access to care), and other systemic barriers may force people into the poverty zone despite their very best efforts.

Achieved and Ascribed Status: Complexities to Consider

At times, certain ascribed statuses are automatically associated with other statuses that are considered lower in the societal hierarchy. For example, individuals of certain racial and ethnic minority groups (an ascribed status) may automatically be assumed to be part of a less educated or uneducated class. This is not because these individuals lack the skills or ability to succeed in education. As data have shown, this is due to the larger context of systemic and political oppression that exists and thus presents barriers to many of these individuals with regard to accessing higher education as well as equitable early-education experiences. Unfortunately, the result is that another (lower) status (one that is technically considered achieved—or unachieved in this instance) is unfairly ascribed to an individual because of his or her ascribed status.

Another example of the complexity experienced with these concepts pertains to the *imposter syndrome*. For example, some individuals may experience this when they have achieved a status that is often viewed as atypical or out of reach for their ascribed status group. In the environment of the achieved status, they may feel out of place—either that a mistake was made about their actually belonging there or that they really do not belong in the achieved status environment, thus feeling that they are there as imposters. The example above demonstrates this concept. Individuals from a racial minority group may earn a doctoral degree in a chosen field of study. Those individuals have achieved a status as highly educated persons—a status that is associated with the top rungs of societal hierarchy. As a result of being in this achieved status environment, other societally dominant statuses may be ascribed and possibly achieved as well, such as wealth. The individuals may not be used to the environment in which they have now achieved one or multiple "higher level" statuses. They may be "going through the motions" without feeling familiar and comfortable with, or connected to, the achieved status environment(s). They may question their belonging in the environment despite the efforts they have made to arrive there. This experience characterizes the imposter syndrome.

Conclusion

The terms *achieved status* and *ascribed status* are ultimately about social position and may tell a story about how an individual moves in society or culture, since societies and cultures allow people to have an achieved status. These statuses can have a strong influence on each other as well since an ascribed or achieved status is often associated with other ascribed and achieved statuses, whether or not that associated status is true for the individual or group. An important point to underscore, as noted above, is that we must always consider and reflect on the societal and systemic circumstances. Finally, it is important to consider the psychological impact on individuals when expectations (either low or high) are placed on them based on ascribed status, achieved status, and associated ascribed and achieved statuses (whether accurate or not). This entry has provided the basic definition, but the broader impact is complex and should be carefully examined when working with individuals and groups in a clinical context.

Eleanor Gil-Kashiwabara

See also Class; Culture Specific/Culture General; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Sociology; Social Identity Theory; Underrepresented Groups

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Assessment Centers

An assessment center (AC) is a place where participants are observed by trained assessors while participating in a variety of exercises. The AC method is used by human resource management for the selection of applicants, of graduates for entry positions; the promotion of employees into managerial positions; or the identification of individual development plans for the personal strengths and development needs of managers. Besides the classical group assessment, different forms of ACs are in use, such as individual assessment, assessment of management potential, intercultural ACs, or development ACs. ACs are a diagnostic method used internationally.

This entry describes the basic elements of the AC and outlines the method and describes each of the typical activities conducted to assess applicants' knowledge, skills, and attitudes through real-life activities that are immediately relevant to the job. Finally, the entry will describe the use of ACs in evaluating intercultural competence as well as provide a sample case study.

ACs share several common features, including the simulation of job situations to make specific on-the-job behavior observable for assessors. Usually, several individuals are assessed simultaneously. ACs use different kinds of exercises and simulations, including group exercises that require interaction, to provide a realistic simulation of the demands of a specific workplace. Thus, ACs consist of multiple diagnostic tools for the systematic assessment of the behavioral strengths and development needs of individuals. Several assessors simultaneously observe and evaluate the performance of one or more participants (also called *assessees*) based on predefined, job-related criteria. The entire AC process is administrated by one or more additional individuals.

This simulation approach is based on different assumptions:

- Participants' behavior in an AC is stable enough to allow for prediction of future behavior. The behavior exhibited in AC exercises and simulations is similar to future on-the-job behavior.
- The simulation of behavior in an AC matches relevant situations on the job.
- Assessors are able to reliably identify and rate assessees' behavior on relevant dimensions.

The purpose of the AC (e.g., assessment of leadership potential) should guide the selection of the *dimensions* to be assessed. Only dimensions relevant to the target job should be assessed. The measurement of dimensions tends to be superior if their number is small and they represent global constructs that are empirically tested and derived from established personality traits. Personnel selection and personnel development require different sets of dimensions.

The core of an AC is the observation and rating of behavior in *situational exercises*. These situational exercises are standardized methods simulating critical job situations. Assessors observe participants' behavioral responses in these situations and rate them according to several dimensions. Different types of situational exercises have been developed, including exercises for individuals (in-basket, oral presentation, written case analysis), two participants (interview simulation), and groups (assigned-leader group task, leaderless group discussion). Depending on the type of exercise, oral or written responses are required. In a combination of the two types, written responses can also be used as starting point for an oral discussion.

Different AC exercises are used for the simulation approach. Group exercises are core elements of ACs, and there are two types: (1) *assigned-leader group* tasks and (2) *group discussions*. In an assigned-leader group task, the administrator assigns one participant to act as the leader of the group and gives the group a task to accomplish. For example, in an AC designed to assess the competencies required by fire fighters, the assigned leader may be put in charge of a group faced with an emergency situation. This task provides a means to assess several leadership skills.

In a leaderless group discussion, a group of four to eight participants is given a problem to resolve in a fixed period of time, usually 30–60 minutes. Participants are asked to discuss the problem, for example, which of the group members should receive the new company car, and prepare recommendations that have the support of all the participants. Group discussions can be designed so there are no assigned roles. In this case, developing the best solution for the organization is based on the extent of the participants' cooperation. Conversely, a competitive situation can be created in which each participant is assigned a specific role with a clear objective, such as to receive the new company car. A leaderless group discussion is especially effective for assessing group leadership competencies as well as for problem and decision analysis. One limitation is the lack of standardization of the group process, since aspects like the atmosphere surrounding the discussion depend on the characteristics of the individuals in this group exercise.

The in-basket exercise is another classic AC element. It simulates the paperwork that arrives in the mailbox of a manager, such as after the manager's return from a business trip. This exercise may include announcements, letters, memos, reports, requests, and irrelevant information that presents accounting, financial, personnel, and procedural problems. Additionally, the participant receives background information, a calendar, general instructions, and paper and pencil, but usually has no access to other means of communication. The participant must write out instructions, draft letters, and so on, all within a relatively short time period. This forces the participant to set priorities and make decisions based on the information available. The scoring of the written responses can be done separately to measure different dimensions of administrative skills. Often, this exercise includes a follow-up interview in which the assessee explains the reasons for the actions taken. Advantages of the in-basket exercise are its high face validity and the potential to assess a wide variety of dimensions. However, completing the exercise and scoring participants' behavior may be time-consuming.

The interview simulation, or role-play exercise, asks the participant to take on the role of a supervisor, colleague, or customer service representative.

Partners in the role-playing dialogue can be another participant or a role-player trained to act in a standardized way. In this exercise, problems have to be solved within a given time. The assessee, while interacting with the role-player, is being observed by an assessor. This exercise provides a controlled situation for measuring oral communication skills, empathy, and problem-solving abilities. One of the advantages of this exercise is that it requires a relatively short amount of time, thus allowing for several interview simulations in one AC. A disadvantage is the need for a trained role-player.

In an oral presentation exercise, participants are asked to make a short extemporaneous speech about a simple topic or a more formal presentation on the deconstruction of a written case study. The assessors ask questions to challenge the assessee. If it is relevant to the job, the participant may even be put under stress by the assessor, who questions the speaker's conclusions. Oral presentation exercises can also include several participants giving presentations, followed by a discussion and then choosing the best solution. This exercise is well suited to assess formal and semiformal presentation skills.

In a written case analysis, the assessee receives material about an organizational problem. After reading the case, the participant is asked to prepare a set of recommendations for senior management. The problem may be general or may require a specific financial, process, or system analysis, which may result in a written report or an oral presentation. An advantage in this exercise is its flexible and tailor-made nature to assess general attributes such as organizational abilities or specific skills like calculating revenue or cost. However, developing objective scoring guidelines may pose a challenge for the assessors.

Computer-based exercises are a relatively recent development. Several of these exercises use the computer only as a technology to present established tools, such as in-baskets, or conventional tests. Besides these adaptations, there are interactive, computer-simulated scenarios on business processes, which can be used by one or more participants. For example, participants may be asked to act as the CEO of a company in order to assess how they would solve complex problems.

Assessor training is crucial for the success of any AC. First, it develops a common frame of reference to ensure consistent observations and evaluations of behaviors within the assessor group. Second, it tries to create an accurate and shared perception of the characteristics required for successful performance in the target jobs in order to prevent observational error. Assessor trainings are offered several days prior to beginning the assessment. AC assessors are usually line managers two levels above the target position, and they may be supported by trained psychologists. In many cases, the assessor–assessee ratio is 1:2. Additional ratings from fellow assessees (peers) provide a valuable perspective, resulting in higher prognostic validity of the AC.

After all the exercises are completed, the preliminary overall dimension ratings, including rating discrepancies, are discussed by the assessors. This *integration procedure* arrives at a group consensus on the final overall dimension ratings. The process involves more than just averaging the preliminary ratings. Minority ratings can prevail based on a careful review of the behavioral evidence. If the purpose of the program is to recommend someone for hiring or promotion, an overall rating is appropriate. In this case, each assessor independently combines the information from the final dimension ratings. These preliminary overall assessment ratings are again discussed until the final overall assessment rating is agreed on by all the assessors.

It is crucial in all types of assessment programs that every participant is given detailed feedback. Verbal feedback is often given directly following the integration procedure. In detailed diagnostic and training programs for employees, verbal feedback is complemented by a written feedback report. This feedback report integrates the assessment results, in conjunction with other sources of information about the candidate, and includes the recommendation of specific developmental activities. Feedback on results is well received since it is based on the specific behavioral observation rather than on the general impressions of multiple assessors. Relevant assessment dimensions embedded in a comprehensive human resource management program strengthen the acceptance of the instrument.

It is recommended that organizations carefully construct and operate ACs to obtain valid results. The essential features of an AC include the characteristics of assessors and assessees, the dimensions to be assessed, situational exercises, assessor training, integration of observations, and feedback.

The influence of the characteristics of assessors on AC ratings has been examined, including assessor age, gender, skin color, education level, position, assessment experience, and experience with the target position. Ample research shows that none of these variables systematically influence AC results, except for a marginal influence of assessor age. Female and male individuals do not assess differently. Assessment ratings from teams that include psychologists have higher validity based on the psychologists' ability to better differentiate between rating dimensions, as supervisors seem to pay attention to different behaviors than psychologists. Therefore, assessor teams should consist of a mix of managers and psychologists since a higher prognostic validity can be realized with a mixed assessor team.

Similarly, the influence of the characteristics of assessees on AC ratings has been examined, including assessee age, gender, skin color, and anxiety level. Usually, female assessees receive a slightly higher rating than their male colleagues. Also, higher physical attractiveness seems to correspond to higher ratings. Mixed results are reported for skin color effects on ratings. However, based on different studies, effects of skin color on ratings are not unlikely. Therefore, assessor trainings need to attend to this challenge. This aspect is relevant for national as well as intercultural ACs. Different levels of individuals' anxiety do not show inhibitory effects in AC ratings.

The AC method has seen many innovations in the past decades. These include assessment as a part of both development and selection processes for entry-level positions in high-tech manufacturing, wider ranges of attributes of success in highly competitive jobs, and exercises administered by computers. While AC results are fairly accurate when predicting future behavior, behavioral assessment techniques are a relatively costly way to evaluate skills that are necessary for success. The introduction of shorter ACs due to the subjective need of managers has been realized to reduce assessment time. However, compared with other management development instruments, ACs can serve many different purposes at the same time. In addition to providing information about the skill levels of candidates, exercises such as interview simulations, group discussions, and negotiating simulations enable managers to test and modify their behavior in a wide range of business situations and help them develop a more global orientation. International or intercultural ACs can also serve as global mind-set training centers, not only for participants but also for executives who function as observers in the AC. Moreover, such ACs can be used as a means to develop a globally oriented corporate culture. As more and more candidates from foreign subsidiaries participate in the corporate AC, a preselected pool of global managers is established, and as a by-product, informal networks and a truly internationally oriented corporate culture may be created. Thus, ACs have a number of benefits that may be worth the expenditure.

Intercultural Assessment Centers

In recent years, specific ACs have been designed to evaluate and develop the skills that are crucial to the success of managers in international business assignments. One instrument, the Intercultural Assessment Center (IAC), employs a number of cross-cultural role-plays, case studies, group discussions, and international negotiating simulations to evaluate intercultural competencies, such as behavioral flexibility, cultural empathy, a nonjudgmental attitude, and metacommunication skills. Such ACs can effectively assist human resource professionals in providing proper evaluation, career planning, and training for international managers. The following are the behavioral assessment characteristics used to evaluate intercultural competencies that are critical to success in international work assignments:

- *Tolerance for ambiguity:* The ability to resist stressful situations and to function effectively in a new environment where the expatriate experiences ambiguity, complexity, and uncertainty
- *Behavioral flexibility:* The capacity to vary one's behavior according to the immediate requirements of the situation and to the demands of the foreign culture
- *Goal orientation:* The ability and desire to achieve one's task goals despite barriers, opposition, or discouragement

- *Sociability and interest in other people:* A willingness to establish and maintain meaningful relationships with other people, combined with a genuine interest in other people
- *Cultural empathy:* The capacity to accurately sense other peoples' thoughts, feelings, and motives and to respond to them appropriately
- *Nonjudgmental behavior:* A predisposition to (self-)critically reflect on one's own values, beliefs, and behaviors and to avoid judging other people against one's own norms
- *Metacommunication skills:* The capacity to sensibly *guide* the intercultural communication process in order to clarify culturally different perceptions and avoid misunderstandings

Examples of the behavioral indicators of these constructs are given in Table 1. It is important to note that this profile of intercultural competence is not comprehensive.

A number of cross-cultural role-plays, case studies, group discussions, and international negotiating simulations were developed that focused on critical business encounters in many possible countries of assignment. A sample role-play in which a German expatriate manager interacts with a Japanese doorman is given in the boxed text.

The various tests and simulations were combined to form the IAC. The short version that requires 1 day is illustrated in Figure 1. It also shows the matrix of all criteria and exercises on which the assessment is based. Crosses in the exercise lines indicate observable dimensions (determinants of intercultural effectiveness). This IAC has repeatedly been used by human resource professionals of German multinational corporations to evaluate the capacity of young managers for an international assignment. After a self-presentation that dealt with their motivation to go abroad, their prior international experiences, and factors that

Table 1 Empirically Derived Predictors of an Interculturally Competent Manager

Attitudes and Skills	*Behavioral Indicators*
Tolerance for ambiguity	Feels comfortable in ambiguous or highly complex situations, doesn't push for a particular solution, reacts patiently toward foreign business partners, stays calm in difficult situations, etc.
Behavioral flexibility	Rapidly changes behavior if given appropriate feedback, finds creative problem solutions, compromises, shows readiness to revise former decisions, makes statements that match gesticulations, etc.
Goal orientation	Actively takes part in meetings, doesn't withdraw if faced with difficulties, tries to overcome language barriers, pays attention to time restrictions, struggles to overcome obstacles, etc.
Sociability	Initiates contact with the foreign partner, makes new appointments, asks about the partner's personal background, is talkative, smiles at the partner, exchanges "conversational currency," etc.
Cultural empathy	Considers the local partner's situation, shows appropriate discretion, argues from the position of the host country national, picks up on the partner's contribution sympathetically, etc.
Nonjudgmentalness	Expresses approval of the host culture, avoids stereotypes, avoids making jokes about host country nationals, discusses the uniqueness of the host country in a factual manner, etc.
Metacommunication skills	Tries to dissolve ambiguities and misunderstandings, provides appropriate feedback, asks if he or she has been understood, negotiates rules-of-play for the conversation, summarizes contributions, etc.

Role-Play "An Evening in Japan"

Instructions for the Candidate

You have held a position in the Japanese branch of your company for a few months. A member of the board of managing directors from Germany is currently visiting Japan. It is your responsibility to look after him. You decide to take your guest out for dinner. After you have had a meal in a Japanese restaurant, you notice a sign outside a jazz club announcing a live performance. It becomes clear that your guest loves jazz, so you decide to go to the show. You approach the doorman of the jazz club and ask to be admitted.

Instructions for the Role-Player

You are a doorman in a jazz club in the center of Tokyo. There will be a performance by a Japanese jazz group today, and you know that your Japanese customers want to be left to themselves. The club's owner doesn't like to see foreigners here, and apart from that they are hardly ever interested in the jazz club anyway. But it so happens that two foreigners come up to you and ask to be admitted. Please base your position in the conversation on the following suggestions:

You look concerned and suck air through your teeth.
You suck air through your teeth and say, "It is difficult. . . . "
You may repeat the phrase "It is difficult."
You don't have to react; a long silence is possible (*Hint:* Avoid making direct eye contact).
You apologize: "Sorry, but it is really difficult."
Finally, you struggle for the English words and say, "Sorry, no foreigners, only for Japanese."

might facilitate or hinder a foreign assignment, candidates in the IAC were exposed to various individual and group exercises. Throughout the AC, the candidates' performance was monitored by trained assessors. Once the AC ended, the candidates received detailed feedback regarding their particular strengths and weaknesses for an overseas assignment as well as suggestions for further training.

Preliminary evidence indicated that the tests and simulations employed in the IAC can help determine which candidates are best suited for an international assignment. One source of evidence comes from peer ratings that were collected at the end of the AC. Each candidate was asked to rank all the other participants according to their supposed adjustment and performance in an international work assignment. Judgments about the candidates' aptitude for an international assignment, as demonstrated in the IAC, were corroborated by appraisals of their intercultural skills made by colleagues.

A large, Germany-based multinational had implemented the IAC as part of a global leadership development program named QUICK, which included several short-term projects, assignments abroad, 360-degree reviews, team leadership training, and a number of other leadership development activities over an 18-month period. A longitudinal study of candidates' learning progress over the course of this 18-month leadership development program provides additional support for the validity of the IAC approach. In the first two groups, all participants went through the IAC twice (there are two versions measuring the same set of competencies), immediately before and after this leadership development program, to evaluate their learning progress over this period of time. An evaluation study found that the participants scored considerably higher on most of the dimensions after they had participated in the leadership development program than they did before participation.

Collectively, these findings suggest that the results of ACs designed to assess intercultural competencies, such as the IAC, can be used to predict a manager's level of adjustment and effectiveness in an international assignment. An increasingly large number of multinational organizations are using ACs as an effective means to assess and develop global leadership competencies.

Jürgen Deller and Günter K. Stahl

Figure 1 Criteria and Exercises Matrix of the Intercultural Assessment Center

Intercultural Competences / Exercises	Tolerance for Ambiguity	Goal Orientation	Sociability	Cultural Empathy	Nonjudgmentalness	Behavioral Flexibility	Metacommunication
Individual Exercises							
Presentation	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Impression Management Exercise	X					X	
Cross-Cultural Role-Plays	X			X	X	X	X
Analysis of Video Clips				X	X		
Isomorphic Attribution Exercise				X	X		
Intercultural Competence Questionnaire (ICQ)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Group Exercises							
Group Discussion International Assignment	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
International Negotiating Stimulation	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Source: Adapted from Stahl (2001, p. 206).

See also Assessments of Intercultural Competence; Definitions: Knowledge, Skills, Attitudes; Measuring Values

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Assessments of Intercultural Competence

Though assessment dates back to ancient times, assessment of intercultural competence is a more recent phenomenon and is a focus of attention in the 21st century, spurred by global migration, an increasingly multicultural workplace, and escalating calls for global citizenship by educators.

For example, postsecondary educational institutions frequently cite intercultural competence as a desired learning outcome. Assessment tools continue to proliferate, with more than 100 tools in existence that purport to measure varying aspects of intercultural competence, thus leading to challenges ranging from knowing what tools to select based on what they measure to determining how the tools fit with the intended goals. This entry focuses on intercultural competence assessment and explores some of the issues related to assessing this concept.

Intercultural assessment tools are used for a variety of purposes. In education, such tools are used to assess intercultural learning, especially from an experience such as education abroad, an internship, or some other learning intervention such as a course or workshop. Another use for intercultural assessment is in coaching, where tools are used primarily for personal intercultural development. The workplace uses intercultural competence assessment in many contexts, including selecting employees for international assignments, multicultural team development, and global leadership development. Understanding the purpose(s) of assessment and how it will be used is key in selecting the appropriate assessment measures. In addition, it is imperative to understand the original purpose(s) for which the assessment tool was designed and to ensure that the purposes fit well so that results are valid.

In addition to the intercultural assessment tools completed by individuals, there are other methods used to assess intercultural competence, including observation (of performance and behavior), interviews, focus groups, and portfolios.

Assessment Basics

Given the multitude of existing assessment tools to measure intercultural competence, it is important to understand the basic principles of assessing intercultural competence, since assessment involves more than merely the use of a tool. The starting point for assessment is in understanding why assessment is needed and what specifically is to be measured, usually as stated through a goal (end result) and objectives (checkpoints for reaching the end result). Once the *why* and *what* have been determined, the *how* can be answered.

Assessment data can be categorized into *formative* and *summative* data, *quantitative* and *qualitative* data, and *direct* and *indirect* evidence. *Formative* assessment involves ongoing data collection, while *summative* assessment occurs at the end of an experience or intervention and usually consists of a test or inventory. *Quantitative data* include any data that can be assigned a numerical value or percentage, such as test scores, while *qualitative data*, such as those collected through interviews or focus groups, utilize words that often provide deeper insights, which can later be coded and categorized into more quantifiable data. *Direct* evidence is an indication of actual learning or performance. Direct methods include coursework and supervisor observation and evaluation. *Indirect* evidence is a *perception* of learning that occurred or data providing a basis for inference. Examples of indirect evidence methods include interviews, focus groups, inventories, and surveys. Intercultural competence assessments would ideally utilize evidence from all of these categories when possible. For example, an education-abroad program may implement a preliminary assessment (indirect, quantitative), several direct/formative/qualitative methods while the student is abroad (embedded course assessment, student reflections, instructor observations of the student's behavior and communication), and a postassessment (summative, indirect).

Intercultural Competence Assessments

Most of the existing intercultural competence tools, which usually fall into the indirect-evidence category, consist of some sort of questionnaire or inventory. These can generally be categorized into two broad categories: (1) external: cultural difference and (2) internal: personality traits/predispositions/adaptability. Most of these rely on the respondent's perspective as the basis of the data collected. Some instruments are based on an underlying theory, while others are not. Thus, it is important to understand how the instrument was developed and how intercultural competence is being defined. As with any assessment instrument, it is crucial to understand exactly what the tool measures (which may or may not be what it says it measures), as well as the validity and reliability of the instrument. In general, *validity* is whether the assessment actually measures what it purports to measure, and *reliability* is its consistency over time and across situations and respondents. Any tool has its limitations, and these include cultural bias, language restrictions, and administrative and logistical issues, including cost and time. Given the complexities of intercultural competence, there is no perfect tool. Furthermore, one tool cannot measure the whole of intercultural competence. For references to lists of intercultural competence assessments, see the Further Readings at the end of this entry. The Institute of Intercultural Communication is also an excellent resource for information on intercultural competence assessments.

Assessment Issues

There are numerous issues unique to intercultural competence assessment:

Lifelong process: One issue is the time factor. Given that intercultural competence is a lifelong process, how do assessments address *longitudinal* factors and move beyond a *one-point-in-time* assessment? Furthermore, most assessments of intercultural competence focus on *results* instead of *process* (e.g., *how* one approaches others, reflects critically, and thinks interculturally), relying on indirect evidence only (often a survey instrument), which provides an incomplete picture of an individual's intercultural competence development.

Beyond traditional assessments: Most indirect assessments (and even some direct assessments, e.g., self-reflection) are more traditional in nature, meaning that they take place in contrived settings (classrooms) with instructions (assignments), which is problematic in that interculturally competent behavior is difficult to assess through traditional measures and requires authentic assessment in real-world situations.

Developmental: Intercultural competence is a developmental *process*; so to what extent do assessments address the process itself? Within the context of a developmental process, individuals will vary in their degree of competence, which leads to the issue of how to address varying levels of competence.

Defining intercultural competence: Given the many definitions that exist, it is important to ask, "Intercultural competence according to whom?"

Appropriateness: Given that intercultural competence is about *effective* and *appropriate* communication and behavior, how will appropriateness be assessed, especially when it is only the other person who is the best judge of appropriateness? What is often missing in intercultural competence assessment is the other half of the picture, the *appropriateness* of communication and behavior, which according to research studies can only be measured through *others'* perspectives, going beyond inventories and surveys.

Assessing behavior: Given that most definitions of intercultural competence include communication and behavior as ultimate outcomes, how do assessments measure actual behavior and communication in intercultural contexts? This points to authentic means of assessment, such as observation of performance in real-world interactions.

There are two other issues that are not unique to intercultural assessment. The first is using benchmark data and/or control groups. This means that the data would be collected or compared with those of two different groups, in particular to gauge the effectiveness of a learning intervention/experience. The second issue is utilizing the results. How are the assessment results being used? This can include providing feedback to individuals; using the data for organizational, program, or course improvement; and communicating the data to stakeholders.

Assessing intercultural competence is challenging if done properly, and it can be daunting given the plethora of existing assessments. Based on research and the literature, some guidelines for intercultural competence assessment emerge that can help guide assessment efforts:

Define intercultural competence: Before engaging in assessment, it is important to first define *what* is being assessed, in this case, intercultural competence, recognizing that there has been more than five decades of scholarly work invested in defining this concept. It is essential to arrive at a clear definition of intercultural competence before proceeding with any further assessment efforts.

Articulate outcomes statements: Once a definition has been determined, ideally based on the existing literature, it is important to develop a process that generates very specific measurable outcomes and indicators within the context to be assessed.

Align methods with outcome statements: Well-developed, specific outcomes statements will guide assessors to the methods/tools that will yield evidence that the outcomes have been achieved. It is crucial that tools/methods be aligned with the desired outcomes; otherwise, the validity of the results could be called into question if misalignment occurs.

Use a multimethod, multiperspective approach: Research has shown that a multimethod (indirect and direct) and multiperspective (self and other) approach is necessary to gain a more complete picture of an individual's intercultural competence given the complexities of the concept. Using only one tool or method provides a very limited view of what is happening regarding intercultural competence development.

Develop an assessment plan: Given the amount of time and effort invested in assessment, it is incredibly important to develop an assessment strategy from the outset that defines intercultural competence, articulates outcomes statements, aligns assessment methods/measures with the outcomes, and determines in advance how the data collected through assessments will be used, depending on the purpose(s) of the assessments.

Evaluate the assessment process: One area that is easy to overlook is evaluating how well the assessments worked and how effective they were in obtaining the evidence needed to ascertain whether the outcomes were achieved. In evaluating the assessment process, it is important to review both content and process, which includes analyzing the data collected and any existing gaps, carefully checking for alignment of tools/methods with the desired outcomes, reviewing the use and communication of assessment data, and assessing the administration and logistical process for ways to streamline and improve it.

Given the growing importance of intercultural competence assessment in the 21st century, using such guidelines can help navigate the often murky and mysterious terrain of assessment.

Darla K. Deardorff

See also Culture, Definition of; Diversity Audit; Intercultural Competence Development; Intercultural Competence in Organizations; Qualitative Research Methods; Quantitative Research Methods

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ASSIMILATION

The verb *to assimilate* refers to (a) the process of *causing* a person or group to become a part of a different society or country or (b) the process by which a person or group *voluntarily* adopts the ways of another culture in order to fully become a part of that society. These two definitions have many words in common but clearly illustrate a very important contrast and an intrinsic internal conflict in the term—assimilation by choice versus assimilation by coercion or even by force. *Assimilation* carries the implication of leaving the culture of origin behind and focusing individual identity on the new culture. This contrasts with *acculturation*, which carries the implication of adding new cultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes to the existing heritage culture.

John W. Berry talks about assimilation as one of many *acculturation strategies* that can be chosen by a group or an individual. This choice combines a desire to actively interact with another (usually dominant) culture at the expense of not maintaining the original cultural identity. When the process of assimilation is imposed by a dominant culture, Berry identifies that process as a *melting pot*.

This entry examines the complexity of the assimilation process, considering it as both a group and an individual phenomenon, exploring its dynamic nature, and tracing its development over time.

Examples of Assimilation

The term *assimilation* is most often used to describe the adaptation of immigrants or refugees to their new countries of residence. However, assimilation can be observed in various other situations. For example, the policies on the assimilation of Native Peoples adopted by the U.S. and Canadian governments in the 19th century led to the forced assimilation of indigenous children by removing them from their families and placing them in boarding schools.

Sojourners or nonimmigrants may travel to other destinations purely by choice and may engage in an assimilation process sometimes referred to as *going local* or *going native*, identifying with the local culture while disassociating from their culture of origin. This is a phenomenon that has been observed among corporate expatriates, international volunteers, researchers, and others who identify with a host culture.

Immigrants and refugees demonstrate a wide range of assimilation experiences and preferences, which can be understood only with an appreciation for the multiplicity of human realities within this broad category. For example, there are legal immigrants and illegal immigrants. The fact that somebody chooses to risk the hardships of illegal immigration may mean that this person could be a prime candidate for embracing the new culture and letting go of the heritage culture. However, the absence of a legal status makes it much harder and often impossible to completely assimilate into a new environment.

Group Versus Individual Assimilation

Legal immigrants and especially refugees (who are also legal immigrants with some additional government support granted due to their status) often find themselves in a new country as a part of an ethnic community settled within the larger community of the dominant culture. Such an ethnic community can feel welcomed, unwelcomed, or, interestingly enough, even *too welcomed*.

When newcomers feel welcomed and experience positive interactions with a local community, it is less likely that many will choose to assimilate to the dominant culture. Assimilation after all requires letting go of one's own culture, which is not threatened when a person feels accepted. In this case, increasing absorption of new cultural ways will be experienced over time. For example, children of immigrants might marry outside their own cultural group, or grandchildren of refugees would not be able to speak their grandparents' language. At the same time, certain values and traditions of the heritage culture will be carried on.

When a group of newcomers experiences a new cultural environment as hostile, the psychological need for survival will likely produce two opposing outcomes. Some of the group's members (usually children) will attempt to assimilate as soon as possible, while others (especially older people and those having difficulties with the local language) will seek protection in the culturally fortified walls of their own community. It is notable that in this case children who are desperately trying to assimilate (fully fit in) into local schools or neighborhoods may find a rather confusing environment at home, where parents demand that they adhere to the norms of the heritage culture.

An example of a situation where a dominant cultural environment can be experienced as *too welcoming* by a group of immigrants or refugees is found in the experiences of those who flee religious persecution. In this case, the leaders or elders within the refugee group see the move as an attempt to preserve the group's uniqueness. However, the mere absence of hostility toward the refugees can move its members to engage with the new culture more intensely. If some of the refugees strongly resist assimilation, it can have an opposite effect on the others. The younger members may take this as a sign to break away from their own cultural group and assimilate with the host culture.

As evident from the above discussion, families often find themselves in serious adaptation distress and conflict when different generations move in opposite directions with equal intensity. However, even a move in the same direction is not without its challenges. It is not uncommon for parents to actually push their children toward speedy assimilation. Some go as far as refusing to speak their own language at home.

This kind of pressure toward assimilation is not always sustainable. Researchers have observed that fully assimilated young people, for example, might seek to reclaim their ethnic identity as part of their transition into a new environment (e.g., entering college). Another example of dis-assimilation can be the choice of a third generation to reclaim a level of involvement with their religious faith that was given up by their second-generation parents or even first-generation grandparents.

What Do People Assimilate To?

This question would be of less relevance if individuals were always dealing with a monocultural nondominant group acculturating to a monocultural dominant group. This cultural purity hardly exists in the increasingly global world filled with increasingly diverse cultures.

A very interesting example can be found in the experience of refugees from a number of countries of Africa being accepted into the United States. By definition, as soon as they arrive, they become *African Americans* from the U.S. perspective. However, these new Americans from Africa do not in any way relate to what it means to be an African American. When these refugees are being resettled in areas with a significant presence of African Americans, conflicts between the two communities are often observed.

In a sense, the historic experience of African Americans by itself can be examined as an experience of forced assimilation, where every attempt was made to separate African slaves from their cultural roots, eradicating memories of the countries and families of origin. From the perspective of this discussion, the term *African American* can be considered a term of dis-assimilation, claiming some level of connection with at least the continent of origin. At the same time, putting refugees from Ethiopia, Somali, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, Burundi, or Eretria under the umbrella of *African Americans* serves to facilitate the assimilation of these culturally different communities into the societal fabric of the United States. The same dynamic can be observed when immigrants from the different cultures of Central and South America are grouped as Hispanic or Latino Americans or when people who come from various countries of Asia become Asian Americans.

Unassimilables

This discussion of assimilation cannot be complete without acknowledging the phenomenon of *unassimilables*. In the United States, the second half of the 19th century and most of the first half of the 20th century were times of intense and deliberate assimilation of European immigrants. The metaphor of the melting pot was usefully cited in the effort to transform people from different European countries into Americans and provide them with a path to citizenship.

At the same time, people of color were perceived as *unassimilable*. That perception was supported by various laws prohibiting naturalization or interracial marriages, segregating schools, and *redlining* housing. The fact that these laws are no longer on the books does not mean that U.S. society is beyond experiencing their repercussions.

The phenomenon of being unassimilable within a dominant culture is experienced differently across generational lines. While the first generation might concentrate on the fact that they succeeded in reaching a place where they hope for a better life, the second generation might become restless due to the lack of opportunities, and the third generation may feel marginalized (disconnected from their cultural roots and not accepted by the new culture). Marginalized communities often become a fertile ground for gangs and various antisocial activities.

Illegal immigrants, now called *undocumented aliens*, whose experience has been noted earlier, are in a sense mostly unassimilable as well. In the case of children of illegal immigrants, their successful assimilation through the school system can at times turn into a tragedy when young people with little or no connection to their cultures of origin get blocked from pursuing their dreams due to the lack of a proper immigration status or, even worse, get deported to a country they do not relate to.

Tatyana Fertelmeyster

See also Acculturation; Stress, Coping, and Adjustment; Theory of Acculturation

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Assumptions and Beliefs

Both *assumption* and *belief* refer to an idea or proposition that an individual accepts, either tentatively or with confidence, as an accurate representation of reality. Although *belief* and *assumption* tend to be used interchangeably, they are different in meaning, and the differences are significant. Of these two terms, *assumption* is the more important one for interculturalists. This entry will distinguish between assumptions and beliefs and relate the concepts to intercultural competence.

The Meanings of *Belief*

The meaning of *belief* has been debated by generations of philosophers and psychologists, and more recently by neuroscientists. Much of this debate need not concern the interculturalist, but some of their insights and distinctions are useful.

Belief has been distinguished from *knowledge* for millennia. Plato, in his dialogue *Theaetetus*, suggested that knowledge is "justified true belief." The key is "justified"; the belief's idea or proposition cannot be accepted as accurate unless it is supported by evidence. If the belief concerns the physical universe, the evidence is credible only if it is grounded in observations using humans' five senses, as interpreted by objective (disinterested) observers.

From this scientific, empiricist perspective, the depth of sincerity (subjective certainty) with which a person holds a belief is never taken into account in determining whether that belief can be accepted as accurate knowledge. This is significant because in some cultures where objective science is less respected, the depth of one's sincerity *is* taken into account.

If the belief is about something that lacks physical existence—if it concerns a concept, a framework for understanding, or the existence of intangible beings—then the nature of credible evidence is less well established. In some cases, the belief is stipulated as accurate (as "Truth") by leaders cloaked in religious or political authority. In other cases, the belief is posited by people who have devoted study to the matter, often supported by research findings that have been interpreted using inductive reasoning, which is a path to ascertaining *probable* accuracy. (Most entries in this encyclopedia—including this one—are of this nature.)

Values and beliefs are often inextricably intertwined because people's values usually stem from their beliefs. For example, if one believes that pigs and pig products are unclean, then one will value the avoidance of pigs and pork (and will behave accordingly). How any individual forms beliefs thus becomes a topic of interest. It is widely recognized that beliefs are learned and internalized through contact in one's environment with significant people—family and clan members, charismatic leaders, mentors—and significant events.

The Difference Between *Belief* and *Assumption*

Assumptions also are learned and internalized through contact within one's environment, especially during childhood, but assumptions are different from beliefs. A critical difference concerns *how* the ideas or propositions in question are learned, accepted, and internalized.

In the case of a *belief*, the implication is that the learning occurs in consciousness and that later in life the believed propositions can become available for conscious thought, discussion with others, and perhaps even modification. Examples are religious beliefs and norms of comportment. These propositions are *explicitly*, usually repeatedly, taught to children; consciously internalized by them (to become, in many cases, the foundations of *values*); and then demonstrated by them as observant behavior (e.g., eating at a table in a prescribed manner). For our purposes, what is most important is that these propositions can easily be brought to a person's attention by, say, an interculturalist who is helping the person adapt to a new culture, as in the following instruction: "In Muslim countries, beliefs about women are different from your Western ones; consequently, to demonstrate respect, you'll need to wear long sleeves and low hemlines."

In the case of an *assumption*, the implications are less straightforward. First of all, note that one common use of assumption has nothing to do with childhood learning. This occurs when someone deliberately imagines a scenario to facilitate planning for the future: "I'm assuming that 30 people will attend, so I'm budgeting . . ." A similar use occurs when a hypothetical is stated to advance a speculative discussion: "If we assume that left-wingers are 20% of the population, then we'd expect that . . ." In these uses, *assume* carries a meaning similar to *conjecture*, *suppose*, *estimate*, *postulate*, *take for granted*, or *make an educated guess*.

The Meanings of *Assumption* for Interculturalists

Much more useful for interculturalists is another meaning of *assumption*, one that does relate to childhood learning. In this case, the propositions or ideas are learned *implicitly*—that is, by observing and participating, not by receiving instruction—and internalized below conscious awareness. There they remain, unscripted, unrecognized, uncritically accepted as "the way things are," yet pervasively influential as guides for one's perception, thought, and behavior. That these propositions are unrecognized does not make them less influential but, rather, more so; one cannot ignore or question an influence that one is unaware of.

The propositions or ideas we are calling *assumptions* are predispositions to interpret whatever one experiences and to respond according to implicitly learned frameworks or patterns of meaning. Most individuals consciously experience only what they consider "reality." Few are aware that the meanings in *their* reality are grounded in but one of numerous alternative frameworks or patterns (i.e., grounded in implicit assumptions that they have been learning since infancy).

For example, it has been observed that many Americans, and to some extent other Western peoples, are guided by the assumption that everything in the universe is machine-like. Each whole—whether an actual machine, another tangible object, a person, an event, or a concept—consists of separate, interrelated parts that directly or indirectly contribute to bring about the outcome with which the whole is associated. People who hold this assumption deal with just about every *thing* and every *concept* almost as though it were a machine; they do not feel that they have understood the whole until they consider each of its parts and determine how they interact. Note that most entries in this encyclopedia—including this one—have been written in a way that explains a whole concept in this analytical, parts-focused manner.

Assumptions are hypothetical constructs that aid our understanding of human beings and their cultures. Assumptions are derived from observations of how people think and behave. Returning to the example above, American thinking is often observed to be linear, quantitative, low context, analytic, objective, and focused on accuracy. Conversely, many other cultures' thinking is more often observed to be holistic, qualitative, high context, sensual/poetic, subjective, and focused on harmony. In each of these cultures, there are common factors that underlie their mind-set, enabling all those characteristics to form an integrated thinking style.

A critical challenge for all interculturalists is to become conscious of the assumptions with which their culture has supplied them—that is, to see their interpretative predispositions as one alternative among many.

Cornelius N. Grove

See also Cultural Intelligence; Cultural Patterns; Cultural Self-Awareness; Empathy; Intercultural Competence Development; Perceptions

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Attribution Theory

Attribution refers to the process where people assign meanings to others' behavior or seek to give explanations or interpretations for the causes of those behaviors. This comprehension and interpretation process is shaped by people's perception and categorization of their environment, of themselves, and of others as well. In other words, attribution is strongly guided by specific contexts and people's psychological and relational socialization. Responses to the behaviors of others can thus be affected or misguided by inaccurate attributions, hindering effective or appropriate interpersonal and intergroup communication. Attribution theory broadens the boundaries of categorization and perception when interpreting others' behavior.

This entry reviews external and internal attributions, examines the individual and social nature of attribution processes, and describes some common attribution errors and biases occurring when people make attributions on their own or others' behavior. Cultural variability is clearly observed in attribution processes, and thus awareness of attribution is an important aspect of intercultural communication competence.

External and Internal Attribution

To make sense of the world, it is natural that people seek to ascertain reasons for others' behavior and attempt to predict their future behavior. Observation of this process leads to the question of how and why people perceive one another differently. The psychological research on attribution processes began with Fritz Heider, who contended that motives are important in the attribution process. He also distinguished between internal and external causes when people account for others' behavior.

Internal attributions, or dispositional attributions, are made when people conclude that other people's behavior is caused by their dispositional characteristics, such as personality, mood, or ability. *External attributions*, or situational attributions, are made when people attribute the behavior to situational cues, such as circumstances, other people, or luck. Awareness of both is important for people to assess themselves or others more accurately.

Individual and Social Attribution

Before jumping to conclusions about others' behavior, people usually go through a process of observing behavior and estimating possible intentions. The social psychologist Harold Kelly proposed three principles to explain when people opt to use internal or external causes: (1) consensus (would people other than the observed behave the same way in the same circumstances?), (2) consistency (would the person being observed behave the same way in the same situation over time?), and (3) distinctiveness (would different objects bring about the same behavior, or would the observed behave the same way toward different stimuli?). For example, if a new employee, Arthur, is scolded by his manager for a minor mistake at work, the young man would likely ask questions like these to clarify and make sense of the situation:

1. Might other department managers in the company scold their employees in similar situations (consensus)? If other managers scold the employees for minor mistakes as well, Arthur is likely to make an external attribution. If the manager is the only one who does that, Arthur might make an internal attribution and will continue to seek to find more information about the manager's personality, typical temper, or situational mood.

2. Might the manager scold employees for minor mistakes over time (consistency)? If the manager always does that, Arthur will probably

look for internal or dispositional causes. If it is not the usual way the manager treats employees, Arthur may use external interpretations.

3. Might this manager do the same to everyone at work (distinctiveness)? If the manager scolds all employees over minor mistakes, Arthur will look for internal or dispositional causes. If the manager does not treat all employees the same way, Arthur may have to look for external causes.

While Heider and Kelly mainly explain an individual's attribution process, other scholars like Miles Hewstone and Joseph Jaspars emphasize the social nature of attribution processes and look into the effect of social identities on people's perception of others. Social attributions center on the question of how members of one social group explain the behavior of their own members and that of members of other social groups. Usually, ingroups hold stereotypes toward at least one other group and share those stereotypes among the ingroup members. Sometimes, social attributions are related to ethnocentrism and other intergroup attitudes.

When people perceive themselves and observe others in individual terms, they tend to make person-based attributions, which lead them to find personal similarities and differences in interaction. When people perceive themselves and others as members of groups, they tend to make category-based attributions, which lead them to look for differences between their own group and the other group.

Errors and Bias in Attribution

Because attributions are almost always based on inaccurate and incomplete assumptions, errors are inevitable when bias also enters into the attribution process. *The fundamental attribution error*, a common perceptual mistake related to attribution, refers to the tendency to usually overestimate the influence of personal characteristics (or internal causes) on others' negative behavior or bad outcomes. Conversely, when interpreting other people's positive behavior, they tend to overemphasize the situational causes (or external causes) and underestimate the influence of dispositional factors (underrating people's qualities). For example, if it takes Jack 8 years to complete his doctoral degree, his colleagues may assume that he is not intelligent enough (dispositional attribution). If it takes Jack only 2 years to complete his degree, his colleagues would tend to consider the degree easy to achieve and would not attribute the accomplishment to Jack's effort or intelligence.

Using a similar but inverted logic, the *self-serving bias* (or *actor-observer bias*) functions when people make attributions about their own success and failures. Under the influence of this bias, people attribute their own success and positive outcomes to internal, dispositional characteristics but find external or situational causes to interpret their failures or negative outcomes. For example, a young woman who is worried about being overweight applies to be a resident assistant in her campus residence hall. If she does not get the offer, she may attribute the failure to other people's bias toward her size. If she is chosen for the job, she will likely attribute her success to her self-perception as being competent in communication, organization, and leadership.

People tend to think of their own behavior as proper and in a favorable way (*egocentric bias*). When making the fundamental attribution error, people usually conclude that others' personal characteristics predict their behavior (*correspondence bias*). In contrast, when explaining their own positive behavior or success, people tend to use personalities or dispositions; when interpreting their own negative behavior or failures, people tend to use situational factors (*ego-protective bias*). And people usually stop looking for further explanations for their own and others' behavior once they consider that they have found reasonable interpretations for the behavior (*premature closure*). The tendency to overemphasize negative information about others' behavior is called the *principle of negativity.*

At the group level, however, when other people are considered to be involved in negative behavior, the tendency to attribute behavior to dispositional or personal characteristics is enhanced. In contrast, when others are engaged in what is perceived to be positive behavior, people usually attribute it to situational causes and discount dispositional interpretations for the behavior. These systematic patterns of intergroup misattributions are referred to as *the ultimate attribution error* by Thomas Pettigrew and are linked in part to group prejudices.

It behooves intercultural communicators who want to grow in effectiveness to realize that they need to recognize these various human and cultural tendencies, check their own categorical behavior or biases, be open to assigning more positive assessments of others, and be more critically reflective of themselves or their group.

Cultural Variability in Attribution Process

The attribution process varies across cultures. Research shows that people from collectivistic cultures tend to have strong identification with their group and there is a stronger bond among in-groups. Members of collectivistic cultures usually include more situational cues in their attribution process and tend to ascribe others' behavior to the context, the situation, or other elements external to the individuals. However, people from individualistic cultures place more emphasis on each individual person. Members of individualistic cultures typically consider others' behavior to be due more to their personalities or personal skills, thus tending to ascribe others' behavior to characteristics internal to the individuals.

Compared with people from collectivistic cultures, people from individualistic cultures are more likely to make fundamental attribution errors. Individualist cultures attribute a person's behavior to dispositional or personal characteristics. In contrast, collectivistic cultures are inclined to attribute a person's behavior to external causes, though they may also at times overemphasize those and underestimate personal responsibility.

Self-serving bias is commonly seen in individualistic cultures more than in collectivistic cultures. Individualistic cultures tend to attribute success to internal causes and ascribe failures to external factors. In contrast, people from collectivist cultures are inclined to attribute success to external factors and primarily use internal factors to account for failures, at times with related concerns about personal status, face, or shame.

In intercultural communication contexts, misattribution between different cultures can occur on various occasions: primarily those where face issues, expectations of politeness, demarcation between ingroup and outgroup, preferences for direct/indirect styles of speech, or other individual/collective factors might be involved.

Attribution of Achievement

People attribute different reasons to account for their own and others' achievements and failures. A person's own attribution regarding a success or failure may motivate a certain amount of effort that the person will engage in in future activities. Bernard Weiner further contends that attribution of success can be illustrated with three dimensions of behavior: (1) locus of control (internal or external), (2) stability (stable or unstable), and (3) controllability (controllable or uncontrollable).

These achievement attribution dimensions provide a model for analyzing people's attribution and a way to help improve their performance. For example, when a student is upset about poor grades, his or her own attribution for what lies behind academic achievement needs to be identified. Once the student understands that the goal to academic success is attainable through specific processes, rather than just a personality failure that cannot be controlled, the individual can be motivated to make more efforts to achieve the goal. The student's effort will prove that the cause of success and failure is not permanent or stable, which in turn, can help him or her find plausible solutions when facing similar situations in the future.

Attribution Implications

The attribution process involves cognitive factors when an individual attempts to find more accurate information about the other person's behavior. Though linked to cognitive perceptions, attributions clearly affect how individuals and groups behave and respond to others, either advancing or diminishing bias, stereotypes, or prejudice. Becoming aware of ways to consider more holistic, integrated information processing is optimal for observing and interpreting information regarding an unfamiliar person and culture. Research on attributions has shown that, compared with people with narrow categorizations, those with wider categorizations and broader perceptual awareness are more likely to search for more appropriate and complete interpretations of a culturally dissimilar person. In the dynamic process of communication, being mindful is another core element for enhancing meaningful communication.

Xiaoling Wang and Steve J. Kulich

See also Cultural Patterns; Ingroup/Outgroup; Locus of Control; Perceptions

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B

Beliefs, Values, Norms, Customs (Definitions)

Harry C. Triandis devised a theoretical framework in which the constructs of beliefs, values, norms, and customs can be studied and applied to develop intercultural competence. He showed that beliefs, values, norms, and customs are subjective values that are shaped by ecology and history, and then, they shape our behaviors, creating complex frameworks of cognition, emotion, and behavior.

Beliefs

Beliefs are links among constructs. They are acquired through socialization and therefore form a part of every culture. People in every culture share certain beliefs, and this makes daily or other occasional interactions efficient and effective. For example, we believe that we will be served food, not poison, in a restaurant. Similarly, we believe that our children are safe in school and can learn new ideas and concepts. When beliefs are valid and functional, they constitute knowledge and expertise. And as individuals cross cultural boundaries, often they can see how their valid beliefs do not work, since most cultures have their own unique cognitive, emotional, and behavioral frameworks. Within a culture, there are individual differences in beliefs. Though there may be shared beliefs in a culture, there are also individual differences in beliefs. Psychologists like Martin Fishbein, who studied attitudes, view beliefs as the most basic construct, which shape attitudes and behaviors. Thus, understanding one's own beliefs is knowledge, and to be able to understand others' beliefs constitutes intercultural competence.

Values

Values are standards of the desirable. People value what is important for survival, but once a value is formed, it can even trump survival. For example, soldiers voluntarily kill others and themselves die in a war because they value following the orders of their officers and elected leaders. Values emerge in an ecology and the historical context of a culture, but cultures are no longer isolated and are increasingly being shaped by the cultures of other parts of the world. What is seen is the action, but the beliefs and values that guide those actions are often hidden, known to the people of the culture but not to others. Thus, understanding the construct of value is an important aspect of intercultural competence.

Clyde Kluckhohn and colleagues presented a framework to study cultural values by asking five questions:

1. Do people in a given culture believe human nature to be good, evil, or mixed?
2. Do people in a culture dominate nature? Or do they act subordinate to nature? Or do they live in harmony with nature?
3. How do people view time in a culture? Do they focus on the past (respect tradition and want to

propagate traditions), the present (enjoy their lives without caring about the past or the future), or the future (think about the needs of the next generation)?

4. What guides people's activities in a culture? Do they believe in simply being who they are, or do they believe in inner development and strive to become somebody (either a mental image of who they want to be or like a role model they are following)? Or do they believe in doing (or keeping themselves busy with some activity all the time)?
5. How do people view social relationships? Do they view relationship as a hierarchy, collateral (or a web of relationships, or collectivist), or individualistic?

Using these five questions can guide individuals to understand the values of other cultures in comparison with their own and thus provide a tool to develop intercultural competence.

Norms or Customs

Norms are conceptions of the desirable behavior in particular situations. *Customs* are normative behaviors carried out with little thought. Norms or customs are coded in patterns of behaviors, and so they are one step closer to actions than values and beliefs. People drive on the right side of the road in some countries and on the left side in other countries. It is a pattern that can be seen quite easily. What people eat, what they wear, and how they act with their superiors or subordinates, in a courtroom, on the street, and so forth provide normative patterns. Customs also refer to patterns of behavior that are related to celebrations, festivals, and religious activities. Christmas and Thanksgiving are festivals in the United States of America, whereas Diwali, Holi, and Eid ul-Fitr are festivals of India, to name just a few, to which various customary behaviors are related. This is not to take away individual differences. There are individual differences within all cultures, but there are also cultural differences that make norms across cultures visible. Norms are also learned through socialization, and the formal, stated norms are learned from parents, teachers, and other social leaders and taught to members of the cultural group. Adults also could learn such norms from their peers. However, the informal, unstated norms are implicitly learned as behaviors and are moulded by following those of cultural leaders. Learning both explicit and implicit norms of other cultures constitutes intercultural competence.

Dharm P. S. Bhawuk

See also Cross-Cultural Communication; Cultural Self-Awareness

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Benchmarks in Diversity and Inclusion

A *benchmark* is an organizational standard of performance usually stated as a desired result or outcome. It is used most often as a measure of comparison that enables an organization to assess the quality of its work against other organizations. Synonyms include *results*, *goals*, *outcomes*, and *milestones*. Most leaders and practitioners engage in the development and use of benchmarks with the goal of identifying and then pursuing high-quality work, known as best practices. However, benchmarks can also be useful for setting minimum standards.

This entry offers examples of Diversity and Inclusion (D&I) benchmarks, examines several challenges of agreeing on benchmarks, provides an overview of the benchmarking process, states the distinction between benchmarks and competencies, and closes with a statement on the contribution of benchmarks.

Examples of D&I Benchmarks

The following examples are from *Global Diversity and Inclusion Benchmarks: Standards for Organizations Around the World* by Julie O'Mara, Alan Richter, and 80 expert panelists. When organizations are formulating policy about intercultural competence or diversity, they frequently ask, "What are the best practices?" Below are five of the 151 best practices benchmarks:

1. D&I has become embedded in the culture of the organization and is not seen as an isolated program but rather as a key value and a means to growth and success.
2. Senior leaders are seen as change agents and role models and inspire others to take individual responsibility and become role models themselves. They routinely discuss the importance of D&I as a core organizational strategy and provide consistent, visible leadership.
3. The organization accepts diversity in language, dress, physical appearance, nontraditional schedules, and leave as fully legitimate.
4. Challenging and sometimes controversial issues such as racism, sexism, ageism, classism, homophobia, religious bias, and unconscious bias are addressed with sensitivity, conviction, and compassion.
5. The product development cycle recognizes diversity from the outset. It doesn't merely translate or adapt products and services first developed for the dominant culture. In addition, the organization does not develop products that are based on stereotypes.

There are other examples of benchmarking tools. However, many are proprietary, are available only to members of a consortium or association, or have been developed internally for use within a specific organization. As this encyclopedia goes to press, a Society for Human Resource Management task force of experts is discussing the development of three national standards within the area of D&I.

The Process of Benchmarking

Benchmarking is the process of identifying one or several high-performing organizations and/or studying how they achieve results for the purposes of comparison, and perhaps replication, of their best practices. Benchmarking is often done among similar organizations, such as within an industry (e.g., telecommunications, hospitals, oil and gas). Many organizations desire to be "benchmarked" because it can be seen as an indicator of success.

There are a variety of approaches to benchmarking. Sometimes, benchmarking is based on a systemic topic, such as D&I, which applies to all units and functions of an organization. Other times, it may be based on a specific function or management focus, such as cost controls or leadership style. The process is often proprietary—done by an independent firm using confidential data for comparison, with the results available only to those who paid for or participated in the study. Results may or may not be made public. Benchmarking is also done internally, comparing organizational units or regions.

Benchmarking is a thorough research effort, including identifying high-performing organizations, collecting elaborate data—often including onsite audits and interviews, writing reports, and distributing to interested parties. These studies are often costly. Another approach to benchmarking entails identifying organizations known to have achieved best practices and then conducting an onsite visit to learn more about what those organizations do. This is often difficult to do when organizations are competitors but may be possible if the organizations are willing to share successes.

Challenges of Agreeing on Benchmarks

There are significant challenges in creating a definitive list of benchmarks, not only because there is likely to be a difference of opinion among professionals but also because organizations vary significantly in size, mission, values, scope, world region, marketplace, culture, products and services, and so forth. These differences matter when it comes to comparisons. Many organizations find it helpful to compare the quality of their work in order to discover if it is up to standard, above standard, or below standard.

Distinction Between Benchmarks and Competencies

Most professionals who work with organizations agree that benchmarks are standards of organizational performance, whereas competencies are the skills, knowledge, and abilities that individuals need to achieve those benchmarks. At times, other definitions are used; for example, some cultural competencies may actually be standards or benchmarks rather than skills, knowledge, and abilities of individuals. Benchmarks and the process of benchmarking help leaders and practitioners strive for higher levels of achievement in D&I and related areas of practice.

Julie O'Mara and Alan Richter

See also Dimensions of Diversity; Diversity and Inclusion, Definitions of; Diversity Audit; Diversity Return on Investment; Global Diversity Management

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Biracial Identity

Multiracial individuals have parents whose cultural identities are from two different racial/ethnic groups, such as having one parent who identifies with an African heritage and another parent who identifies with a Japanese heritage. Conversely, monoracial individuals have parents who identify with the same racial/ethnic group. These two social groupings can represent distinct lived experiences; thus, they represent two different cultural groups.

Intercultural communication involves an exchange between people who are different culturally. People can be perceived as culturally different because of gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion, disability, or mental health status. Communication patterns between culturally different individuals can involve topics that are commonly introduced in a conversation, assumptions about others' interests and background, commonly stated observations or questions, and so on. This entry describes intercultural communication patterns that are likely to occur in social interactions between multiracial and monoracial individuals. These patterns reveal some of the intercultural competence challenges that monoracials can have when interacting with multiracials.

Developing intercultural competence is a process that involves building a mental toolbox about peoples and cultures. This mental toolbox should include knowledge about how people's similarities and differences can affect social dynamics. Competence in negotiating difference also involves knowing when information in the mental toolbox does and does not apply to a situation or person, so that stereotyping can be avoided. Developing one's intercultural competence mental toolbox can help immensely with approaching an intercultural social interaction with ease, confidence, and comfort, yielding a more successful and satisfying exchange.

The "What Are You?" Question

Social interactions between individuals from two different cultural backgrounds can be challenging, uncomfortable, and confusing. One strategy for orienting oneself in a social interaction with someone who is physically ambiguous in racial/ethnic appearance is to ask the question "What are you?" Multiracials are asked this question very often in social interactions with monoracials, so it is important to deconstruct this question to better understand why it is asked and its impact on multiracials.

Categorizing and classifying are mental activities that help us make sense of our environment: In fact, they are the basis of our mental life. Very young children learn to classify similar objects, such as a blue car and a red car, as alike. This skill is necessary for many aspects of cognitive functioning, including language development. The study of categorizing and classifying gets very interesting when we consider how humans turn this ability on one another. Historically, in the United States, for example, a rigid classification system for grouping people into social categories was used. Before the civil rights movement, the multiracial category was not recognized, and a binary system of categorization was common that included only the Black and White social labels. While several racial/ethnic categories (White, Black, Asian, Hispanic, Native American, and multiracial) are recognized socially and politically, many people still operate by a single-race, and sometimes even binary, frame of reference. This pattern of limited constructs for understanding a biracial identity is true of many cultures throughout the world. This marginalizes many multiracial individuals because multidimensionality of racial/ethnic heritage is not recognized.

The "What are you?" question reflects society's emphasis on race/ethnicity as a marker for knowing how to interact socially. Many people gauge a conversation with someone based on perceived cultural similarity and difference. When people cannot categorize someone because the person looks ambiguous racially and/or ethnically, they may be at a loss for how to proceed in their interaction. Those unaccustomed to diversity may find it distressing to engage in a conversation and attempt to connect with a person who is ambiguous in physical appearance.

Stereotypes are sometimes used as a guide for conversation: For example, people may try to talk about rap music with an African American or Buddhism with an Asian, thinking that they are being appropriate in their topic of conversation. Making these types of assumptions without knowing if the African American actually listens to rap music or if the Asian is interested in Buddhism can lead to awkward and uncomfortable interactions. Less interculturally competent people are more likely to use assumptions about interests and abilities based on race/ethnicity in order to gauge their conversation topics with someone they have just met. In fact, it is the reliance on racial/ethnic clues during social interactions that leads some people to ask the question "What are you?" soon after meeting a multiracial individual who is ambiguous looking.

The "What are you?" question is not necessarily inappropriate to ask in a social interaction, but the *intent*, as expressed in the timing, tone, and response (to the multiracial person's answer), matters in determining the *impact* of the question. The monoracial individual needs to keep in mind that the speaker's intent is not always received as intended; the impact may be entirely different. Starting with timing, most physically ambiguous-looking multiracials are sympathetic about the impact of their appearance on some people when they meet for the first time. Therefore, they may not mind being asked the question but would prefer that it were asked later in the conversation because the answer requires sharing personal information about one's familial heritage. This may not be something a person wants to engage in at the outset of a conversation. Tone of voice is also a powerful indicator of intent. Sometimes this question is asked at the beginning of a social interaction in a flippant manner with the word *anyway* added at the end of the question: "What are you, *anyway?*" That tone can convey that the only thing that matters in the social interaction is for the monoracial person to clarify the racial/ethnic heritage of the multiracial person, spotlighting that person's appearance and making it the focus of conversation. In other words, the multiracial person comes away from the social interaction feeling as if only appearance matters and that once the monoracial person is provided with an answer, that person is no longer interested in interacting.

Depending on the timing and tone of the question, multiracial people will provide varying answers. When asked this question at the start of a social interaction and/or with a patronizing tone, many multiracials will purposely answer the question with a statement about their neighborhood or city, such as "I'm from Chicago" or "I grew up in Manila." This indicates that multiracial individuals do not want to get into a discussion about their racial/ethnic heritage so early in a conversation or that they have detected that the person asking the question is too focused on their ambiguous appearance. Some less interculturally competent people will respond with the classic follow-up question "No, I mean where are you *really* from?" Other commonly asked questions that are problematic in social interactions between multiracials and monoracials include the following:

- Which parent is which?
- So which side do you like more?
- Are you sure you're not Asian?
- Are your parents still together?
- Is that your own hair?
- Do you wear colored contacts?
- Were your grandparents okay with it?
- You have good hair, . . . What are you mixed with?

In addition, when multiracial persons share information about their heritage, there are some common nonverbal responses displayed by monoracials, such as widening the eyes in surprise, staring intently, and a shocked look (e.g., the mouth and eyes widen).

The Social Impact of the "What Are You?" Question

Why are these questions and nonverbal reactions problematic in social interactions? What is their impact on multiracial individuals? Multiracial individuals do not fit neatly into the single-race/ethnicity approach to racial/ethnic classification in the United States or in many other cultures. Historically, identifying as multiracial was not socially acceptable; rather, multiracials identified with their racial/ethnic minority heritage if they had parents who were a minority–majority combination. This social expectation in the United States is based on the so-called one-drop rule, which dictated racial identity to be determined by having one drop of African American/Black blood. This practice began during the colonial period as a way to increase the number of people who could be enslaved. This social practice remains a part of the social fabric of the United States even though it is derived from a reason that has no application in our modern society. While some people may still use a classification strategy that relies on the one-drop rule and/or single-race categories, many more people recognize that traditional classification strategies are waning and less prominent, especially as more people research their ancestry and find information about their own biracial backgrounds. Racial/ethnic diversity in the United States is at an all-time high; thus, it is a dynamic multicultural society. As a society, the United States is experiencing a major demographic shift and a social transformation in how individuals view themselves and others in terms of racial/ethnic identity. People are constantly figuring out the best way to live together with their differences, whether in communities, organizations, or cities. Currently, multiracials are perceived at best as different and unique and at worst as exotic.

Multiracials vary in how they identify themselves: Some identify with a single race/ethnicity, others identify as multiracial, and still others identify with all their heritages depending on what a social situation calls for. No matter how multiracial individuals identify racially/ethnically, they often operate from a mind-set that is multidimensional in terms of understanding themselves and others culturally. While some monoracials may be confused by multiracials' multiplicity, multiracials are often quite clear about who they are, but they must face questions of authenticity, in terms of their membership in the traditional racial/ethnic groups, and concerns that they are selling out, acting too White, or confused.

When a multiracial person is asked the "What are you?" question, it usually is not the first time and certainly will not be the last time. Nonetheless, as noted above, the question is often not simply a matter of innocent inquiry. Asked at the beginning of a social interaction, sometimes in a tone of indignation and often with a reaction that involves shock and is probably followed up with more questions, the question emphasizes exoticism. These communication responses convey to a multiracial person that once again they are being seen as *very* different, unique, and/or exotic and their personhood needs an explanation. On a deeper level, these typical communication patterns by less interculturally competent monoracials indicate that they may be operating from a unidimensional mind-set about how they view themselves and others culturally. This is a social signal to multiracials that they may have difficulty communicating, and the conversation may be uncomfortable because they are operating from a very different mind-set.

Intercultural Competence With Multiracials

Intercultural competence involves monitoring reactions to others whom we perceive as culturally different. Unintended devaluing results when multiracials' ambiguous appearance is spotlighted by the questions asked and the reactions discussed above. For some groups, perceiving someone as exotic is a form of unintended devaluing. Sometimes, devaluing involves a desire by monoracials to regain or maintain a feeling of superiority when made to feel uncomfortable by the ambiguous appearance of multiracials. This process of feeling uncomfortable and devaluing often occurs subconsciously. In addition, it occurs not because of something a multiracial person has done; rather, it is triggered by the person's ambiguous physical appearance. When socially interacting with multiracials, monoracials are sometimes uncomfortable because in some places multiracials are uncommon. There are a few simple approaches to interacting with multiracials that can create a more positive social interaction:

- Although a multiracial person's appearance may be difficult to ignore, controlling the need to ask the "What are you?" question until after other topics are discussed is beneficial.
- When asking about someone's background, respectful inquiry is necessary. Follow-up questions should be asked in later conversations to avoid intense focus on appearance and personhood.
- Discussing backgrounds should go both ways between conversation partners so that the multiracial person does not feel spotlighted. Monoracials have cultural backgrounds worthy of discussion too.

Self-awareness of how individuals perceive multiracials can increase their intercultural competence and help them create more positive social interactions. Living in a multicultural society requires people to be socially responsible, and part of that responsibility is learning how to competently interact with others who are culturally different from them.

Peony Fhagen-Smith

See also Identity and Intergroup Communication; Lay Theory of Race; Prejudice, Bias, Discrimination; Race and Human Biological Variation; Racial Identity Development Models; Racism, Interpersonal

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Body Language (Haptics)

Body language is an all-inclusive term referring to nonverbal communication messages involving the human body. It is a part of all face-to-face communication interactions. Body language may be broken down into gestures, facial expressions, other body movements (kinesics), eye contact or eye movement (oculesics), the distance from the body to the receiver's body (proxemics), or direct contact with another body (haptics). Many scholars also include other physical characteristics that communicate nonverbally about the message sender, such as facial features, hair color and hairstyle, clothing, nail art, tattoos, jewelry, body smell, height, body type, skin color or skin condition (e.g., wrinkles, freckles, moles), or any other characteristics of the sender that a receiver might make meaning of, even when the sender does not *intend* for the characteristics to be communication messages.

Haptics is the study of communication that involves touch. Appropriate touch is fundamental for successful interaction with the environment around individuals, both the physical as well as the social environment. Touching behavior extends across a continuum from the loving touches that the newborn baby experiences when cuddled, suckled, or given a bath to the violent touches a human might experience in domestic violence, war, or rape. This entry will examine touch in the context of intercultural communication.

Basics of Haptics

Haptics can be divided into *self-touching* body language and *other-touching* body language. A specific touch in and of itself can be either intentional or unintentional. For example, when someone scratches the back of his head because it itches, it probably is not intended as a communication message. In Japan, however, it is quite common for people, especially older men, to scratch the back of their heads in order to communicate the feeling of being ashamed for having done something incorrectly. When the self-touch is accompanied by a verbal apology, "Sorry, I made a mistake," the touch behavior is generally understood as intentional. Other self-touch with specific cultural meaning includes the American touching of the hand against the chest or the Japanese touching of the index finger to the nose to communicate *I* or *me*. Touching others may also be unintentional, especially in crowded trains, buses, or elevators. If there is a cultural taboo about touching a particular part of the body, however, even though the touch may be unintentional, it may be seen as inappropriate behavior. A woman in a crowded train might interpret a man brushing against her breasts as intentional and react negatively. In fact, while riding on a crowded train or elevator, some women hold a briefcase or other object in front of them to guard against such touching, intentional or otherwise.

Intentional touching may be divided into different types. The touches of doctors, nurses, hairdressers, masseuses, physical therapists, and so on are classified as *functional/professional* touch. *Social/polite* touching includes handshakes, hugging, perfunctory kisses, back slapping, or high fives between strangers meeting for the first time or among work colleagues or team members. More intimate hugs as well as intimate touches on the forearm or putting an arm around someone's shoulder may be examples of *friendship/warmth* touching. Touch in interpersonal relationships involving lovers or family members—including caressing, holding hands, or touching the other's face or hair—expresses *love/intimacy*. Problems may arise when friendly touching is misinterpreted as intimate touching. This may be especially disturbing when the gender of the interactants is salient or when their cultural norms vary greatly. The final category is *sexual arousal* touching, which involves fondling, stroking, kissing, and sexual intercourse. The frequency of touch within any category will depend on both the individual and the culture. There are couples who touch each other a lot in public and other couples who don't. As for culture, one study showed that whereas the average number of touches per hour of couples in cafes in London was 0, the average in Paris, France, was more than 100!

Touch and Culture

Cultures whose norms allow for more touching, as well as closer interpersonal communication distances and more eye contact, are often referred to as *contact* cultures. People in such cultures, for example, in the Middle East or the Mediterranean region of Europe, are usually comfortable with high levels of sensory input from touch or smell. People in *noncontact* cultures, such as in northern Europe or most Asian countries, tend to touch less often, stand farther apart, and may rely more on visual communication. There are, however, many exceptions. Although Japan is usually classified as a noncontact culture, Japanese mothers touch their babies quite often as a matter of course, and until the onset of puberty, Japanese parents and children tend to bathe together as well as sleep together in the same bed, which allows for routine touching.

Touch is a part of greetings in many cultures. Even a simple handshake, however, can have various cultural norms associated with it. In some cultures, for example, Germany, a firm handshake of short duration is usually preferred, whereas in other countries, such as Turkey, a softer, longer handshake may be the norm, and in Ghana, the handshake ends with a snap. Hugs or embraces, often accompanied with kisses on the forehead, nose, lips, or cheeks, are components of greetings in many different cultures. Even within the same country, slight variations in norms may be found. For example, most people in France embrace and kiss twice, once on each cheek, but there are areas in France where kissing three or four times is the norm. In Japan, where people bow to each other and do not usually touch directly, there are strict rules about how to touch the other's name card, receiving it with both hands if possible.

The gender, age, and relationship of the individuals involved in any communication interaction will determine the location, duration, and intensity of touch. In the United States, two men do not usually hold hands while walking in public unless they are lovers, but in a country where the sexes are more segregated, like Saudi Arabia, holding hands is usually seen as an expression of warm affection between two males. When Prince Abdullah visited the Texas ranch of President George W. Bush in 2005, the president and the crown prince held hands as they walked around the ranch. Most cultures allow more touching of infants or very young children as well as the aged, perhaps because there is less need for a strict separation of *friendship/warmth* touch and *love/intimacy* touch.

Although verbal communication is generally excellent for *clarity* and nonverbal communication for *relationship building*, misunderstanding can occur in any interaction. The gender, age, social status, ethnicity, and personal idiosyncrasies of the communication interactants may affect the interpretation of touch communication messages and may strain a relationship or even lead to its complete dissolution. One should avoid touching strangers unless they are being introduced or one is offering them physical assistance, such as a helping hand up a flight of stairs. It is important to be aware that touches that may be appropriate in private may be out of place in public. Even when the conscious intent of the touch is positive, the receiver of that touch may consider it an invasion of privacy or personal space. For example, touching someone with the left hand is taboo in many countries, such as India, Pakistan, or Indonesia.

Touch can be a powerful tool in anyone's repertoire of communication strategies, but we must always be careful about who we touch, where we touch them, and the situational and cultural context of the touching. When in doubt, don't touch.

Jeff Berglund

See also Eye Contact (Oculesics); Facial Expressions/Universal; Intercultural Nonverbal Communication; Space (Proxemics); Time (Chronemics)

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Body Movement (Kinesics)

All living creatures move, and humans are no exception. The ways in which meaning is made of the movements of one's own body and the bodies of others and the ways in which the movements of one's own body and the bodies of others affect the individual is the purview of the nonverbal communication code of kinesics. Of course, kinesics includes the specialized body movements of people involved in sports, dance, or acting, but research in the field of communication concerning body movement is usually confined to those movements that accompany verbal interpersonal communication. This entry divides body movements into posture, head movements, and gestures, examining kinesics in the context of intercultural communication.

Posture

Although posture usually refers to the positioning of the body when standing or sitting, kinesics might also include the positioning of the body while walking, running, or even sleeping. Some kinesic behaviors are inborn, and therefore common to all human beings, but many others are learned through the environment, both physical and social. For example, all human beings can stand unless physically impaired, but the amount of standing may be cultural: the Masai (especially men) spend almost all of their waking hours standing, but people born into cultures where people live, work, and study indoors spend most of their time sitting in chairs. People in some cultures, such as the Japanese, traditionally spent much of their time sitting on the floor.

As with all forms of nonverbal communication behaviors, there is the sending side, the nonverbal communication messages that one transmits, and the receiving side, how one interprets the nonverbal communication messages of another. There is also the matter of intentionality; some nonverbal messages that are sent unintentionally may be interpreted as intentional, and other intentional messages may not be salient enough to be interpreted by the communication receiver. For example, *standing up* will be sent or received differently in Masai culture, Japanese culture, and U.S. American culture. Sitting or standing with one's arms or legs partially or fully crossed can be perceived negatively in many cultures, so this posture might be avoided in formal situations. Formal sitting posture on *tatami* mats in Japan, for example, during the tea ceremony, is with both legs folded under the body, the spine straight. Although Korean people also traditionally sit on the floor, the formal style for women is with the left leg folded under the body and the right leg folded straight up with the knee at about chest level. Sitting either on the floor or in a chair with the bottom of one's feet pointed toward someone is considered quite disrespectful in Thailand. Changes in posture are not always intentional; the body may unconsciously change its position because of problems with blood circulation, muscle tension, or temperature changes in the physical environment.

Head Movements

The most common head movements in interpersonal communication are nodding and head shaking. Although most cultures interpret nodding as an affirmative gesture and head shaking as a negative gesture, in some cultures, for example, in parts of India and Bulgaria, head shaking may indicate the affirmative. Although most scholars believe that there are no universal human head gestures (or other kinesic behaviors that have the same meaning across cultures), people in every culture studied so far seem to change head position for each item in a list and also to orient their head toward a specific location when talking about that location. Head nodding is also a strategy frequently employed by people when receiving verbal messages to show understanding, agreement, or simply that they are listening.

Head movements may be strongly influenced by the culture. "When the teacher entered the room, the students' heads all jerked up" may describe the situation in a class of Anglo students, but in a class of Native American students, no heads might be raised because of the proscription against younger people making direct eye contact with older people, especially when the elders are in positions of authority. Tilting the head to the left and right or tipping back the head to relax the neck muscles may be an unintentional nonverbal message, but in some situations, it might be interpreted negatively. It should always be remembered that kinesic behavior, even within a particular culture group, may vary depending on the situation or the individual.

Gestures

Although changes in body posture, head or eye movements, facial expressions, and even some touches may also be thought of as gestures, this section will examine gestures involving movements of the arm, hand, or fingers. Gestures can be divided into five types: emblems, regulators, illustrators, affect displays, and adaptors. *Emblems* are gestures that have specific meaning and can take the place of verbal messages. The meaning of a certain emblem can vary drastically from one culture to another. For example, waving the extended limp hand up and down usually means "Goodbye" in the United States but "Come here" in Japan. In the former case, the interactants' communication distance will increase as they part from one another, but in the latter, the communication distance will decrease as the person beckoned to approaches the other. Other emblems may have positive valence in one culture yet be interpreted negatively in another. The *OK* sign with the index finger and thumb pressed together to form an *O* may be accompanied by a positive head nod in the United States but a negative head shake in France, where it is interpreted as *zero* or *nothing*. The same gesture turned upside down, with the palm up, means *money* in Japan. Depending on the situation, the emblems themselves may be considered impolite in certain cultures, so one should refrain from using gestures rooted in one's own culture when interacting interculturally. At the same time, learning about the culture-specific emblems that are commonly used in a particular place may help one avoid embarrassment when traveling abroad.

Regulators are gestures that help regulate an interaction and maintain the communication *flow*. In classrooms, in some cultures, it may be required for students to *raise* their hands so that the teacher will call on them to say something, but in other cultures, a student's simple shifting of posture may be a clear enough nonverbal message to prompt the teacher into calling on the student.

Illustrators are gestures that augment verbal communication, for example, spreading one's hands wide apart when saying, "It was really big." Watching movies or TV programs as well as public talks with the sound turned off is a good way to get a feel of the frequency and intensity of illustrators in various cultures.

Affect displays are gestures that reveal emotion. Pumping one's fist in the air after hitting a home run in the American major leagues may be interpreted as a positive display of happiness at demonstrating one's ability in sports. The same gesture may be seen negatively in Japan, where it could be interpreted as a denigration of the pitcher's athletic ability.

Adaptors are gestures that help people satisfy physical or psychological needs. For example, rubbing one's eyes with the heels of one's hands is a gesture directed toward waking oneself up, making oneself more alert. Straightening the objects on top of one's desk may help one handle a stressful interaction.

Conclusion

Thousands of possible communication messages may be sent or received in the kaleidoscope of kinesics, the movement of the whole body or part of the body. Just as there are linguistic rules governing the use of language, there are cultural rules that dictate the appropriateness of nonverbal messages. In intercultural interactions, when the cultural norms of the interactants may vary greatly, it is important to be mindful. Mindfulness means being aware of the nonverbal messages that one is sending through one's posture, head movements, and gestures and being open to the possibility that one may be misinterpreting the nonverbal kinesic messages of the other person.

Jeff Berglund

See also Body Language (Haptics); Eye Contact (Oculesics); Facial Expressions/Universal; Intercultural Nonverbal Communication; Mindfulness

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C

CAID

See Culturally Appropriate Instructional Design

Case Study Methods

The case study is one among several methods for conducting social science research, which include experiments, surveys, interviews, participant observation, histories, and analysis of archival data, among others. As a research method, the case study has been used to explore various levels of analysis, such as individual, group, organization, and culture. It is a common research strategy for many academic disciplines, including communication, psychology, sociology, anthropology, economics, political science, education, social work, law, medicine, and business. This entry defines case study research, describes different designs and goals of case studies, defines various types of case studies, explains common methods of data collection and analysis, and examines how intercultural communication competence informs the way scholars conduct and report case studies.

Definition and Types of Case Study Research

The *case study* is an empirical inquiry that explores a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, particularly when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are blurred. It is a research strategy that encompasses the design of a study, its data collection methods, and approaches to data analysis. Scholars may choose to conduct case study research when they want to understand complex social phenomena in a detailed and nuanced manner. In contrast to other forms of research, scholars using the case study method are not necessarily trying to generalize their findings. Instead, they seek to understand the specific nuances and thick, rich details of a specific phenomenon. Case study research can be particularly useful when asking *how* and *why* questions, when variables in a study are difficult to control, and when the focus is on real-world situations and the contextual dimensions of a contemporary phenomenon need to be understood.

The design and goals of a case study can vary. For example, some researchers distinguish between single- and multiple-case designs. A single-case approach can be used in a number of circumstances. First, it can be useful when a well-formulated theory needs to be tested by a *critical case* that is particularly relevant to the theory. A single-case approach is also appropriate when the case represents a *unique case* that is distinctive or unusual. By contrast, some scholars will use a single-case method when they want to explore commonplace situations, and as a result, they select a *representative case*. Additionally, a single-case approach may be informative when there is a need for a *revelatory case* to study a phenomenon that may have been inaccessible to researchers. Finally, a *longitudinal case* can be used to study a single case over a period of time.

Multiple-case designs are often described as a *comparative case method*, since the intent is to compare a phenomenon across several contexts, such as how the impact of multicultural training for employees may differ across organizations. Scholars may use the multiple-case design when they want to understand the degree to which the findings in one setting can be replicated in another. The intent in this approach, then, is to gather more robust and persuasive evidence for one's findings. When findings differ across the multiple cases, researchers must take this information and reconsider their theoretical assumptions, their research design (e.g., they may decide to gather the data in a different manner), or their results.

In terms of research goals, case studies can be conducted to explore, describe, or explain phenomena. *Exploratory* case studies are often conducted to develop questions for further study. Another goal of exploratory case studies is to develop theory by directly observing phenomena in their natural context. As such, exploratory case studies are often viewed as a prelude to additional research, whereby scholars seek to clarify the research questions, hypotheses, data collection methods, and data analysis methods that may be most appropriate for follow-up research. *Descriptive* case studies use a reference theory or model that guides the collection of data and how the case is reported. Scholars, for example, may approach a phenomenon from a certain theory or perspective and then seek to understand whether social behaviors are consistent with their models. Finally, in contrast to exploratory and descriptive research, *explanatory* case research tends to be used when designing and conducting causal studies. Such case studies seek to look for patterns or relationships between phenomena. Through the extensive data collection of case methods, scholars can test theories that have been proposed by others.

A wide variety of data collection methods can be used for case studies, and ideally, multiple sources of information would be used in each study. For example, to gather information for a case study, scholars may use direct and participant observation, interviews, surveys, documents and archival records, and even scientific data from the field or laboratory. For direct observation, the researcher visits the site of the case and observes natural social behavior in context. In the case of participant observation, the researcher may assume a role within a case study context and participates in the events being studied. Interviews are also an important and common data collection method for case study research. Typically, interview questions are open-ended to elicit the most candid and relevant responses from the participants' point of view, but interviews can be structured as well, based on specific research questions or theories for the case study. Documents for case studies can come in many forms, including various types of communication, meeting agendas and minutes, policies and procedures, progress reports, formal and informal studies of the site, and media articles about the site, among others. For case studies, documents are frequently used to corroborate evidence from other sources. Similarly, archival data can also supplement other data collection methods and may include personal records, survey data, site histories, organizational records/databases, and geographical characteristics of the site. In some cases, physical artifacts, such as the specific surroundings of the site, can be informative as well. One of the strengths of the case method is that it allows researchers to bring multiple sources of data together for comparison. Ideally, researchers are able to produce *triangulation*, or the convergence of different lines of inquiry via multiple sources of data. Thus, the findings in a case study are likely to be more persuasive when several sources of data are corroborated. This triangulation can come in multiple forms, including data triangulation (use of multiple sources), investigator triangulation (use of multiple researchers), theory triangulation (use of multiple perspectives), and methodological triangulation (use of multiple methods).

Because of its methodological approach, the case study is sometimes confused with qualitative research. Qualitative research that uses ethnographic methods of natural observation shares some similarities with case study research; however, ethnographic research does not necessarily produce case studies. Nor are case studies limited to qualitative research, since they can include a mix of quantitative and qualitative methods. Case study research is also often used synonymously with the critical incident, but there are important differences. When researchers use critical incidents in their studies, they are identifying behavior that has been particularly helpful or unhelpful in a given situation. As such, its focus on a single action or event is much narrower than case study research, which seeks to understand a phenomenon in its complexity within a natural setting. As a research design, the *critical incident* technique is a set of procedures used to gather observations of human behavior that have a significant impact on an individual, group, organization, or culture. For example, leaders of an organization may decide on a diversity policy that strengthens or diminishes multicultural awareness and sensitivity among employees in an organization. Such a critical incident, then, is one that has a positive or negative effect on an activity or phenomenon. Typically, once researchers identify a critical incident, they will collect as much information about the incident as possible, often via a questionnaire or interview. Frequently, the critical incident is seen as an issue that needs to be resolved, and therefore, researchers focus on root causes of the incident and seek possible solutions. Case studies, by contrast, are much broader in their goals, design, data collection, and analysis.

Case Studies and Intercultural Communication Competence

Case study experts suggest that several characteristics are necessary for the exemplary case study. The case study must (a) be significant, (b) be comprehensive, (c) consider alternative perspectives, (d) supply sufficient evidence, and (e) be engaging to readers. The case should be, first and foremost, theoretically and practically interesting to others—and, ideally, both. The case should also be thorough, giving explicit attention to both the phenomenon and its context. Additionally, it should be clear that the researcher was comprehensive in collecting all relevant data. Exemplary cases also consider rival positions and points of view in a manner that is fair and impartial. These differences may be drawn from alternative cultural views, divergent theories, distinctions among the participants in the case, or other relevant points of contrast. To be an excellent case study, it must also present detailed and comprehensive data so that a reader can reach an independent, informed judgment regarding the merits of the analysis. Finally, a case study should be written in an interesting, engaging style that is accessible to readers while still educating them about the phenomenon.

Intercultural communication competence can help scholars conduct and report exemplary case studies. For example, an understanding of *subjective culture*—the shared values, beliefs, and behaviors that are created, repaired, and transformed in and through communication—can strengthen a case study researcher's ability to adequately see and describe the unique nuances of communication phenomena in their natural setting. Because participants' sense making of culture at a case study site is subjective, researchers need to understand how different persons and groups may understand the same behavior differently. Cultural sensitivity, in this respect, allows researchers to consider divergent interpretations of actions at the site and bracket their own cultural positions as well. As such, intercultural communication competence allows a scholar to better understand some of the barriers to shared meaning during case study research. Researchers with cultural communication knowledge can also better recognize different modes of expression that vary across cultures, such as common patterns to address authority figures, provide feedback, apologize, compliment others, or make decisions. Apart from these verbal forms of communication, cultural expertise allows researchers to also recognize the nuances of nonverbal communication in case studies. Familiarity with such diverse modes of communication strengthens the case study scholar's knowledge of social behavior in context, as participants negotiate similarities and differences.

Intercultural competence also offers several other advantages for scholars of case studies. Case study researchers will, inevitably, confront others who are quite different from themselves in their studies. By the nature of the research methodology, case study scholars are often immersed in the context of the case in an effort to explore the unique features of that situation. Studying and interacting with culturally different others require greater cognitive complexity and flexibility to minimize possible stereotypes. The empathy that comes with intercultural competence strengthens the researcher's skills to understand participants' behavior as they make sense of it, rather than drawing on potential researcher bias or, worse, prejudice.

Any kind of bias negatively affects not only what a researcher pays attention to and *sees* in the field but also how individuals and groups are represented when reporting the case study. Developing cultural self-awareness can help militate against such mistakes in case study research. Much like any other context for intercultural communication competence, case study research also demands a degree of cultural humility that comes from suspending judgment about others.

Steven K. May

See also Critical Incident Methodology; Cultural Humility; Interpretive Research Methods; Qualitative Research Methods

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CHANGE-AGENTRY

To understand change-agentry, one needs to understand change. Change is a process. It can be planned or unplanned, expected or unexpected, gradual or eruptive, and it can be perceived as positive or negative. While there is no agreed-on definition of change-agentry among scholars, there are two general types of agentry. That is, some experts define it as an *activity* of stimulating, facilitating, and coordinating change efforts (e.g., helping people adapt to a new environment), while others conceptualize it as a *process* of being self-reflective about the nature of change and the change process (e.g., developing cultural self-awareness and tolerance).

Change Agent Types and Roles

Change agents can be individuals or groups who initiate and manage change processes. Researchers in the field identified four different types of change agents: (1) *outside change agents*, such as community organizers, who seek to change an existing structure, system, or leadership from the outside, often radically, by employing pressure; (2) *people-change-technology agents*, for example, a manager who works toward improving individual and psychological factors such as morale and motivation and makes people the focus of change; (3) *analysis-for-the-top* agents, such as social scientists, whose goal is to analytically examine the structure and improve the efficiency and output of a system; and (4) *organization development* change agents, for instance, leaders who focus on cultural elements and critically examine internal processes, such as intergroup relations and decision-making processes, for improving the problem-solving capabilities of a system.

Change agents play a number of important roles in facilitating the change process. As consultants, they advise people from the outside to define needs, set objectives, and solve problems. As trainers, they help trainees acquire new sets of skills and the knowledge necessary to address current as well as future problems. They also play the role of catalysts, where they often question the status quo and call for change. Innovator agents promote new ideas and practices and also help inculcate attitudes that enable an individual to take advantage of new opportunities. Finally, process helpers assist in building productive relationships, understanding the process of change, and gaining acceptance within the structure.

Characteristics of Change-Agentry

Researchers have identified important characteristics of successful change-agentry. This section will briefly describe some of these characteristics. Empathy, the ability to understand the feelings of others, is important in helping improve communication between change agents and stakeholders. *Homophily* suggests that a change agent is more likely successful when stakeholders and the change agent are more alike than different, except in the area of change, in which the change agent should be heterophilous, that is, different from the stakeholders in the area of expertise. The personal and cultural self-awareness of the change agent and the stakeholders is also instrumental in learning intercultural norms and values and understanding the differences. The patience, enthusiasm, and commitment of a change agent can help direct the change process for the good. Openness facilitates creating an environment of willingness to listen to, respond to, and learn from each other. Linkage is another characteristic that refers to the degree of coordination between the agent and the stakeholders to create a collaborative environment in bringing about change. The credibility of the change agent in the eyes of stakeholders is also an important determinant of success. Some research suggests that higher education and social status in terms of age, gender, and economic standing can positively influence the change project. Finally, the extent of the change agent's efforts (e.g., persistence, hard work, and commitment) is crucial for achieving change.

Along with the aforementioned qualities of change-agentry, some conditions for success are instrumental in the change efforts. The change agent's capacity for mobilizing resources and organizing activities also facilitates the change process. Reward, the quality and range of potential positive outcomes of the effort, reinforces the change project. Scholars suggest that when a system or a practice of change-agentry respects the autonomy of different kinds of experience among the stakeholders, the process of change is enhanced. Expecting and even encouraging conflict is another key attribute for a successful change effort, especially in intercultural contexts. Conflict, if handled productively, can allow for diverse opinions and ideas to emerge. Finally, research suggests that the promotion of relational opportunities by welcoming new ideas allows people to interact in new ways, which in turn enriches the process of change.

Change-Agentry and Intercultural Competence

To be effective as a change agent in today's diverse world requires intercultural competences in attitudes, skills, knowledge, and behaviors in both the change agent and the stakeholders. *Attitude* refers to the ability and willingness to reflect on one's own values, beliefs, and behaviors and to consider the perspectives of others. Change-agentry helps positively improve attitudes among stakeholders by inculcating openness to people from other cultures, encouraging respect for other perspectives, instilling empathy with people who have different cultural affiliations, and enhancing tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty in negotiating conflicts constructively. *Knowledge*, a key construct of intercultural competence, is enhanced by the efforts of the change agent. For instance, the process improves personal and cultural self-awareness and communicative awareness about cultural diversity and heterogeneity, which prepares individuals to negotiate conflicts effectively. Change-agentry can also improve intercultural competence skills among stakeholders; it helps develop multiple perspectives through the acceptance of new ideas, patience in listening to others' voices, and cognitive flexibility. Finally, the process influences the *behavioral* aspect of competence by helping stakeholders become flexible in their cultural and communicative behaviors. Oftentimes, power differences among stakeholders pose difficulties in the change process. Scholars suggest that cultural marginals can play constructive roles in projects of change as they guide others to see things from multiple viewpoints, thereby helping create meaningful awareness and facilitating effective intercultural communication.

Uttaran Dutta

See also Cultural Self-Awareness; Empathy; Knowledge, Skills, and Attitudes in Intercultural Conflict

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Civil Rights

The history of civil rights in America cannot be fully appreciated without understanding how cultural values supported discrimination, segregation, and overt racism for so long and why their repellent after-effects remain so deeply embedded in the nation's fabric. As William Grier and Price Cobbs wrote in *Black Rage*, "Americans characteristically are unwilling to think about the past. We are a future-oriented nation, and facing backwards is an impediment to progress" (p. 23). This void leaves many Americans possessing only a cursory knowledge of crucial parts of their nation's history and thus a limited understanding of present-day beliefs, values, and behaviors.

This entry provides the history of Black civil rights in the United States, beginning with the early settlers, to the ending of slavery, and through the Civil Rights Movement, reviewing some of the most important leaders and authors of the movement as well as the political and historical context.

The centerpiece of this narrative is the Civil Rights Movement, which reshaped this country and captured the attention of the world during two decades of the last half of the 20th century. The visible parts of that reshaping are reflected in a changed political and social landscape; less visible are continually evolving cultural attitudes and assumptions about race. The justly celebrated fight for civil rights indeed produced many victories, but the prelude was long, tortuous, and, at times, filled with violence. With such a prelude, history teaches that a lengthy epilogue is necessary to change the cultural values that made resistance so fierce for so long.

Slavery: Early American History

The story of civil rights starts with the early settlers who came to the North American continent from Great Britain and encountered, gradually uprooted, and decimated the people they found there. The beliefs they arrived with, particularly their views about people with darker skin, originated in a country that was patriarchal, Christian, and White. Over the centuries, the traditions expanding from those first settlers have embraced or tolerated many new tributaries, but changing those early beliefs about skin color remains a continuing challenge.

A present-day student of American history should earmark 1619 as the year the Black struggle began. It was during that year that the first captive Africans were sold into slavery at Jamestown, Virginia. No leap of imagination is needed to conclude that a human being sold into slavery longs to be free. These yearnings for freedom intensified as more Black Africans arrived and the nation's growing economy became increasingly dependent on the slave trade. With no end in sight, future conflict over civil rights became inevitable when, on June 21, 1788, New Hampshire became the ninth of the 13 states to sign and thus ratify the Constitution of the United States. The Revolutionary War had been fought and won. Epic battles from Massachusetts to South Carolina had produced heroes and leaders, casualties and infirmities as, at last, the United States won independence from Great Britain. The new nation was born with all the promise and excitement appropriate for the beginning of such a historic journey.

Those granted citizenship under the U.S. Constitution were promised political and social freedom and equality. Other enshrined passages distinguished the United States not only from Great Britain but also from Europe, where kings and royalty ruled. This was to be a place where the rule of law was primary and no citizen was placed above another. Yet within the constitution several articles incorporated cultural values that continue to haunt America more than two centuries later. The new constitution defined enslaved Black Africans as three fifths of a person. The framers of the constitution thought they knew what such a measurement meant, but the fallacy that the value of any human being is inherently less than that of another eventually would be challenged. The constitution also denied women the right to vote, and Native American peoples were classified as sovereign nations and denied citizenship. These two groups also have their own history in struggling for full civil rights.

To give a religious stamp of approval to slavery, passages in the Bible were reinterpreted. Religious justification was coupled with the sanctity of property rights. Slaves were not entitled to human rights but were considered as property belonging to slave owners. Spurious scholarship about the origins of race and pseudoscientific racial classifications became a cottage industry. Laws were enacted governing conduct between Whites and Blacks and policies enforced to keep them separate. In those parts of the nation where some Blacks were free, the social contract was clear about separation of the races. A society evolved in which race determined superiority and inferiority, thus creating a moral dualism with consequences persisting to this day. It took nearly a century for this grotesque dichotomy to be the catalyst for a bloody Civil War. Another century ensued before people of all races coalesced around a Civil Rights Movement, determined to eradicate such antiquated thinking.

The Abolitionist Movement

In the decades after the Constitution was adopted, two intertwined factors kept the issue of civil rights on the edge of the nation's consciousness, if not its moral compass. They were the presence of the abolitionist movement and the fear, and occasionally the reality, of slave revolts. The abolitionist movement was present to a small degree in colonial-era North America and was almost exclusively the province of the Society of Friends, commonly known as the Quakers. In 1833, the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed; many thousands of people beyond the Quakers joined, and the abolitionist movement came of age. They became a potent political force, with lecturing agents, petition drives, and a wide variety of printed materials. Free Blacks as well as fugitive slaves were also a significant element in the abolitionist movement. The issue of slaves' civil rights surfaced for widespread public discussion when William Lloyd Garrison, a founder of the society, published an article proclaiming that for enslaved Blacks, the right to enjoy liberty is inalienable. These words spoke directly to America's enduring moral dichotomy, and by 1838, the group had grown to 1,350 local chapters and around 25,000 members.

The historian Herbert Aptheker found records of approximately 250 revolts, and other researchers found evidence of as many as 315. Whatever the number, at different times and in many southern states, enslaved people revolted for their freedom. By the 1850s, the dilemma slavery posed for the United States dominated the political process. One major event depicting the horror of slavery was the publishing of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by Harriet Beecher Stowe. This fictional exploration of slave life was a cultural sensation and second only to the Bible as a best-selling book in America in the 19th century. Most important, the book punctured the illusion of its northern readers about the innocuous nature of slavery. Revisionist historians and contemporary politicians may romanticize slavery and point out economic and political reasons for the Civil War from 1861 to 1865, but whatever is cited, the devastating war was ultimately about whether the institution of slavery would continue in the United States.

Amendments passed after the Civil War abolishing slavery, requiring states to provide equal protection under the law, and granting voting rights regardless of *race*, *color*, *or previous condition of servitude* legally put to rest the moral dichotomy of three fifths of a person. But though the legal fiction was buried, the reconstruction era demonstrated that beliefs about racial inferiority remained deeply embedded in the culture. Black codes were adopted by the midwestern states to regulate the migration of free Blacks to the Midwest. Different Black codes were adopted by the southern states to control or reimpose the old social structure. These same states continued to adopt new laws curtailing the right to vote and otherwise maintaining the legacy of second-class citizenship.

What is now called the Jim Crow era emerged in the last quarter of the 19th century and endured into the 20th century. Black suffrage was gradually eliminated through literacy tests, poll taxes, threatened and actual violence, and lynchings. The doctrine of "separate but equal" became the rallying cry. Governments in the South, from the statehouse to the smallest municipality, adopted this credo. All required services, facilities, education, public accommodations, housing, and medical care were separated along racial lines provided the quality of each group's public facilities was equal. The myth of "separate but equal" was imposed with the overwhelming consent of White southerners and the implicit consent of many White northerners. American culture accepted, however uneasily, the notion of one race being superior to another.

Civil Rights Organizing

Many organizations arose during this period to fight oppression, but few became permanent. In 1909, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded. It became the most influential civil rights organization and was the first to attack racial injustices on a national level. During its early years, the NAACP focused on legal strategies designed to confront the civil rights issues of the day. The following decades produced no earth-shaking gains in the fight for full civil rights. World War I came and went, and the plight of Blacks remained about the same. There was a rise in organizations promoting racial pride and futile back-to-Africa efforts. Lynchings continued unabated, and race riots periodically occurred in cities. Numerous states enacted laws banning intermarriage, and the Great Depression, from 1929 until 1940, ensured that the nation's attention would be on economic advancement. By then, worldwide changes were affecting all nations.

The sweeping events of the modern Civil Rights Movement occurred between 1954 and 1968. Although many factors contributed to its birth, some believe that the seeds of future militancy were planted during World War II and its immediate aftermath. In some Black barbershops, there were fiery barbershop shouting matches about how they were being treated by "the man." The shouting became loudest when reference was made to "our boys fighting and dying" for a country "that doesn't give a damn about us." A statement made by First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt declaring that the nation cannot expect colored people to feel that the United States is worth defending if they continue to be treated as they are now was widely discussed in Black communities around the nation. All cultures have contradictory values; they sometimes exist without open challenge and at other times are doomed to eventually collapse. Her words captured this ambivalence and laid bare an unsustainable hypocrisy.

In 1940, 19% of Black men were unemployed, and most Black families lived in poverty. The defense buildup beginning in June 1940 ended the Great Depression and brought prosperity for many, but Blacks were still being denied jobs, and a campaign was building to have a March on Washington. To prevent this, President Franklin Roosevelt issued Executive Order #8802, which set forth a policy to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens of the United States regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin. The order was issued less than 7 months before the war began.

Before Pearl Harbor, Blacks were a small, segregated part of the Army and Navy and, since the Revolutionary War, were not in the Marines. After World War II erupted on December 7, 1941, more than 2.5 million Black men registered for the draft, and more than 1 million served as draftees or volunteers in all branches of the Armed Forces. Black women enlisted in the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps, and more than 6,200 served. Almost all were relegated to segregated divisions and assigned to combat support roles, such as supply, maintenance, cooks, quartermaster, and grave-digging duty. As the war got tougher and casualties mounted, this was changed, and in Europe, many went into combat. The justly heralded Tuskegee Airmen were a part of this shift and lost 66 airmen in combat in Europe.

Letters sent to family members describing experiences in the segregated Armed Forces were powerful fuel for the social revolution to come. They were not meant to be inflammatory, just individuals describing in matter-of-fact terms the day-to-day events in their lives. Buttressed by interviews and research, these letters were an additional force contributing to raising consciousness and questioning the continued acceptance of second-class citizenship. Kevin Kruse and Stephen Tuck (2012), in their book *Fog of War: The Second World War and the Civil Rights Movement*, touch on these issues. Fighting for democracy abroad and returning home to find full acceptance still elusive caused many to abandon passivity in the face of injustice. Many returning veterans may not have participated in the events of the late 1950s and the 1960s, but their recounted experiences and sometimes stoic silence on returning home influenced the thinking of the next generation.

Two months into the war, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the most widely read Black newspaper in the country, launched a crusade called the Double Victory Campaign. Readers were urged to support the fight against Germany and Japan and to fight as well against segregation and second-class citizenship at home. The campaign's success was measured by the large number of Blacks greeting one another with both hands held high and fingers spread in a Double V sign. If the war was considered a fight to preserve the four freedoms of our democracy, the Double Victory Campaign was directed against the same democracy that refused to confront the entrenched cultural values devaluing soldiers fighting on its behalf.

Following the *war to end all wars*, activism slowly emerged and was met with the usual implacable resistance. In rural Mississippi, a recently returned veteran tried to register to vote only to be told by the registrar, "Niggers ain't allowed to vote." On the national front, Congress was noteworthy in making no attempt to address the needs of this restive section of citizens. A landmark was reached in 1948 when President Truman signed an executive order declaring that all Armed Forces would henceforth cease segregation, thereby finally ending one unsustainable hypocrisy. The turning point came when the Supreme Court in 1954 ruled unanimously in *Brown v. Board of Education* that segregation in education was unconstitutional. Though separated by almost a decade, these pronouncements from two branches of the federal government heralded a new day and laid the groundwork for what was to come.

Two incidents happened in 1955 that, while unrelated, increased the pace of activism nationwide. Emmett Till, a 14-year-old from Chicago visiting relatives in Mississippi, allegedly whistled at a White woman and was kidnapped, beaten, shot, and dumped in the river. This heinous act was widely reported in the national press, and when the trial came, no penalty was imposed on the perpetrators. The second incident, in Montgomery, Alabama, became a rallying cry for mobilization. Rosa Parks, a 42-year-old Black woman, was arrested after refusing to give up her seat to a White passenger and move to the back of a public bus. The bus line was boycotted, and it was desegregated a year later. Rising to prominence as one of the leaders of the boycott and as an apostle of civil disobedience and nonviolent protest was the young Baptist preacher Martin Luther King Jr.

Integration: Civil Rights Confrontations

In short order, an electrifying series of events involving race unfolded. The long revered and violently protected way of life of the South was at long last being directly confronted. In 1957, President Dwight D. Eisenhower sent federal troops and the National Guard to Little Rock, Arkansas, as some students, who became known as the "Little Rock Nine," integrated a high school. In the same year, King and two other preachers established the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and King became its first president. The group quickly became a major force in organizing the Civil Rights Movement in the South, and King's words gave the marching orders: "We must conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline." Most important, they cast the struggle in the moral terms of good versus evil.

In 1959, Black college students in Nashville, Tennessee, began a nonviolent direct action campaign to end segregation at downtown lunch counters. These sit-ins were the spark, but the next event started the fire when, in 1960, four Black students in Greensboro, North Carolina, staged a sit-in at a segregated Woolworth's lunch counter. The nationwide presence of the retail chain meant publicity, and news of the protests spread like wildfire. Suddenly, student sit-ins became *de rigueur* throughout the South in integrating parks, swimming pools, theaters, libraries, and other public facilities.

The student sit-ins inspired the formation of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, often pronounced *snick*. Stokely Carmichael became a leader and later made the slogan "Black Power" and protesting against the Vietnam War a major focus of the organization. Another leader was H. Rap Brown, who startled America with his declaration that violence is as American as apple pie. In 1961, another group, the Congress of Racial Equality, began organizing student volunteers to take bus trips through the South to test the new laws prohibiting segregation in interstate travel facilities. They were known as *freedom riders* and were attacked by angry mobs along the way. An iconic image of a burned-out Greyhound bus in Anniston, Alabama, remains as a symbol of those riders.

Early on, the Civil Rights Movement had found an unexpected ally. Although in the early 1950s television was still a novelty, owned by relatively few people, by 1960, 90% of American homes had television. What was happening in the South was must-see news for a fascinated nation. Many viewers in northern states became more sympathetic after watching the national news and seeing peaceful, nonviolent marchers and protesters provoking violent reactions from the southern police. Ironically, national television helped southern

Blacks organize and unify because local southern media rarely covered news involving racial issues, in keeping with the rationale that any social unrest was being instigated entirely by (largely mythical) *outside agitators*, who should therefore receive no publicity. In viewing the national newscasts, southern Blacks could see protests and marches in other cities and were inspired to conduct similar actions at home.

In 1962, James Meredith became the first Black student to enroll at the University of Mississippi, the state most Blacks considered the nation's most rigidly segregated. Predictably, powerful resistance emerged, and federal troops were mobilized after two people were killed in bloody clashes. In early 1963, King was arrested and jailed in Birmingham, Alabama. While in jail, he wrote the justly acclaimed *Letter From Birmingham Jail*, in which he, like Henry David Thoreau, argued that individuals have the moral duty to disobey unjust laws. Throughout the South, fire hoses, police dogs, and angry mobs met marchers and bystanders alike. Protesters and suspected dissidents were murdered, including Medgar Evers, the field secretary for the NAACP in Mississippi. In August 1963, an estimated quarter of a million people of all races participated in the March on Washington. Although there were many speeches made and famous faces in the throng, the most lasting image is the "I Have a Dream" speech by King.

The next month, an unthinkable event happened in Birmingham. A bomb planted by Ku Klux Klan members killed four girls attending Sunday school in a Baptist church. This was a watershed moment for the movement. Although violence and killings were by now commonplace, the youth and innocence of the girls and the fact that they had been killed in a place of worship made this act even more horrendous. Not only did this lead to the passage of the 24th Amendment to the Constitution abolishing the poll tax; it also pushed President Lyndon Johnson to sign the Civil Rights Act on July 2, 1964. Just when many thought the violence would abate, the bodies of three civil rights workers, two White and one Black, were found in an earthen dam in rural Mississippi.

The march from Selma to Montgomery in 1965 became the most celebrated. Marching in support of voting rights, the group was stopped outside Selma by a police blockade. In an incident dubbed Bloody Monday, they were set on with tear gas, whips, and clubs. More than 50 people were hospitalized. A national cry erupted, and 3 weeks later, celebrities, private citizens of all races, and professional groups were enlisted to join the march. A clear outcome of the march occurred later that year when Congress passed the Voting Rights Act, banning literacy tests, poll taxes, and other obstacles used to limit voting by Blacks. The years after the march saw the founding of the Black Panthers, and many younger Blacks began to openly question the effectiveness of nonviolence and passive resistance.

The modern Civil Rights Movement was at its apogee when King was assassinated in 1968, not because he was the only leader—there were numerous leaders sung and unsung—but because he had become the symbol of the movement. King understood American history and a democracy's aspirations, and in his actions, writings, and speeches, he called on the better self of those aspirations to make its voice heard.

The Impact of the Great Decade of Civil Rights

The 1970s and 1980s saw civil rights activities, but the sense of a movement had become less intense. An executive order issued in 1965 requiring government contractors to take *affirmative action* toward prospective minority employees in hiring and employment became politically toxic. The focus shifted from righting past wrongs to including those who were underrepresented whether in education or employment in government and the private sector. Equal employment then yielded to diversity as a business imperative, giving rise to the current societal emphasis on diversity and inclusion.

Looking back, there were two major changes the modern Civil Rights Movement made in American culture. For more than four centuries, it had been socially acceptable to hold and express prejudices, particularly against Blacks. Certainly not everyone did so, but one was not considered an outlier in feeling superior to any Black person and saying so. Religion, science, gene pools, "our way of life," or any of myriad reasons were cited. The legislation passed in that grand period prohibiting discrimination and extending voting rights changed behavior and has accelerated change of the attitudes, beliefs, and assumptions supporting previous behavior. In addition, it has marginalized those who still cite any of the above reasons in support of notions of racial superiority and inferiority.

Cultural change invariably starts with behavior change, and as time passes, beliefs, values, and attitudes change. The election of Barack Obama to the presidency and proclamations about America in a postracial period overlook this important process. Rooting out conscious and unconscious prejudice directed at any group takes centuries, as attested to by the lingering anti-Semitism and other sectarian prejudices still existing over several millennia.

The other major change occurred as events mushroomed in the great decade of civil rights. During the years of the movement, many people sought psychotherapy specifically to talk about how the turmoil in society was affecting them. What for some started as following events happening many miles away rapidly turned into introspection about interactions, slights, and current discrimination in their daily lives. Others, those active in the movement, traveled around the country, seeking new allies, fund-raising, or speaking at local events. Many were not seeking psychiatric help specifically, just a quiet and safe place for conversations about the struggle and their part in it. These visitors sought to gain more perspective about themselves, the events in which they were participating, and the insights they had gained. Whatever the motivation for wanting to seek help, underneath many questions was the reality that most of them were on a continuing journey of self-definition. How individuals see and define themselves is the contribution of the psychologist Erik Erikson and his seminal work on cultural identity. Having a clear cultural identity helps one develop self-esteem, and it means the difference between comfortably fitting in or remaining an outsider.

What it meant to be an American was interwoven in many conversations during that time. Race, its daily burdens and blessings, in one way or another affected every discussion. The continuum of emotions ranged from rage to despair to optimism about times getting better. What was unearthed during those turbulent times forced people to explore the many facets of their identity. Many questioned aloud whether they could remain nonviolent and whether marching and demonstrations were enough. Whatever else was happening in their lives, the questions signaled that profound changes were under way. Then, one day a milestone was reached, and it all came together. From the late 1960s on, the emphatic description was Black, Black American, or African American. The new descriptions of identity didn't refer to skin color but to a state of being. However imprecise, they were generated from within, not labels or names uttered by the first slaveholders. The journey from 1619 to the modern Civil Rights Movement produced many changes, with more undoubtedly to come. The cultural identity of Black Americans and how they describe themselves may change yet again, but henceforth it will be *their* designation, not one imposed by others.

Price M. Cobbs

See also Critical Race Theory; Racial Identity Development Models; Racism, Institutional; Racism, Interpersonal

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Class

Although many people in the United States have vague ideas about labels such as *rich*, *poor*, and *middle-class*, delineating exactly what constitutes these constructs and the relationships among them can be a source of confusion and, often, disagreement. To further complicate the lack of clarity of class labels, unlike other socially constructed identity categories such as race, gender, or sexual orientation, class is not generally thought to be an important social marker in the United States. This remains true despite the recent Occupy Movement, which attempted to bring attention to economic exploitation of the 99% by the megawealthy 1%. Despite appearances to the contrary, perhaps the Occupy Movement and a downwardly turning economy have penetrated *the myth of the middle* in the United States, at least just a bit. For much of U.S. history, when asked what class he or she is in, the typical American will respond, "Oh, in the middle." However, this identification does not seem to be related to annual income or occupation. The idea of being a middle American is seductive and fits well with other American ideals such as meritocracy and the American Dream. Interestingly, the Pew Research Center found that Americans' identification with the middle is waning. Americans who once identified as solidly middle-class are now reporting that they are in the lower middle or even the lower class. Amid the realities of a slow economic recovery for most and reports that the United States has the most extreme wealth concentration of the top 20 of its peer nations, illusions of *middleness* may be difficult to maintain. This is especially true when the current economy is juxtaposed with the American Dream, which asks Americans to believe both that class does not matter in terms of life chances *and* that citizens can and should move up the class hierarchy to improve their life chances.

In addition, simply defining social class is a challenging proposition. Historically, in the United States, and following Karl Marx, among others, *class* has been defined primarily in terms of economics, specifically as it pertains to people's relationship to the means of production, whether one is an owner or a worker. Although the economic aspect of class is deeply meaningful and relates to one's ability to address many life issues, from the fulfillment of basic needs like food, water, and shelter to purchasing healthcare or attending college, some suggest that social class is a cultural idea as well as an economic one. This entry discusses the complex idea of class, its relationship to culture and identity, and the material implications of that relationship, as well as its relationship to intercultural competence.

Class Is Complicated

In common everyday parlance, the word *class* is often used to describe people's behavior, their living conditions, and so forth. For example, if someone accuses another of *having no class*, they generally mean that the person is not genteel and engages in unseemly behaviors (e.g., cursing, using the wrong fork at dinner, double-dipping in the bean dip at a party) that are considered improper and maybe even offensive by some. In addition to individuals, whole groups of people as well as spaces can also be labeled in reference to class. Context matters as it helps interpret what is being implied about class. For example, when a person lives in a *low-class* area, such as a trailer park, the individual may be labeled as *White trash* or *low class* in the sense of not having the *right* family background, not having attended the *right* schools, or not having vacationed in acceptable destinations. In these usages of *class*, the term signals something about the *violator* of class norms, as having a lack of some sort, as being different from *us* and therefore not quite acceptable. In addition, it also signals something about the speaker and implicates notions of superiority and inferiority.

Social Class, Culture, and Communication

Social class has been and remains seriously understudied in the field of intercultural communication and in the larger field of communication in general. This may be due to ideological beliefs that the United States is a classless society. The lack of attention to class by communication scholars may be due to the fuzziness of the concept and the difficulty in operationalizing it in clear and simple terms. This difficulty is especially challenging for social scientific and other scholars who tend to think about group membership within a framework of *identity boxes* (e.g., sex and race). Unlike other identity categories where one might use a single measure to denote group membership, experts agree that social class is best determined with multiple indicators, typically some combination of occupation, educational attainment, income, and wealth (assets minus debt). While this approach is useful for grouping people into classes, objective indicators alone do not tell us much about the cultural elements of class. In addition to these so-called objective measures, subjective indicators are also often used. Here, "subjective" refers to the ways people experience themselves as belonging to a particular class group (avowed identity) and the cultural values attached to the membership (norms, labels, core symbols). Similar to other social identities, social class comprises group membership (both ascribed and avowed), dress, mannerisms, interests, everyday practices, speech patterns, tastes, ways of understanding the world, and so forth. In the enculturation process, the ways of one's social class of origin are learned (alongside social understandings of other identities, e.g., gender, race, ability), and these understandings are central to the way individuals think about themselves, their world, and the meanings attached to people, places, and things. It should be noted that whether objective or subjective, all of these indicators are socially constructed and have no meanings outside of those people give them through their practices and discourse.

Some scholars dispute the idea that social class is a cultural concept. The pioneering sociologist Max Weber, among others, maintains that class is an economic category only, and other terms such as *status group* should be used to refer to group cultural elements, such as shared lifestyle and values. Others, such as Jackman and Bullock, argue that the distinction between class as an economic idea and class as a cultural notion is false and that social classes appear to have cultural/expressive characteristics such as shared lifestyle or beliefs and values. Researchers have found that when asked to define class, respondents tend to give a list of textbook definitions including socioeconomic indicators (salary, educational level, occupational prestige); however, when interviewed, they tend to offer core values, worldview, and expectations of self and others as central to their class identity. Studies have also found that when asked how they decide whether or not a person belongs to their class, people indicate that cultural/expressive factors (e.g., beliefs and values) weigh at least as heavily as do objective status characteristics.

Relationship to Intercultural Competence

When considering the role of social class in intercultural competence, its cultural elements are of central concern. Once class is brought into the social realm and understood culturally, then its connection to intercultural competence, and the contested nature of that connection, comes into clearer focus.

Intercultural competence has been generally conceptualized as knowledge, attitudes, and skills that enhance the effectiveness and appropriateness of interaction in a range of intercultural contexts. Theoretically, interculturalists assert, judgments of effectiveness and appropriateness would be mutually derived by all parties involved in the interaction. However, what critical communication scholars suggest is that adaptation of communication styles and practices is most often executed by the lower power group in deference to those who hold higher power and more sway in an organization, a nation, or a world. When people are perceived as not adapting or adjusting effectively and appropriately to an organization, environment, or other context, the interpretation can be that the failure is all theirs and that the higher power party plays no role in the failure, a situation in which *mutual* intercultural competence must be reiterated. This failure can range in form and consequence. For example, consider the impact of showing up at a *lawn party* or a *polo match* in cutoff jeans and T-shirt or to a backyard BBQ in a white dinner jacket. More seriously, consider many Americans' expectations of new immigrants. New immigrants are generally expected to fit themselves into the dominant culture and to demonstrate that they fit in by speaking English and taking on behaviors and beliefs associated with the majority. In some of the literature on adaptation, the implication is that American culture has a particular cultural composition: It is White, heterosexual, and middle-class. Sometimes, members of the dominant culture are not encouraged to think reflexively about their own values and expectations, which limits their intercultural competence. Thus, to be adjudged competent or well-adjusted or even worthy, immigrants must figure out what is expected and adapt to those expectations.

To further complicate matters, in theorizing competence, the notion of social power has sometimes been left out of the equation, while within communication and other theoretical work on social class, power is very much involved in its understanding, much as with notions of race and gender. So to discuss an inherently political cultural identity within a frame that neglects social class is totally inadequate, especially when in fact the frame itself is implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) imbued with power inequality. For example, in some communication research on the working class or the poor, it has been found that to be competent is interpreted to mean accommodation to the dominant-class style of communication and the sets of expectations governing such interactions. While intercultural competence theorists emphasize mutual adaptation, that mandate is not always adopted.

To ignore power differentials in notions of intercultural competence and social class is to encourage an implicit reification of dominant-class norms and force those who do not occupy dominant-class cultures to perform a sort of *class passing* in order to avoid being seen as incompetent, which in turn only further reifies dominant-class worldviews. Furthermore, to do so nullifies the theorized idea in intercultural competence that outcomes are mutually negotiated and managed. In fact, one-way accommodation of the marginal class to dominant-class norms completely belies the notion of mutuality assumed in popular notions of intercultural competence.

Dreama G. Moon

See also Ascribed and Achieved Status; Assimilation; Constructivism; Identity; Power; Social Identity Theory

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Coaching for Intercultural Competence

Coaching is a discipline whereby a client (called a coachee) utilizes the services of a coach to achieve various outcomes in a number of different contexts including developing intercultural competence; the main goal is to sustain effective communication within intercultural settings. The coachee may be a businessperson traveling to a new country, a student traveling abroad, or individuals working in their own country of origin but in a target culture different from the culture with which they identify. Coaching may be used on its own or in combination with other methods of developing intercultural competence.

This entry begins by defining the coaching process in some depth and then describes three components of intercultural competence: (1) knowledge, (2) affect, and (3) action. Next, the role of the coach and the competencies required to guide others is discussed, and the entry concludes by outlining the importance of maintaining an ongoing relationship with those being coached.

Among all of the available developmental modalities, choosing coaching implies following a specific process toward achieving a specific outcome. *Coaching* is an individual-centered process in which the coach remains highly attuned to the coachee's learning, understanding, and goals at a pace that offers optimal support and challenge for the coachee's development over a specific period of time. Even when an entire team (e.g., a work function) or a group (e.g., an entire class studying abroad) is receiving coaching, each member of that group will still have private one-on-one meetings with the coach and receive tailored, developmental guidance in an intercultural setting.

Although understood and practiced in a specific cultural environment, intercultural competence is not merely about learning how to be more successful in one specific cultural setting. Rather, it is a metacompetence that is beneficial on a variety of levels in any intercultural setting that one enters into while abroad or within one's own country. Culture A is used to indicate the coachee's culture of origin or the culture with which he or she identifies. Culture B is the current or imminent target culture where the coachee must live, study, or work. Intercultural competence, then, is developed through coaching by addressing the understanding and behaviors that the coachee brings from Culture A into target Culture B, which may have similar or very different values. The process of receiving coaching guidance and reflection during this experience helps the coachee become capable in Culture B and also develop the more widely applicable skill set of intercultural competence.

Intercultural Competence

Intercultural competence consists of three components, each of which has its own developmental trajectory addressed during the coaching process. As an ideal, intercultural competence consists of (1) using knowledge in a cognitively complex way to understand one's experience as opposed to remaining unable to make new distinctions regarding one's experience, (2) an interior emotional affect of curiosity and confidence as opposed to one of anxiety, and (3) a behavioral tendency toward actively engaging in new ways as opposed to avoiding situations and new behaviors. The coach assists the coachee in developing each of these three components in tandem while addressing the specific understanding of norms and behaviors appropriate to the context of Culture B.

Knowledge

The spectrum of this component can be thought of as moving from what is unknown to what is known cognitively.

1. The coachee has an understanding and a nomenclature for speaking of cultural-general knowledge. The coach offers resources for acquiring new, relevant knowledge.
2. The coachee understands himself or herself as a culturally influenced individual in the world and what that means for his or her lens and preferences while engaging with intercultural environments. Over time, the coach engages the coachee in conversation to help understand this component.
3. The coachee has culture-specific knowledge of the target culture, which is used to guide understanding and behavior choices. The coach and the coachee both bring understanding to this component.

Affect

Whereas the spectrum of this component can range from indifference or anxiety to curiosity and confidence, competency in this component of intercultural competence suggests more of an awareness of one's current emotional state. Emotional states may fluctuate along a spectrum rather than becoming fixed in an emotional affect of complete curiosity and confidence in all situations. Anxiety is often a natural response to many unfamiliar and unanticipated situations, and while the resiliency rate may increase by recognizing anxiety, there may always be an element of anxiety present even after confidence is achieved. The affective element must be addressed by the coach and the coachee at each coaching session to assess how affect is contributing to or hindering progress in the other two components.

Action

The spectrum of this component moves from avoidance and outside observer to willing and active participant in behaviors that are appropriate for Culture B. The coach may introduce behaviors to the coachee that may not have been known as appropriate before the coaching engagement. In this way, the coach helps expand the behavioral repertoire for the coachee to choose from when interacting in the intercultural context. When acting from awareness and a range of options, the coachee can competently decide which behavior is the most appropriate.

Each action taken within an intercultural setting always consists of these three components. While the ultimate aim and confirmation of competence is the deliberate action (or reduction of behavior) within an intercultural setting, each component influences the others: Knowledge can bring confidence and a willingness to participate, affective confidence can bring a desire to learn more about behavioral options, and successful action may decrease anxiety and increase curiosity. Because of the individually focused nature of coaching, there is no specific starting point for which component to address first in order to complement the other two components. It is part of the professional competence of the coach to remain aware of the need to include all three components in the programs designed for coachees. Intercultural competence is observed when all three components are functioning on a sustained level of curiosity. This does not suggest that optimal functioning is always guaranteed in ambiguous scenarios. Rather, it implies that there is enough self-knowledge and curiosity for viewing the situation and remaining engaged with the environment while considering the next course of action to take. Whatever appropriate culture-specific action is taken is the outcome of coaching for intercultural competence as a metacompetence.

Role of the Coach

The term *coach* is commonly used in sports, but here it is used to describe the supportive role between a client and a consultant. It is an apt descriptor as almost every aspect involved with coaching a sport comes into play during coaching for intercultural competence. As in sports, the coach has specific knowledge and experience regarding the content. The coach is the observer on the sidelines and not a participant in the events themselves. The coach works for the development of each individual and/or team. The coach gives specific guidance to the individuals. The coach does not ask what the player would like to do to hit the golf ball better; the coach tells the player that he or she is more likely to achieve the win by keeping the arms straighter and swiveling more from the hips while keeping the knees relatively immobile. Without these specific behavioral invitations, the player may never discover how best to hit the ball. In intercultural coaching, the coach prepares the coachee to engage in situations that have a modest degree of predictability, along with preparation for ambiguous, unplanned culture clashes.

Coaching interventions may be applied in almost any type of setting or role: education, business, missionary, expatriate spouse, and adventurer. In all of these scenarios, the coach assists coachees by helping them become aware of their own culture, learning about cultural-general and culture-specific aspects, and supporting behavioral risk taking over a specific period of time. The coach and the coachee agree on the desired outcomes of the coaching engagement as well as the duration and frequency of meetings required to achieve the outcomes.

Coaching Competencies

Coaching as a discipline contains its own specific competencies for its professional process. In all coaching initiatives (not only those leading to the goal of intercultural competency), the coach must be able to assess the coachee's immediate level of awareness and capacity for each outcome that is important for the coachee. The coach then develops, in advance or during the coaching meeting, action items for the coachee to engage in prior to the next meeting. In coaching for intercultural competency, the coach must constantly assess each component while working with the highly individual and specific needs for success within the coachee's context. The coach does this by learning the following competencies required to assist others in their development of intercultural competence.

Asking Questions

The coach asks questions to aid the coachee in articulating his or her current understanding of the situation. The questions are useful as a way of assessing an individual's development and also for the coach to help guide the coachee in becoming capable and comfortable in understanding and articulating the situation from the coachee's cultural framework. How does the coachee experience the situation? What does the coachee know about culture-appropriate norms? Can the coachee articulate the equivalency from his or her own culture? What culture-general category is useful? What is the coachee doing/not doing each day? What affect is noticeable?

Listening

The coach continually listens to the coachee speak of his or her experience through the lens of knowledge, affect, and behavior. How much does the coachee know? How accurate is his or her discernment of the finer elements of his or her experience? Is he or she aware of what he or she does not know? What is being avoided? Is the attitude anxious or open? Is there defensiveness or resistance to the situation? Is ambiguity tolerable during the coaching conversation?

Assessing and Designing a Coaching Program

As coaches ask very specific questions and listen carefully to what is being said and not said, they make assessments about where along the spectrum of development the coachee resides for each of the three components of intercultural competency. The assessment is based on what the coachee shares with the coach. Following the assessment, the coach designs action items for the coachee to engage in to move toward competency in each component.

Some activities are based on increasing knowledge, such as asking the coachee to read a book and reflect on it before the next coaching meeting. Some activities are action oriented, such as giving the coachee a chance to experience something new or challenging and then discuss the outcome with the coach at the next meeting. Most activities combine the rationale (knowledge) and an action item to practice the behavior before the next meeting. All of these scenarios involve the affective component that the coach is continually including in the coaching conversations. In this way, the coach is identifying knowledge gaps, supporting the emotional experience, and continually assessing and guiding with culturally appropriate behavioral outcomes.

Maintaining an Ongoing Relationship

A key component of engaging a coach is that the coach maintains a supportive relationship with the coachee over a designated period of time. The initial assessment, design, and delivery of a coaching program are just the beginning of the process of developing intercultural competence. Although the development of the knowledge component can happen quickly, the affective and behavioral components may take time to reach a sustainable level of intercultural competency. The coach meets with the coachee at regular intervals for a specific period of time and determines from meeting to meeting, based on the conversations with the coachee, what has been achieved, where resistance might be present, and whether the action items from the original program design remain optimal. In the time frame between meetings, there can be many events that occur that are relevant to the coachee's growth and support or inhibit development. Other factors such as new people coming into the scenario can modify the experience of the coachee, requiring a review of the needs and capacities of the situation in light of the new context. The coach may then offer new and relevant categories of knowledge or insight that speak to the new situation.

Behavioral challenges are also explored and analyzed at each meeting, possibly resulting in a role-play with the coachee. The one-on-one aspect is highly conducive to the development of intercultural competence because the coach is not a part of the coachee's ingroup and therefore may bring more disclosure and accuracy to what is occurring in the coachee's world. While there may be elements of trust immediately on meeting, what the coachee is willing to reveal increases over time at each subsequent meeting. A piece of information that might be hidden will more likely come to light and can be addressed one-on-one, specifically as it benefits closing the gap between current and desired levels of intercultural competence.

The ongoing nature of the coaching relationship allows the coachee to continually update what he or she knows, create a new understanding of his or her world, and witness the development that occurs. The goal of intercultural coaching is reached when the coachee can perform the competencies on his or her own in ways that members of the target culture as well as the coachee can recognize as competent. Toward this goal, the coach shares everything that enables the coachee to become independently competent, without creating a dependency on the coach.

Glen T. Sebera

See also Assessments of Intercultural Competence; Global Transferees; Intercultural Competence Development; Intercultural Competence in Organizations; Intercultural Sensitivity; Leading Global Teams

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Co-Creation of Meaning

Communication is both action and process. The purpose of communication is to exchange information with others. In this exchange, individuals seek coherence in their understanding so that they can know what this interaction means to them, how they should act, and how to coordinate meaning making with others. All of this is heavily influenced by the context within which this communication takes place. The perspectives used to make meaning of communication are created from one's culture and include past experiences, family, education, and other significant as well as minor influences. One of the challenges of effective intercultural communication is that the frames used to interpret communication and make meaning differ because of how worldviews are developed.

This entry explores how worldview frames are formed, how meaning is made in relationships, and how shared meaning can be co-created. Co-creating shared meaning is important for effective intercultural communication for people to understand one another, coexist, and work together collaboratively.

Creating Worldview Frames

A person's frame of reference, what is often called a *worldview*, is shaped by the values created from experiences in the family, the community, education, religion, and other contexts that socialize individuals into the world within which they live. Used collectively in a community, these worldviews are employed to construe meaning from experience. Humans have a need to understand their environments, including the people they encounter, in order to make sense of interactions. These experiences and the meanings made develop increasing cognitive complexity for the next experience; this process is continuous. New experiences may bring new understandings to past encounters as one rethinks and reinterprets those past experiences to refine meaning. Communication is ongoing and dynamic.

Each worldview is subjective, and individuals are more likely to coordinate their meaning making with people similar to themselves, who have similar sets of values, beliefs, and behaviors, that is, people from their own culture. When individuals communicate with familiar people, they have a higher degree of created shared meaning. When communicating with people who have different worldviews, who make different interpretations of behaviors and spoken language, coordinating shared meaning is more challenging.

Creating Shared Meaning

Traditional models of communication describe the process of communication as transmitting information from one entity to another. However, the communication process is complex and does more than simply transmit information. Instead, communication is a transactive, intrapersonal, interpersonal, and often intercultural process. Meaning evolves as influencing factors surface and affect the communication and the individuals in relationship. Relationships are made in communication, and communication is made in relationships. The quality of communication affects the quality of relationships, and this in turn directly affects the quality of the social worlds that are being experienced.

Worldviews influence the meaning that is made from communication with others. All individuals involved in the communication play a role in co-creating meaning. The more worldviews are aligned, the easier it is to facilitate this shared meaning-making process. The more worldviews are divergent, the more differences there are in values and filters, and this may present a barrier to the coordination of communication and relationship building. For instance, if one person views achievement as the acquisition of material wealth and the other believes that achievement consists of personal development, coordinated meaning on investment in a car may be difficult to attain.

Once individuals become more sensitized to their role and responsibility in co-creating shared meaning, they may notice that there are many opportunities within any given day to practice. Often, people are not aware of their own worldview until faced with situations in which others respond differently from what they expected. For example, when someone responds to an idea with "I'll think about it," the words may be taken literally. However, those from more indirect cultural patterns of speaking may infer that this is a rejection of the idea framed in a politely acceptable manner. What happens next in this relationship is affected by the meaning made in this communication. If the meaning is not coordinated, there will be different subsequent actions expected, leading to potential conflict. If it is well coordinated, then alternative ideas may be explored until one agreeable to both parties is found.

Making Better Social Worlds

There is wonderful richness in diversity when these different perspectives are honored and are respected for the contributions they make. Humans seek safety and security on different levels, and part of this comes from being in control of one's environment. This can come from being safe in communication because there is a high level of certainty about the conversation partner's point of view, so that they are synchronized with one another, reach agreement, and are not unpleasantly surprised with disagreement. Disagreement from diverse perspectives can be a result of assumptions made about each other and differences in meaning making, thus challenging the co-creation of shared meaning.

Intercultural communication can be more effective through understanding that values and worldviews differ, and if individuals assume that not everyone shares the same meaning. Cultivating cultural self-awareness increases positive interactions, because individuals are then able to make better quality relationships across cultures, thus improving the quality of social worlds.

Beth Fisher-Yoshida

See also Assumptions and Beliefs; Cultural Self-Awareness; Developing an Intercultural Vision; Language, Culture, and Intercultural Communication; Worldview

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Cognitive Styles Across Cultures

Cognitive style refers to an individual's typical way of using his or her brain to respond mentally to the exigencies of life: perceiving, interpreting, feeling, analyzing, organizing, remembering, deciding, purposing, choosing, and so on. There is wide agreement that each individual applies his or her mental capacity in ways that are characteristically patterned, that constitute his or her *style*. But this is not the same as saying that each individual is unique.

During the 1950s, researchers began exploring the ways in which human beings' mental processing is similar and different. The outcome has been a plethora of overlapping dimensions largely in the realm of individual psychology that pay little attention to the influence of culture. Fortunately for interculturalists, around the year 2000 a small group of psychologists began revealing insights about differences in cognitive styles across cultures.

The Overlapping Realms of Cognitive Style Research

Precisely what *cognitive styles*, also known as *intellectual styles*, refers to is not intuitively obvious. Human mental processing is complex and multifaceted; researchers have been examining a wide variety of its manifestations, referring to their particular focus of inquiry using not only the two terms above but also *learning styles, thinking styles, teaching styles, cognition, cognitivism, metacognition, situated cognition, creativity, intelligence*, and an array of approaches to *personality*.

Four of the above research streams are not discussed in this entry. One is *intelligence* (or cognitive ability), which gauges an individual's maximal performance, speed of response, and correctness when given challenging mental tasks; it's about power, not style. Three others have separate entries in this encyclopedia: (1) learning styles, (2) teaching (instructional) styles, and (3) personality. Note that personality research concerns the characteristic qualities of an individual's interpersonal behavior, for example, whether a person is an introvert or an extrovert.

To grasp the realm of cognitive style research, one must consider the meaning of *style*. A construct at the intersection of intelligence and personality, *style* refers to an individual's characteristic patterns or preferred ways, the *how* of doing something, in this case, doing mental processing. An individual's cognitive style is thought to have both dynamic and stable features. Dynamism is a property of style because everyone encounters a huge variety of situations—to survive and thrive requires flexibility and adaptability. Stability is a property of style because, after all, it's the same individual who, over time, is doing the encountering.

Dimensions Emerging From Cognitive Style Research

Largely a product of Western conceptualizing and effort, cognitive style research has yielded several dozen dimensions or models of the ways in which mental processing varies from person to person. Only one, field independence/field dependence (first proposed by H. A. Witkin in 1962), has had value for interculturalists. Here are a few examples of the many other dimensions that have emerged:

- Leveling/sharpening (1954)
- Abstract/concrete (1961)
- Impulsive/reflective (1964)
- Divergent/convergent (1967)
- Verbalizer/visualizer (1971)
- Adaptor/innovator (1976)
- Analytic/holistic (1987)
- Analytic/intuitive (2009)

During 1991, two style researchers reviewed more than 30 style constructs and proposed that they all could be classified along two fundamental style dimensions: *Holistic/analytic* (a preference for dealing with wholes or parts) and *verbal/imagery* (a preference for using words or images for mental processing). Subsequent studies lent credibility to this proposal.

In 2012, an overview of style literature included an attempt to relate Geert Hofstede's four cross-cultural dimensions to six style dimensions: Field dependence/independence, impulsive/reflective, career interest types, learning approaches, thinking styles, and (as measured by the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator) personality styles. None related especially well to Hofstede's dimensions. Field dependence/independence related best (although not without empirical challenges), while learning approaches related worst.

Russian Psychologists Propose "Situated Cognition"

The first sustained attempts to account for culture's role in the shaping of human cognition were made by two Soviet psychologists, Lev Vygotsky (1896–1934) and his disciple Alexei Leont'ev (1903–1979). Often called *situated cognition*, their school of thought disputes the assumption that cognition, what goes on inside one's head, can be understood as though the external world were merely a collection of information waiting to be processed. Instead, situated cognition holds that every act of reasoning is an act of participation in cultural practices.

The originator of this *cultural-historical theory of cognitive development*, Vygotsky, was influenced by Karl Marx's view that tool use is what distinguishes humans from all other animals. Vygotsky noted that humans use not only physical tools but also *intellectual tools* such as language, writing, and number systems. Most tools of both types are not created by each generation but are received from earlier generations; new and improved types also can be invented by a new generation. Physical tools enhance human activity by making an ever wider range of objectives attainable. Similarly, intellectual tools enhance human cognition.

Physical and intellectual tools are cultural-historical artifacts; infants gain use of them as they develop. All of a child's face-to-face interactions, even behavior when the child is alone, are immersed within a comprehensive system of cultural practices that was historically constructed and is now socially organized and supportive of development. Children don't invent a unique language or number system; each experiences, learns, and applies intellectual tools in daily use by others within the environment, thereby shaping and expanding their innate cognitive ability. To treat cognition as a wholly internal process that handles wholly external information is to ignore an essential feature of human minds.

Leont'ev went a step further than Vygotsky. He came to view each child's intellectual development as identical with becoming an ever more skilled participant in his or her culture's practices. He maintained that children do not come into direct contact with reality (artifacts, events, beliefs, and so on), but instead experience and understand reality in ways shaped by their culture's practices. The unit of analysis is not the child but the *child-in-cultural practice*. Note that this view comes close to holding that *mind* is a property of groups.

Research by a contemporary psychologist illustrates how this school of thought views human activities. Edwin Hutchins observed the officers and crew of a naval vessel as they brought it into harbor. He saw a process involving both human beings, who were enacting roles previously specified by naval procedure, and artifacts (tools), which had been created previously by humans as resources for sailors. Some of the tools applied the latest technology; others (such as maps) applied skills developed centuries ago. The tools and crew were jointly responsible for the docking. Together, they formed a single system that completed a complex task.

Eastern and Western Styles of Sensing

The contributions of Vygotsky and Leont'ev weren't precisely about cognitive *style* but are notable for their cultural-historical approach and for recognizing that one's mind cannot be divorced from one's environment. An even deeper cultural-historical approach characterizes the recent work of a small group of scholars, most notably Richard E. Nisbett, who are revealing the nature of Eastern and Western cognitive styles and probing the deep origins of their variations. In the view of Nisbett and his coresearchers, the distinction between Eastern and Western styles is best captured by the familiar concepts *holistic* and *analytic*. While no description of a pattern can suggest how every individual will behave, Nisbett's work suggests themes that bear further examination.

In terms of how an individual senses, and makes sense of the environment, a feature of Easterners' holistic style is that one routinely attends to a wide range of objects and factors within the environment, becoming consciously aware not only of the foreground or the most salient item but also of the background and *overall situational context* of key items as well as the less salient items. Using sensory information, an Easterner is likely (a) to mentally group the items in terms of their relationships or functions; (b) to explore *relationships among* the items and their situational context; and if possible (c) to relate all to one's own relationships. If individuals attribute motives, they are likely to proceed from the assumption that many of the actors' decisions and behaviors are influenced by situational (environmental) factors.

In contrast, a feature of Westerners' analytic style of sensing is that an individual usually attends to a constricted range of objects and factors within his or her environment, primarily the most salient item(s) and/or the foreground. The background and situational context might be noticed but usually aren't treated as significant. Using the information to which a person has attended, a Westerner is likely to mentally group the salient items into their taxonomic categories, according to what individuals assume are their natural (scientific) relationships. Receiving less attention are the relationships among items, between them and the containing situation, and the implications for the observer's own relationships. More likely is that, if possible, an individual will consider options for personal interactions with the salient items. If one attributes motives, the individual probably will focus on the presumed internal traits, moods, and intentions of the actors, often ignoring or discounting situational factors that could be influencing their choices.

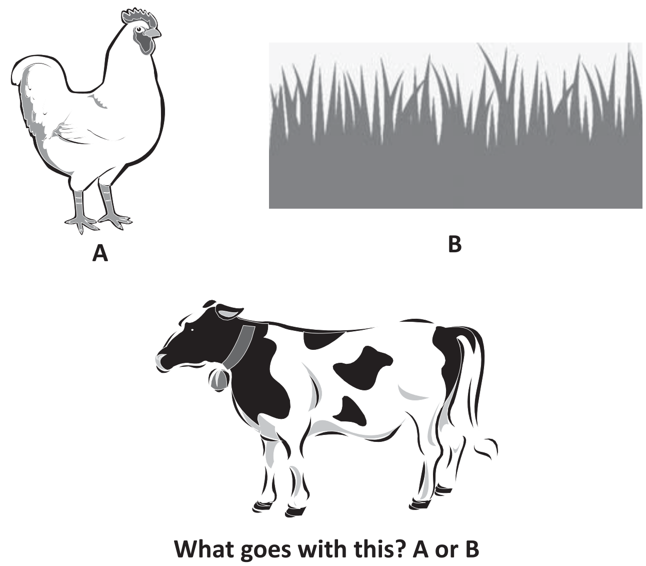

Figure 1 Example of Item Measuring Preference for Grouping by Categories or Relationships

Source: Nisbett, R. E. (2003). *The geography of thought* (p. 141). Used by permission. Copyright © 2003 by Richard E. Nisbett.

As noted earlier, Easterners group items by their relationships or functions; Westerners group items by their taxonomic categories. Figure 1 illustrates this important difference. What goes with the cow? A Western-minded respondent most likely will select the chicken because of the property it shares with the cow: animal. Each belongs to that larger taxonomic category. An Eastern-minded respondent is likely to select the grass due to the cow–grass relationship: cows trim grass; grass nourishes cows. Cow and grass are parts of a functioning whole system.

According to Nisbett, Easterners are verb oriented, focusing more on concrete activities and the relationships and influences among them within a situational context. Westerners are noun oriented, focusing more on the stable properties of things and concepts, which are abstractions, and then on their taxonomic categorization. This encyclopedia, which explains the properties of intercultural concepts and their categorization, is a product of a Western cognitive style.

Richard Nisbett's 2003 book, *The Geography of Thought*, offers many illustrations of these tendencies. For example, one of his Japanese students became upset by the behavior of American fans at football games because they often stood up, blocking the views of the fans behind them. In Japan, he said, this would never happen because a child learns to constantly monitor whether his or her behavior is adversely affecting others nearby. Hypothesizing that Asians view the world through a *wide-angle lens* and Westerners have *tunnel vision*, the student devised research: He made 20-second films of underwater scenes that included one or more *focal fish* that were large, bright, and active, plus background items including rocks, plants, bubbles, and less-salient fish. He screened the films to students at Kyoto University and the University of Michigan, and followed each with a recall task and a recognition task.

The Americans and the Japanese scored similarly in recalling focal fish. But the Japanese recalled background items over 60% more often than the Americans, and they made almost twice as many references to *relationships* involving background items. The first response of the Japanese usually referred to the environment ("It looked like a pond"); the first response from the Americans was three times more likely to refer to the focal fish.

To test recognition, subjects were shown numerous still pictures of underwater scenes (e.g., a focal fish shown with a rock in the background), half of which had appeared in the films, half of which were not from the films. Subjects were asked if they had seen these items before. Of the scenes from the films, some included an item (a focal fish, for instance) shown with its background from the film, and some were of an item with a novel background. The Japanese students' ability to recognize a previously seen item was much greater when it was shown with its film background; the Americans' ability to correctly recognize a previously seen item was not affected by whether or not the item appeared with its film background. This finding supports the view that, for Asians, an object is associated with its environment and is held in memory that way; for Americans, an object is dissociated from its environment.

Eastern and Western Styles of Reasoning

When it comes to reasoning, attempts to understand, evaluate, and decide, holistic Easterners will be more likely to process information dialectically, which means that they will be open to apparent contradictions, seeking to transcend them or find value in both. Reality is expected to be dynamic, changeable, or even capable of reversing course, leading to anomalies and paradoxes. Thus, opposites might be merely apparent, might complement each other, or at least both might be accurate to some extent. Nothing exists in isolation; to understand a thing, one must be aware of all its relations and interactions. Thought must not be constricted by rigid predetermined rules; form must not be divorced from content. It is desirable to find a harmonious *middle way* between extreme conclusions or solutions.

In contrast, an analytic Westerner will be more likely to process information analytically, which means, first of all, that he or she will separate a whole concept or thing into its constituent parts, and then try to understand the nature and function of each part. Perceived contradictions disturb the reasoning process because a principle of Western thought is that a proposition cannot be both true and false. Another principle of Western thought is that each concept and thing has a fixed identity, such as a stable taxonomic category, that is retained regardless of the environment in which it happens to be located. Often in use (sometimes implicitly) is formal logic, especially deductive reasoning. These predetermined rules can aid argumentation, but they also lead to the dissociation of form from content, giving form equal or greater weight. This makes it easy to discuss things that don't exist, as medieval clerics often did, such as how many angels could fit on the head of a pin. Though the idea of compromise enjoys respect in the West, the usual tendency is to prefer binary (either-or) solutions: A is true; B is false.

Among the scholars who have offered these insights, of great interest now is how these cognitive style differences came to be. Among the proposed origins are (a) contrasting values and mindsets, traceable in the East to Confucius and in the West to Aristotle; (b) the difference in the length of time that most societies in the East and West have been industrialized; (c) the structure of languages; (d) the relative wealth of societies; and even (e) genetic inheritances.

The most likely explanation, however, is the well-studied difference between the social orientations of Eastern and Western peoples. *Interdependence* typically characterizes life in the East: harmony-preserving values, collectivist mindsets, and constant awareness of interconnections between self and others. *Independence* typically characterizes life in the West: autonomy-preserving values, individualist mindsets, and concern with personal enhancement. Increasingly, recent research points to social orientation as the origin of differing cognitive styles across cultures.

Cornelius N. Grove

See also Intellectual and Ethical Development; Personality and Culture; Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

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Communicating Across Cultures With People From Africa

Africa is the cradle of humankind, the continent where the first cultures emerged. It is a large continent with 54 countries as members of the African Union. There are far more cultures than countries. Intercultural communication is thus an everyday reality not only for citizens of other continents coming to Africa or interacting with Africans but also for African people interacting with fellow African people from a different country or even from a different culture within the same country.

Noting that the Republic of South Africa has 11 official languages spoken in Parliament, Cameroon has 230 languages and 250 cultures, and Burkina Faso has 11 large cultural groups, some of which are nomadic and others settled, a sense of the cultural and religious richness and complexity of the continent is evident.

Many of these cultures experience deep change, as do cultures all over the world, and like everywhere else in the world, cultures seem to change more rapidly in urban centers than in rural areas. Within this extraordinary richness, variety, and transformation, some cultural features are nevertheless common to many people in Africa. Any person wishing to experience meaningful intercultural interaction with an African would be well advised to recognize these common features. However, as with descriptions of any cultural patterns, these observations are not true for every person or culture group but rather represent a central tendency among group members. This entry explores the central cultural values present in many contexts in Africa and considers some of the verbal and nonverbal skills necessary to interact meaningfully in large parts of the continent.

Cultural Values in Africa

Community and Family

Among the many cultural values that shape life in Africa, the importance of community is likely the most widely shared, as illustrated by countless African proverbs and sayings:

- It takes a whole village to raise a child. (African oral tradition)
- What can I do without other humans? When I arrived here below, I was in their hands; when I go from here, I will be in their hands. (Malinké oral tradition)
- Alone you go fast, together you go far. (African oral tradition)
- *Umtu ungumtu ngabantu*—a person is a person through other persons. (Xhosa proverb)

Most African persons perceive themselves primarily as members of a group rather than as individuals. Their main priorities and commitment are to fulfill their responsibilities toward their (extended) family. In everyday life, this value is visible in the importance granted to family and to family priorities. A wedding is a union of two families, even of two villages. A child can easily have two mothers: (1) the biological mother, who in many situations is not the one who raises the child, and (2) the woman who raises and educates the child, an aunt, elder sister, or grandmother. “My” son or daughter can be my biological or adopted child, my brother’s child, my friend’s child, or my child’s friend. Most African persons are able to name a few hundred family members. Basically, any adult has responsibility for any child in his or her surrounding—to protect, correct, or guide.

The importance of community in people's self-perception is revealed by the language. In Xhosa, one of South Africa's most widely spoken languages, people would greet each other with the plural form *Molweni* ("Greetings to you and yours") rather than with the singular *Molo* ("Greetings to you, the individual person in front of me"). The greetings extended by *Molweni* are directed to the living and also to their ancestors. In many African cultures, ancestors are considered very important and active members of the community.

Past and Present Focus

Regarding *time*, the past and the present tend to be honored more in many African contexts than the future.

- I should not throw out a staff that has accompanied me for one more beautifully shaped that I found this afternoon, because the first holds a part of my history. (Dogon village elder)
- If the branch will flower, she honors her roots. (Pacere F. Titinga, March 4, 2005)
- Every birth is the rebirth of an ancestor. (African oral tradition)

In everyday life, this value is visible in the importance given to the present. Event time takes precedence over clock time. Any important activity, meeting, or celebration takes the time it needs to take. Other appointments will be postponed or canceled. Funerals always take precedence over plans or appointments, and all members of the extended family and close community are expected to attend. Great amounts of money and time are dedicated to rituals for the dead and for the ancestors. Madagascar's Famadihana is especially famous in this regard. Most Malagasy families celebrate it every 5 years. The ritual develops over a few days and involves going to the cemetery. The family grave is opened, and special family members go into the grave (small rooms above the ground), wrap each deceased into a new cloth, and make special offerings for the soul of the deceased.

If the ancestors are at peace, they will protect those who are still on this side of life. The past orientation also explains why, in almost all cultures in Africa, elders have the highest status, receive respect, and have more influence than younger adults.

Ancestors and the Spirit World

All the major religions (Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism) are present in Africa, often alongside traditional religions and beliefs. Most African people consider the invisible world to be very real, alive, and present in their lives. Accidents or diseases are always potential messages from the ancestors or the spirits. In his book *The Healing Wisdom of Africa* (1999), Malidoma Somé, of the Dagara people in Burkina Faso, tells of the little supernatural beings he met in the fields as a child and of the meaning this had for his mother. He also shares about a time he had a car accident. He learned later that he was actually sent to the ditch by the ancestors because he was about to do something that would have interfered with an ancestor's plans. In Zambia, people often say that "death is never natural," and in many places, it is believed that deceased people come back in the night to visit certain family members. Rituals to bring them to peace are thus extremely important. Rural people, academics, and important financial or political leaders consult ancestors and spirits for their most important decisions.

Indirect Verbal Communication Style

The proverbs and sayings noted earlier in the entry illustrate one of Africa's major communication styles. Indeed, many African cultures prefer using an indirect communication style to talk about important, delicate, or painful issues, with the aim of limiting the pain and protecting people's dignity. Silence is a major component of indirect communication, as illustrated in a palliative care clinic in southern Africa. Dialogues about the imminent end of life almost never happen, neither between family members and the patient nor between medical staff and the patient. They do not happen and are not welcome. Everybody knows just by observing and reading the signs. In most funerals in the same region, one would very seldom hear a priest say that somebody died. Rather, to limit the pain, the priest would say that "the big tree fell" or that "the fruit was harvested."

Saying "No" is often impossible in Africa, as it may cause harm to the relationship. A community that refuses a project would say "We did not understand" rather than "We don't want the project the way you present it."

While Nelson Mandela, a very courageous man, was president of South Africa, he too respected the dignity of indirect communication. The scourge of HIV/AIDS spread enormously during his term as president. Although he supported the prevention campaigns and activists in many ways, he hardly ever spoke publicly about the issue, because in his culture, intimate issues are not for the public space.

Nonverbal Forms of Respect

Nonverbal communication is very complex in African cultures. Its many rules are mostly ways of expressing respect. "Don't look at me. I'm talking to you!" This scolding given by a South African mother to her young daughter illustrates one of the nonverbal rules encountered in almost every African culture: One does not look into the eyes of a person one respects, whether a parent, a grandparent, an older sister or brother, a parent-in-law, a chief, or any person in authority. "I can neither look my mother-in-law in the eye, nor touch her, nor eat food in the same place as her," said a Tanzanian colleague while explaining his cultural ways of expressing respect to his mother-in-law.

The value of respect is also expressed by a great restraint in expressing affection in public. Two persons (men or women) holding hands in public will probably be relatives, good colleagues, or friends, but not a couple. Intimacy is reserved for private space. Its expression in public space is widely considered as rude and uneducated.

Sharing food is central to most African cultures. However, the rules surrounding food vary enormously. Is it appropriate to finish everything on your plate or not? Is it appropriate to talk or to be silent? Do men and women eat in the same space or in different spaces?

What is common, however, is the importance of offering food and the importance of accepting it, as illustrated below:

- Eating together with the fingers from the same plate is an act of communion, a covenant of peace between persons. (Raymond Johnson, quoted in Titinga, April 28, 2005)
- In our culture, it is very rude to decline food that you are being offered. (Personal communication)
- If I offer to cook monkey meat and the guest says "No," that is not so embarrassing to me. What is embarrassing is when the person refuses food we have prepared and offered. (Personal communication)

Culture and Poverty

Africa is immensely rich in cultures and in resources, yet many countries and people are poor. As a result, foreign visitors tend to focus their attention on the material poverty they see in some places and are unable to see the cultural and human richness in Africa. Melinda, a young professional woman from Zambia, shared her painful experience in this regard:

> Surprisingly, my experiences with different cultures out of Africa were more or less the same. They all seem to consider every African to be poor, untrustworthy, and lazy. In addition, an African is not capable of performing well in skilled areas.

If poverty is harrowing in many places, no human being is merely poor. Each has some part in the collective cultural richness.

Intercultural Competencies Necessary to Interact Meaningfully With African People

Just as the classical intercultural competencies, such as observing, coping with uncertainty, and being nonjudmental, are applicable for interactions with people in Africa, there are also more specific and essential competencies. An interculturally competent person in Africa should be able to do the following:

- Focus on the culture and the person one interacts with rather than only on poverty.
- Take time to be with people and to build a relationship. The completion of a task depends greatly on the quality of the relationship and on

the understanding of cultural dimensions. Sharing food is a central part of this relationship building.

- Measure the words one uses, to avoid hurting people, and decode the indirect messages sent in delicate situations.
- Listen to the complexity expressed in circular communication.
- Give time for decision-making processes, enough time to consult all the people involved.
- Recognize that time priorities may shift, and exhibit flexibility when appointments or agreements shift at the last moment.
- Be aware that history shaped cultures and identities in Africa in specific ways, leaving wounds that should be taken into account in intercultural interactions.

African cultures have not only a rich tradition of orality, but each country also has excellent writers. Novels and other literature are great sources of further information on culture and intercultural interaction in Africa.

Véronique Schoeffel

See also Beliefs, Values, Norms, Customs (Definitions); Body Language (Haptics); Curiosity; Identity; Mindfulness; Religious Contexts

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Communicating Across Cultures With People From China

Efforts to understand and describe the Chinese, especially their unique values and communication patterns, have been a particular focus of academics, language learners, diplomats, missionaries, and businesspeople for a long period of time. With developments in cross-cultural psychology and intercultural communication studies since the 1970s, many comparisons have been proposed and elucidated between the Chinese and specific Western cultures. However, some scholars question whether the cultural differences noted are really as distinct as reported. Others wonder if these possibly reflect reactions to *cultural other* opposites (how *they* must be different from *us*), attempts at sense making to try to explain or validate personal experiences with or overgeneralized and essentialized descriptions via misunderstood or distant observations of certain Chinese people or populations (Do the Chinese actually exist as a uniform entity? Which Chinese?).

This entry first examines the generalized differences commonly attributed to the Chinese in intercultural textbooks and training programs; highlights some indigenous theoretical frameworks of Chinese collectivism, the Chinese self, and Chinese thinking patterns that are crucial for understanding Chinese communication; considers what characteristics Chinese claim to be unique to them compared with other populations in their interactive approaches and goals; and, finally, discusses the impact of cultural hybridity and change on Chinese communication. A careful consideration of those diverse perspectives may help people from other cultures minimize misunderstandings and communicate more effectively with this complex cultural group.

Contrasting Culture Approaches: Chinese Differences

Noting the cultural variations and contrasting them with one's own might at times say more about the cognitive categorization needs of those doing the categorizing than the specific culture being contrasted. As Geert Hofstede has emphasized, *dimensions of culture* do not exist but are in fact a metacommunicative tool of researchers attempting to express what has been measured in terms that hopefully make sense to the people in or observing those cultural systems. When the Chinese are compared with other cultures, usually Edward T. Hall's two broad constructs (high- and low-context communication) or Hofstede's initial four or five dimensions are used. To communicate with the Chinese, one is generally urged to keep in mind that they are high context, polychronic collectivists with high power distance (favoring authority and hierarchy) who accept uncertainty and are midrange on masculinity and femininity (though this is admittedly understudied and mostly impressionistically explained). Through Michael Bond's cooperative work with Hofstede, the Chinese cultural orientation toward *Confucian dynamism* now informs us that the Chinese are long-term oriented, and the more recent updates of Michael Minkov peg the Chinese as rather midrange on indulgence and restraint.

These six or so cultural dimensions are often highlighted to foster cognitive awareness of assumed prominent differences and to help with more realistic expectations or behavioral predictions for actual communication with the Chinese. However, scholars like Bond argue that the previously assumed homogeneity, mandates, or monolith of Chinese culture do not hold up consistently in careful cross-cultural research. Data from different Chinese societies, varying social strata, or geographical locations need to be treated with more care and should not merely be lumped together and aggregated as *the Chinese sample*.

The Indigenous Psychology Approach: Chinese Distinctiveness

There is also a long tradition of Chinese themselves seeking to explain and elucidate the qualities of their own culture. Early indigenous approaches often sought to capture essences from the dominant philosophies (especially Confucianism) and explain how those have permeated and still influence Chinese cultural styles today. Recent indigenous psychology studies, however, have increasingly moved beyond intuitive cultural descriptions to delve into the rich, unique Chinese expressions, in contrast to the broad metacategories often found in cross-cultural comparisons. Centering on relational structure and thinking patterns, scholars have explored Chinese collectivism (Chinese social orientation), the Chinese self, and Chinese naive dialecticism. These frameworks have provided important theoretical tools for understanding Chinese communication.

As noted, Chinese culture is normally located on the collectivist side of the individualism–collectivism continuum, with a vertical form as described by Harry Triandis. To understand the manifestation of psychological collectivism in Chinese culture, Kuo-Shu Yang proposed the Chinese social orientation, which has four components: (1) relationship orientation, (2) authoritarian orientation, (3) familistic orientation, and (4) other (nonspecific others in the social environment at large) orientation. Relationship orientation emphasizes relational fatalism, relational formalism, relational interdependence, relationship harmony, and relational determinism (a Chinese form of particularism). Authoritarian orientation stresses authority sensitization (oversensitivity to authorities), authority worship, and authority dependence (including psychologically cowering before someone with more power). For the sake of their families' existence, harmony, solidarity, glory, and prosperity, a familistic orientation causes Chinese people to underemphasize their own personal interests, goals, and welfare. Other orientation includes constant concern about the opinions of imagined others, strong conformity with how one is viewed, deep concern for maintaining social norms, and a great respect for face, status, and reputation.

To understand Chinese communication, it is also important to understand how the Chinese see *self*. Based on his conceptualization of both Chinese individual orientation (which consists of self-orientation, autonomous orientation, independent orientation, and egalitarian orientation) and Chinese social orientation as outlined above, Yang proposed a four-part theory on the Chinese sense of self. He termed the psychological pattern of strong autonomy and weak homonomy (the preferred likeness within a group) *individual* *orientation* (individual-oriented self) and the psychological pattern of weak autonomy and strong homonomy *social orientation* (social-oriented self). According to the theory, the Chinese self is composed of four self subsystems: the individual-, relationship (voluntary)-, familistic (ingroup)-, and other-oriented selves.

Taking a person-in-culture view, Yang identified pairs of relationships such as the *da wo/xiao wo* ("small self/large self") and public/private conceptions that preoccupy the Chinese mind in everyday interactions. In most Chinese contexts, loving (showing care and respect to) other people and maintaining harmonious relationships with others is deemed most socially desirable. To realize this value, one is expected to discard one's private and individuated self (*xiao wo*) and to embrace *da wo*, a larger collective entity by which one is identified, as the operating self. Furthermore, when a person is involved in public work, working solely for the public or collective entity is usually the norm. Decisions about what to do and how to act are made as the person goes through the socially appropriate person-making process. Socially desirable decisions make the self grow to become a better person—a person who is becoming a moral and social being.

The way people in a culture think influences the way they interpret the messages of those who come from another culture. Kaiping Peng and associates argue that Chinese are naive Taoists in spirit and that Chinese thinking and reasoning are guided by folk versions of Taoism termed *naive dialecticism*. This set of implicit theories of knowing consists of the principle of change, the principle of contradiction, and the principle of relationship or holism. Their empirical research suggests that Chinese reasoning and thinking are more contextual, flexible, holistic, and dialectical than typical North American thinking and reasoning. These cultural differences are attributed to differences between Western folk epistemology based on Aristotelian philosophy, which emphasizes constancy, synthesis, and extremes, versus a Chinese dialectical approach that values change, contradiction, and relationships.

Characteristic Chinese Ways of Communicating

Taking indigenous perspectives, scholars such as Kuang-Kuo Hwang, Ge Gao, and Stella Ting-Toomey have attempted to uncover distinctive Chinese communication patterns. Among many facets, cultural keys of interaction, characteristics of communication, and face-directed communication strategies are especially worth noting.

Cultural Keys to Interaction

To communicate with the Chinese, one needs to consider indigenous cultural concepts such as *guanxi*, *renqing*, and *mianzi*, which reflect the ethos and logic behind Chinese communication. *Guanxi*, or individual relationships with others, are noted to be of three types: (1) relationships with extended family members (expressive ties), (2) relationships with non–family members with whom one shares a significant connection (mixed ties), and (3) relationships with strangers (instrumental ties). A mixed tie thus stands between an expressive tie and an instrumental tie in terms of emotion and instrumentality, with a higher percentage of emotion and a lower percentage of instrumentality involved than for an instrumental tie and a lower percentage of emotion and a higher percentage of instrumentality involved than for an expressive tie.

Hwang argues that under the influence of Confucian ethics for ordinary people, one tends to deal with these three distinct relationship ties in accordance with three different rules: (1) equity rule, (2) *renqing* ("favor") rule, and (3) need rule. In expressive ties, resource allocation is dictated by need and filial piety (need rule). In instrumental ties, resource allocation is an impersonal business transaction lacking the dimension of indebtedness (equity rule). In mixed ties, resource allocation is a matter of how much *renqing* the allocator wants to give the petitioner (*renqing* rule). The allocator would assess the relationship along the expressiveness and instrumentality continuum as well as the balance between cost and anticipated repay before deciding whether he or she accepts the plea from the petitioner. Once *renqing* is received, the petitioner becomes vulnerable to future requests for a favor from the allocator. As Chinese culture fosters a strong sense of gratitude and indebtedness, the *renqing* receiver would proactively seek a return to achieve balance. Failing to reciprocate is perceived as socially incompetent or even unacceptable. However, returns are assessed based on the scope of the *renqing* and the degree of intimacy and closeness of the relationship.

By granting *renqing* to the petitioner, the resource allocator has enhanced the petitioner's *mianzi*. *Mianzi* ("face") is an individual's sense of positive image in a relational context. While individualistic cultures often relate face to self-worth, self-presentation, and self-value, Chinese culture links it to what others (especially the ingroup) think of one's worth, social image, and social self-respect. Thus, a person's self-concept is closely related to one's publicly projected image. One's self-worth is gauged by the amount of *mianzi*, such that social self-esteem is greatly boosted by others' remarks. Strong feelings of satisfaction, pride, and enhanced confidence are associated with gaining face, whereas strong negative feelings of shame, worry, uneasiness, anxiety, and tension; lack of concentration in work; and blushing are related to losing face. *Mianzi* considerations are also used as social capital to make requests and gain compliance.

Chinese tradition is more concerned with *mianzi* than with credibility or personal confidence. Protecting another person's face is more important than one's belief of truth or correctness, one's own image, or the risk of being misjudged by others. Face also governs what one discloses in personal relationships. Chinese tend not to reveal their personal or family problems but rather conceal them. Face can be more of a concern to a family than an individual.

Characteristics of Chinese Communication

From a traditional perspective, Chinese communication is generally deemed to value qualities such as indirectness, sensitivity to status, and courtesy. The Chinese are often portrayed as preferring a mode of verbal and nonverbal communication that is contained, reserved, implicit, and indirect. The unspoken is left to the listener to decipher. The listener needs to attend to how something is said. What is not said is equally, if not more, important than what is said. In such a context, the Chinese expect their speaking partners to be highly involved observers in a conversation where *talk* and *meaning* are collectively carried out. Meanings often reside in unspoken, nonverbal messages. Personal ideas, values, and feelings often are conveyed indirectly through descriptions of situations. A direct style of communication is the least desirable and can bring unfavorable consequences.

Many Chinese pay great attention to their position in the hierarchical structure and to how or how much they speak. Status and role relationships make communication listening centered, asymmetrical, and deferential. A spoken *voice* is generally equated with seniority, authority, age, experience, knowledge, and expertise. Even today, Chinese students listen to their teachers most of the time. In work situations, the subordinate must learn to listen with full attention to his or her superior. Feedback is often limited, but the observance of nuances or subtleties is internally noted. A chief goal is to avoid direct confrontations. Things are phrased in a tentative, hesitant manner so as not to question or pose a threat to the authority. The subordinate needs to appear conciliatory and agreeable to show deference and honor and thus tends to use phrases such as *I think*, *I'm not sure*, and *I don't know.*

It is widely recognized by the Chinese that communication between the self and others should be thoughtful, mannerly, pleasant, and civil. If the *self* is defined, recognized, and completed by others, seeking harmony and peaceful relations with others becomes a primary task—achieving a balanced exchange of polite talk. In host–guest relations, the host makes the guest *feel at home*, and the guest returns the courtesy by not imposing on the host. Often, the ritualized *no* is a person's first response to any offer, intended as an expression of politeness. The host is expected to insist (usually trying more than three times) until the offer is accepted, to demonstrate the *sincerity* of the offer and the acceptance. However, members of ingroups (families, good friends, insider colleagues) have different rules. Among them, polite expressions such as *thank you*, *excuse me*, and *I'm sorry* are rarely spoken but are internalized or shown through appreciative acts. To be overly *polite* with ingroups reflects interpersonal distance (thus the common rejoinder among those considered to have closer relations: "Don't be so polite!").

Courtesy is also manifested in values such as modesty and humbleness. One is socialized not to take credit or be boastful in any situation. To understate one's ability, expertise, strength, or competence and to engage in self-effacing talk are still an integral part of Chinese socialization.

Deprecating terms are usually directed at the self, while elevated terms are directed at others.

Face-Directed Communication Strategies

Given the centrality of face (*mianzi*), most Chinese communication focuses on nonconfrontational approaches, adopting compliance strategies, employment of intermediaries, and limited self-disclosure. As Chinese social rules demand that face be given, saved, or maintained, conflict management is often characterized by avoidance, obliging, and compromising. Criticism requires great care, prudence, and indirectness. The Chinese generally view any ideas that they make public as strongly linked to their identity and worth, implying that any attack on one's ideas is an attack on one's face. Thus, hedging strategies are often adopted—repeatedly extolling the virtues and skills of the superior before giving any criticism.

To give and maintain face, public argument or disagreement, especially with a superior, is discouraged. Arguments between friends can be detrimental to the friendship. Direct action to repair the friendship is difficult to take, since the Chinese are strategically unassertive—they generally prefer to articulate intentions indirectly and leave room for private negotiations. A basic rule is "Honor the relationship first, your vision of truth second," so many still would sacrifice personal credibility to save mutual face. The morality of balancing relationships is higher than the morality of verbal truth, which many Westerners might view as a form of lying; but it is considered a justified *white lie* used strategically to protect a friend.

To save face and not confront, the Chinese may often rely on others for solutions. An intermediary known to both parties can ensure fairness and neutrality. Impartiality and face maintenance for both parties are the two key factors in mediation. Close friends of both parties, or respected elderly persons, can be unofficial mediators to exercise influence on each of the disputants and guide toward a compromise.

While public Chinese conversations tend to be ritualized to avoid face-threatening situations, private conversations tend to be substantive to satisfy curiosity about private lives or speak out true opinions and feelings. Outsiders operating on stereotypes of the *indirect*, *inscrutable Chinese* are often taken aback by such blunt frankness, not realizing that there are different patterns for formal, public contexts and some types of private interpersonal interaction. Nevertheless, private conversations do in some cases bring one's face to light for judgment and scrutiny, vulnerable not only to what others have said but also to the anticipation of potential gossip. Who might eventually hear (through each other's trust networks) what is being communicated is often a consideration in sharing sensitive information. The fear of any bad impressions going public or of being ridiculed or humiliated has a controlling effect on Chinese behavior, a manifestation of the nonspecific *other* orientation in Chinese social life noted earlier.

This trend is noted in how open interactants are with one another on certain topics. North Americans tend to use self-disclosure as a strategy to initiate personal relationships, where the amount of self-disclosure enhances the relationship development process. In contrast, among most Chinese, only where deep trust has been established will one disclose any face-threatening information. In a society guided by intricate webs of personal relationships (*guanxi* networks), even private disclosures can be potentially gossiped about or divulged elsewhere. The fear of losing face in public makes many reluctant to expose intimate information to others, so such disclosures are invested very cautiously.

Consequences of Cultural Hybridity and Change

These rather essentialized notions of the Chinese relational structure, thinking patterns, and unique ways of communicating as outlined above have provided useful tools for interpreting Chinese communication in many contexts for many years. However, since the implementation of the opening-up policy on the mainland in the late 1970s, China has experienced drastic sociocultural changes. Meanwhile, Chinese in other societies have also been modernizing, mobile, adapting, and acculturating to various new global contexts. Indigenous research in various locations has documented a juxtaposition of traditionality and Western individualism in the contemporary Chinese value profile, with variations along regional, generational, and social class lines. These changing variations of hybrid values have penetrated the deeper levels of both psychological functioning and cultural practices. For example, due to rapid sociocultural modernization and change in China, the new generation (those born post-1990) of college students show a higher tendency to make positive self-evaluations. Traditional Chinese virtues of harmony, self-control, and modesty are now viewed as being too reticent, inhibited, and maladaptive for urban environments that require competition, confidence, and self-expressiveness for successful communication. Already starting with the post-1980 group, the post-1990 generation claims to be breaking many of the stereotypical norms of Chineseness or Chinese communication patterns, reflecting greater adaptability in some contexts yet still holding on to some norms when needed. Pragmatic functionality has probably always been an underlying motive in Chinese communication practices, so how to effectively interact in ways that are socially expected is probably still guiding most communicators—but the context and number of audiences to play to have just become far more varied or mixed.

The influence of cultural hybridity and change on Chinese communication is yet to be systematically investigated. Initial research indicates that despite the felt impact of increasingly complex factors, many traditional communication patterns persist or are activated when expected, although some globalized young people seem to be moving toward more low-context communication that stresses self-expression, assertiveness, overtness, and directness. Furthermore, in line with the empirically confirmed spontaneous cognition, affect, and behavior responses of bicultural individuals to multiple cultural realities, urban Chinese youth have demonstrated a similar yet even more complex pattern of *cultural frame switching* in their communication strategy preferences. It appears that most can operate according to some level of global foreign-language expectations (most often English speaking, though other language use is increasing). They will at times trump patterns that represent today's strong, modern China (though consistent practices for this may not be fully formed) and at times revert to traditional Chinese patterns of socialization. Thus, to understand how contemporary Chinese, especially globalized youth, communicate, it is important to take situational, motivational, and cultural identity dynamics into consideration.

It is also worth noting how modern information technology affects Chinese communication. Easy and widespread access to communication tools—the Chinese equivalents of Facebook and Twitter, like *Weibo* (microblog), *Weixin* (Wechat), and *QQ*, and social network websites like *Renren*—has fundamentally changed the way Chinese people obtain information, entertain themselves, develop relationships, stay in touch, and interact with others. A global communication pattern shaped by the Internet and smartphones has thus emerged in China as in other parts of the world, which further blurs cultural boundaries and diffuses cultural differences. Yet no matter what mode communicators might be using, engaging in communication with people of diverse Chinese backgrounds continues to be a worthwhile opportunity to experience a fascinating interplay of a wide range of factors (e.g., linking intuitive and expressive, past and present, reticent and active modes) and relational dynamics.

Liping Weng and Steve J. Kulich

See also Communicating Across Cultures With People From Japan; Communicating Across Cultures With People From Korea; Confucian Dynamism; Essentialism; Facework/Facework Negotiation Theory; High-Context and Low-Context Communication; Hybridity; Individualism and Collectivism; Value Dimensions: Hofstede

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Communicating Across Cultures With People From India

Indian-style communication derives in large part from three elements in Indian society: the caste system, the concept of face, and the Indian extended-family system. Many of the most salient norms of communication in India can be traced back to one or more of these three factors.

This entry begins with an explanation of the above three factors and how they influence Indian communication. Next, the intricacies of communicating with people from India are explained, particularly highlighting the cultural norms of attending to status when interacting with others. The subtleties of indirect communication include many varieties of saying "No" while never uttering the word. These alternatives are described and compared with communication in more direct cultures. This discussion is based on generalizations of cultural patterns and acknowledges that neither all cultures nor all individuals residing in India share these patterns.

Although most observers agree that at the present time, caste is a less potent influence on behavior than in the past, most would also agree that the residual influence of 2,500 or more years of caste consciousness cannot be erased in one or two generations. The influence of caste on the communication style of Indians today is felt mainly in the exquisite sensitivity to hierarchy or rank that is the defining principle and most enduring legacy of caste. At its core, caste assigns an individual to a rank or place in society based on occupation, which in turn influences social and professional interactions between Indians, including, of course, their norms of communication. Caste has always been a key component of an Indian's identity, and even today, when caste is believed to be on the wane, most Indians prefer to marry within their caste.

The concept of face, not unique to Indian culture, is another factor influencing the Indian style of communication. *Face* refers to one's public image or persona, the esteem or regard in which one is held by others, which in turn contributes to one's sense of personal pride and dignity. In a face-saving culture such as India, communication must always make allowances for considerations of the other's face, one's own face, and especially the face of those of a higher rank.

The third factor conditioning communication in India is the fact that many Indians grow up in extended-family households. Once again, this reality is beginning to change for middle-class Indians, many of whom are now products of the nuclear family. But even Indians born and raised in single-family households are still the children of *parents* raised in extended families, who inevitably pass on the values of the extended-family home to their children. Extended families in India usually include parents, their unmarried children, their married sons and their wives (daughters-in-law), the sons' own children, unmarried aunts and uncles, and often one or more grandparents.

Hierarchy is embedded in the extended-family system, and the sensitivity to rank discussed above is conditioned as much in the household as anywhere else. Respect and deference to one's elders are a hallmark of extended families, and thriving within such a system is largely a function of knowing one's place in the pecking order and behaving accordingly.

Communicating With One's Seniors

Taken together, these three factors account for many of the norms of Indian-style communication, most notably the deference Indians feel compelled to show *all* seniors, whether authority figures in the home (parents, aunts and uncles, grandparents, and even older siblings) or those outside the home (supervisors and managers in the workplace, clients, teachers, or anyone perceived as occupying a higher rank or having a higher status). A number of communication norms are dictated by the respect and deference due to all seniors.

Giving a Negative Answer/Saying "No"

The sensitivity to rank requires Indians to be very careful about how they say "No" to someone of a higher rank, such as refusing a request, stating that something is not possible, or indicating a general unwillingness to do something. In these cases, the overriding imperative is to give a negative response without actually using the word *no,* which is widely regarded as harsh and impolite when used with one's seniors. Thus, Indians have devised a number of other ways to communicate *no* that do not involve using that word, including the following:

- Saying "Yes" but indicating *no* with one's body language
- Saying "Yes" and adding any of numerous qualifiers such as "Perhaps," "Maybe," "I think so," "It's a good possibility," or "I'll do my best"
- Giving an initial "Yes" and then bringing the subject up again later for reconsideration
- Dodging or otherwise avoiding the request, by changing the subject, repeating the request/sending it back to the senior ("You'd like me to come back on Friday?"), or buying time ("Can I get back to you on that?")
- Simply not giving a positive response while also never giving a negative one (the absence of *yes*)
- Silence

It goes without saying that none of these responses would be interpreted as negative by people from many Western cultures, where saving face and sensitivity to rank are not nearly as important. Indeed, in Western cultures, most of these responses would be interpreted as positive. In short, they would be *mis*interpreted, which could have many frustrating consequences.

Expressing Disagreement, Offering a Contrary Opinion

In a very similar vein, expressing disagreement, offering a contrary opinion or view, and objecting to or critiquing something a senior has proposed must also be handled with great tact in Indian culture. Once again, the overriding imperative is not to openly oppose or challenge what the senior has suggested (to allow him or her to save face), and the acceptable responses are similar to those for saying "No":

- Initially agreeing and then bringing up the proposal or suggestion later for further discussion
- Agreeing in front of others/in public (e.g., at a meeting) and expressing one's concerns later one-on-one
- Asking the senior if this is really what he or she wants or is suggesting
- Offering fulsome praise and then ending with a modest suggestion
- Describing how someone *else* handled a similar situation
- Never expressly agreeing to the proposal or suggestion (without explicitly disagreeing)
- Silence in response to a suggestion

Indians have been known in some cases to follow dubious or outright wrong instructions rather than question them and thereby embarrass their senior.

Once again, most Westerners, used to a more direct (low context) communication style, would probably interpret most of the above responses as being positive rather than negative.

The Meaning of Yes

It should not be surprising that in a culture with such an aversion to saying "No," the word *yes* gets used a lot, so much, in fact, that it has been stripped of almost all of its original meaning of a positive response. To most Indians, the word *yes*, by itself, is little more than a polite sound that indicates that one person is listening to what the other person is saying, but it is not the *response* to what the other person is saying. That comes *after* the word *yes*. In other words, *yes* does not necessarily mean "I agree," "I approve," "I accept," or "I understand" but simply "I'm listening." Indians know that they should pay no attention to the "Yes," and accordingly, they listen closely to what comes next.

The problem for many Westerners is that the word *yes* has not been diluted of its original meaning through indiscriminate overuse and is still interpreted as a positive response, as a *real* yes. Accordingly, when they hear the word *yes*, Westerners consider this to be a response and naturally do not then listen to what the Indian says next, the actual response, thereby misinterpreting what has been communicated. Some misinterpretations are more serious than others, of course, but very few are as serious as misinterpreting an Indian's "Yes."

As the preceding discussion suggests, an apt summary of Indian-style communication up the chain of command is that the real message lies in *what is not said*. One should always entertain the possibility that the conspicuous absence of agreement, approval, or acceptance, including simple silence, is in fact an expression of disagreement, disapproval, and rejection. For Westerners, of course, what is absent is by definition not conspicuous, and what is not said is by definition not a message.

Asking Questions

The sensitivity to rank and the corresponding need to be polite and respectful even extends to asking questions when something a senior has explained may not be clear. The feeling in Indian culture is that if a junior asks questions, then the senior must not have given a very competent explanation. And the suggestion of a lack of competence on the part of one's senior would run the very real risk of causing embarrassment and loss of face. Hence, when lower ranking persons who directly report to the senior do not understand something the senior has explained, they will typically do one of two things: (1) ask someone else if he or she understands the request or (2) try something, and hope that it is close to what the senior intended. What the direct report will typically *not* do, at least initially, is to go back to the senior and ask for clarification. Indian seniors know this, of course, and, for their part, will regularly check in with their direct reports to see how they are doing and to offer additional explanations.

Many Westerners and others not used to this rank-sensitive communication dynamic will find the Indian's reluctance to ask clarifying questions deeply frustrating. In such direct cultures, the burden is explicitly on the juniors to inform the senior if they have not understood something, and the senior will then happily offer additional details. It is not the role of the senior to regularly check in with their direct reports to see if they need help; indeed, in Western cultures daily check-ins would be construed as micromanaging or lacking confidence in one's direct reports and would be perceived as intrusive, annoying, and even insulting.

Communicating With Peers and Juniors

Indian communication style changes dramatically when Indians are talking to their peers or to someone below them in the hierarchy. With their peers, Indians are typically just as direct as Westerners are in their cultures. When people are of the same rank, then sensitivity to rank becomes moot, and the resulting communication norms would be familiar to and easily understood by most Westerners.

When Indians communicate down the hierarchy, from senior to junior, they can be even more direct and curt than what many Westerners would consider appropriate. While it is never acceptable to be rude or insulting, seniors can be very demanding and quite abrupt with their underlings. The same Westerners who are confused by the opaqueness of communication up the chain of command are often taken aback by the abruptness of communication down the chain.

Craig Storti

See also Cross-Cultural Communication; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Intercultural Communication; High-Context and Low-Context Communication

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Communicating Across Cultures With People From Japan

Communication with Japanese people often requires some adjustments for Westerners due to the contrasting cultural values and communication styles. This entry begins with a brief history of Japanese people and their use of language, both written and verbal. Next is a discussion of three religions or belief systems and their impact on communication styles and values, followed by a description of the importance of hierarchy, interdependence, and reciprocity. This entry concludes with an explanation of specific communication styles (high/low context and direct/indirect) and how these styles enhance the importance of harmony in Japanese relationships.

Japanese People

The origin of the Japanese people is not clear. Most people migrated into Japan from China, Korea, Mongolia, Siberia, Southeast Asia, Polynesia, and many other islands of the Pacific thousands of years ago. Significant migration from the continent started during the Yayoi Era (300 BCE), which brought wet-field rice cultivation to Japan. This wet cultivation had a strong impact on Japanese society and its people because it requires cooperation with the neighboring people and a high concentration of workers. More people migrated from Korea starting around 200 CE.

Language

The origin of the language is also not known. It has been argued that the Japanese language belongs to the Altaic language family, but the evidence is not conclusive. The Japanese language borrowed Chinese characters during the 6th century, when Buddhism came from China. Although the Japanese borrowed Chinese characters, the language does not relate to Chinese syntactically. During the Heian period (794–1192), the Japanese people developed Hiragana and Katakana writing based on Chinese characters. The development of Hiragana allowed women to write, and women writers such as Murasaki-Shikibu emerged in 1021, with her work *The Tale of Genji*. Present-day Japanese use Chinese characters called Kanji, Hiragana, and Katakana for their writing. Katakana is mostly used to write borrowed terms from foreign countries other than China. It is also used to express sounds and onomatopoeia that often appear in comics.

Many Japanese documents, newspapers, and novels are written vertically and from right to left. Scientific writings and documents that include data and numbers are written horizontally from left to right.

The Japanese language does not have gender or distinction between singular and plural. However, Japanese men and women have different ways of speaking, and there are many levels of politeness that impose a high hurdle for Japanese language learners to overcome.

Religions

Religions have played an important role in the development of cultural values and communication styles in Japan. Although Confucianism is not a religion, it has also had a great influence on Japanese social values and communication styles; therefore, its role in Japanese society is discussed in this section.

Shinto

Shinto is the indigenous religion of Japan. It is defined as an agglomeration of nature worship, tutelary gods, hero worship, and reverence for the emperor. A shrine is the domicile of the god or a guardian deity of the village (*uji-gami*). Shinto is not practiced as a religion like Christianity. It is ingrained into Japanese cultural and traditional events, especially as a rite of passage and festivals, for example, to express gratitude for a good harvest. Four Shinto affirmations have influenced Japanese values. (1) Affirmation of tradition and family: Family is the main mechanism to preserve tradition; therefore, celebration of birth and marriage is important in Shinto. (2) Shinto considers nature to be sacred. (3) Physical cleanliness means spiritual cleanliness. Pollution is evil and can be cleansed with salt, sake, or water. (4) Festivals are important to express the dedication to *Kami*, the general name for the deity.

Buddhism

Buddhism was introduced to Japan during the 6th century. At the beginning, it was academic; in other words, the emphasis of the religion was on learning, and temples were the center of foreign ideas. Until the 13th century, Buddhism was for the elites and court aristocrats who enjoyed esoteric Buddhism. However, the arrival of the sects of Mahayana Buddhism, such as Jodo Shin, Nichiren, and Zen, made Buddhism popular among the newly emerging Samurai class and the commoners because it was accessible to everybody and salvation could be achieved through faith rather than through esoteric study.

Buddhism had a strong impact on the ways of thinking of the Japanese. It can be challenging for Christians because there is no single, almighty God in Buddhism. Buddhism does not accept the idea of a permanent self, and it is sometimes considered as a philosophy of life rather than a religion. For Buddhism, life is all about suffering. The cessation of attachment leads one to the state of nirvana, or the cessation of suffering. Buddhism is about attaining nirvana and enlightenment through one's experience and meditation, which help people to acquire wisdom. Some other characteristics that may have a strong influence on Japanese ways of thinking are the following:

1. All things are in constant change, including suffering.
2. One should follow the middle way; extremity is not appreciated.
3. All things are transitory or ephemeral; therefore, emphasis is on the here-and-now.
4. One should be humble; self-assertion and self-praise are not encouraged.
5. Awakening comes without analysis. Logic and words do not lead people to awakening or enlightenment.

Among these sects of Mahayana Buddhism, Zen has made the strongest impact on Japanese aesthetics and communication styles. It has also influenced the discipline of Japanese martial arts and the life of warriors by stressing sturdy self-reliance and fearlessness. In Japanese art, the practice of graceful subtraction led to an appreciation of simple form and nonostentatiousness. *Ma* and *Mu* are two significant concepts for Japanese aesthetics. *Ma* is a space in between objects, people, and time, and *Mu* is oneness or harmony with nature (peacefulness). Buddhism, especially Zen, has influenced the Japanese conversational style, which stresses limited wordiness and self-assertion, as well as slow turn taking and an empathic style.

Confucianism

Confucianism arrived in Japan at the same time as Buddhism. Confucianism is not considered a religion but a philosophy because there are no priests and no religious rituals. It holds social harmony as a core belief and that the basis of society is human relationships. The five core human relationships are (1) ruler and minister, (2) father and son, (3) husband and wife, (4) elder brother and younger brother, and (5) friend and friend. It is believed that a proper and suitable foundation for society is based on respect for human dignity, and respect for hierarchy is stressed in all social relationships between members of the family and the community. The five ideals of Confucianism are the following:

1. *Jen* (humanism): It emphasizes reciprocity and empathy, and observation of hierarchy. Filial piety and loyalty to the ruler and superior are part of this ideal.

2. *Chun Tsu* (perfect person): It emphasizes intuition, knowledge, feelings, and self-control to show the ability to govern oneself in order to govern others.

3. *Li* (rituals, rites, proprieties, and conventions): It is the way to express good manners.

4. *Te* (power): It means that leaders should be people of character and sincerely devoted to the common good, possessing a character that compels respect.

5. *Wen* (arts): Confucius had great reverence for the arts.

The implications of Confucianism for Japanese cultural values and communication styles include the practice of empathy, observation of status, and maintenance of good relationships. Confucianism has also contributed to the Japanese propensity for rituals and protocols. For Japanese people, social etiquette is very important. Due to respect for hierarchy, Confucianism encourages an indirect communication style to protect the integrity of others and to maintain relational harmony and face.

Although Confucianism became the state philosophy during the Edo era, Confucian scholars did not participate in politics directly; therefore, Japanese society was not so strongly Confucianized as China and much less so than Korea.

Group Orientation in Japan

Historically, wet-field rice cultivation, Shinto, and Confucianism provided a strong foundation for Japan's group orientation. One of the characteristics of the Japanese group orientation is that it is situational. Japanese people do not necessarily give strong priority to one group, such as the family. They shift the priority of groups they belong to depending on the situation. Some examples of areas for group identity are the following: places of work such as a company or shop, schools, classes, athletic teams, local communities, hobby groups, groups of friends, and so on. For example, it is possible that a Japanese high school teacher would not attend the graduation ceremony of his or her own child if it conflicts with the graduation ceremony of the school where the person is teaching. There are several other characteristics of group orientation in Japan:

1. Groups provide an identity for the person who belongs to the group.

2. Strong commitment to conform to the group norm is expected in some groups. This can be observed in everyday life. For example, without discussing it, all the members of the group may choose chocolate ice cream if you take them to an ice cream shop.

3. The members often give priority to the group's goals. When the coach takes longer than expected at a meeting for their baseball team, they may more easily give up their personal goals, such as preparing for a test.

4. Pride and shame are often shared with the group. Japanese parents receive much more admiration if their son gets into a famous university than Western parents might expect.

5. There are clear boundaries for the ingroup and outgroup that are expressed by the use of language. It is important for Japanese people to differentiate their speech depending on to whom they are talking. For example, one's own mother will be referred to as *haha* when talking to outsiders, and somebody else's mother should be *okaa-san* or *okaa'sama*; in addition, many other terms are possible. *Haha* is used only by insiders. It is not a casual or childish expression, such as the English *mom* or *mommy. Haha* is a formal and humble expression meaning "mother," used only by insiders. An expression such as "your *haha*" does not exist in Japanese, whereas "your mom" is possible in English. In Japan, when talking to outsiders, one has to use a *humble style* when referring to members of one's own group. In humble style, the speaker uses the terms that reflect lower status, thus putting himself or herself in lower status than the other group members. When talking about outsiders, people use *honorifics*, which refers to using extremely polite terms to express respect. *O*, *-san*, and *-sama* in *okaa-san* and *okaa-sama* are indicators of honorifics.

Although Japanese society is considered a collectivistic culture, the Japanese sense of belonging is much lower than in many other countries in Asia or Latin America. If asked directly, Japanese may say that they do not have loyalty, for example, toward any single group; loyalty is situational, where one group commands loyalty in one context and another group does so in a different context. However, when observing their behavior, it is obvious that they hold collectivistic values more than individualistic values. For example, only 43% of Japanese believe that they are allowed to work individually and that they would receive individual credit for their work, whereas 72% of Americans believe that they can get individual credit. According to research by Geert Hofstede, Japan is ranked 23rd among 50 countries in individualistic/collectivistic values. The United States is ranked number one.

Hierarchy, Interdependence, and Reciprocity

Confucianism provided a strong foundation for the development of these cultural values. Japanese tend to be sensitive about hierarchical rankings for almost all social relationships and objects. The hierarchy of human relationships is observed through verbal and nonverbal behaviors. It causes dichotomization of behaviors. The level of politeness changes according to the status of the person with whom one is communicating. For example, a person may simply nod when greeting somebody who is lower in status, but greeting somebody who is higher in status requires a deep bow. Although status should be displayed in a subtle manner, it is the responsibility of the person who is lower in status to observe these formalities and behave accordingly. Failure to recognize another's status may cause shame and embarrassment.

In Japan, status is mobile, and hierarchy is quite fluid. Japanese hierarchy is not strong enough to form classes. Although class stratification exists, it is not as strong as many Westerners believe. Therefore, many Japanese do not have much resentment toward hierarchy because (a) very often the status is symbolic, without much power; (b) decision making is often from the bottom up, and members in the group share the responsibility, but in the case of a serious mistake, the leader often takes responsibility; (c) due to the value of interdependency and reciprocity among people with different status, the solidarity of the group is maintained, and it provides emotional satisfaction; and (d) status can be elevated by education and age. In other words, since age is one of the major factors for status elevation, everybody has a chance to earn status.

Communication Styles

Japanese communication style shifts according to the status, ingroup or outgroup distinction, the level of formality of the situation, and gender. The shifting of the communication style can be observed in both verbal and nonverbal communication.

Another characteristic of Japanese interaction is a high-context communication style. Edward T. Hall coined the terms *high-* and *low-context* communication styles. For instance, Americans tend to use a low-context communication style, in which most of the information is given and received through explicit verbal or nonverbal messages. Japanese communication style is almost a polar opposite and is a high-context communication style in many situations.

High-Context Communication Style

In high-context communication, much of the message is already in the minds of the people; therefore, people do not give and receive explicit messages. In this communication style, people are expected to behave appropriately without much explanation about the situation. Due to this communication style, Japanese tend to have less tolerance for ambiguous situations or dissonance. Therefore, when faced with an unfamiliar situation, they tend to follow somebody who seems to know how to act, because they do not want to stand out by acting differently than their group members. Maintaining propriety in a situation is highly valued in this communication style. By being proper, one blends in with the group rather than standing out as different. People value dressing, conversing, and expressing emotions appropriately for the situation rather than being comfortable as an individual. People who do not follow this social expectation are often described as a *kawatta hito* ("strange person") and in extreme cases are socially ostracized.

High-context communication in Japan is also characterized by indirectness and the lack of wordiness. The ultimate high-context communication is symbolized in haiku, the very short form of

Japanese poetry. In this communication style, the speaker assumes that the listener will understand the unspoken message from the context. Therefore, communication success depends on the listener's ability to read as much as possible into the message sent by the speaker. For example, a Japanese student sent four high-context, indirect messages to let her roommate know that she did not want her boyfriend in their dorm room. The first time, she cleared her throat; the second time, she mentioned that she had to study for a test; the third time, she mentioned that she had to get up early the following morning; and, finally, she left the room and slammed the door. However, the roommate, who was an American, never picked up the message and kept bringing her boyfriend to the room. Finally, the Japanese student moved out without giving any notice to her American roommate. This is an example of miscommunication caused by differences in high- and low-context communication. The American student needed to hear a direct statement from her roommate that she did not want her bringing her boyfriend to their room.

Japanese high-context communication is coupled with less emotive facial expressions, when compared with Latinos, for example. Japanese tend not to exhibit much emotion: Facial expressions may appear bland, and vocal tones lack a strong accent or rhythm when compared with other, more outwardly emotive cultures. This gives more responsibility to the listener or receiver of the message for the success of the communication.

Indirect communication is sometimes used when the content of the message is perceived as negative or might harm the relationships or feelings of the people involved. If a neighbor compliments another about her daughter's enthusiastic piano practice, which goes on until late in the evening, the parent should be sensitive to the indirect message embedded because this compliment could be a complaint. It is important to scan the whole context.

Indirect communication is not practiced much among Japanese people who are close to one another. However, if the message is negative, and it's the first time they've approached this particular topic or subject, they may use an indirect style. If the listener does not get the message the first time, the speaker will be a little more direct the second time and even more so the third time. A person with higher status can be direct to a person with lower status, however. Men tend to be direct to women. Indirect messages are more pervasive in a formal social context, when communicating with acquaintances, and when lower status people communicate with higher status individuals.

High-context and indirect communication styles are used to protect the feelings of the people involved, and by so doing, Japanese believe that they can maintain good relationships. Direct, straight, or logical communication styles are considered painful in many communication situations if the message is negative. Harmonious human relationships are among the most important values for many Japanese people.

Kazuko Ikeda

See also Facework/Facework Negotiation Theory; Hall, E. T.; High-Context and Low-Context Communication; Individualism and Collectivism; Ingroup/Outgroup; Value Dimensions: Hofstede

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Communicating Across Cultures With People From Korea

Traditionally, Korea has been ethnically homogeneous. Until recently, interethnic communication has received little attention from communication researchers. Instead, most intercultural communication research has focused on the unique worldview and cultural patterns of Koreans. Over the past decade, however, minority populations in

Korea have grown rapidly due to increases of immigrant workers and international marriages. Korean researchers are now directing attention to social issues as part of the advent of a multicultural era in the country.

This entry describes the fundamentals of Korean culture and society, Korean thinking patterns and their social implications, the growing interethnic encounters and the social problems caused by these encounters, and the human rights of immigrant workers, foreign brides, and Korean mothers-in-law.

Fundamentals of Korean Culture

Korean culture has long been characterized as context dependent, collectivistic, and interdependent in self-construal. Koreans' identity and self-concept also depend on the relational context. Koreans tend to either conceptualize the self differently or switch the mode of communication according to the varying relational roles salient at the moment. The dependency of identity on the existence of others entails the predominance of an interdependent self-construal among Koreans. Thus, Koreans tend to demonstrate prosocial characteristics such as pursuing relational harmony, remaining sympathetic to the needs of others, and striving to fit into the roles constituted by relationships. The role dependency, however, also entails a tendency to trivialize unrelated others as unimportant social objects in Korean society.

More fundamental to the Korean culture is holism. *Holism* refers to a worldview that considers humans as parts of various holistic entities, who adopt identities from the whole in which they are parts and strive to act in unison with the other parts in the whole. Empirical studies show that Koreans think substantially more holistically than Americans. In holistic cultures, individuals are often seen as the occupants of particular positions, fostering relativistic thinking that values individuals differentially relative to their respective social standings. Holistic individuals, therefore, perceive, think, and behave relatively. Empirical evidence concurs that cognitive relativity remains much more pronounced among Koreans than among Americans or Japanese.

Koreans' relativity in cognition influences self-conception and face needs. As Koreans' self-concept evolves in relation to others, one would hardly be satisfied with feeling smart, rich, or leading a happy life. Instead, greater life satisfaction results when realizing that one is smart*er,* rich*er,* or happi*er* than the others around. A relativistic self-perception allows for a greater sensitivity to, and an elevated aspiration for, a higher social status and class. Consistent evidence indicates the positive impact of cognitive relativity on face needs that reflect the desire for social acceptance.

The relative self-perception seems to entail individuals enthusiastically pursuing a higher social rung. In Korea, where relativistic individuals predominate, complete life satisfaction is allowed only for the select few occupying the very top of the social hierarchy. Most others may suffer from low self-esteem or social stigma due to differential valence. Less successful individuals spend much energy attempting to climb up the social ladder and increase their economic standing. Seoul, the capital city of Korea, is booming with various cram schools preparing students to enter elite universities, major government agencies, or prominent companies.

On the flip side of cognitive relativity lies jealousy toward the successful. Constant surveillance persists over social elites such as high-ranking government officials, politicians, graduates of prestigious universities, and executive members of world-class conglomerates. Importantly, the Korean society as a whole tends to impose strict ethical or moral standards on the successful. Such public sentiment is well represented in recent government attempts at regulating the expansion of major corporations into small to midsize business industries or preventing further expansion of successful local franchises that have grown popular enough to go national. Likewise, candidates running for a cabinet post must pass an extremely stringent probe at a public hearing.

Holistic Thinking and Its Social Implications

Koreans' holistic cognition was captured in a research initiative examining cultural differences in health beliefs and practices. The results show that Korean adults tend to believe that eating holistic food (e.g., honey or aloe vera) offers more health benefits than do their counterparts in the United States, who place a greater focus on nutritional elements (e.g., calcium, iron, vitamins) as a means of promoting health. Corroborating evidence provides additional support for the notion that Koreans view the health benefits of food holistically while Americans view a particular food item's health benefit analytically. When asked to evaluate a presumably new food item (such as yogurt), Korean subjects tended to find information advertising the functionality (what it does) of the food (e.g., promoting a healthy digestive system) as more important than its nutritional elements (what it contains, e.g., low fat or fewer calories). The reverse pattern prevailed among the U.S. counterparts. Current data therefore correspond to the theoretical view characterizing East Asians as holistic and Westerners as analytic thinkers. The Koreans' preference for holistic food and functionality seems to manifest a context dependency in cognition, believing that the characteristics of an element can change depending on interaction with other surrounding elements contained in the food. Hence, assessing the value of individual elements is meaningless to Koreans. Instead, viewing food as a synthetic whole and considering what it can do to promote health seem to matter more for Koreans.

Holistic thinking can sometimes lead to a focus on technology over science. Koreans as holistic thinkers tend to concern themselves more with solving immediate practical problems than analyzing the attributes of an object or construct in dissociation from others. Korean industry has witnessed a remarkable advancement in technology over the past decades. However, the development of science, which necessitates more analytic thinking, has made relatively slower progress. In the education industry, the prevailing teaching methods, especially in the private sector, are often criticized for being too technical in nature. Most lessons are devoted to either providing the skill sets needed to become familiar with the test itself or identifying correct answers rather than actually understanding the content in question. Korean society may sometimes produce *certified* individuals who cannot perform functionally.

The unique Korean concept of eye measurement, called *nunchi* in Korean, can also be understood based on context dependency. Eye measurement refers to the ability to read a speaker's state of mind or mood that is *not* explicitly communicated. Some suggest that this implicit communication skill develops in children from families lacking consistency in home education, which these children use to predict parental reactions to their (mis) behavior or requests. Since similar misbehavior may result in different consequences depending on circumstantial issues known to the parents but not to the child, uncertainty accrues, and the child ends up losing self-reliance in predicting whether an action would bring about praise or scolding or whether the parents would comply with a request or not. Eye measurement evolves as a natural alternative mechanism as the parents, who react differently depending on the situational context, constitute the only reliable source of information needed to produce an accurate prediction.

Growing Interethnic Encounters and Social Problems

Korea is currently experiencing a transition from an immigrant-sending to an immigrant-receiving country. The majority of immigrants seem to comprise two marginalized populations. The first consists of migrant workers from other, less industrialized Asian countries who provide manual labor for low wages and are subject to abuse by business owners. The second involves women of low economic class seeking marriage in rural areas of Korea, who remain vulnerable to potential mistreatment by human traffickers as well as conflicts with mothers-in-laws who may be interculturally insensitive. Accordingly, two major social issues have come to the forefront: (1) human rights of immigrants and (2) intercultural conflicts in multicultural families.

Immigrant Workers and Human Rights

The mistreatment of foreign laborers of color appears quite prevalent in Korean society, where double standards still prevail. Whereas White immigrants from English-speaking nations tend to receive a warm welcome in Korea, immigrant workers of color, especially those coming from a poor economy, are often stigmatized, suffer outright hostility, and have a much greater chance of falling victim to chicanery. Scholars call for countermeasures to improve the working conditions of these immigrant workers. The rationale for this is the accelerated demographic shift and its economic ramifications.

Korean society is literally aging as a whole. Currently, a rapid growth in the number of senior citizens, mostly Baby Boomers enjoying longevity thanks to advanced medical technology, occurs simultaneously with a record low fertility rate. The result is a disproportionate number of elderly individuals on social security benefits and a continuing shortage of young taxpayers, a situation that will only worsen as time passes. Importing qualified workers willing to stay in Korea and pay taxes to the Korean government is expected to provide one viable solution. To facilitate the attraction of such a labor force, a social environment more favorable for immigrant workers must be cultivated. Communication scholars could make unique contributions to this endeavor by strategizing public campaigns that advertise the potential benefits of healthy multiculturalism in Korea. Considering the centuries-old tradition of ethnic homogeneity and the degree of intolerance to cultural diversity in Korean society, meeting such a challenge requires persistent efforts in both research and practice.

Foreign Brides and Korean Mothers-in-Law

The continuing influx of foreign brides creates several social concerns, including domestic violence, exploitation of undocumented immigrants, and social discrimination against their children in education, among other issues. One distinctive communication problem in Korean society concerns intercultural conflicts in the family, particularly between the female spouse and the mother-in-law. As in most traditional societies, a preference for sons persists in the rural areas of Korea. The mother's attachment to the son is especially pronounced, likely because producing sons, who can continue the family line and are obliged to support their aging parents, help legitimize the mother's status in the family. The mother's affection for, and loyalty to, the son hardly ceases, even after his marriage. Often the attachment leads the mother to perceive the young bride, also seeking attention and care from the son, as a serious threat to the bond. A mother-in-law mistreating or abusing her daughter-in-law by using her superiority and influence has been one of the most overused yet still engaging subjects portrayed in Korean soap operas. Immigrant female spouses, especially those who found marriage in a rural community, face a double jeopardy. Foreign brides' lack of proficiency in the Korean language and cultural literacy, the uneducated mother-in-law wanting to *Koreanize* the bride completely, and the shared inexperience in dealing with intercultural conflicts can together lead to a series of communication failures. Repeated impasses in intercultural communication can potentially result in dissolution of the marriage, which incurs major social or psychological costs in the process. Korean communication scholars could perhaps help prevent such failures by initiating intercultural communication programs for multicultural families and providing training and counseling at the family and community levels.

Sang-Yeon Kim and Tae-Seop Lim

See also Identity; Individualism and Collectivism; Ingroup/Outgroup

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Communicating Across Cultures With People From Latin America

Latin America is one of the world's most diverse regions. It includes more than 600 million people, hundreds of languages and ethnicities, a centuries-long legacy of colonialism, huge socioeconomic disparities, and a diversity of histories, geographies, and political systems. How people from Latin America communicate, or how best to communicate with them, obviously depends very much on the context.

With approximately 10% of the world's population, a gross domestic product of more than US$5 trillion, and Brazil and Mexico forecast to be two of the world's top five economies by the middle of the 21st century, Latin America is an important global region. Its music, literature, visual art, cooking, and dance are appreciated worldwide with UNESCO naming traditional Mexican food as the first world heritage cuisine in 2010.

This entry provides a brief summary of the area's history and demographics as context for understanding Latin Americans, some of the core values informing patterns of communication, and normative communication styles in various contexts.

Brief Demographic and Historical Overview

Latin America is a term used frequently but often defined in various ways. It most commonly denotes the Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries of the Americas, ranging from Mexico to the southern tip of Chile, as well as the Caribbean: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Puerto Rico (technically, a territory of the United States), Uruguay, and Venezuela.

Latin America has been populated for more than 30,000 years and was home to very advanced civilizations, including the Aztec (Mexico), Inca (Peru), and Maya (Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, and Mexico). In 1494, the Treaty of Tordesillas ceded most of the area that is now Brazil to Portugal and the remaining portions of Central and South America to Spain. The French, the Dutch, and the English quickly followed the Spanish and the Portuguese. Over the next 400 years, the indigenous population of the Western Hemisphere declined 96% (from 50 million to 1.8 million), mostly due to epidemic diseases, such as smallpox and measles, brought by the Europeans.

Nearly 80% of the population of the region claims some European ancestry (primarily Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, and German), though the vast majority are of mixed race. Fifty million Latin Americans belong to one of the region's 600 indigenous groups, which constitute 40% of the rural population and 13% of the total population in the region. Indigenous populations are especially large in Peru, Mexico, Guatemala, Bolivia, and Ecuador, with these five countries having 90% of the region's indigenous groups. In some coastal areas, African ancestry is prevalent, particularly in Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Cuba, Colombia, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, and Ecuador. People of Asian ancestry are also found throughout Latin America; they make up 5% of the Peruvian population, and Brazil is home to the largest group of Japanese descendants outside Japan.

Sixty percent of the area's population speak Spanish, which is different from Castilian Spanish. Vocabulary varies by country and region, and there are many colloquial or slang terms as well. The use of the formal (and sometimes informal) *usted* versus the informal *tu*, use of *vosotros* versus *ustedes*, and use of *vos* in Argentina and some other areas illustrate the variations in pronoun usage throughout Latin America. A sentence may be grammatically correct in Argentina but not in Colombia, for example. It is usually fairly easy for a Latin American to tell where a fellow Latin American comes from by the person's accent.

Thirty-four percent of Latin Americans speak Portuguese, almost exclusively in the region's largest country, Brazil. Brazilian Portuguese is distinct from that of Portugal and has regional variations as well. The remaining 6% of Latin Americans speak a variety of other languages, including 7 million who speak the indigenous Southern Quechua. At the time of the European conquest, the region was home to thousands of indigenous languages, and hundreds are still spoken to this day.

European colonizers brought African slaves and introduced a racial and socioeconomic caste system in Latin America. While the official *casta* system died out in the 18th century, its effects are felt to this day: According to the United Nations, Latin America is the most socially unequal region in the world. Higher socioeconomic status tends to correlate with lighter skin color, and darker skin with poverty, lack of opportunity, and low social status. According to the World Bank, the richest 10% of the population earn 48% of the region's income, while the poorest 10% earn less than 2%. The region has a lengthy history of basing economic prosperity on the export of its rich natural resources, including minerals and hydrocarbons.

Most of Latin America gained independence by the early 19th century, following the models of revolution in the United States and France, though a few colonies remain at the time of writing. Initial independence of countries in the region was followed by multiple wars and conflicts, dividing and redividing territory. It is important to note that while outsiders, and even insiders, may refer to the region collectively as *Latin America*, many of these nations have, at various times, been at war internally or with each other, and like any neighbors, they frequently hold prejudices against one another.

The end of the 20th century saw industrialization and nationalization throughout the region, followed by privatization, and political and class struggle. Much of Latin America has suffered from the drug war and arms trade, both involving its northern neighbor, the United States, and guerrilla fighters have been an internal issue in Colombia and Mexico. The territory is home to a diversity of political systems, from rising democracies to dictatorships. The range and variety of geographies, climates, and economies is stunning. The economy of Brazil, at the time of writing, is ranked sixth in the world, and that of Mexico is ranked 13th. There are numerous innovative, noteworthy projects aimed at promoting regional unity, political coordination, and trade liberalization within the hemisphere (e.g., North American Free Trade Agreement [NAFTA], Common Market of the South [Mercado Común del Sur, MERCOSUR], Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas [ALBA], Andean Community [Comunidad Andina, CAN], Community of Latin American and Caribbean States [CELAC], Integrated Latin American Market [Mercado Integrado Latinoamericano, MILA], Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership [TTIP], and Union of South American Nations [Unión de Naciones Suramericanas, NASUR]). Chile has led the way in signing free trade agreements with countries worldwide, and others are quickly following suit.

Latin America has assumed a key leadership role on the world stage in exploring innovative solutions for restructuring societal inequity, promoting responsible development, and the sustainable use of natural resources. Many of these efforts are based on popular, direct-democratic movements, including indigenous social movements. Eleven nations include multiculturalism and multilingualism in their constitutions, and an additional four recognize indigenous rights. In 2008, Ecuador became the first country in the world to give constitutional rights to Nature, and the nation has forged novel plans with the United Nations Development Program to protect its biodiversity.

In the early 21st century, 70% of Latin Americans claim to be Roman Catholic, with Protestantism on the rise. There is a growing middle class and an increasingly educated population; women occupy 35% of decision-making positions; and there is a gay rights revolution. Although the society is aging like others worldwide, overall, it is a young population, with 53% of Latin Americans of working age. There are progressive programs to break the cycle of poverty, and the region's gross domestic product is forecast to reach US$15 trillion by 2025. The United Nations Economic Commission predicts that by 2015 China will overtake the European Union as Latin America's second largest trading partner.

Understanding something about the region's history and social reality is a prerequisite to establishing credibility in the eyes of Latin American friends and colleagues, and thus to effective communication.

Core Values Informing Communication Styles

Values are those abstract concepts that society (via families, schools, spiritual traditions, clubs) teaches are right or wrong; they tend to motivate behavior. Thus, a basic understanding of the core values of a society can help one learn how to communicate most effectively with members of that society. Remember that Latin America consists of very diverse nations and hundreds of millions of people. Each person is unique, and regional values should be used to stimulate observation, thinking, and discussion, not to stereotype.

One of the predominant values in Latin America is *relationship*. Family and friends bring meaning and joy to life. Extended families and good friends tend to be those who are trusted and relied on to do a good job. One may do something for the good of the family rather than for one's own personal benefit. It is wise to have a personal connection (e.g., *palanca* in Mexico) or an introduction by a known person when trying to accomplish a goal (e.g., find a job, enter a business contract). People generally want to get to know one another before working together; tasks are easier if there is a trusting relationship. Latin Americans tend to respect relationships so much that they may be reticent to implement change. It may not make sense to reassign people and break up a functioning team or to hire an outsider when an insider will know all the players and how to influence them. It is important to help others who are less fortunate (*paletearse* in Chile) or, at a minimum, to be perceived as doing so.

This respect for the people in one's circle of family, friends, and colleagues means that time will often be taken for a conversation, even though someone with an appointment may be waiting. It also means that Latin Americans frequently multitask; for example, they may talk on the phone, or someone else may be in the room while they are serving someone. Frequent interruptions during meetings or social events are common and expected, and often are necessary to express one's point of view or get involved in a conversation. Failure to interrupt or actively engage in a conversation may be perceived as a lack of interest in the topic or lack of empathy. This is particularly true in social events with people with whom some trust has been established. In more hierarchical societies in the region (Colombia, Ecuador), however, interrupting during meetings may be perceived as impolite.

Partly out of this concern for people and their feelings, tasks are generally allotted the time needed to get them done. There is not generally the sense of urgency or the deadlines that one might experience in some other parts of the world but, rather, a traditional *ahorita* ("right now") mentality that typifies a fatalistic, *ni modo*, *what is meant to be will be* approach to life. The present moment is to be savored, the past is valued, and the future is unknown and uncontrollable. Punctuality may be valued, but relationships, the time to talk, and peace of mind tend to be valued more. Generally, stress about getting something done on time, and imposing that stress on others, is seen negatively. Planning can be seen by some as tempting fate, as taking on the role of God. Frequently, even if plans are made, they are not followed, being trumped by a desire to act or a regard for relationship or tradition. There is usually a respect for spontaneity, resourcefulness, and improvisation: Those who are able to juggle last-minute schedule changes or adjust to a lack of resources are highly sought after. *Street smarts*, knowing by whom and how to get something done, tend to be valued, as is *jeitinho* (Brazil) or *pillería* (Chile), meaning the creativity and ingenuity to know how to circumvent the bureaucracy and find alternative ways to achieve one's goals.

Latin Americans tend to value hard work and sacrifice for a better future and the good of the family. Given the region's history and economic challenges, people are generally predisposed to working long hours and feel the responsibility and pressure to study or work hard. They also commonly greet life with a positive outlook, looking on the bright side, so to speak. Life is to be enjoyed no matter how difficult the journey is. There is a desire for a job, a family, a set of friends, and a lifestyle in which one can *sentirse a gusto* ("feel good about things"). If one feels comfortable, communication flows much more openly. Successful people tend to be likeable, *simpático*, and get along well with others. To *caer bien* ("be likable") is one of the highest compliments. Jokes, laughter, and compliments are heard frequently in both social and work venues. Irony and sarcasm are well received in some countries and very risky in others. Most Latin Americans demonstrate very generous hospitality; everyone is included in a party, for example, and they are usually happy to contribute whatever they can in the way of food, drink, music, and merriment. Closely related is the importance of *pride* and *face* in Latin American society, *boa imagem* in Brazil and *no hacer el oso* in Colombia. While treatment of subordinates may occasionally shock those from more egalitarian societies, care is generally taken to maintain the self-esteem of colleagues and superiors.

In most of Latin America, there is definite deference to superiors, and therefore, assertively advocating ideas to those higher up in the hierarchy is not common; subordinates tend to say what the boss wants to hear. This, of course, varies by region, social status, educational level, and context. In Argentina, for example, subordinates tend to question their superiors and express disagreement more openly, and they may view Mexicans or Chileans as *sometidos* or *sumisos* ("apple polishers" or "yes-men"). The region is huge, and there are many variations, so context must be considered first and foremost.

Mixing socially between the various socioeconomic levels tends to be awkward for everyone involved. Status is a very important feature of Latin American society; one's house, car, and clothing tend to indicate one's social stature, and an *educated* person is one who is well-spoken and well-groomed and demonstrates polite manners. Status tends to be based on one's birth and upbringing and the university one attended, though there are more egalitarian areas (Argentina, Uruguay, some cities in Brazil) and many variations within the region.

Throughout Latin America, there tends to be a great pride in history and tradition. Showing a basic knowledge of, or interest in, the local music, dance, literature, poetry, and visual art and in traditional or regional dishes or handicrafts can go a long way in helping establish rapport. However, it is worth mentioning that despite the fact that Latin American nations rank low on Geert Hofstede's Individualism index, there tends to be a very strong sense of individualism and self-protectiveness, to the point that it may seem that people are not considerate of others. In fact, they assume that each person will take care of himself or herself; there tends to be general pessimism about help coming from the state or an organization. Due to high levels of corruption in some areas of the region, there may be a level of doubt about other people's honesty, competence, and reliability.

Latin American individualism is frequently described in Spanish and Portuguese literature (e.g., by Germán Puyana in *¿Cómo somos? Los colombianos*) and may be partially explained by the Globe study's *group collectivism* versus *institutional collectivism.* The value of *self* counters the tendency toward indirect communication, as many Latin Americans will strongly and emotionally defend their opinions and ways of doing things, especially among equals and those they trust, as knowledge and experience are believed to give people that right. The huge inequities in wealth and power also motivate people to believe that personal dignity and pride may be the only thing, in the end, that they have control over. Latin Americans can demonstrate incredible wherewithal, retaining their composure in the face of untenable circumstances.

Communication Styles

Communication style refers to the culturally influenced patterns of verbal and nonverbal behavior with which people prefer to communicate in specific situations. In Latin America, communication tends to be *high context*, a term coined by E. T. Hall to indicate that meaning resides more in the interaction itself and the elements surrounding it (the body language, the placement of furniture, who is present, etc.) than in the words that are used. A characteristic of this style is that both the listener and the speaker are responsible for communication, rather than just the speaker. Explanation style in the region tends to be deductive, proceeding from the general to the specific.

It is often said that Latin Americans are indirect communicators, though they can also be surprisingly direct. For example, it is quite rare, other than for a joke, to hear someone say "no." They may agree to attend an event and then just not show up, rather than sharing the uncomfortable truth that they have another engagement. Maintaining good feelings can thus take precedence over verbal truthfulness. Such indirect communication is more prevalent in hierarchical situations or those in which the parties don't know each other, though it also occurs among trusted friends when the obligation is just too heavy or the pull in opposite directions too strong. Despite this indirectness, when there is closeness and trust in the relationship, frankness is very common in most areas of Latin America. To an outside observer, such directness may seem insulting, abrasive, or rude.

Most of Latin America uses an affable communication style: cordial, informal, and quick humored. Official interactions (e.g., business, government, school interviews) are, of course, more formal. Verbal eloquence is generally equated with intelligence; it is expected that one will use extensive description and repetition to make one's point. As with other traits, this varies by country and region. An Argentine might view a Peruvian as *chamuyo* ("one who drones on or exaggerates"). Similarly, young Argentine women may be cautioned, "*no te dejes enredar por esos hombres*" ("Don't be fooled by the beautiful things the young men may tell you"). Being well-read and having good manners also communicate one's intelligence and breeding.

Latin American thought patterns and reasoning styles tend to be highly systemic; there is a belief that almost everything is related to everything else. Thus, linear, compartmentalized thinking may be perceived as naive and brevity as hiding something. Speaking briefly by outlining the essentials and focusing on one thing at a time will feel very slow and pedantic to most Latin Americans, as they will most likely already be thinking several steps ahead. Explaining in detail the process used to arrive at one's conclusions, the *how* rather than the *what*, will generally earn credibility. Foreigners may accuse Latin Americans of lacking logic, objectivity, focus, or clarity, when they may just be using a reasoning style different from that to which their accusers are accustomed. It is wise to check and confirm meaning in various ways with a variety of people when specificity is needed.

Animated facial expressions, intonation, and hand gestures, as well as touching to demonstrate *cariño* or interpersonal warmth, are very common. Communication in Latin America is often called a contact sport: hugging, kissing, touching the other's arm or hand, and patting someone on the back are all part of the process. Touching within the same gender is more frequent than across genders, though both are common. Interpersonal distance tends to be fairly close as touching is so common. Those who do not use a personable communication style or who stand or sit at a distance may be perceived as cold, aloof, or bossy. Enthusiasm, energy, and exaggeration are common. Do not expect that such communication ensures follow-through; neither should one assume that floweriness indicates insincerity.

It is generally assumed that women and men are different, that they enjoy different things and have different talents. Women and men tend to be valued for their gender traits, a reality that can feel quite sexist to people from societies with less gender differentiation. Many Latin American businesswomen may like to be perceived as powerful, capable, *and* sexy, for example. Social occasions frequently become segregated by gender, with women talking to women and men to men, though this is not as common in Brazil and some other areas of the region.

The ability to verbally hold someone's attention or to keep a group engaged is highly valued, much more so than one's ability to listen. In typical Latin American conversation, particularly in Brazil, interruptions are frequent. In most places in Latin America, it is the norm in both Spanish and Portuguese to speak over the last few words of what someone else is saying when turn taking in a conversation. An exception to this is Chile, where interruptions are often considered impolite. The volume of communication may be louder and more animated than outsiders are accustomed to, and the conversational pace is rapid in most areas of the region. Persuasion style is normally based on relationship or likability. If one wants service, it is generally in one's best interest to approach the service provider affably and establish a basic rapport.

Trust is built through human connection, which in Latin America includes the importance of sharing meals and drinking and dancing together. It's best to spend mealtimes simply getting to know one another, avoiding talking about money, politics, or business. Common topics of conversation include family and mutual friends or shared experiences, travel, leisure, sports (*futbol*, or "soccer," is extremely popular), holidays, current events, wine, and food. In some cases, one needs to be mentally prepared for drinking and ribald humor while socializing. Throughout most of Latin America, the knife and fork are used in the European fashion, and the hands are kept on the table while eating, with exceptions, of course.

Religious beliefs may be expressed much more frequently than outsiders may be accustomed to. The inquiry "How are you today?" may be answered with "Thanks to God, all is well!" The response to "I'll see you next week" may be "God willing!" Such expressions and mind-sets can probably be traced back to Islam and the Moorish influence in Spain, and to this day, they remain common exchanges in many parts of the region. In addition, Latin America is home to many folk remedies and social practices that might be perceived as superstitions to those who don't share them. This is particularly true among the lower socioeconomic classes.

Many Latin Americans pride themselves on their grooming and may dress more formally, or at least more fashionably, and be more *put together* than some foreigners may be accustomed to. Suits are common in cities and *guayaberas* in the tropics; shorts are rarely appropriate, at even the most informal professional gatherings. A good haircut, polished shoes, a high-quality pen and notebook, a manicure and pedicure, all communicate professionalism and self-respect.

Titles are frequently used, even among close colleagues: *licenciado* (someone with a bachelor's degree in law), *ingeniero* (engineer), or *doctor* (a term of respect not limited to those with doctoral degrees), for example. However, there are exceptions to this. In Argentina and Brazil, people tend to dislike it when others ask to be addressed by their title, or even as *señor* or *señora*, feeling it's an attempt to flaunt power or status. By contrast, in Mexico, when asking someone to repeat what another has just said, a person might say "*Mande*?" ("What is your command?"). Similarly, they might refer to themselves as *tu servidor* ("your servant"). To those from a more egalitarian society, such expressions may be felt as submissive, false, or deceptive.

In the work environment, it is important to set clear targets and expectations, explain accountability, and provide support, all in a cordial manner. Critical feedback may not be well received, so creativity and closeness are required for successful mentoring. Impulsiveness may override planning, and deadlines are often seen as initial estimates; there is usually more of a focus on process than on outcome. It can be wise to harness these facts to one's advantage rather than spend time and energy attempting to change them. Outsiders learn to expect delays; so one can demonstrate courtesy when dealing with them. Constant tracking of projects (what some outsiders may view as micromanagement) is often needed, whether for a home improvement project with a vendor or a project at work. Lack of communication tends to indicate that a project is not a priority; if an individual doesn't stay in frequent contact, the odds are the job will not get finished.

The key to successful communication is to treat one's Latin American friends and colleagues as individuals who are influenced by their multiple cultures, nationality, age, gender, ethnicity, professional training, organizational culture, and so on. Knowledge about the region should be used to inform, never to stereotype. As with any region in the world, there are a variety of images and ideas people may hold about Latin America, and for each of them, there is often a contrasting reality to consider. For example, consider the following:

- Latin America is not just a society with two social classes, the extremely wealthy and the terribly poor. In most areas of the region, there is also a quickly growing and progressively vibrant middle class.
- While *machismo* is alive and well, it is not what it used to be. Women are increasingly gaining power and leadership positions within the society and in the international arena.
- Latin America is not all warmth and smiles: Vociferous disagreement is common among equals.
- While statistics show that the vast majority are Roman Catholic, gay marriage and gay rights are legalized in several Latin American countries. The region has the highest rates in the world for childbearing outside marriage.
- Latin Americans aren't just laid-back; they also are some of the world's hardest working and most perseverant people.

Latin America plays an increasingly important role in the world today and may be home to many of the solutions for the problems facing the planet. Therefore, it behooves everyone to learn to communicate and collaborate more effectively and enjoyably with Latin Americans.

Dianne Hofner Saphiere

See also Beliefs, Values, Norms, Customs (Definitions); Body Language (Haptics); Cognitive Styles Across Cultures; Cultural Patterns; Facework/Facework Negotiation Theory; Facial Expressions/Universal; High-Context and Low-Context Communication; Intercultural Nonverbal Communication; Intercultural Verbal Communication Styles; Politeness Strategies: Rapport Theory; Time (Chronemics); Trust

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Communicating Across Cultures With People From Russia

To understand Russian communication styles and preferences, one needs to consider the history of the country and its core cultural values. This entry provides a short overview of the historical events and social developments relevant to the formation of contemporary communication styles. Then, it addresses Russian cultural values, such as relationships, hierarchy, soulfulness, fatalism, and moral righteousness. Last, it identifies the specific ways in which both history and values influence the way people in Russia and from Russia communicate with one another and with people from other countries.

History of Contradictions

In more than 1,000 years of documented history, Russia has experienced a variety of cultural influences. In its early history, the country was ruled by Vikings, baptized into Byzantine-style Christianity, and conquered by Mongols. Under the Tatar-Mongol yoke, which lasted almost 250 years, Rus (as Russia was called at the time) all but disappeared from the European scene, reemerging at the end of the 1400s.

Starting in the 15th century, Russia saw itself as the Third Rome—a true protector of the traditions of Orthodox Christianity and a source of spiritual salvation for the world. The word for "Russian Orthodoxy" in Russian is *Pravoslavie*. It has two roots—*Pravyi* ("correct," "right") and *Slavit* ("to praise"). The name strongly implies that there is a right way to praise God and it belongs to those who follow *Pravoslavie*.

As a result of the expansions, wars, annexations, and treaties that started in the 16th century, the Tsardom of Russia, and later the Russian Empire, became a multinational country with new territories and new people added to the cultural mix. Peter the Great, during his 42-year-long reign (1682–1725), transformed Russia into a European power. He sent young Russian nobles abroad to get a modern education and to learn the trades. He brought Western European merchants, craftsmen, and farmers to Russia. They were collectively referred to as *Germans*. The Russian word for "a German" is *Nemets*. It comes from the word *Nemoy*, or "mute," which meant that those who did not speak Russian were as good as mute. Peter the Great used some rather brutal methods to force Russia to follow European ways. He was known to publicly chop beards with an axe if the *boyars* (Russian nobility) refused to follow his decree to shave their faces.

Russian history is packed with examples of tension between two main objectives: (1) to connect with Europe and the Western world or (2) to concentrate inward and follow the *iskonno Russkiy* ("truly Russian") way. In the mid-19th century, these two tendencies crystallized into two opposing schools of thought—Slavophiles and Westernizers. Slavophiles emphasized the uniqueness of Russian civilization with its roots in Orthodox Christianity, its autocratic system of power, and the traditionally communal structure of the society as its base. Westernizers saw Russia's future in connecting with the West and benefiting from Western technology and a Western-style system of government. The mystical nature of a spiritually inclined Russia was opposed by a pragmatic and often agnostic liberal perspective.

The 20th century saw the revolution of 1905, World War I, the February and October revolutions of 1917, and the Civil War (1918–1921). The Russian Empire was replaced by the Soviet Union, the uniqueness of the *Third Rome* was replaced by the uniqueness of being the one and only communist country, and the idea of spiritual superiority was traded for the idea of the moral superiority of communism over any other ideology. *Pravoslavie* (and any other religion in general) was separated from the state and pushed into a far corner. The "right way to praise God" was replaced by the rather forceful expectation of following the *party line*. Freedom of expression or opinion became rather dangerous as Joseph Stalin's labor camps were filled with "enemies of the state."

Connecting with the West was perceived by the government as a rather dangerous idea. "We are surrounded by a circle of enemies" was the mantra for many years. It is not surprising that the Iron Curtain came down soon after World War II ended, because many Soviet citizens were getting exposed to different ideas and ways of life as the Soviet army was fighting in Europe.

The post-Stalin USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) saw a few years of political *thaw* under Nikita Khrushchev, almost 20 years of stagnation under Leonid Brezhnev, and a few years of *Glastnost* and *Perestroika* ("openness and rebuilding") brought in by Mikhail Gorbachev. Gorbachev's attempt to reform the system from within did not work, and the Soviet Union was dissolved in 1991.

The 1990s were years of drastic changes and the creation of a market economy in Russia. The gates were suddenly opened to foreign business and ideas of Western-style democracy. Many Russians remember the 1990s as a time of trouble and hardship; many came out of them feeling disillusioned and betrayed. At the same time, interest in joining the world and benefiting from being a part of a global economy became quite prevalent, especially among the better educated people and young professionals.

Russia under Vladimir Putin continues to search for its way in history. Pro-Western tendencies, which were strongly present in the beginning of his reign, took an almost 180-degree turn. The rhetoric of "circle of enemies" and "enemies of the people" has become widespread again.

Core Values and Their Manifestation in Communication

The preceding brief history of Russia was necessary to explain a rather unique challenge in identifying core Russian values. Mira Bergelson of Moscow State University identifies three distinct subcultures within Russian culture today—(1) traditional, (2) West oriented, and (3) Soviet style. These three subgroups demonstrate very different value orientations. For example, Western-oriented values advocate for predictability and universality of laws. Traditionalists emphasize that being morally right is more right than being legally right. And followers of the Soviet style believe that law by itself does not matter and it is up to the power hierarchy of the day to rule.

For the sake of clarity, this entry will identify a number of core values that are most prevalent in today's Russia and demonstrate their behavioral manifestations in Russian communication patterns. It is important to emphasize that when non-Russian-speaking foreigners interact with English-speaking people (or those speaking other languages) in Russia, it is somewhat more likely that they are dealing with Western-oriented Russians.

It is also important to mention that the Russian Federation is a multinational state with almost 200 different ethnicities (designated as *nationalities* in Russia). Many of these groups practice significantly different cultural traditions and speak their own languages. However, from a simplified perspective of "If you are from Russia, you must be Russian," these details of Russian cultural diversity are often disregarded by foreigners who are less familiar with it. The same confusion applies to Russian-speaking people from different parts of the former Soviet Union who over the years relocated to other countries. They are often perceived as Russian, whether or not it corresponds with their own sense of cultural identity.

Relationships/Friendships

One of the most famous Russian proverbs states, "Don't have a hundred roubles; rather have a hundred friends." To count somebody as a real friend, one must first eat a pound of salt together. Investing one's time in developing and maintaining relationships and building trust is essential in Russia. Even for more individually oriented, Western-minded Russians, the sense of a *circle of friends* is important. Friendship is understood as something deep and intimate. In contrast with how the word *friend* is often used elsewhere, for example, in the United States, Russians will use the word *znakomyi* ("acquaintance") rather than *droog* ("friend") in many instances where Americans use the word *friend*. Thinking in terms of *us and them*, *ours and strangers* is quite common in Russia. Westerners are always *them* in Russia, and it takes a while to break through stereotypes and establish good personal relationships. It might be especially challenging at times when official propaganda keeps painting a circle of enemies.

Building relationships based on trust requires a serious time investment, soul-to-soul conversations, and a willingness to walk the extra mile for each other. In any Russian workplace, for example, actively socializing with one's coworkers during the workday (coffee breaks, chitchats, lunches) as well as after work and on weekends is perceived as normative and expected.

The degree of closeness/trust or distance/lack of trust manifests quite clearly in how people communicate. For example, people will be most direct and honest with those with whom they feel familiar and safe. Russian directness can be experienced as blunt and even rude. For example, saying to one's colleague, "I have never heard anything so stupid," as a response to his or her suggestion during a brainstorming meeting is not that uncommon. For a Russian, it is not about being rude but about being honest. However, if a relationship has not been established yet or a person does not feel safe to express an opinion within a certain hierarchical structure, it is not uncommon to choose a more indirect approach or simply silence.

Historically, the group-oriented nature of Russian culture often shows up in a form of unsolicited advice. Russians feel compelled to give advice even to strangers. For example, foreigners adopting children from Russia are routinely stopped by Russian *babushkas* ("grandmothers," "old ladies") and lectured about the importance of dressing their children warmer. The main recipients of advice, however, are people from one's familiar and more intimate circles. If one asks one's Russian friend or coworker, "Where can I find such and such a thing?" a common response might be "Why do you need it in the first place? Let me tell you what will be much better." For a Russian, it is an expression of attention and care. For people from a more individualistic culture, it can feel like an intrusion into their private business.

Hierarchy

Through all of its history Russian society has been organized in a very hierarchical manner. Jokingly—and it's important to know that Russians often process their reality through jokes and that there are Russian jokes for every occasion—Russians often use the phrase "You are the boss—I am the fool, I am the boss—you are the fool." In this phrase, one can see a classic Russian contradiction of a perfect coexistence of two opposites: acceptance of and protest against the hierarchy.

Russian hierarchy shows up not only in person-to-person interactions but in person-to-system interactions as well. It is not uncommon for Russians to experience a certain degree of rudeness and disrespect when communicating with a bureaucrat or official. Russian-speaking foreigners experience this phenomenon more often when they try to conduct their business in Russian rather than in English or another foreign language.

The Russian language with its formal and informal *you* (*Vy*—formal and *Ty*—informal) clearly underlines the hierarchical nature of Russian culture. Not only does *you* change its form; verbs also need to be adjusted to correspond correctly with either *Vy* or *Ty*. The degree of hierarchical distance or closeness and familiarity can also be seen in the way Russians use names.

For example, a 50-year-old man will be addressed as Ivan (first name) Vladimirovich (patronymic name, meaning "son of Vladimir") by people who are clearly younger than he is or by those who are lower than he is in the workplace hierarchy. He will also be called Ivan Vladimirovich by his peers (in age and/or rank) until one invites the other to switch to using just first names. If Ivan Vladimirovich was a younger man (20s or 30s), he would most likely be addressed as Ivan with a formal you (*Vy*) by strangers or those reporting to him. His friends would call him "Ivan" (if he prefers his formal name) or most likely "Vanya" (a nickname). And here is the most interesting transformation that the Russian language allows for names—a name itself can be turned into a term of endearment. Our Ivan can be called "Vanechka" or "Vanyusha" (he can also be jokingly or with some degree of disrespect called "Van'ka"). His wife, Tatiana Sergeyevna ("daughter of Sergey"), will be called "Tanya" (a nickname appropriate for use by friends, relatives, or those with whom she is on a first-name basis). She also will be called "Tanechka," "Tanyusha," or "Tan'ka."

Another connection between the language and the hierarchical nature of Russian culture is evident in the difference between the official language and the everyday language. The official language, whether written or spoken, emphasizes the importance and status of the person communicating a message. Sentences and even words tend to get longer, and at times, speech gets harder to follow, even for native speakers of Russian.

Soulfulness, Emotionality

The Russian sense of soul is widely recognized. A Russian might identify something as important and meaningful for him or her by saying something like "It touched my soul." Any Russian language dictionary lists pages of words with the root *dusha* ("soul"). They vary from *dushevny* ("soulful") to *dushevno bol'noy* ("mentally ill"). Those who propagate the mysterious nature of Russian civilization emphasize the nature of the soul as the darkest dark and the lightest light. Those who do not believe in the mysterious nature of the soul agree that Russians are often driven by their deep emotions and that emotionality plays a role in trust building, decision making, and many other important aspects of their lives.

A high level of emotion is common and even expected when communicating together. Raising one's voice is often used to emphasize the point in an argument. Stepping forward and minimizing personal space can be used for the same reason. Appealing to people's emotions ("if it feels right it must be right") is more common than making one's point purely based on facts.

The high-context nature of Russian communication and an expectation of soul-level knowledge and understanding of a situation are naturally connected. "As it is known to everybody" or "Don't we all know" is often used as a legitimate argument. A self-respecting listener or reader is normatively looking for a hidden meaning and reading between the lines.

Fatalism

The end of the Soviet era as well as the post-Soviet years have seen a growing number of people (especially in the Western-oriented subculture) with a strong preference for an internal locus of control and for taking charge of their own destiny. However, the sense that *nothing much depends on me* or *it is not up to me* is much more common.

Russians willingly engage in lamenting over things big and small. However, when asked, "And what would you like to do about it?" many people would talk about whose responsibility it should be (government, their boss, their spouse—depending on the situation) to make things happen. Shifting blame is often employed when something goes wrong, whether it is a small occurrence or a major event.

Routine emphasizing of what's wrong without necessarily offering how to make it right can be experienced as negativity by people from more internal-locus-of-control cultures. However, Russians would argue that it comes either from their genuine concern or from their genuine belief (often based on previous experiences—contextual knowledge) that "nothing ever changes here."

Moral Righteousness and the Importance of Being Right

As was mentioned earlier, Russian culture has a long history of *only one right way* rooted in its religious tradition. The old Russian word *inakomysljaschiy* ("one who thinks differently") was used to identify those who were kicked out of the Orthodox Church or even persecuted for their views and statements that did not coincide with the Church's official position. In the Soviet Union, there were "enemies of the state" and in later years, "dissidents." Terminology might have changed, but the essence remained—it has often been dangerous to have an opinion that might be perceived as a wrong one.

This does not mean that in everyday life or in a workplace all Russians think alike. On the contrary, Russians are people of strong convictions and strong emotions as well as creative problem solvers. The strong need to be right translates into arguing to win, which often looks like a zero-sum game ("For me to win, you need to lose"). A "let's agree to disagree" approach is quite uncommon.

In a culture that more often defines truth through emotions, the sense of what is *morally right* is often perceived as more right than what is *legally right*. For example, many foreign companies operating in Russia find it difficult to implement a business ethics rule that requires employees to report on their coworkers who are breaking some company rule. This legally right thing to do is perceived as a morally very wrong thing to do from a Russian cultural perspective.

The sense of moral righteousness often leads to quick judgments. A Russian might not only behave in a rather judgmental manner but might strongly and passionately hold on to that judgment. A hierarchy of moral superiority serves to balance out other hierarchical structures and a sense of not having enough control in one's life.

Language

In any culture, language is an essential part of communication. The Russian language is one of the top 10 most spoken languages in the world (counting native and second-language speakers), and it has experienced a number of transformations since the beginning of the 1990s.

Russian was the official language in 15 republics of the Soviet Union, but the number of territories has decreased over time. It now serves as the official language in the Russian Federation as well as in Abkhazia (part of Georgia), Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Transnistria (part of Moldova).

The 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s saw a large influx of Western business into the Russian market. This new economic reality not only came with new products and new business approaches but also introduced a whole new vocabulary. A lot of English words are used today because there were no appropriate words in the Russian language for them (e.g., shopping, realtor, many Internet-related terms, etc.). This sometimes happens even when equivalent Russian words exist. In response to this *foreign invasion*, some traditionalists and Soviet-style-oriented politicians have been advocating for a law that would fully prohibit any use of foreign words.

Tatyana Fertelmeyster

See also Cross-Cultural Communication; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Intercultural Communication; High-Context and Low-Context Communication; Intercultural Communication, Definition of

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Communicating Across Cultures With People From the Middle East

The term *Middle East* originated in the 19th century during European colonial expansion across the world. The Middle East encompasses a vast region from Morocco to Iran, marked by great diversity in history, language, and political, economic, and social realities. Owing to this overreaching label, this entry will concentrate on 22 nations, in Africa, the Levant, the Fertile Crescent, and the Arabian Gulf. This entry provides an overview of key intercultural patterns pertaining to Arabs. Because of its geographic location, historical prominence, and political transitions and complexities, this part of the world is commonly misunderstood and mistakenly stereotyped. Although this entry describes the general characteristics of Arab culture, with which more than 300 million people identify, there is great diversity in the Arab world, and it is impossible to classify all people of this, or any other, culture as the same.

Who Are Arabs?

Identity as an Arab is based on the Arabic language, not on race or ethnicity, tribe, or religion. Arabic is the primary language that identifies and connects people in this region. A variety of languages and dialects other than Arabic exist across the region, such as Kurdish, Berber, Nubian (southern Egypt and North Sudan), and European languages from colonial times (predominantly English and French). Arabic, however, as the mother tongue of millions, creates a strong sense of identity and belonging. Arabs would like to consider themselves as one people.

Beyond language, the region is politically, culturally, and historically diverse. Faith, family, tribe, urban, and rural realities shape the identity of each Arab. There are an estimated 300 million Arabs. The combined population of the North African nations makes up the greatest number of Arabs. Egypt alone has a population of 90 million. Arab nations encompass 22 countries that divide into five regions:

1. *The Fertile Crescent/Levant:* Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, and Palestine
2. *The Gulf countries:* Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates
3. *The Arabian Peninsula:* Saudi Arabia and Yemen
4. *North Africa:* Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Libya, Egypt, and Sudan
5. *Spread across the African continent:* Comoros, Djibouti, Mauritania, and Somalia

Arabic

One seventh of the world's population uses the Arabic language. Additionally, millions of people in Africa and Asia write their own languages in the Arabic alphabet. Farsi, the language of Iran, and Urdu, the language of Pakistan and some parts of India, are, for example, written in the Arabic script.

Arabic belongs to the Semitic family of languages, of which Hebrew is also a member; thus, the term *Semite* refers to anyone who speaks a Semitic language. Arabic script reads from right to left, and its alphabet contains 28 characters. While it is universally written, read, and understood in its classical form (based on the Qur'an), spoken Arabic has a range of regional or dialectical variations.

As the Arabs migrated, the Arabic language, as well as Arab culture, was enriched by contact with other civilizations: Greek, Persian, Coptic, Roman, Indian, and Chinese. During the 9th and 10th centuries, there was a great translation movement, centered in Baghdad, when old scientific and philosophical tracts were translated from ancient languages, especially Greek, into Arabic.

Modern European languages, such as Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, and English, owe a great debt to Arabic. English, for example, contains many words borrowed from Arabic: for example, algebra (*al jabr*), chemistry (*al-keemya'*), giraffe (*zirafah*), coffee (*qahwah*), safari (*safari*, literally "to travel"), ghoul (*ghul*), alcohol (*al-kuhl*), guitar (*qitar*), sugar (*sukkar)*, and many others.

From the second half of the 8th to the end of the 11th century, Arabic was one of the main scientific and literary languages of scholarship, education, and inquiry. The Arabs had significant influence on a multitude of subjects, from the sciences, art, architecture, astronomy, mathematics, optics, and medicine to food and fashion.

Role of Religion

Along with the importance of the family in Arab life, religious affiliation is just as important, if not more so, depending on the individual, family, community, and/or country. Whether Muslim, Christian, or Jewish, religion plays a significant role in individual Arabs' lives.

Christian Arabs are concentrated in North Africa and the Fertile Crescent/Levant, and make up significant minorities in several countries, including Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and Lebanon. Prior to the creation of the State of Israel in 1948 when most Middle Eastern Jews emigrated, substantial numbers of Jews lived in Arab countries. Islam is the religion of 82% of the total Arab population.

Because religion influences culture, possessing a general understanding of Islam is necessary. Islam has had a significant impact on Arab history, influencing all aspects of Arab culture, society, and politics. *Islam* is the name of the religion, derived from the root word *salaam*, which means "peace" in Arabic. In the religious context, *Islam* means submission or peace with the will of God in all things that occur in one's life.

Muslim is the name for a person who practices Islam. Literally, the word *Muslim* means one who submits to and is at peace with the will of God. The correct English spelling and pronunciation is "Muslim" (with an "s" sound). Muslims consider themselves one of the three "peoples of the Book" (along with Christians and Jews), worshipping the God of Abraham (*Allah* in Arabic), and regard Adam, Abraham, Moses, John the Baptist, Mary, and Jesus, among other biblical figures, as part of the Islamic tradition.

The religion has its origins in the believed revelations received by Prophet Muhammad from God through the angel Gabriel. Muslims do not consider Muhammad to be divine or the object of worship. Muslims adhere to five basic duties or pillars:

1. Declaration of faith and belief in one God
2. Prayer five times daily
3. Almsgiving
4. Fasting during the month of Ramadan
5. Completion of a pilgrimage to Mecca

It is important to know that Islam is not only a spiritual practice but also a way of life; it is the world in which a Muslim lives. The Qur'an prescribes politics, economics, law and justice, and social behavior, as well as theology.

Arab Values

Family and Group Orientation

Arab identity is strongly influenced by relationships to one's family or tribe (including the extended family), community, God, and region (i.e., state or nation). The prevalence of group or communal interdependence is speculated to be the result of a harsh climate and limited natural resources. Individual needs are not as important as those of the group or family. The traditional family structure of parents, children, and extended family is the primary source of one's identity, priorities, goals, and orientations. Families provide a sense of history and continuity in relationships and in attachments to the land. Specific expectations are presumed to be based on one's relationship to others as a mother, father, child, sister, brother, grandparent, teacher, student, boss, employee, and so on. A sense of obligation to others, known as *wajib*, is expected. The question "Who are you?" is answered by giving one's name, which can reveal one's heritage, status, religion, and reputation in the community or country. The Arab family is a cradle-to-grave social security and welfare system.

Sense of Fate and Destiny

The influence of religion leads to a core belief in fate and destiny, that nothing occurs without God's will. In general, Arabs are fatalistic and have a strong belief that life circumstances are ultimately beyond individual control. *In Sha' Allah*, or "If God wills," is often the response to any future anticipated event, small or significant, short- or long-term. Faith in God, patience, and acceptance of one's fate are primary coping mechanisms when encountering negative or difficult circumstances.

Hierarchy, Rank, and Role

Deference to authority is reflected by the importance of status, rank, title, reputation, and position. One's position at work, at school, in the community, and at home designates the expectations of protocols that determine how to communicate with, meet, greet, and address others and which tasks or duties one is expected to perform. Ceremony, protocol, and manners are essential to conveying respect and a positive or prestigious reputation. Status is determined based on age, gender, class, education, family, and position/job title. This is gradually changing with exposure to and interactions with other cultures. Because the majority of Arabs are currently under the age of 22 years, shifts with regard to hierarchal positioning are occurring in national and political arenas.

Relationships

Arabs value the investment of time in relationship building to establish trust and ensure reliability in one's friendship or partnership. Social networks among Arabs are quite important for personal and professional affairs. Investing in relationships for personal and business matters is taught at a very young age. Everyday life is infused with socialization and human interaction. As a result, Arabs are extremely hospitable and generous to their guests. This tradition of hospitality may be one that comes from a tradition of nomadic life and the region's scarcity of most natural resources. Shelter and a meal were provided to anyone who was in need. Being a gracious guest and accepting invitations for meals, tea, and gifts are equally important for reciprocity as being a host. Solid, trusting, and courteous personal relations are as important as, or even more so than, competence and efficiency in both personal and business relationships.

Communication

Arabs are expressive in their communication and speech. Hand gestures, repetition, exaggeration, a louder tone, and a closer distance between members of the same gender are common. Arabs may express themselves in a loud tone when angry or to stress seriousness. Showing one's feelings reinforces the genuineness and sincerity of the message conveyed in conversation. Arabs are described as highly contextual, with more communication contained in the context of the situation than in the words spoken. For example, maintaining a formal manner in the way one speaks, sits, stands, greets, dresses, and behaves conveys respect to an older person.

Reputation and Honor

The concept of honor and shame in Arab society has a strong influence in guiding individual behavior. A person's dignity and reputation are of paramount importance, and no effort should be spared to protect them. The preservation of honor, whether of one's own self, family, friends, community, or state, is an overriding social obligation. If a family member does well, the whole family shares the honor (*sharaf*). On the other hand, if someone disgraces the family (*ayb*), the whole family shares the burden of disgrace. Stemming from the concept of honor is *face*. It is of prime importance that an individual appear respectable in the eyes of the group; thus, face is more important than consistency. An Arab may go to unusual lengths to conform and put his best foot forward in public, occasionally displaying exaggeration or even concealing a shameful truth with the intention of saving face. Criticism, and especially public criticism, can make Arabs very nervous and is not acceptable. In cases of conflict, third-party mediation is preferred to save the person's dignity and status in the group and to minimize loss of face.

Flexible Time

All cultures value time, but the concept of time and norms differ across cultures. In Arab cultures, time is treated more casually and with flexibility. Events during the day revolve around, and are organized in relation to, the five calls for prayer and the temperature of the day. Work may take place after *Maghreb*, the prayer after sunset, and in cooler temperatures. Time is more fluid, flexible, or approximate, instead of precise. The beginning and ending of a meeting or social visit is less rigid or definite in time schedules. "Westerners have watches, Arabs have time" best describes how time is perceived differently by the two cultures. However, the perspective of time is changing with the expanding use of technology, demands for development, and global competition.

Nonverbal Language

Nonverbal or body language affects more than 70% of what we communicate. Nonverbal communication is a reflection of the core values and the culture as a whole. Arabs tend to maintain a closer proximity, or space, between members of the same gender/sex when standing or sitting. Eye contact varies based on the relationship, gender, and the circumstance of communication. Unrelated members of the opposite gender will maintain a greater distance from each other and avoid consistent direct eye contact. However, in more modernized, international business settings, there may be subtle or slight differences in these communication patterns. Arabs are more expressive and use their hands more often when speaking. There is a clear preference for use of the right hand to greet someone, pass papers, provide gifts, or eat food.

In Arab cultures, repetition conveys sincerity. Members of the same sex may hold a longer handshake, or more than one kiss will be given on the cheek when meeting after a long time. These nonverbal cues express genuineness, warmth, and good feelings toward one another.

Facial expressions can also be dramatic and animated. Smiling in public is displayed to friends and family; however, smiles to strangers can connote flirtation or a promiscuous personality. In general, Arabs are more formal or may appear unapproachable until an introduction is made or a relationship is established in both personal and professional settings.

Luby Ismail and Sherifa Fayez

See also Beliefs, Values, Norms, Customs (Definitions); Conflict Management; High-Context and Low-Context Communication

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Communicating Across Cultures With People From the United States

With the world's largest economy (China's is gaining rapidly, however), by far its largest defense budget, its third largest area (after Russia and Canada), one fifth of its purchasing power, hugely contrasting social trends, and cultural artifacts that reach worldwide (movies, music, literature, products, food, television, etc.), the United States of America is hard to ignore. This entry discusses how to communicate with some of the most misunderstood, loved, and resented people on the planet, the more than 318 million U.S. Americans. It provides a brief overview of some of the demographics and history that are important to understand when communicating with U.S. Americans, a review of core societal values that influence communication patterns, and information about the communication style expectations that are most common in the United States of America.

Brief Demographic Overview

Native American Indians have lived in what is now the United States since at least 12,000 BCE, but in the centuries since the arrival of Leif Ericsson from Scandinavia, and later the founding of the British colonies, it has become a nation of immigrants. The Migration Policy Institute reports that 20% of the world's migrants reside in the United States, and one out of five U.S. Americans speaks a language other than English at home. It is a highly diverse nation ethnically. The U.S. Census Bureau reported for the first time in 2011 that White babies were less than 50% of the infant population, predicting that by 2043 Whites would be a minority of the U.S. population. The 2012 census showed a population comprising 17% Latinos, 13% African Americans, 5% Asians, and 1.4% Native Americans. People of multiracial descent are the fastest growing demographic group.

Despite this diversity, many U.S. Americans still work and socialize primarily with people racially, ethnically, and economically similar to themselves. It is common to witness clear color lines between neighborhoods, for example. The UCLA Civil Rights Project finds that the 38% of Californians who are Latinos (2013 census) are the most segregated for any state in the United States where Latinos reside. Various federal laws prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, gender, national origin or citizenship status, disability, genetic predisposition or carrier status, age, marital status, sexual orientation, and prior arrest or conviction. Despite its illegal nature, discrimination happens: The 2012 census showed that median earnings for Latinos and Blacks were significantly less than for Asians and Whites and that women earned 77% of what men earned for similar work.

Although in 2008, U.S. Americans elected their first Black president, one with a multicultural identity, equality and inclusion are more ideals than realities.

Most U.S. Americans recognize the significant regional differences in their country (e.g., the Northeast, South, Midwest, Southwest, Mountains, and West Coast), and some scholars have written about these regional cultures. Regional differences include variations in formality, dress, speech and language, food, customs, and even religious and political affiliation (*red states and blue states*, Republican and Democrat dominated, respectively), and they should definitely be factored into communication strategies. Colin Woodard posited that there is no national culture but, rather, 11 regional U.S. cultures. There has been significant research into dialects of U.S. American English, most notably the Harvard Dialect Survey, which has now been subsumed by the Cambridge Online Survey of World Languages.

The United States is a religious nation. Despite an official separation of church and state, government is often linked to religion: "One Nation Under God" appears on its currency, and it is common for politicians to end speeches by saying, "God bless America." In a 2009 Gallup poll, 65% of citizens reported that religion played an important role in their lives. It is primarily a Christian nation: 53% Protestant and 24% Roman Catholic, according to a 2012 Gallup survey of religious identification. Sixteen percent were without religious affiliation, 1.6% Jewish, 0.7% Buddhist, and 0.5% Muslim. A trend in recent decades has been the rise of the *Christian right*, a group tending toward more conservative social and political values. Traditionally (perhaps dating back to the Puritans), there has been a general moral and sexual conservatism, though in contrast there is also a huge pornography industry and highly sexualized advertising.

The country's population is 82% urbanized (i.e., living in cities or suburbs). Twenty cities each house nearly 3 million people or more. One quarter of the world's prisoners are held in the United States' $3 billion prison–industrial complex. Incarceration is not equitable: Blacks are incarcerated approximately six times more often than Whites and Latinos more than twice as often.

There is no official national language in the United States, though English is the de facto language and an official language in 29 of the country's 50 states. Spanish is an official language in the state of New Mexico and the territory of Puerto Rico.

Core Values Informing Communication Styles

Values are the principles by which people make decisions; they are those ideals that are held dear, that society (via one's families, schools, spiritual traditions, clubs) deems to be good. Understanding a society's core values can help individuals learn how to communicate most effectively with its members. When talking about societal values, one must remember that this is an explanation of the central tendencies for hundreds of millions of people. Each individual, however, is unique, as is each context and relationship. As mentioned, there are ethnic, racial, religious, and regional differences and many contrasting trends within the United States. Keeping this fact in mind, some well-researched generalizations about U.S. Americans' core values are worth offering here.

One of the core values affecting the way people communicate is the degree of importance they ascribe to *efficiency*. U.S. Americans often say that *time is money*. They tend to communicate succinctly, summarizing their main points; details are spared unless specifically requested. Usually, their intention is to show respect for other people's time. Many U.S. Americans are action oriented, focusing on completing the task at hand more than on their relationships with other people. Speed tends to be more important than precision. To those who do not value efficiency in this way, U.S. Americans may seem rude, pushy, or shallow.

Many newcomers to the country are surprised at U.S. Americans' *openness and friendliness*. U.S. Americans may seem quite solicitous in first meetings and greetings, and it is common for them to chat with others while waiting in public spaces. Although genuine, to many foreigners this friendliness can be confusing, as it may seem short-lived, quickly segueing into open, direct debate. Very little in U.S. society may seem private or personal; people may give a visitor to their home a tour of every room in the house, for example, or share stories with new acquaintances that in other areas of the world 30-year friends might not share. In the

United States, people say that *the customer is king* or *the customer is always right*. Most stores will accept returns in a friendly and cordial manner.

There is a general belief in U.S. society that personal success is linked to one's own efforts and actions, a sense of *independence and self-reliance*. "If you want a job done right, do it yourself" is a common adage. There is value placed on hard work and what the sociologist Max Weber called the *Protestant work ethic*, working diligently until the task is completed, a view of work itself as virtuous and redemptive. In contrast, the United States is also home to huge welfare rolls, people receiving government benefits for disability, and a highly medicated population (e.g., for attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder, depression, or social anxiety). While the idea of a sensible work–life balance is often talked about, there is a contrasting belief that professionals will put in whatever hours are needed to get the job done. According to the Center for Economic and Policy Research, the United States is the only nation among advanced economies that does not provide a legal guarantee of paid leave. In Mercer's 2007 survey of 49 nations, the United States ranked 43rd in terms of paid holiday and vacation time. *Teamwork* is also generally valued. U.S. Americans tend to enjoy *friendly competition* and challenges; "May the best man win" is a common way to begin a contest.

Closely linked to the values of self-reliance and hard work is a strong belief in *capitalism*. In an address to the Society of American Newspaper Editors in 1925, the then president Calvin Coolidge said, "The chief business of the American people is business. They are profoundly concerned with buying, selling, investing and prospering in the world." There is a common belief in the *American Dream*—that those who work hard will get ahead. Interestingly, there has been an increasing trend toward socialism as well, with the federal government stepping up to bail out banks or assume ownership of a failing auto industry, for instance.

A *desire to appear confident and persuasive* frequently manifests itself when U.S. Americans introduce themselves. Foreigners may feel that Americans tend to advertise or sell themselves, persuading a new acquaintance to like or at least respect them, rather than just trying to get to know the person as an individual. In contrast to such confidence, since the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, *fear* is an increasing motivator in the United States; gated communities, safety regulations, security screenings, and school lockdowns are commonplace. There is often also a belief in the fundamental *uniqueness of each individual*. U.S. Americans frequently are not pleased, when traveling abroad or working in multinational contexts, to be labeled "U.S. American," particularly when there is no apparent recognition given to their other affiliations or their personal characteristics.

Most societies have paradoxes, and one irony in U.S. society is the juxtaposition of rules and freedoms. In general, the United States is very *rule bound*; people are expected to behave in certain ways; rules are rules regardless of the situation; lawyers and contracts are everywhere; and the written word is generally binding (signs, contracts), reflecting what Fons Trompenaars calls *universalism*, the tendency to apply regulations uniformly. On the other hand, perhaps because there are so many rules that can't be broken (tax law, employment law, immigration law, neighborhood association rules, etc.), in their social lives U.S. Americans tend to *desire freedom*, *choice*, and a *lack of obligation*, reflecting individualistic self-expression.

Egalitarianism is another hallmark of U.S. American values, varying greatly by region, socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and age. The *rags-to-riches* person is much admired in U.S. culture, the person who moves from poverty to wealth through the individual's own efforts. There has traditionally been a large middle class, although it is shrinking and the gap between the more and the less wealthy is rapidly increasing.

Informality is perhaps based on this belief in egalitarianism. First names are commonly used, even in the first meeting. Professional dress tends toward the casual (this varies by region and industry). U.S. Americans tend to favor informal postures, speech, and settings; meetings in a coffee shop or reception area may feel surprisingly informal to some visitors. Salutations and closings are frequently omitted from e-mails. U.S. Americans' informality does not indicate disrespect or lack of seriousness. Many of them equate informality with comfort: Their intention in using first names, relaxed postures, and an informal communication style is to put themselves and others at ease. Joking and sarcasm among friends and coworkers is frequently used as a form of bonding.

The proverb "A rolling stone gathers no moss," which cautions people in many parts of the world to slow down, is used with the opposite meaning in the United States: Keep moving, or grow old and stagnant. *Change* is seen as positive, and the future is generally perceived with optimism. People will experiment to improve something or get it to work. Job mobility is common; U.S. Americans remain at a job an average of 4.4 years. Risk tolerance is generally fairly high. *Entrepreneur* magazine estimates that 60% to 70% of all jobs are created by the 26 million small businesses in the United States. A common saying is "Nothing ventured, nothing gained."

Another practice that visitors might misinterpret is that U.S. Americans call their home *America* and themselves *Americans*. To others from the Western Hemisphere, they seem to appropriate the entire continent! Their season-ending professional baseball tournament is called the World Series, and shop signboards may say, "World's best . . ." (burgers, chili, car deals, etc.). Generally, such statements do not indicate any personal arrogance but, rather, a tendency to overstatement and *optimism*. U.S. American speech includes many superlatives. *Great*, *awesome*, and *super* are just a few that occur in daily conversations. Some foreigners call the United States an *I love you* culture, because they perceive U.S. Americans to be quick to form friendships, effusive in their language, and swift with positive feedback and encouragement.

Communication Styles

Communication style refers to the patterns of verbal and nonverbal behavior people prefer when communicating in specific situations. Communication style differences, which usually manifest themselves below the conscious level, give rise to countless misunderstandings and miscommunication, particularly in intercultural situations.

It is essential to remember that context rules in communication: It matters who is speaking with whom, where and when, and what relationship and history the speakers have with each other. U.S. Americans are hugely diverse, as already noted, so outsiders (and other insiders, for that matter) must factor context as well as personality into their efforts to communicate with them. Of course, one's own cultural background will also affect one's reactions to U.S. Americans. There will thus be many exceptions to every generalization offered in this entry; the points herein are intended to encourage learning, not to form stereotypes.

U.S. Americans tend to communicate in a *low-context manner*, a concept first proposed by the anthropologist E. T. Hall. People who speak up, honor their word, say what they mean, and mean what they say are generally respected. Clarity is valued; when communicating with U.S. Americans it may be wise to speak in a straightforward yet polite manner and make direct requests. Words tend to be taken at face value, and there is not generally an expectation that the listener will read between the lines. Subtle language or *hints* may pass by unrecognized. Someone who says "yes" even though his or her body screams "no" may later be reminded, "But you agreed!" Newcomers will often remark that U.S. Americans are *literal*, answering a question as it was asked rather than providing a larger answer to an implied question.

U.S. Americans frequently use words such as *would* or *perhaps* to soften their directness and to sound more polite. They generally try to avoid arguments and to seek agreement. In public or professional venues, people strive to speak in a manner that is *politically correct* and not disparaging of any group of people.

Listening style in the United States is often compared to a tennis game: One person speaks, and the other responds with a rejoinder ("Really?" or "Is that so?") or a story of his or her own. Typical conversation thus proceeds in a back-and-forth, give-and-take fashion, with the parties involved frequently taking turns speaking. There is often more emphasis on sharing one's own stories than on clarifying, summarizing, or verbally empathizing. Explanation style is usually inductive and linear (sequential, step by step), and persuasion plays a key role. U.S. Americans tend to be uncomfortable with silence.

In both business and social life, firm handshakes are a common form of greeting both within and between genders. Regionally, a hug, pat on the shoulder, or kiss may be used to greet friends, colleagues, or family members. Greetings are generally spoken in loud voices and accompanied by big smiles. People stand about an arm's length apart, the comfortable distance for shaking hands. Entering into someone's personal space or bumping another in public is generally accompanied by an apology ("Excuse me"). When meeting someone new, an attempt is generally made to find a common connection: a person, experience, or interest. One of the first questions asked of a new acquaintance is "What do you do for a living?" U.S. Americans spend a lot of time discussing work and family. The daily greeting "How are you?" generally equates to "Hello"; it is not normally a request for information, and the expected answer is a perfunctory "Fine, and you?" or perhaps "Busy, as usual. How about you?" Keeping oneself busy and having a lot to do are viewed as indicators of one's importance or even success.

Sports metaphors (e.g., *step up to the plate*, *throw a Hail Mary pass*, *do a rain check*) permeate the language, and a basic familiarity with popular sports can greatly aid communication and rapport. Baseball is the traditional national sport; American football, basketball, and hockey round out the top four. Lacrosse is the fastest growing sport in the United States, and soccer is quickly gaining popularity. Gun metaphors also proliferate in U.S. American English (e.g., *caught in the crossfire*, *a straight shooter*), often startling visitors. Such wording perhaps has its roots in the Wild West, but in modern times, just under 50% of U.S. American households own a firearm; there are more privately owned guns in the United States than in any other country, per capita and total.

Some topics, such as abortion, creationism, gun control, immigration, and the legal standing of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transgendered people (a group usually referred to as LGBT) are highly politicized. Newcomers to the United States may be surprised to find that friendships and trust can be damaged or broken over comments that seem harmless to them. Conversations on such topics even among educated, mature adults can quickly become emotional; at times, it may seem that reasoned, polite discourse is a lost art. Another thorny subject for many newcomers (and U.S. Americans) is foreign policy. A vast majority of U.S. Americans may not be well versed in international relations or history. In many circles, there is no widespread interest in foreign policy, and there is a quickness to forget any controversial role their government has played on the world stage. In contrast, there is a significant patriotic sense of pride that can cause discussions on international relations to become sensitive or heated. Foreigners may feel that U.S. Americans do not welcome their opinions on U.S. foreign policy. Wise visitors will exercise caution regarding the topic of conversation and the sharing of personal opinions on sensitive subjects, a useful rule in many countries.

Complaints and problem sharing are generally heard as requests for advice or help. Value is placed on presenting constructive solutions and having a can-do attitude. *Networking*, purposefully searching for contacts that might be in a position to help one accomplish one's goals, is common in U.S. society. It may seem that people are seeking first to determine whether a new acquaintance can be useful to them and only then to pursue a relationship. U.S. Americans are normally quite punctual, arriving at and even departing from parties at previously agreed-on times, though this custom varies a little by region, age, ethnic group, and social class.

Communicating in the Workplace

Dress in the workplace tends to vary by region. The East is generally a bit more formal than the West, where cowboy boots and hats are not rare in rural areas. *Casual Fridays* originally meant that people could wear jeans to work on Fridays, but this custom has gradually taken over most of the workweek, with khaki slacks and a polo or dress shirt common in most professional settings. Some industries, such as law and finance, remain more formal and conservative. In everyday social settings, shorts, jeans, T-shirts, and even workout wear are very common. In terms of the workplace, supervisors often have an open-door policy vis-à-vis their supervisees. U.S. Americans' tendency to contribute to a discussion regardless of their rank or age also demonstrates the value they place on equality. Most people in the United States are uncomfortable with a hierarchy or class system, although such a system is very much alive and well in the country.

At work, U.S. Americans are accustomed to writing short sentences, making brief notes, and using bullet points; too much detail is viewed as unnecessary and as obscuring the main point. Presentations generally use an outline form with previews and summaries. ("Tell them what you'll tell them, tell them, tell them what you told them" is frequent advice to presenters, a reflection of the preference for a linear and direct communication style.) In the United States, it is common to begin a presentation with a joke, an approach that is not always effective across cultures. Care should be taken not to be offensive.

Time should always be left for questions, and interruptions during an informal presentation (to ask questions) are usually not seen as rude. The goal of a presentation is usually to *leave them wanting more*, to engage with the audience, rather than to develop a logical argument in thorough detail. Meetings may seem relaxed but are generally serious affairs; attendees are expected to come prepared. Agendas are followed, and action items (who, what, by when) are normally summarized. Summarizing and expressing thanks at the end of a meeting are common.

Micromanaging occurs when a supervisor questions the employee on even the smallest actions taken and oversees the most minor details. It is generally perceived as demonstrating an undesirable lack of trust, since independence and self-reliance are valued. Planning and preparation are important to most U.S. Americans, though flexibility to meet changing demands and realities is also expected. Leaders may consult others during the decision-making process, but in the end the decision is not usually based on consensus or the majority's opinion but on the leader's preference. There are rigid antidiscrimination policies for hiring staff and for preventing sexual harassment. Lawyers are commonly involved in formulating these policies and even the early stages of any negotiation.

The United States has a large voice on the world stage with a hugely diversified population, who are generally optimistic, hardworking, and friendly. Intercultural competence provides a solid basis for learning to communicate and collaborate with U.S. Americans.

Dianne Hofner Saphiere

See also Beliefs, Values, Norms, Customs (Definitions); Body Language (Haptics); Cognitive Styles Across Cultures; Cultural Patterns; Facial Expressions/Universal; High-Context and Low-Context Communication; Intercultural Nonverbal Communication; Intercultural Verbal Communication Styles; Politeness Strategies: Rapport Theory; Value Dimensions: Trompenaars

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Communication Accommodation Theory

Communication is all-pervasive, and it enables all things possible in our social world. It is both process and outcome. In the process of communicating with one another, people manage and negotiate identities and relationships with one another. In interpersonal and intergroup encounters, individuals generally adjust communicative behaviors to each other verbally and nonverbally so that they can have successful communication outcomes. Intergroup communication includes group membership–based communication; hence, it includes intercultural communication and requires intercultural competence. Broadly stated, interpersonal and intergroup situations are the two primary contexts of communication in everyday life. Communication accommodation theory (CAT) provides a theoretical explanation of how and why individuals accommodate (adjust) to each other in both interpersonal and intergroup contexts. CAT explicates social, psychological, and communication processes to promote understanding of interpersonal and intergroup accommodation.

This entry is organized into several sections: An overview of the origin of CAT and its key theoretical concepts is followed by an explanation of the social evaluation of CAT strategies, and the entry concludes with a discussion of CAT's significance to effective intergroup communication.

Origin and Key Concepts

In the 1970s, Howard Giles and colleagues laid out the foundations for what later came to be called communication accommodation theory. Originally, in 1973, Giles developed speech accommodation theory to understand the ways in which individuals interpersonally adjust their speech styles to each other in face-to-face encounters. For example, individuals would adjust their accent, speech rate, and pause in such encounters. Particularly, speech accommodation theory focused on speech convergence and divergence by examining cognitive and affective factors (e.g., social approval) and the social consequences of accommodation. As the scope of the theory expanded, Giles changed the name of his theory to communication accommodation theory in 1987. He and his colleagues regard CAT as a theory of both interpersonal and intergroup communication. However, given its main focus and application, it has been recognized as a major intergroup and intercultural communication theory.

Identity and Initial Orientations

According to CAT, initial orientations can be either interpersonal or intergroup. The interpersonal orientation is based on personal or individual identity constituted by individual uniqueness or idiosyncrasies, such as a likeable personality or interpersonal attraction. In contrast, the intergroup orientation is based on memberships in groups such as culture, ethnic, age, social status, and gender collectivities.

Interpersonal orientation leads to interpersonal communication. Regardless of sociocultural background factors, individuals connect with each other interpersonally and relate accordingly. Interpersonal friendships and intimate relationships across cultural and racial divides are good illustrative examples of interpersonal accommodation. On the other hand, intergroup orientation leads to intergroup communication. Social identity derived from group membership influences how individuals connect with and relate to each other (e.g., intercultural friendships, intercultural dating, and marriages).

Importantly, CAT recognizes that sociohistorical context can change the dynamics of interpersonal communication into intergroup communication. This context involves numerous factors, including intergroup relational history, group vitality (strength of group), intergroup boundary conditions, cultural values, and intergroup norms and expectations, as well as the stability and legitimacy of intergroup relations. For example, it can be predicated that intergroup harmonious relational history, permeable intergroup boundary conditions, shared cultural values, and comparable group vitality (e.g., status, demographics, and/or institutional support) can lead to communicative convergence and other positive outcomes. In contrast, intergroup conflict history, impermeable intergroup boundary conditions, antithetical cultural values, and huge group vitality differences can lead to communicative divergence and other negative outcomes.

Accommodation and Communication Strategies

Individuals accommodate to each other in both interpersonal and intergroup encounters. *Accommodation* is defined in terms of adjusting communicative behavior toward or away from one's interactional partner. In this regard, accommodative behavior can be convergent or divergent. CAT explicates how and why individuals use convergence and divergence communicative strategies to negotiate interpersonal and intergroup relationships with each other.

The *convergence strategy* involves adapting one's communicative behavior to match that of one's interactional partner. For example, individuals may interpersonally adapt to each other's speaking style for social approval by choosing an informal expression and asking, "What's up?" Bilingual and multilingual speakers code switch between different languages for effective communication. People around the world often communicate in English to discuss global issues and knowledge. These examples illustrate the convergence strategy in interpersonal and intergroup settings.

Accommodation can be either objective or subjective from the communication recipient's point of view. In both interpersonal and intergroup encounters, individuals may respond to *objective accommodation*, that is, communicative behavior such as actual shifts in language use, paralinguistic features, and other nonverbal displays. For example, Person A observes Person B trying to speak a language (e.g., English or Spanish) that Person A can understand. Person A also speaks the language precisely and clearly so that Person B can understand her message. In contrast, *subjective accommodation* is premised on the belief that one's interactional partner has accommodated to one's communicative needs in the absence of observable objective accommodation. For example, Person B simply *believes* that Person A has accommodated to his needs.

Individuals may also overly accommodate to each other in some situations. *Overaccommodation* is a strategy that overly matches the communicative behavior of the other person in an interaction. Baby talk and patronizing talk are prime examples of overaccommodation. For example, adults talk to babies in babbles to match the baby's communication style. Young adults are often found to patronize elders by overly accommodating to their perceived style by talking loudly and slowly. Older adults also patronize young adults by overly matching their style through using slang and street talk to appear contemporary. Alternatively, they could use a divergence strategy with each other.

The *divergence strategy* accentuates the communicative differences between interactional partners. Individuals *diverge* or do not accommodate to each other in interpersonal and intergroup encounters for positive distinctiveness. For example, individuals may diverge from each other by communicating in a differential accent, rate of speech, and choice of words and expression. In intergroup situations, individuals may intentionally code switch to native languages, such as speaking Vietnamese or Spanish to communicate a concept that does not exist in English, to streamline communicating about a cultural concept, or, occasionally, to have a private conversation not understood by others.

Studies have shown that language is central to many group members' social identity and positive distinctiveness. To maintain and assert this unique aspect of social identity (group membership), many group members across the globe resist linguistic assimilation into the dominant culture. For example, in the United States, many members of various ethnic groups complement dominant linguistic assimilation by speaking their native languages at home, at weekend schools, and in social gatherings to maintain their own cultural identities and to bring up their children to be bilingual. This illustrates the divergence strategy.

Alternatively, many group members use a *maintenance strategy* in social interaction. It is a strategy that involves communicating in their usual way. Individuals speaking the same language do so with their usual accents without feeling the need to adjust to each other's accents. For example, English is spoken with innumerable accents around the world. These English speakers may communicate with each other without changing their accent. This is a good example of using maintenance strategy. While this is often effective, sometimes the English accents are mutually unintelligible. Moreover, group members tend to communicate with each other in their native language for effective communication. However, others who do not understand the language may see it as a divergence or nonaccommodative strategy. Social evaluation of these strategies could influence intergroup relationships and effective intergroup communication.

Social Evaluation of CAT Strategies

Individuals may use accommodative, nonaccommodative, and maintenance strategies to relate to others interpersonally or as members of different groups. Effective intergroup communication entails minimizing misunderstanding based on group membership/s, according to William Gudykunst's *anxiety-uncertainty management theory*. Social evaluation of communication strategies can lead to either effective or ineffective intergroup communication. Arguably, the convergence or accommodative strategy can lead to effective communication because the interactional partners generally evaluate it positively. Convergent speakers are perceived and evaluated as friendly, attractive, likeable, and collegial. On the other hand, the divergence strategy may lead to misunderstanding because the interactional partners generally evaluate it negatively.

Perceptions and attributions are central to social evaluation of communicative interaction. In intergroup contexts, subjective accommodation is evaluated positively, even in the absence of objective accommodation. As discussed above, subjective accommodation involves the perceptual belief that one's conversational partner has accommodated to one's needs. In contrast, objective accommodation refers to observable accommodative shifts in interaction. For example, in conversations, regardless of objective accommodation, if the conversational partners believe that the other parties have accommodated to their needs, they are evaluated positively, and this could minimize misunderstanding between them. From an attribution perspective, if communicators attribute each other's accommodative strategies as intentional acts, they would evaluate each other positively. However, if they attribute accommodative strategies to situational factors, they are likely to evaluate each other negatively.

Overall, convergence strategy is evaluated positively, but divergence strategy is evaluated negatively. Interestingly, maintenance strategy is evaluated negatively because it is often perceived as a divergent stance. For example, members of the same linguistic group may speak to each other in their native language, but others (including bystanders) who do not speak the language may demand that they speak in a language they can understand (e.g., English). There is sometimes a tendency to perceive this maintenance strategy as an attempt to conceal something or even to think that the communication partners are discussing the observer in the unknown language, while the speakers are likely to simply be enjoying a conversation in their own language, perhaps as a relief from speaking a second language.

Significance to Effective Intergroup Communication

CAT has largely been applied to many intergroup and intercultural contexts, including the police–civilian context and the intergenerational context. According to the programmatic line of research by Giles and colleagues, police and civilian interaction involves a high level of intergroup communication. Police officers in their uniforms and on duty clearly communicate their social identity to civilians. Police officers and civilians in certain contexts communicate ineffectively with each other when their interaction is mediated by negative stereotypical images. When they use divergence strategies, it leads to negative intergroup relationships and communication outcomes. However, when both accommodate to each other at a traffic stop or perceptually believe that they have accommodated, they have positive intergroup relationship and communication outcomes. CAT recommends that officers and civilians interpersonally accommodate to each other for both safety and effective communication. Community-oriented policing has been recommended for intergroup collaboration and communication between officers and the community.

Intergroup scholars have also applied CAT to intergenerational interaction. Interestingly, the social category of age fluidly defines group memberships (young, middle-aged, and older) that individuals experience at different stages of life. Intergenerational culture deserves the same level of intercultural competence that other cultures do. Informed by CAT, the model of communicative predicament of aging explains that visible signs of aging (e.g., physical frailty, verbal disfluency, and weakened cognitive ability) activate negative age stereotypes of elders in young minds. As a result, young people accommodate to the stereotypical image of elders but not to their actual communication abilities. This patronizing communication involves young people using simplistic language and inauthentic nonverbal behavior to elders. Many elders also use a *self-handicapped* communication style, such as "You know I am old," and this perpetuates the predicament of the intergenerational communication cycle. In contrast, the communication enhancement model has focused on breaking this cycle of predicament so that intergenerational communication can be positive and productive. Respectful and appropriate intergenerational communication is vital to professionals working at assisted living and nursing homes, hospitals, and businesses oriented toward seniors.

CAT provides an explanation of how and why individuals communicate the way they do in interpersonal and intergroup contexts. This entry has briefly discussed its key concepts, such as initial orientations, the sociohistorical context, and communicative strategies. CAT provides a useful framework for assessing communication contexts and for using understanding of the model to build intercultural competence.

Tenzin Dorjee

See also Cross-Cultural Communication; Identity and Intergroup Communication; Identity Negotiation Theory; Intercultural Communication, Definition of; Intercultural Communication and Language; Intercultural Verbal Communication Styles; Social Identity Theory

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Competition and Cooperation

There is a developmental advantage in learning how to interact effectively with individuals from different cultures. Individuals who are exposed to only one culture or who are taught that only their own culture is worthwhile will be at a disadvantage in school, at work, in the community, and in social settings. *Intercultural competence* is the degree to which the consequences of one's behavior match one's intentions in interactions with individuals from cultures different from one's own. A person gains intercultural competence through interacting with individuals from different cultures in ways that result in positive relationships and candid and open conversations. Although the context for such interactions may be predominantly cooperative, competitive, or individualistic, it is only within a cooperative context that such interactions can occur and intercultural competence develop. This entry examines the three parts of understanding cooperative and competitive interdependence. Following a definition of terms, the entry goes on to describe the interaction patterns resulting from the type of interdependence that exists in a given social situation. Finally, the outcomes of different interaction patterns will be explained.

Definitions

Cooperation exists when individuals work together to accomplish shared goals. Thus, individuals seek outcomes that are beneficial to all those with whom they are working cooperatively. Working together, individuals can accomplish goals that are far beyond the ability of anyone working alone to accomplish. Being successful in achieving mutual goals results in individuals becoming committed to one another and developing positive relationships regardless of cultural differences.

Competition, on the other hand, exists when individuals work against one another to achieve a goal that only one or a few can attain. People may focus on doing better than anyone else in the situation. In striving to win, they may focus not only on what is good for them but also on what will deny others what they need to win. Individuals adopt a short-term time orientation where all their energies are focused on winning. In most competitions, there is an immediate finishing line on which all attention is focused, with little or no concern for future relationships with the other competitors.

Finally, individualistic efforts exist when individuals work by themselves to accomplish goals unrelated to the goals of others. Thus, individuals seek an outcome that is personally beneficial, without concern for the outcomes for others.

Interaction Patterns

The basic premise of the theory of cooperation and competition, that is, social interdependence theory, is that when (a) cooperation or competition is structured in a situation, it (b) determines how individuals interact with one another, which in turn (c) determines the outcomes. Cooperation tends to result in individuals promoting one another's success, through actions such as helping and assisting one another, exchanging resources, giving and receiving feedback, challenging each other's reasoning, and encouraging increased effort. Within cooperative situations, the interaction pattern tends to result in (a) communication being more frequent, complete, and accurate; (b) perceptions of the other persons and their actions being accurate and constructive; (c) group members trusting and liking one another; (d) group members recognizing the legitimacy of one another's interests; and (e) a search for a solution accommodating the needs of all members. For instance, conflicts tend to be defined as mutual problems to be solved in ways that benefit everyone involved.

Competition tends to result in individuals obstructing and opposing one another's success through actions such as discouraging one another's efforts; giving no information, or misleading information, to competitors; hiding resources from others; actively blocking others' efforts; and distracting others from the task at hand. Individuals focus both on increasing their own success and on preventing anyone else from being more successful than they are. Within competitive situations, the interaction pattern tends to result in (a) communication being avoided or misleading, (b) misperceptions and distortions of the other person's position and motivations, (c) group members having a suspicious and hostile attitude toward one another, and (d) group members denying the legitimacy of others' wants, needs, and feelings and considering only their own interests.

Individualistic efforts result in an absence of interaction. Individuals focus on increasing their own success and ignore the efforts of others as irrelevant.

Outcomes of Interactions

From the late 1800s to the present day, researchers have conducted more than 1,200 studies on social interdependence from which effect sizes can be computed and hundreds more studies that do not provide enough information to compute effect sizes. The numerous outcomes studied may be classified within three broad categories: (1) effort to achieve, (2) positive relationships, and (3) psychological health.

First, a person in a cooperative situation tends to perform at a considerably higher level than a person working within a competitive or individualistic situation.

Second, cooperative experiences promote more positive, committed, and caring relationships regardless of differences in ethnicity, culture, language, social class, gender, ability, or other characteristics. Cooperators tend to like one another more, trust one another more, be more candid with one another, and be more willing to listen to and be influenced by one another. When people compete or work individualistically, then liking, trust, influence, and candor tend to decrease. In addition, cooperative experiences tend to promote greater task-oriented and personal social support than do competitive or individualistic efforts.

Third, cooperative experiences increase psychological adjustment and health (including self-esteem), while competitiveness has both positive and negative influences on psychological health, and individualism tends to be related to a wide variety of pathologies. Cooperative efforts tend to enhance the interpersonal and small-group skills needed to work effectively with diverse individuals. Individuals learn how to communicate effectively, provide leadership, engage in effective decision making, build trust, resolve conflicts constructively, and understand others' perspectives. *Perspective taking* may be especially important for intercultural competence. *Social perspective taking* is the ability to understand how a situation appears to another person and how that person is reacting cognitively and emotionally to the situation. The more accurate one's perspective taking, the greater is one's empathy with, understanding of, and altruism for others, regardless of their cultural differences. The opposite of perspective taking is *egocentrism*, the immersion in one's own viewpoint to the extent that one is unaware of other points of view. Egocentrism tends to be related to competitive and individualistic efforts and attitudes, while perspective-taking ability and accuracy tend to be related to cooperative attitudes and efforts.

Conclusions

To ensure that the consequences of one's actions match one's intentions when communicating with someone from a different culture, one must first form positive relationships in which authentic and open conversations take place.

There are clear patterns that lead to such interactions, relationships, and conversations. First, individuals must share mutual goals and seek outcomes that are beneficial to everyone involved. In their interactions, they should promote one another's success, ensuring that mutual productivity is maximized, relationships are positive and supportive, and psychological health (including social competence and self-esteem) is enhanced. If individuals are competing, intercultural interactions will inevitably be ineffective. Instead of trying to understand one another, individuals may think short-term and go for the win. In individualistic situations, sometimes the best that can happen to individuals from different cultures is that they ignore one another. To build intercultural competence, therefore, cooperating with individuals from different cultures is a necessary condition.

David W. Johnson and Roger T. Johnson

See also Communication Accommodation Theory; Conflict Management; Cross-Cultural Communication; Ingroup/Outgroup; Intergroup Contact

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Concordances

In the precomputer era, concordances were created manually by scholars of the Bible, the Qur'an, and other important historical and religious documents. For example, versions of the Bible for teaching or studying may contain concordances as featured appendices or footnotes. Editions with concordances of early literary works, such as those by Socrates, Homer, and Shakespeare, enable easier cross-indexing of relevant terms, unique words, and repetition of word usage. These *concordances* help identify key words and, very important, define the specific nuances and semantic meanings intended by the authors in the various, specific contexts. Additional author commentaries, biographer footnotes, and editor narratives are also often provided in these concordances.

The traditional *concordance* with which most scholars are familiar is a reference book composed of an alphabetical listing of all significant content words in the source material, excluding grammatical and functional words (e.g., prepositions, articles, adverbial phrases). This alphabetized index of primary words from the source text is accompanied by a secondary list of words that co-occur before or after the primary word elsewhere in the text. The concordance can, therefore, show the typical contextual meaning(s) of each word as it is used in the material.

This entry defines concordances and explains how they are used by students, researchers, and scholars. It also includes a discussion of the various types of software used and the information that can be obtained using these programs.

The advent of electronic and computer-based technology has automated the listing and indexing of all words used in a particular book or text. Since the 1980s, word lists created from electronic versions of the Bible and various other literary publications have been extracted with very minimal effort using text-processing software. In addition to the alphabetical listing of words and the words occurring around them, the frequency data (i.e., how many times these words appeared in the text) of these words are also immediately produced. This process has been applied to books compiled to form a *corpus* (pl. *corpora*) of published materials representing a country or any genre of writing (e.g., British fiction collected for the British National Corpus, newspaper writing in *The New York Times*). Hence, computer-based concordances and frequency data from corpora greatly facilitated the *corpus approach* in studying individual and/or multiple texts produced by various speakers and writers.

Computer-based concordances are now frequently used in linguistics, applied linguistics, and translation studies. In intercultural communication research, concordances from digital text files, which could represent shared meanings from culturally diverse speakers and writers, contribute comparative qualitative and quantitative data about the language used by these speakers and writers. Concordances can be extracted primarily to identify the different usage and frequency of a content word, examine word collocations (co-occurrence of words), explore the distribution of key terms and phrases, and create a list of multiword units, lexical bundles (or N-grams), and word frames. These additional features can be produced immediately, and the resulting concordance lines can be saved for extended qualitative coding and analyses. A cross-comparison of these concordances and their distributions across groups of speakers and writers may be invaluable in intercultural communication research.

Concordances and Online Corpora

An electronic corpus is a collection of orthographic (relating to spelling) texts that has been systematically designed, compiled, and organized. Software tools are then used to access and process data from this corpus. Stand-alone applications that employ concordancing techniques are now known typically as *concordancers*. Online concordancing applications are widely used in freely accessible databases, such as the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) and the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA), created and published by Mark Davies of Brigham Young University. These two megacorpora feature more than 850 million words of American English across spoken and written registers such as newspapers, fiction and nonfiction books, magazines, television talk show transcripts, and academic written texts.

COCA and COHA concordancers can extract words or any multiword combinations as they appear in the databases. Their raw frequencies can be easily obtained, and the contexts within which these words are used can also be analyzed by examining the words that appear before and after these *key words*. This is an automated process called Key Word in Context, or KWIC (a key word is the primary search word identified by the researcher in the COCA/COHA search bar). Apart from the KWIC feature, COCA and COHA also provide comparative charts organized across time periods, normalized frequency data of the occurrences of search words, and word collocations.

Concordances in Intercultural Communication

Researchers studying patterns of intercultural communication from a specialized corpus are often interested in the contexts in which groups of speakers or writers use language. For example, suppose one is curious about multiword combinations and contexts involving the word *please* in a corpus of intercultural, telephone-based business transactions. Using a concordancer, the researcher can search this corpus for occurrences of *please*, and all of its instances will be shown. The resulting concordance could also include words on the left and right, for example, KWIC lines of *please*, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1 KWIC Lines for *Please* in Intercultural Telephone-Based Interactions

1. May I have your ticket number	**please?**	Ok sir, how about the telephone
2. phone service? Ok sir. Can you	**please**	uh repeat that? The line is breaking.
3. And may I have your name	**please?**	Ok Michael, just give me a minute, let
4. me. Can I have your uh first name	**please?**	I'm sorry, can I have the model?
5. Yes, the physical address	**please.**	And it's uh 66754, right?
6. Can I have your office hours	**please?**	Thank you for letting me update the
7. Can I ask if, Mr. Johnson may I	**please**	have your phone number?
8. Sir, before uppercase letter M sir,	**please**	do click on Save and apply, and then
9. on the address bar if you could	**please**	type the URL that I just gave you.
10. Yes. Yes sir, once you see it,	**please**	click it. And after you click on that
11. Thank you very much for that, and	**please**	verify for me your complete address.
12. Yes, and then after which,	**please**	press option number one for you to
13. code, which is uh actually 4815.	**Please**	write this down; this is your

The KWIC lines of *please* above can be analyzed and interpreted by looking at the structural composition of each line, the location of *please* in the sentence (beginning, middle, or end), and the use of *please* in a question sequence or a request. Further comparisons across groups of speakers (e.g., call takers vs. callers, call takers based overseas vs. those who are located in the United States) can provide patterns of usage that can suggest contextual and cultural similarities and differences in how speakers structure their questions, requests, and commands (e.g., in line 10: "Yes. Yes sir, once you see it, please click it . . .") in business transactions. These patterns have implications for language training programs, especially in multicultural workplaces and classrooms. Additional implications for native and nonnative speakers of English in spoken interactions, dialect differences, and the study of miscommunication can also be drawn from these types of concordance data.

Concordancers (Concordancing Software)

Popular stand-alone concordancers such as AntConc, WordSmith Tools, and MonoConc Pro are easily accessible online for free or for purchase. WordSmith Tools 6, the current version of WordSmith Tools, developed by Mike Scott of Aston University in England, runs on Windows operating systems. On the other hand, AntConc, created and freely shared online by Laurence Anthony at Waseda University, Japan, works with Windows, Mac, and Linux operating systems. Two of the benefits of AntConc, especially for beginners, are its availability across platforms and its intuitive, easy-to-use interface. In addition, there are many video tutorials available on how to use the various functions of AntConc, curated by Anthony and other users through Google Groups (available at https://groups.google.com/forum/#!forum/antconc). AntConc and most other concordancers can process files that have been saved as text (.txt files). AntConc is also able to read Unicode texts and thus can work for many orthographic systems used around the world.

Eric Friginal

See also Intercultural Verbal Communication Styles; Language, Culture, and Intercultural Communication; Speech Acts

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Conflict Management

Conflict is an inherent part of the human condition and experience. Conflict as a concept can help explain many aspects of social life, such as conflicts of interests, social disagreement, and fighting between individuals as well as groups, organizations, or nations. On a general level, *conflict prevention* and *conflict management* are broad terms referring to various approaches and mechanisms used to avoid, minimize, and/or manage conflicts that may satisfy all parties involved. Conflict may be expressed and managed in different ways. Constructive conflict management skills are an important component in the maintenance of virtually all interpersonal relationships. Understanding the range of behavioral choices and strategies available to manage conflict, as well as the differences in preferred styles, adds considerably to people's skills as effective communicators. This entry describes the definitions of conflict management, the popularly adopted typologies of conflict management, the contextual factors of conflict, and the practical implications, including cross-cultural approaches to conflict management behaviors.

Conflict Management and Conflict Resolution

Conflict researchers have proffered a range of different definitions for conflict. *Conflict* is typically defined as a state of social relationship in which incompatible goals or expectations between two or more parties give rise to a struggle between them. Conflict can also be viewed as a communicative exchange between at least two interdependent parties with different, opposite, or incompatible opinions, needs, and goals, each perceiving that the other is interfering in the achievement of these goals. Although conflict is a normal part of human life, providing numerous opportunities for psychological growth through empathy, understanding, and insight, there is a tendency to view conflict as a negative experience caused by abnormally difficult circumstances.

Indeed, there are different types of conflict: *simple conflicts* and *pseudoconflicts*. *Simple conflicts* stem from actual incompatible goals or scarce resources, while *pseudoconflicts* arise from a communicative misunderstanding between the parties involved. Given that conflict communication is generally characterized by many ostensible differences between interaction partners, such as different expectations, the potential for pseudoconflicts is great. For oftentimes, it is not the content of conflict that creates tensions or frictions; rather, it is the different styles that create uncertainty and anxiety in the conflict encounter situation.

There are other classifications of conflict, including *interpersonal*, *intergroup*, and *inter-organizational* conflict. *Interpersonal conflict* occurs between two or more individuals who are in opposition to one another (not representing the group they are a part of). *Intergroup conflict* takes place among members of different teams or groups, while *inter-organizational conflict* occurs between two or more organizations (e.g., when different businesses compete against one another). At these different levels, a conflict may reach different intensities, scales, or stages.

When in conflict, individuals often demonstrate preferences for certain communication styles. Dealing with interpersonal conflict can be a difficult and uncomfortable process. Communication is the means by which conflict receives a social definition, the instrument through which influence in conflict is exercised, and the vehicle by which the parties involved may prevent, manage, or resolve conflict. Since much conflict is managed through verbal means, an individual's overall communication patterns should influence conflict management styles as well.

The process of conflict management is the foundation for more effective conflict resolution. A distinction between conflict management and conflict resolution is needed since the concepts are often confused or combined in an inappropriate manner. *Conflict resolution* typically refers to methods and processes that result in the resolution of the underlying incompatibilities in a conflict and facilitation of the peaceful ending of conflict, while *conflict management* refers to the implementation of measures and strategies that limit, mitigate, and/or contain a conflict without necessarily solving it.

Conflict may be constructive or destructive: Constructive conflicts provide channels that promote dialogue, participation, and negotiation and create opportunities for creativity, giving the parties involved an occasion to address the essential issues that are raised. In contrast, a destructive conflict works to the disadvantage of individuals, groups, or organizations and provides channels that block and do not meet basic needs, provoking resentment and frustration. Destructive conflict is harmful to group cohesion and will generally create a negative environment. Briefly, conflict is not necessarily a bad thing; rather, it is our capacity to *respond* to conflict that makes the difference and helps change the course of conflict and determine the dynamics of conflict.

Conflict Management Strategies

Conflict management styles are viewed as patterned responses to conflict situations through diverse communication strategies. Conflict management does not necessarily mean resolving conflict. Rather, it should be viewed as an ongoing process of handling conflict interactions. Conflict research has used different terms for conflict management: *conflict handling/management/resolution* and *styles/strategies/behaviors/modes/orientations*.

Interpersonal conflict may be handled with various styles of behavior. There have been many attempts to identify and measure interpersonal conflict management styles. When one becomes engaged in a conflict, two major concerns must be taken into account:

1. *Achieving one's personal goals:* A person is in conflict because he or she has a goal that conflicts with another person's goal. One's own

goal may be of high importance to the other person, or it may be of little importance to the other person.

2. *Keeping a good relationship with the other person:* For either party, this may be very important or of little importance. How one acts in a conflict is influenced by the relative importance one attaches to these concerns.

On this basis, it is possible to identify different styles of managing conflict.

Beginning with Robert R. Blake and his associates, five proposed conflict styles were organized on a two-dimensional grid. These styles and dimensions have been renamed several times, and several instruments have been devised to measure the styles. In this way, work on the five style schemes of conflict handling was furthered by different teams of researchers. The most popular of these has been a model consisting of two orthogonal dimensions (concern for self and concern for others) and five styles (integrating, obliging, dominating, avoiding, and compromising).

The five conflict management styles result from the combination of the two dimensions. Accordingly, the *integrating* style results from high concern for both self and others; the *obliging* style results from low concern for self and high concern for others; the *dominating* style results from high concern for self and low concern for others; the *avoiding* style results from low concern for both self and others; and the *compromising* style results from intermediate concern for both self and others. Research on conflict management styles has found that individuals tend to use one or two of the above five strategies more than the others. For instance, some people predominantly use the collaborating style when in interpersonal conflict situations; they would be more likely to collaborate than to force, accommodate, avoid, or compromise. In other words, although there are five different ways to handle conflicts, people tend to fall back on their preferred style or styles. People who are very skilled at conflict management are able to (a) understand interpersonal conflict situations and (b) use the appropriate conflict management strategy for each situation. It is important to remember that there are many strategies that can be used in conflict situations, but people tend to habitually use some strategies more often than others.

There are a few key factors that define conflict management situations and determine which conflict management strategies are likely to be effective. *Time pressure* is an important variable. Among the important factors to consider are issue importance, relationship importance, and relative power. *Issue importance* is the extent to which important priorities or values are involved in the conflict. *Relationship importance* is the degree to which one needs to maintain a mutually supportive relationship with the other party in the long run. *Relative power* refers to how much power one has compared with how much power the other party has. To effectively manage or resolve a conflict, it is recommended to use the most appropriate strategy for that particular conflict situation. The key to managing conflict well is choosing and implementing the strategy that best fits the situation.

Cross-Cultural Implications

The ability to resolve social conflicts successfully depends in large measure on being able to accurately predict the effectiveness of conflict management strategies. Certain terms in common use, such as *communication breakdown* or *cross-cultural miscommunication*, can often be attributed to different perceptions regarding conflict tactics. For instance, a communication breakdown in conflict situations typically occurs because the interaction partners disagree about the effectiveness or social appropriateness of each other's conflict strategies. An individual's beliefs about the appropriateness of conflict strategies are apt to influence what conflict tactics and strategies are chosen and what inferences are made about one's own and others' conflict-handling behavior. For instance, different cultural orientations influence people to have drastically different ideas about what constitutes an appropriate conflict strategy or tactic.

Problems of cross-cultural conflict are particularly acute in today's world. The growth in foreign travel for business, study, or pleasure; the migration of people seeking work in other countries; and the expansion of international trade have all naturally led to an increase in contacts across national and ethnic borders, together with severe communication problems and conflict situations. Many studies have sought to not only describe but also understand the differences in conflict styles between cultures. For instance, although historically the literature of interpersonal and organizational conflict has tended to view the avoidance style as reflective of both low concern for self and low concern for the other, the use of the avoidance style in collectivistic cultures has come to be associated positively with the other-face concern dimension.

Viewing conflict as a cultural behavior helps explain why disputes over seemingly similar issues can be handled so dissimilarly in different cultures. The notion that the East and the West differ in many traditional values, beliefs, and behavioral patterns is hardly new, and there is a large body of literature documenting cultural differences in conflict management styles. Research on conflict management across cultures clearly indicates that there are differences in conflict styles between individualistic and collectivistic cultures.

In the mainstream U.S. context, open controversy has been considered normal and beneficial for decision making. Furthermore, conflict suppression has been viewed as causing misunderstanding or resentment, leading to lack of innovation, and contributing to long-term conflict escalation. On this account, conflict suppression or avoidance may provide the necessary stability for individual and coordinated action, but it may also have negative effects. Furthermore, researchers began to explore emic conflict styles. *Emics* are culture-specific aspects of a phenomenon that are necessary to an understanding of the culture's indigenous conception of that phenomenon. Therefore, conflict researchers began to search for emic conflict management styles in order to produce a complete understanding of how conflict is managed in other cultures.

In the era of the multicultural society, cultural diversity in conflict management styles is being recognized, understood, and appropriately used in organizations and interpersonal settings. Given that cross-cultural interactions are burgeoning, there has never been such a great need for knowledge about conflict styles in different cultures. Continuous conceptual refinement and diverse means of testing theories will yield to further understanding of cross-cultural conflict communication processes.

Min-Sun Kim

See also Conflict Management; Facework/Facework Negotiation Theory; Intercultural Conflict Styles

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Confucian Dynamism

In the late 1980s, Michael Harris Bond, a Canadian psychologist based for many years in Hong Kong, began orchestrating a series of studies to either prove or disprove the existence of a possible Western bias in existing cross-cultural research. Many of these studies involved the participation of a global network of Bond's colleagues, who collectively operated under the name The Chinese Culture Connection. *Confucian Work Dynamism* (later shortened to *Confucian Dynamism*) is the label that was given to one particular dimension that arose from this group's research. The other three dimensions were labeled *Integration*, *Human-Heartedness*, and *Moral Discipline*.

Chinese Value Survey

The first step for The Chinese Culture Connection was to survey Chinese social scientists, asking each of them to offer a list of 10 fundamental and basic

Chinese values. The responses were compared, sorted, and subsequently compiled into a single list of 40 values, such as patience, humbleness, and filial piety (respect for elder relatives); this list became known as the Chinese Value Survey, or CVS.

Using the CVS, groups of students in 22 nations were asked to indicate the importance of each value on a scale of 1 (*no importance*) to 9 (*supreme importance*). Responses for a 23rd nation, China, were obtained later. The results of this survey were then statistically analyzed in an attempt to determine patterns of correlation; these patterns highlighted 28 of the original 40 values and produced four groups of values:

I. *Integration*, which included values such as tolerance of others, reflecting inclusiveness, and social stability

II. *Confucian Work Dynamism*, which included the (statistically) positively loaded values of thrift, ordering of relationships, persistence, and having a sense of shame and the negatively loaded values of reciprocation, personal steadiness, protecting your face, and respect for tradition (the positively loaded value cluster was described by Bond and his colleagues as hierarchical dynamism)

III. *Human-Heartedness*, which included values such as kindness, suggesting gentleness and compassion

IV. *Moral Discipline*, which included values such as moderation, underlining restraint and self-control

Interestingly, certain values strongly associated with Confucianism did not fall under the CVS II category (Confucian Work Dynamism) in this study; instead, for example, filial piety was correlated with other values under CVS I (Integration).

As the next step, the results of the CVS research were compared with the four dimensions proposed by Geert Hofstede in his earlier works: (1) power distance, (2) masculinity–femininity, (3) individualism–collectivism, and (4) uncertainty avoidance. Through further statistical analysis, it was found that the first three Hofstede dimensions correlated with CVS I, III, and IV, respectively, but that CVS II (Confucian Work Dynamism) bore no relation to any of the Hofstede dimensions. On the other hand, CVS II seemed to correlate with average national economic growth figures; it was thus further hypothesized that CVS II might contain the explanation for the vibrancy of the economies of Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, and Singapore.

In an article written jointly by Geert Hofstede and Michael Bond in 1988, the name of CVS II was shortened from Confucian Work Dynamism to Confucian Dynamism, with *dynamism* as related to the future-leaning orientation of the positively loaded CVS II values: thrift, persistence, ordering of relationships, and having a sense of shame. A certain amount of attention was paid to the lack of correlation of Confucian Dynamism with the four dimensions of Hofstede's original research, as well as to the lack of correlation of Hofstede's uncertainty avoidance with any of the CVS dimensions. The authors offered the explanation that the underlying principle of Confucianism and other Eastern philosophies could be viewed as virtue, which was comparable with the Western belief in ultimate truth—the latter being an integral component of the uncertainty avoidance dimension. The association of select Confucian values with economic growth was highlighted once again and was further attributed by Hofstede and Bond to an umbrella concept that they termed *East Asian entrepreneurship*.

Long-Term Orientation

Confucian Dynamism was renamed Long-Term Versus Short-Term Orientation (often referred to simply as *Long-Term Orientation* or LTO) by Hofstede, who simultaneously adopted it as a fifth dimension with the publication in 1991 of his book *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*. Over the subsequent years, in addition to being associated by researchers with national economic growth, LTO/Confucian Dynamism also was said by some to be predictive of national savings rates and academic achievement in mathematics.

The results of a project reported in 2012 seemed to validate many of these findings. Combing through items from the World Values Survey (WVS), Geert Hofstede and Michael Minkov identified a handful of items that were considered reflective of LTO/Confucian Dynamism values.

Certain items were a close fit, while others were admittedly a conceptual match at best. For example, one item in the WVS asks respondents to select the qualities that children can be encouraged to learn at home. The list of options included thrift, determination (perseverance), and religious faith. Proceeding from close fit to conceptual match, the respective corresponding items from the CVS were thrift, persistence, and personal steadiness. The WVS item responses were then analyzed for correlation.

In addition, correlation of LTO to economic and academic score data was sought, as well as to a few key research studies on various topics. Overall, Hofstede and Minkov came to believe that the results of their study and analysis showed that, despite LTO's Asian origins, it is a universal dimension of national culture, underpinned by concepts that are meaningful across the whole world.

Some scholars have criticized LTO on the basis of the name of the dimension, claiming that the focus on time orientation is misleading. Other scholars and practitioners have found it difficult to further validate or substantiate the LTO research findings.

Kay Jones and Anthony Pan

See also Value Dimensions: GLOBE Study; Value Dimensions: Hofstede

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Constructivism

Constructivism is the view that knowledge is created and shaped by the complex interaction of language, culture, and social practices in a given context. From a constructivist perspective, knowledge does not simply exist *out there* in the world, waiting to be discovered, but rather comes into existence through one's engagement with the world and the people in it. Knowledge, then, is said to be *constructed*, or cobbled together, through interaction. Originating in the field of psychology in the past century, constructivism grew out of attempts to understand and foster human cognitive development. Outside of psychology, many disciplines have adopted similar views of knowledge across the social sciences and humanities, including fields such as sociology, education, communication, applied linguistics, and international relations.

Key to an understanding of intercultural competence, constructivism exposes the particularities of a communicative event and helps show how cultural resources are disbursed, borrowed, and recombined to generate unique brands of knowledge and understanding. Directing focus on these particularities allows us to see how people call on their prior knowledge and bring it into alignment with real-world intercultural experiences. The conflicts that emerge in this process, as well as the ways individuals work to resolve them, are the locus of analysis for constructivists seeking to understand intercultural contact.

This entry continues with a discussion of the differences between constructivism and constructionism and then outlines the general principles of constructivism. This is followed by the application of constructivism in the co-construction of shared meanings, breaking down of stereotypes, and development of intercultural competence.

Constructivism Versus Constructionism

It is important to recognize that *constructivism* is not quite the same as *constructionism*, another widely held theory of knowledge with which constructivism is often confused. Although the terms are related, they differ in the extent to which an individual's agency is emphasized. Constructionism takes as its point of reference society in general rather than a single individual or encounter. In the constructionist scheme, knowledge is the result of largely arbitrary social conventions that impose certain constraints on how the society takes shape: how it distributes societal roles, apportions power, conditions what counts as knowledge, and generates common practices and ways of thinking to which people conform. In this way, constructionism offers a *macro perspective* from which to analyze the general functioning of knowledge in society. Constructivism, on the other hand, offers a *micro perspective*, as it peers in on the ways social conventions are enacted on a person-to-person scale. Constructivism places the individual at the center of analysis, illuminating the process by which prior knowledge interacts with environmental factors, such as verbal cues, gestures, objects, others' ideas, and the conventions of the social activity.

While the two views are not incompatible, they do reflect distinct analytical aims. In constructionists' attempt to understand shared social knowledge as historically produced and perpetuated, the analytical focus is on how that knowledge emerges from broad sociohistorical forces. This broad perspective, however, tends to conceal the process by which individuals integrate new knowledge into their existing knowledge. Constructivism, then, highlights the way shared social knowledge becomes individualized through a process of internalization and integration. As multiple people engage in this internalization process, shared social knowledge necessarily changes, and over time, so do the social conventions. Seen in this way, constructionism and constructivism can be understood as complementary perspectives on the interaction between individuals and socially constructed knowledge.

Some General Principles of Constructivism

A number of principles cut across the various ways constructivism is theorized and applied in different contexts. First, constructivists believe that people access the external, physical world only through the lens of their experiences and subjectivities. It follows from this view that each person carries a unique set of experiences that have been shaped by historical circumstances and play out in somewhat unpredictable ways in intercultural contexts. Interaction with the world, then, is a highly inventive and creative process.

If the first principle emphasizes subjective experiences, the second principle emphasizes how those experiences are constrained and conditioned by the world itself, in what we might think of as a continuous feedback loop. As individuals engage with the world, their prior knowledge is refracted through encounters with new phenomena and reassembled in novel ways. The result of this process of assembly is what we call *new* knowledge, *transformed* knowledge, or *development*.

Third, because knowledge comes about through the complex interaction of many variables, meaning is generally viewed as unstable and negotiable. Put another way, meaning does not reside in words or symbols themselves but rather is borne out through their use in context. For example, consider the word *here* in the following contexts: *I eat here* and *Spring is here*. The different contexts suggested by each sentence ask the reader/listener to attach different meanings to the word *here*, as we intuitively distinguish between *here* as a physical space and as a temporal space. Meaning, then, is not fixed to or contained within particular words or phrases but rather comes about through their use in context. For this reason, one's ability to actively construct meaning with others is of crucial importance to intercultural competence.

Negotiation of Difference

Taking as a given the inherent instability of language and meaning, constructivists rely on the metaphor of negotiation to describe how speakers co-construct shared meanings. Three key factors relating to a speaker's attitude set the stage for successful negotiations of difference, all of which can be learned and strengthened through practice.

The first attitudinal factor is a speaker's ability to suspend judgment. Suspending judgment means that a speaker is patient and willing to *wait it out* when communication is unclear, in the hope that additional information from the ongoing interaction will lead to better understanding. Not suspending judgment means that a speaker is less willing to accept ambiguity and, therefore, may jump to conclusions and act before having complete understanding. The second attitudinal factor is a willingness to investigate and understand the nature of the miscommunication between the interlocutors. Does the misunderstanding stem from, say, a linguistic miscue, a cultural misunderstanding, or some other type of dissonance relating to the topic under discussion? A willingness to dig deeper into the nature of the problem will help the speaker devise and enact effective strategies for realignment. The third attitudinal factor is exhibiting a cooperative disposition. Successful intercultural interactions can often be attributed to speakers' adopting a spirit of collaboration, openness to diversity, and willingness to adapt to new circumstances. Adopting a cooperative disposition can help ensure that lines of communication are open and negotiable.

The act of negotiation itself begins when a speaker becomes aware of some type of communication gap between the interlocutors. For example, a speaker who is working toward a particular goal might notice that the goal is unclear to the other speaker or that a word or phrase is not quite grasped in the way it was intended. To bridge such a gap, speakers consciously or unconsciously take up negotiation strategies that help align various features of the communicative environment to build shared understanding. A good place to start is to look inward to control and perhaps change one's perceptions of the situation. This might involve calling into question one's assumptions about the other person's culture or communication norms. For example, if a speaker notices that the communication partner is using a different conversation style, rather than pass judgment the speaker might seek to identify the different stylistic conventions and alter expectations accordingly. If adjusting internal perceptions fails to resolve the issue, the speaker can look outward by making the other person aware of the communication gap and, perhaps, the speaker's efforts to address it. A speaker can use a number of strategies to address dissonance outwardly, such as asking the other person to repeat and paraphrase earlier statements or asking for further clarification. Calling attention to the specific point of dissonance will help both speakers direct their energies where they are most needed.

It is important to note that these strategies are conditioned by the power relationship between the speakers, which can determine who is responsible for adjusting the communicative approach. When both speakers take responsibility, there is an equal relationship. In some cases, however, responsibility is not evenly distributed, leaving one speaker with the burden of altering assumptions to accommodate the other. In most cases, however, both speakers will have to alter their worldviews or understanding of the particular circumstances in order to establish common ground. Because achieving shared understanding leads to accomplishing shared goals, it is ultimately to the benefit of both parties to assume equal responsibility in negotiating differences.

Constructivism and Stereotypes

Constructivism also plays an important role in breaking down divisive stereotypes that impede productive intercultural interaction. Viewing knowledge as the result of constant negotiation helps explain how people develop stereotypes through limited exposures to cultural differences. That is to say, constructivism helps one see that avoiding contact with other cultures precludes a grounded and nuanced awareness of difference and its consequences. If, instead of limiting exposure, one encounters more examples of difference, one's ideas about how people act become more complex. This heightened complexity opens up the possibility for the individual to recognize the narrowness of earlier characterizations and alter understanding to reflect the complexity of the new experience. But simply being exposed to different cultures will not necessarily lead to a more nuanced understanding of difference. Individuals must actively construct new understanding by relying on a nonjudgmental sensitivity to difference and a willingness to adapt prior knowledge. This is the process by which stereotypes are dissolved.

Constructivism and Learning

The view that new knowledge is created through negotiation has implications for learning and, more specifically, for developing intercultural competence. One principle linking constructivism and learning is the importance of prior knowledge. Constructivism scales our perspective to the level of the individual to understand how prior knowledge interacts with external phenomena. This scale focuses on the unique characteristics of the individual learner: the knowledge the learner already possesses as well as personal motivations, goals, and objectives for learning. In this way, learning and education are seen as highly individualized processes, an insight that often counters efficiency-based, *one-size-fits-all* models of education. A second principle says that if learning is to be effective, it must take place in (or at least adequately model) realistic environments and situations. Negotiating differences amid the complexity and unpredictability of the everyday world engenders a sense of urgency that can foster deeper learning. Finally, a third principle linking constructivism and learning is the importance of collaborating with others. By working with others, people are exposed to real-life differences as well as positioned to negotiate those differences with some frequency. Insofar as difference and negotiation are built into the process, collaboration is an effective approach to help facilitate learning from a constructivist perspective.

A popular view of learning that puts these constructivist principles into action is known as situated learning. In this view, learning is said to be *situated* because it is embedded in and contingent on the unique circumstances of a given situation. Situated learning examines the interdependence of individual cognition, social practices, material conditions, and available knowledge as it sheds light on how individuals learn through active participation in shared social practices. This approach, one that grounds learning in particular contexts, has been used in classroom settings, workplace settings, and personal development training to facilitate improvement in intercultural competence.

Dan Bommarito and Paul Kei Matsuda

See also Co-Creation of Meaning; Cross-Cultural Communication; Essentialism; Intercultural Competence Development; Speech Acts

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Corporate Social Responsibility

Corporate social responsibility (CSR) is a term used to refer to the business activities of corporations to make profits responsibly. For many such organizations, CSR is limited to achieving compliance with the laws and regulations of the country and the local communities in which they have legal establishment. Such laws and regulations generally exist to govern business activities in terms of their financial, employment, occupational health and safety, and environmental impact. However, today's business environment is global in nature. Goods and services marketed and sold in Western countries such as the United States and Europe are increasingly procured from or manufactured in countries in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Therefore, for some corporations, the term *CSR* is defined as going above and beyond compliance with regulatory requirements and striving to achieve short- and long-term economic, employment, and environmental sustainability wherever their businesses have impact, regardless of the legal establishment. No event or movement in history occurs in an isolated manner. This entry introduces, in brief, the genesis and development of CSR, the challenges it faces, and how intercultural competencies are essential in performing critical aspects of CSR activities.

Background

Since the mid-18th century, when the market-driven economic theories of Adam Smith became the foundation for generating wealth, enterprising entrepreneurs have been creating and selling goods and services that consumers want at affordable prices. The purpose of business was to make a profit, which would provide not only personal wealth to the business owners, wages for the employees, and taxes for the government but also the means to reinvest in the business to create more wealth. The business's sphere of activity was centered within the boundaries of the nation, and if any exportation of goods occurred to another country, the business only needed to be concerned with complying with the legal requirements of the importing nation. In the early 20th century, business ownership evolved to having multiple owners in the form of stockholders, who bought and sold corporate stocks for profit. In the latter part of the century, three significant developments influenced the views that business owners and consumers had regarding the responsibility of corporations. First, global trade expanded rapidly, leading to labor-intensive industries redirecting their sourcing to countries where the cost of labor was significantly lower. Second, the phenomenal decrease in the cost and increase in the speed of communication, particularly via cellular/mobile phones and the Internet, meant that news of events in remote locations could be broadcast within seconds of their occurrence through globalized media. Third, rising awareness of the destruction of nature, damage to the ozone layer, and climate change indicated that the Earth was in peril from harmful human activities, especially those of irresponsible businesses adversely affecting the environment.

The Movement

Beginning in the mid-1990s, numerous activist movements by shareholders, nongovernmental organizations, university students, and consumers demanded that corporations in the United States and Europe become more responsible in all aspects of their businesses. Of particular concern were the sourcing activities related to offshore third-party manufacturing, agricultural, and extraction industries, in which third-party contractors had sole control of the local labor and environmental practices. Accounts of child labor, forced labor, abuse, unpaid wages, excessively long working hours, industrial accidents and deaths, and toxic chemical dumping at sites where the products of certain high-profile Western brands were sourced in developing countries were nearly instantaneously broadcast on the Internet and mass media in the developed countries where the products were marketed. Although governments in the United States and Europe were reluctant to enact laws to make businesses legally accountable for foreign manufacturers' practices, in the interest of better public and shareholder relations, many high-profile businesses developed codes of conduct for their contractors. Some also joined industry associations to encourage voluntary compliance and periodic monitoring, and engaged in dialogues with shareholders, the International Labor Organization, and nongovernmental organizations. Furthermore, with heightened concern for the escalating destruction of nature due to human and business activities, the practice of reducing, reusing, and recycling became more common as increasingly drastic measures were called for to preserve the Earth for future generations.

Change

Entrepreneurs have begun to see the possibilities of new businesses, intent on capturing new markets driven by sustainability-conscious consumers. Consumer products made with organically produced cotton, recycled polyethylene terephthalate bottles, or biodegradable materials are commonly available today. Mainstream supermarkets offer organic food. Some consumers are also willing to pay a premium for alternatively generated energy, such as solar, wind, and biofuel, and for electric or hybrid automobiles. In developed countries, the movement toward environmental sustainability by corporations and communities has taken hold. Major businesses in the United States and Europe increasingly are transparent in reporting their business practices, admit when incidents or problems surface, and commit to improvements. As new generations of a more socially conscientious labor force enter the job market in the 21st century, corporations are eager to attract and retain productive employees based in part on their CSR reputation.

Challenges Remain

In spite of the vast number of monitoring visits performed by major corporations at their third-party contractors' sites, news accounts of problems and incidents, large and small, continue to be reported. As recently as April 2013, more than

1,100 garment workers were reported to have died when an illegally constructed building collapsed in Bangladesh. Industrial accidents, explosions, and chemical spills continue to occur in corporations across the world. Some authorities suggest that the consequences of damage to the Earth and climate may no longer be stoppable or reversible and what is best hoped for is to slow the pace of destruction as much as possible.

Furthermore, the environmental consequences of the rapid industrial and economic development of China and other growing economies are only beginning to surface, and the full impact will be felt more significantly in the near future. Since every destination on the globe is affected by all human behavior, corporate or otherwise, the problems are extremely complex and demand equally complex solutions. Intercultural competency supports people using their knowledge and skills to communicate across cultures to raise awareness of the importance of short- and long-term sustainability of livelihoods, communities, and the environment and ultimately to facilitate the ongoing dialogue on how to design and implement practical solutions.

Fukumi Hauser

See also Intercultural Competence in Organizations; Intercultural Relations and Globalization; Meta-Ethical Contextual Position

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Corporations in a Globalizing World

Most individuals now, in the 21st century, depend on corporations more than they realize. The computers and cell phones they use are designed and manufactured by corporations. The clothes and shoes they wear and the cars they drive are all made by corporations. The buildings in which they live, study, and work have been built by corporations. The encyclopedia containing this entry is published by a corporation.

Most of these corporations depend on other countries. China, Japan, India, Brazil, Germany, and many other countries supply essential technology, labor, materials, new ideas, and especially customers. Interdependence is a fundamental fact of life.

This entry explores the demands and mandates of globalization through a typical case study of a manufacturer seeking to succeed in expanding business to other countries. Enumerating the stages of such development, the entry will outline the competencies required for a successful global launch of a new product.

The case under consideration involves the president of a small company that has offices, employees, and customers in only one country. The creative engineers in the company have designed the next generation of a popular digital device that has been selling widely. The company will begin manufacturing the exciting new generation soon. The marketing department believes that many people in other countries will jump at the chance to buy one of these products. Also, the company wants to ensure that the employees and shareholders benefit from expanding the business into another country.

What should the leadership of this company do? Like many other corporate executives have done, it would probably lead the company through several stages. These stages are outlined below. Listed with each stage are a few of the cultural competencies that will be required if the leadership and employees are to achieve that stage successfully.

Stages of Globalization

Stage 1: Export the Company's Products to Another Country

The leadership decides that the country will be Japan. The competencies that will be required include the ability to

1. achieve accurate insight into potential customers in Japan, their needs, preferences, lifestyles, and aspirations—all of which are very different from those of customers in the home country—and
2. achieve accurate insight into how to catch the attention of Japanese people, demonstrate the value of the product to them, and earn their confidence in the company, a foreign company, so that they will buy the product.

Stage 2: Begin Offshoring, for Example, Contract Manufacturing

For this strategic initiative, the leadership decides on China. They want to contract a local Chinese company to manufacture the new product. The competencies that will be required include the ability to

1. effectively negotiate with Chinese owners and managers;
2. establish quality control procedures that the Chinese people in a Chinese factory will follow, and follow exactly; and
3. strongly influence the behavior of the Chinese managers and employees of a Chinese company thousands of miles away.

Stage 3: Establish a Company Overseas

The leadership now realizes that there are great new opportunities in China. It decides that the best way to take advantage of these opportunities is to set up a wholly owned subsidiary of the company in China.

To ensure that the company in China has the technical and management expertise necessary, and to guarantee that the company's standards are maintained, the leadership transfers some of the home office people to China for 2 or 3 years. Careful selection and substantial predeparture training of these expatriates and their families will be important. The competencies that will be required of each employee include the ability to both (a) adjust to the Chinese culture and work with the Chinese and (b) develop cross-cultural *effectiveness* on the job. Cultural adjustment is necessary but not sufficient.

The Chinese Side of the Enterprise

Everything the company does regarding the human side of the organization, the Chinese employees, will now be up to the expats. Therefore, the company will need managers and trainers who understand and can connect with Chinese people in several critical situations. This requires ways of working in each situation that are different from the ways of handling the same situation in Japan or in the home office. For instance, the following functions in the organization require unique competencies:

1. *Recruiting*

   Competencies: The team will need to be able to generate interest and confidence in the company among the Chinese people they would like to hire.

2. *Selecting*

   Competencies: The company will need to be able to assess accurately the competence and character of each Chinese person and decide accurately whether or not the person will be respected in, and contribute to, the organization.

3. *Training*

   Competencies: Chinese patterns of learning are very different from the ways the Japanese and Westerners learn. The training team will need to be able to present new information in ways that enable the Chinese to comprehend the information quickly and fully. They will need to transfer new technical and management skills in ways that enable the Chinese to acquire these skills completely and use the skills consistently.

4. *Supervising*

   Competencies: The team will need to be able to give direction, coaching, and rewards to Chinese people in ways most meaningful and motivating for them.

They will need to build teams that Chinese people really want to belong to and contribute to. They will need to make an effort to earn their strong commitment and loyalty.

5. *Evaluating*

Competencies: The team will need to see accurately the strengths and weaknesses of each Chinese employee and give them feedback in ways they can accept and act on. If the manager gives Chinese employees feedback in the ways Westerners usually do, this will probably make the Chinese feel uncomfortable, embarrassed, discouraged, or resentful, or maybe all of these.

6. *Designing and developing the organization*

Competencies: The team will need to be able to conceive of, design, and construct an organization that fits Chinese people and is engaging for them, rather than forcing the people to fit the organization. A foreign organization moving into China must adapt, just as a foreign individual must adapt. If the organization is to be successful in China, it must be designed to function effectively in that cultural, political, and economic environment. Also, every part of the organization in China must be designed and built to provide a meaningful and motivating environment for Chinese employees. The organization structure, roles, standards, policies, and procedures, in fact the whole organizational culture, must be compatible with the language, life experience, and professional aspirations of Chinese employees. If this internal environment is not compatible, Chinese employees will not stay with the company. The best and the brightest will be the first to leave.

When the expatriates return from China, having developed significant, relevant cultural competence, they will be much better prepared to become leaders with international responsibilities in the company. Eventually, one of them may even become competent enough to replace the president.

The company will have brought some of the most capable Chinese people from the Chinese organization into the home office for a year or two. Given this experience with people in the home office, when they return to China, they will be more culturally competent and much better qualified to become the top leaders of the company in China.

The President of This Corporation

The president has overall responsibility for the survival and future of this whole corporation. What special cultural competencies must that person have?

Scope of Perception: The president must be able to see accurately and analyze

- *country cultural competence:* the person's own culture and the cultures of the other countries;
- *professional cultural competence:* HR, marketing, IT, manufacturing, and finance; and
- *corporate cultural competence:* core values, symbols, and ways of interacting.

Range of Behavior: In every country where the company is involved, the president must be able to act and interact, appropriately and effectively, in many different, demanding situations, including meetings (in person and virtual); negotiations with government officials and local partners; interviews with TV and press reporters; presentations to diverse audiences (employees and customers); and for crisis intervention and resolution. This is a very wide, culturally relevant response repertoire.

Effectiveness of Decisions: The president must make decisions every day. Some of them will be difficult. Some will have a major impact on hundreds of employees and their families and on suppliers and customers in the home country and in every country the company enters. This requires the competency to recognize the influence of the home culture on each decision and to be able to anticipate the consequences of each decision on employees in every one of the foreign organizations. Furthermore, it necessitates the ability to explain decisions in ways that will enable employees in other countries to understand, accept, and carry out the decisions.

Depth of Learning: If the president is to meet these extensive responsibilities, retain the position, and do the job well, that individual must learn an extraordinary amount. Given who the person is, and given the particular responsibilities, the cultural competence essential to success can only be gained from experience: the president's own and the experience of other carefully selected, culturally competent individuals.

The most valuable strategy for learning in this situation is for the president to reflect on his or her experience each day and record the most important insights gained. In addition, the president should select the two most culturally competent individuals in the company and have candid discussions with them regularly. Over time, the cumulative learning will surprise everyone. Learning directly from one's own and others' cultural experience is, itself, a fundamental cultural competence.

As the president carries out international responsibilities and makes major decisions, he or she might also consider having an intercultural specialist nearby or, even better, a small team of intercultural specialists, a cohesive, creative, multicultural team. While individual cultural competence is essential, collective cultural competence can be amazing.

Stage 4: Expansion

Selecting a Country Manager

Having set up the first subsidiary, and having managed it in a culturally competent and successful way, the leadership decides to set up a second one in a different part of China. Then a third. And a fourth. It is impossible for the president sitting in an office thousands of miles away to oversee all of the organizations in China. It is time for the president to take the next steps.

The country manager's major role includes the following responsibilities.

The first is to represent the company in China. As in many countries, this top executive becomes the personification of the company in that country, the face of the company to the particular people in that country who matter the most to the organization. The competencies at this level require high-level intercultural finesse. The country manager needs to be able to demonstrate a presence, character, competence, and style that will earn the respect and strong support of important government officials, key customers, and colleagues in industry in China and build enduring relationships with influential individuals in each of these groups.

The individual must also represent the employees in China to the senior executives in the home office. The country manager needs to be able to analyze accurately the cultural realities the company is facing in China, explain these cultural realities in convincing ways to colleagues in the home country, and illustrate the unexpected, profound consequences of these cultural realities for the company in China.

Over time, as the expatriate managers become familiar with the country, and local Chinese employees become familiar with the company, they will become more effective in their work, and the company may be very successful. At this point, the leadership begins looking for opportunities in another country in the Asia region.

India looks the most promising. So the leaders plan and carry out a strategy for entering India. Several months later, they see some real opportunities in Australia and pursue those. Then in Korea. Then in Vietnam. And the company takes all the culturally competent actions necessary to enter these countries successfully.

Several years after that first decision to "go global," there are strong and growing organizations in six countries, with capable leaders, world-class facilities and technology, excellent local employees, and many loyal customers. It is time for the next step.

Appoint a Regional Manager

The president cannot stay on top of all that is now going on in the company in Asia. Therefore, the president carefully selects an Asia/Pacific regional manager. Eventually, as the company expands further, there will also be a regional manager for each of the other regions: Europe, the Middle East, and Africa and Canada, the United States, and Latin America.

The job of a regional manager is especially complex and challenging. This person has overall responsibility for the company's employees, facilities, products, partnerships, financial investments, and growth in the region.

Country managers in that region are on the regional manager's team. There may be five or six nationalities represented on the regional team. The competencies required for the regional manager include the ability to present the company goals and standards in clear and compelling ways to each member of the team. The person must recognize and engage the strengths—very different strengths—of each member and facilitate collaborative discussions on difficult problems. A regional manager orchestrates consensus decisions when possible and exercises courage and confidence to make sound decisions alone when necessary, while motivating each team member to carry out the decisions in their different countries.

Stage 5: Build Intercultural Competence in the Home Office

As the company becomes more involved in other countries, some people in the home office are in frequent contact with employees in other countries. Human resources, marketing, information technology, manufacturing, finance, and legal—all of the professional specializations must be carried out in all of the organizations in other countries as well as in the home office. Furthermore, they must be carried out in consistent ways. IT systems, for example, in the organizations in Japan, China, India, Australia, Korea, and Vietnam must be compatible with the IT systems in the home office.

As people in the home office increase their communication across cultures with their colleagues in each of these other countries, they, too, will need to learn to be appropriate when engaging their fellow employees. They will need to learn to write e-mail messages, speak on the telephone, and contribute to multicultural videoconferences when the languages, styles, experiences, and expectations of their colleagues are very different from their own. This includes comprehending accurately what is written, spoken, and implied by their colleagues in each of the other countries.

What happens if any of the people in these departments never learned these competencies or fail to practice these competencies? Confusion, yes. Frustration, yes. There can be a variety of personal and interpersonal consequences.

Also, there can be organizational consequences, which are sometimes serious, as these examples suggest:

- The home office employees and employees in other countries become so frustrated and discouraged that they quit.
- Products manufactured in China do not meet the company's safety standards. They must be rejected.
- Key suppliers in India are not paid, so they stop providing critical equipment or materials.
- The company's products are not delivered to the best customers in Australia on time, so they stop doing business with the company and go to a competitor.

Long-Term Consequences of Cultural Incompetence

If the employees in the home office cannot communicate and collaborate with their colleagues in other countries, if the regional manager cannot connect with each country manager, if the country managers cannot gain the cooperation of local government officials and the commitment of local employees, the company will probably fail.

The dangers of disconnect at any place in the organization and at any level of the organization are increased by the competition the company will inevitably face. The consequences will be severe. In the home country and in every other country the company enters, there will be other companies, some very strong companies, trying to take the best employees, products, ideas, and customers away from your company. Every one of them will be trying to gain competitive advantage.

If, however, people in the company have in-depth cultural competence, and they practice this competence every day, fundamental strengths will begin to emerge throughout the international organization: trust, commitment, collaboration, creativity, synergy, and productivity. Cultural competence itself will give the company significant competitive advantage over the competition.

George W. Renwick

See also Corporate Social Responsibility; Global Diversity Management; Global Leadership; Global Organizational Cultures; International, Transnational, Global; Leading Global Teams; Women in Global Leadership

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Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism refers to the idea of intercultural world citizenship as it exists at the local and global levels. The literal definition of the word and the concept date back to ancient Greece and the philosopher Diogenes of Sinope. The term comes from the Greek *κόσμος* (*cosmos*), meaning "world," and *πολίτης* (*politēs*), meaning citizen, so its literal translation is "world citizen." Recently, cosmopolitanism has enjoyed a renaissance, due largely to the context of globalization and the interconnectedness of today's world. Cosmopolitanism involves an understanding that individual actions at local levels (e.g., buying gasoline) have impacts at the global level, and vice versa (e.g., the events in the Middle East affect gas prices in Milwaukee). This knowledge, that people belong to a world that is greater than, but also made up of, its individual localities or parts, affects identity, communication, knowledge, behavior, and activism.

This entry describes key concepts of cosmopolitanism, briefly traces its movement from ancient Greece to modern social science, and explores its application in the world today.

Cosmopolitanism: Key Concepts

Cosmopolitanism, like the constructs of culture and communication, has countless definitions depending on the discipline, the theorist, and how it is applied. It is often easier to focus on how it *differentiates* from other similar intercultural theories. The philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah describes cosmopolitanism as *not* globalization and *not* multiculturalism, focusing on how it involves ethical obligations to others and the value of particular human lives as well as human lives universally. The intercultural communication professors Miriam Sobre-Denton and Nilanjana Bardhan emphasize that cosmopolitanism is *not* the search for a universal culture, a global fashion trend, a focus on international tourism and travel, an interest in the exotic, a neoliberal political project, or the furthering of a Western moral agenda of democracy. The education scholar David T. Hansen describes cosmopolitanism as *not* universal, homogenizing, or oppressive but rather as necessitating the value of valuing, or an understanding that while human values may vary greatly, the act of valuing is something that all people have in common. Indeed, cosmopolitan theorization is full of long lists of categorizations, including rooted versus rootless, vernacular, classical, cultural, political, aesthetic, and many other types of cosmopolitanism.

One of the reasons for the variety of definitions of cosmopolitanism is its growing presence across a huge number of varying disciplines, including (but not limited to) philosophy, education, religious studies, political science, rhetorical studies, linguistic studies, sociology, anthropology, and, most recently, intercultural communication studies. Each of these disciplines has a distinct (sometimes overlapping, sometimes contradictory) set of definitions for cosmopolitanism. For example, some cosmopolitan political projects involve ideas of cosmopolitan universal human rights (e.g., many of the uprisings of the Arab Spring). Alternatively, several anthropologists claim cosmopolitanism as relative and particularistic—focusing on the unique categories of particular communities—which is basically the opposite of universalism. Relatedly, some scholars and disciplines examine cosmopolitanism *from above*, as a universal moral project; others are far more interested in cosmopolitanism *from below* (also known as vernacular cosmopolitanism), as it is enacted by local cultural groups in ways that may be similar around the world even though these groups have little or no contact with one another. Finally, cosmopolitanism can be explored from perspectives ranging from macro (e.g., political economists and philosophers often study how cosmopolitanism influences policy, activism, and ways of dealing with global human rights issues) to societal/communal (e.g., sociologists examine how cosmopolitanism affects the ways refugees and host culture members interact with one another) to interpersonal (e.g., educational scholars and teachers explore whether cosmopolitanism can be taught to students in underserved communities or community college classrooms). However, all of these disciplines share some overarching similarities in their definitions of cosmopolitanism.

The majority of modern uses of cosmopolitanism (from the late 20th century to the present) share a belief that cosmopolitanism is distinct from—but must be understood within the context of—globalization. Cosmopolitanism is a theory that addresses how individual humans negotiate their personal circumstances (where they live, what their families are like, their socioeconomic statuses, their likes and dislikes, their patriotism, etc.) in relation to the influence of global forces (the environment, economic policies, war, border politics, natural disasters, climate change, popular culture, and acts of terrorism, to name but a few).

Most scholars of cosmopolitanism agree that its definition must include a consideration of ethics—the ethical and moral responsibilities people have to their local communities as well as to the larger world beyond their localities. As the theory gains more footholds across the social sciences and humanities, cosmopolitanism is often addressed alongside notions of patriotism (it should be possible to be both cosmopolitan and a patriot), nationalism (cosmopolitanism is generally an antinationalist theory), pedagogy (how to teach competencies that relate to cosmopolitanism), and communication (cosmopolitanism involves social life and communication across borders and boundaries and must be viewed as a social phenomenon).

Whenever people start exploring cosmopolitanism, it is inevitable that they will hear about the vast number of critiques against the idea. Cosmopolitanism has been called elitist, privileged, Westernized, imperialist, and a theory that focuses on the class consciousness of frequent travelers. This derives, in part, from its history in ancient Greece and during the Enlightenment. It brings up questions about whether everyone has the same ability to be cosmopolitan and all the privileges that entails, whether everyone *should* become cosmopolitan and the problems of universalism that implies, and what it means to have access to citizenship, particularly for those who must cross borders involuntarily (e.g., diaspora and refugees). The sociologist George Delanty and the semiotician Walter Mignolo (among an increasing number of others) have suggested more critical, bottom-up approaches to cosmopolitanism as a response to such critiques, noting that engagement with difference is not confined to those who are privileged, Western, and White. The work on the concept that has proliferated over the past 10 to 20 years has often taken the approach that cosmopolitanism should be reimagined to respond to such critiques.

Origins of the Field

As described earlier, cosmopolitanism was originated by Diogenes, a Greek Cynic, who described himself as a citizen of Athens as well as, simultaneously, a citizen of the world. This notion of world citizenship was particularly focused on by the Stoics, beginning in Athens and gaining popularity during the Roman Empire, and involved the rational idea of intellectual and moral perfection, with an emphasis on service to larger communities. This influenced early Christianity, particularly in terms of the idea that all people have the same rights to sanctity and sacrifice under God. The problematic notion that only certain people are allowed to be citizens of communities (those, e.g., who accept the teachings of a particular religion) stemmed from these beginnings.

The next key moment in the history of cosmopolitanism came during the Enlightenment, from the 16th through 18th centuries, due to the explosion of trade and colonialism and the renewed focus by philosophers on rational and intellectual ideas, with a specific affinity to those of ancient Greece. Notably, the philosopher Immanuel Kant became cosmopolitanism's champion of this era in his 1795 essay "Perpetual Peace." Again, there is a strong moral element to this phase of cosmopolitanism, as well as an elitist spin—all elite White upper-class men can and should make it their moral obligation as world citizens to help those less fortunate.

Cosmopolitanism again experienced a surge in popularity in the 1990s, due to work by anthropologists such as Ulf Hannerz, as a response to globalization and increasing global mobility, particularly for wealthy and educated travelers. It wasn't until after September 11, 2001, however, that the age of globalization simultaneously became the age of global terrorism for the United States, with clear ripples moving outward across the world, launching a return to cosmopolitan ideas but with a critical cultural twist, moving away from the moral work of the elite and toward notions of cosmopolitanism spreading from the bottom up through postcolonial effects. When thinking about the impacts of colonialism on the world today, and how these impacts shift and change the global landscape in terms of migration, technology, the environment, and human rights, it makes sense that cosmopolitanism—particularly of the *from below* variety—would spread across academic disciplines, educational work, and political projects.

Cosmopolitanism's Significance and Future Directions

Cosmopolitan theory is useful for a wide variety of practical applications, particularly in the areas of intercultural training, educating for global competency, international diplomacy, recruitment for study abroad, and immigration work. Cosmopolitanism and global citizenship are often called for directly and indirectly in university and international education mission statements, public culture endeavors, human rights development programs, and grassroots social movements. Specifically, the global interconnectedness offered by social media allows for far greater levels of intercultural contact, which requires a greater understanding of how to communicate with and understand difference. The growing digital media access and savvy of younger generations across cultural lines allows for greater spread of cosmopolitan ideas of global/local ties, respect for differing values, and ethical responsibility toward others both near and far, as can be seen in virtual (or mediated) cosmopolitan projects such as political uprisings, flash mobs, interpersonal groups, refugee resources, and others.

The themes of vernacular and critical cosmopolitanism include acknowledging and embracing the presence of global citizenship throughout the world, across social classes, nationalities, and ethnicities. In many circumstances, people relate just as closely to a culturally distant person with whom they have much in common as to their own next-door neighbor, and these circumstances are proliferating with the increased technological access and savvy of younger generations. Programs to educate refugees and underserved communities of children across the world (which increasingly include social media components) engage and embrace cosmopolitan ideals as described above: the notion of an ethical obligation to a shrinking world as well as to one's community members; the use of empathy with and personalization of those who are different, both near and far; the idea that people should be simultaneously proud of where they are from and connected to people from other places. For interculturalists, the idea of global citizenship should definitely *not* apply only to the global elite who can attain such value, but rather, it should extend to all who choose to participate ethically, interpersonally, and pragmatically in the globalized world as its citizens.

Miriam S. Sobre-Denton

See also Global Citizenship; Intercultural Competence Development; Mobility in a Global Era

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COUNSELING

Counseling is a process of receiving guidance about personal, social, emotional, career, or educational issues from a trained professional called a counselor. There are related fields that try to address these issues, such as social work, marriage and family therapy, and psychiatry. In the corporate world, some individuals who provide counseling related to work performance call themselves executive coaches. Each of these professionals may overlap with the counseling profession, but because of the different training and licensure requirements for practice, this entry will focus on professional counseling.

Following a brief history of counseling, this entry goes on to examine the reasons for people seeking counseling, where counseling takes place, counseling procedures, different approaches to counseling, cultural considerations about counseling, and research evidence about whether counseling works.

Brief History

At the turn of the 20th century, counseling began in the United States as vocational education to help create a bridge from education to work. Counseling helped people make vocational choices by providing information about the world of work, offering guidance toward educational attainment, and helping individuals find the fit between work and personal values, personal traits and aspirations, and career interests. Sometimes, this involved helping people from rural parts of the United States to find manufacturing jobs in cities. The role of counseling shifted with national and global events. Assessment and testing were emphasized during the world wars. The Great Depression of the 1930s caused counselors to focus on employment. When the former Soviet Union launched a space satellite in the mid-1950s, giving rise to concern that the United States was falling behind in science and technology, counselors in U.S. schools directed greater efforts toward helping children succeed in the sciences.

Reasons to Seek Counseling

People seek counseling on a variety of topics and issues. For example, a person might receive counseling for (a) deciding on a career; (b) dealing with interpersonal conflicts; (c) learning to manage stress or emotional distress, grief, or relationships; or (d) acquiring study skills for academic learning. One way to describe the types of problems presented in counseling is on a continuum, with prevention issues anchoring one end and education issues at the other, with a midpoint of developmental concerns (choice of college, job search, etc.). In trying to assist clients to explore career options, a counselor helps them identify their interests and skills while educating them about the vast world of work opportunities and educational opportunities that help people become qualified for jobs. When working through emotional or relationship issues, counselors often help individuals gain awareness and understanding about what is happening to them and why. Counseling then tries to help individuals learn ways to adapt their behaviors to better manage everyday stress and stressful life events.

Locations for Counseling

Counseling takes place in secondary schools, universities and community colleges, community mental health agencies, for-profit and nonprofit businesses and corporations, correctional facilities, and hospitals. There are also counselors who are self-employed and provide counseling services through private practice, offering their services from home or an office. Sometimes, counseling may be provided by phone or through an online chat format. Many counselors prefer a face-to-face meeting because so much of the counseling process relies on building a trusting relationship and the need to observe nonverbal communication.

Counseling Procedures

In some respects, counseling may resemble a conversation between friends, although in other respects, counseling is different because of the following characteristics:

- It involves roles: counselor and client.
- It is a purposeful relationship to address the concerns of the client.
- It is facilitated by a trained professional.
- It may involve single or multiple sessions.
- It typically involves a structure with some of these elements: intake, discussions of roles, problem definition, life history, assessment, feedback, planning, and termination.
- It is contractual in the sense that counselor and client agree about roles, goals, expectations, approach, time frame, and fees if applicable.
- It requires explicit boundaries that are guided by a professional set of ethics and a code of conduct.

Counselors are supervised by professionals in the process of being trained and encouraged throughout a lifetime of practice. Evaluation of one's work is central to counseling, assessing with the client if goals have been met and, ultimately, whether the counseling has been helpful. Additionally, counselors and the counseling profession are committed to working effectively with diverse individuals and communities representing but not limited to race, color, creed, religion, national origin, gender identity, gender expression, age, marital status, disability, public assistance status, veteran status, or sexual orientation.

Approaches to Counseling

Through the years, many counseling practitioners and scholars have developed various ways to practice counseling. These approaches are collectively described as the theories and techniques of counseling. It is safe to say that almost all approaches emphasize a trusting relationship between counselor and client as a prerequisite for counseling to work. Theories then diverge in terms of whether it is important to focus on one's thinking, on one's feelings or emotions, on one's behaviors, or on all of the above or a combination. Counseling can be applied individually, with couples or families, or in a group. As a prelude or adjunct to counseling, counselors also conduct workshops to educate clients and potential clients about mental health and well-being.

Cultural Considerations

Although counseling is now practiced in many countries around the world, it is interesting to consider how people found help or how people helped others prior to the advent of the counseling profession. Many informal ways of helping likely evolved with the development of humankind. People found help from friends, family, teachers, communities, shamans, elders, and spiritual leaders. Methods of help likely involved advice giving, physical and medicinal applications, rituals and ceremonies, and spiritual and religious intercessions.

This history is vital to the field of counseling because studies about help-seeking preferences and behaviors consistently indicate that professional helpers in general (not just counselors, as this applies to other professional helping fields as well) are viewed with suspicion and not often considered to be the first choice for dealing with problems. The informal helpers listed in the above paragraph are frequently preferred over professional counselors. Some of the apprehension stems from a lack of understanding or misperceptions about what counseling is or is not, the difficulty of having to trust a stranger, the potential shame or stigma attached to mental health, and having to talk about sometimes difficult issues with someone you don't know.

Scholars have therefore explored the notion that counseling may be a cultural concept and approach that is at odds with the values and traditions of certain cultures, communities, and countries. While counseling practices, training, and education have been introduced around the world, it is clear that for counseling to work, counselors must adapt the prevalent theories and techniques of counseling to the social, cultural, educational, and political contexts of specific populations. Inherent in this cultural consideration is the principle that working with, instead of against, existing structures and systems of helping is the best way to meet and improve the well-being of people in contexts where counseling is a novel and unfamiliar concept. Culturally relevant counseling approaches typically involve an integrative approach to helping that is willing to adapt myriad theories and techniques while addressing the whole person—mind, body, and spirit.

Another cultural consideration is whether counselors can work effectively with people who are different from them. Such differences may be obvious, such as gender, ethnicity, or physical ability, or less obvious, such as gender identity, religion, class, political affiliation, or values. At issue is whether counselors are able to understand and empathize with others whose life experiences may be starkly different from their own. Consequently, even when such differences are recognized, how do counselors counsel without imposing their own personal values and, more critically, proceed without judgment? One area of scholarship that has contributed to the research and practice of intercultural counseling is multicultural counseling, which is a branch of the profession focused primarily on race and ethnicity. Multicultural counseling scholars and practitioners describe the multifaceted context of working with clients from diverse backgrounds and posit the importance of awareness, knowledge, and skills as qualities for counselors to cultivate. Other scholars have suggested that an effective multicultural counselor is able to develop an *intercultural* rather than a monocultural worldview, meaning that the individual makes an effort to develop intercultural competence for both global and domestic contexts. Most recently, research on cultural intelligence suggests that there are four factors (motivation, strategy, knowledge, and actions) that constitute cultural adaptability. Multicultural counseling training typically requires students to understand how their individual narratives may inform or obstruct their ability to connect with clients. Counseling practice allows them to expand their intercultural experience through engagement with diverse individuals and their communities. Clinical supervision that pays attention and offers feedback to counselors heightens the awareness of the multicultural counseling dynamics between the counselor and the client and teaches counselors the skills needed to work with diverse clients.

When counselors do not pay attention to educating the public about the nature, process, and benefits of counseling, or if they do not develop the skills that help them negotiate the intercultural complexities that arise in the counseling relationship, then persons who need counseling will experience barriers to seeking help. When the counseling relationship is fraught with intercultural communication issues, it may lead to mistrust, lack of credibility, and, ultimately, premature termination.

Evidence That Counseling Works

There is research evidence that shows that counseling makes a difference in people's lives. But some studies have shown that the effectiveness of counseling lies not so much with any particular theory or set of techniques but rather with counselors' ability to establish a strong working relationship with their clients—being clear about clients' needs, engaging clients to be part of the counseling process, receiving feedback from clients, and being able to measure the outcomes of counseling.

Michael Goh

See also Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Psychology; Empathy; Intercultural Competence in Healthcare; Multicultural Counseling; Trust

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Crisis and Conflict Resolution

This entry defines the nature and stages of crisis and locates conflict resolution as a response to this extreme form of conflict. Specifically, de-escalation measures are considered as appropriate conflict resolution responses to situations of crisis.

Crisis and Conflict

Conflict is an inevitable part of daily life and can take the form of a disagreement, an argument, a dispute, a clash, incompatibility, contradiction, or disharmony. Depending on the nature of the conflict and how skillfully it is handled, conflict can have either a productive or a destructive influence on a situation or relationship. In contrast, a crisis connotes a particular level of severity in a conflict, which is characterized by a dramatic and destructive potential, and is often regarded as a turning point from conflict to disaster. Crisis describes a critical conflict and can be experienced as an intense difficulty, trouble, danger, or instability. Each of these elements becomes increasingly challenging in a cross-cultural context, where differing values, beliefs, and behaviors can quickly escalate a conflict and make resolution more difficult. The need for substantial intercultural competence in such a conflict situation is paramount. When a situation reaches a point of crisis, there is a compelling necessity to work toward resolution, for crisis is something that cannot be sustained.

The ideal goal in conflict resolution is to find solutions that are agreeable to all parties in a given conflict, again a greater challenge when the parties to the conflict represent differing worldviews. This is often referred to as reaching a mutual agreement or achieving a win-win outcome. The practice of conflict resolution, however, has the potential to yield many possible outcomes, any of which might qualify as successful. In crisis situations, for example, the conflict resolution process might focus on de-escalating the crisis, thereby guarding against potential disaster.

Stages of Crisis

Crisis is typically considered to include four stages: (1) precrisis, (2) crisis, (3) accommodation/negotiation, and (4) resolution. In the precrisis stage, parties might be aware that there is conflict but might be unaware that it is approaching a crisis point. The crisis stage is characterized by an eruption of high emotions and a perception of a threat of harm to self or others. In crisis, the coping skills that might have sufficed to manage conflict (or precrisis) no longer serve to help. This stage is characterized by frustration and fear. The mistrust that might exist between the cultures of the conflicting parties increases the tensions. In the accommodation/negotiation phase, there is a decrease of intense emotions and an increase in receptivity to constructive conflict management. The resolution stage is characterized by a willingness to engage in solution building and a greater sense of equilibrium and stability between the parties.

De-Escalation of Crisis

De-escalation of crisis is typically the result of multiple interventions that are engaged in a step-by-step fashion and that hold consistent pressure on the situation over time. Consideration of the essential aspects of the cultures involved may include attention to facework, conflict resolution styles, and deep cultural value differences. In addition, familiarity with the historical relationships of the cultures involved as well as power and privilege differences is vital. The goal of de-escalation is to reduce hostility and mistrust between parties that regard one another as adversaries. Parties are typically most receptive to the introduction of de-escalation when they have reached a stalemate in conflict and there are no obvious solutions within sight. De-escalation is typically initiated by one party, which makes a conciliatory gesture to the other. The steps of de-escalation may include bringing parties together for negotiation, reaching agreements about peripheral issues, and moving toward resolution of the underlying conflict issues.

Amanda Smith Byron

See also Conflict Management; Intercultural Conflict Styles; Intercultural Conflict Transformation

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Critical Advocacy Research

Critical advocacy research is scholarship dedicated to promoting social change and transformation through examining the role power plays in structuring intercultural relations. In contrast to most social scientific accounts of intercultural interactions that tend to assume a level playing field (and that focus mainly on the interpersonal aspects), critical advocacy research emphasizes the histories of colonialism, racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of domination and hierarchy that frame the conditions of encounter in much of the modern world. Critical interculturalists thus see the ground of interaction between groups not as a neutral arena where individual actors meet as free agents but as a site of struggle where competing interests, taken-for-granted histories, and differing material investments invariably play out, consciously or unconsciously, in the course of an encounter. Identifying the ideological elements, structures, forces, and institutional mechanisms and communicative dynamics at work in sustaining conditions of inequality is key to critical advocacy research. The goal is to intervene in the world to rectify such conditions and to promote interdependence, reciprocity, mutuality, and just relations between groups.

This entry describes the key perspectives informing critical advocacy research, provides a brief account of the research tradition's development in the field, and briefly outlines the challenges confronting critical intercultural scholars in the face of today's mounting global and ecological crises.

Core Elements

Critical advocacy research starts from the assumption that all knowledge is dependent on historical forces and reflective of the specific values and priorities of those involved in its use and production. Knowledge is not simply there to be gathered and reproduced in the research report but is actively constructed, given meaning, selectively organized, and placed in service of particular interests. To engage in critical advocacy research is to take a stance as engaged scholars regarding issues of public concern and to employ one's intellectual resources toward providing alternative understandings and finding creative solutions to problems.

Until the past four decades, perspectives coming from the positivist tradition influenced many but not all scholars from the field of intercultural communication, where now constructivism has established a strong foothold. The positivist tradition holds the view that knowledge about the social world may be gained directly by employing the same empirical methods used to study the physical world. Among others, it presumes that researcher values, biases, and subjective calculations about power may be bracketed out of the research process altogether, in effect producing "objective" (i.e., "positive") knowledge. Critical intercultural scholars, however, found such assumption of value and power neutrality problematic. They believed instead that researchers themselves, including their tools, language, and subjects, are always already shaped by unequal relations of power given the context of colonial conquest and the imperial formations that gave rise to the modern academic disciplines in the first place. A key task in this regard is the surfacing of assumptions of cultural superiority and other ideological biases embedded in traditional understandings of research scholarship and the distorting effects this has on the research outcomes. A major critique is that the very certainties produced through this latter research tradition are built mainly on Eurocentric assumptions represented as universal (e.g., of individualism, rationalism, voluntarism, and a level playing field) and can be seen to promote a monocultural view of the discourse on knowledge about intercultural interactions.

Reflexivity, then, both in regard to the ideological premises informing any given study as well as conscious awareness of a researcher's position vis-à-vis one's subject(s) of study is deemed indispensable to ensuring that relationships of hierarchy and subordination, along with the unwitting exclusion of alternative views, are not reproduced in the very conduct of the study. Here, the stance of transparency and value neutrality invoking methodological rigor is itself seen as constituting a power move. For example, when norms of competence are talked about in universal terms without questions being raised as to whose norms get set up as "standard" (i.e., "universal") in the first place, who gets to say so, and why, it becomes easy to construe the struggles of individuals coming from disempowered and marginalized communities as a case of failure to adapt or not playing by the rules. In this instance, some build on the default assumption that successful adaptation to the dominant culture is a prime criterion for evaluating minority groups' competence. This assumption may be left unquestioned, unwittingly conveying that whoever happens to be in a position of dominance gets to direct the ensuing encounter. Likewise, the notion of meritocracy acts as surety for social analysis, instilling the belief that successful individuals know enough to succeed individualistically and that, therefore, if certain groups are languishing, it is because they have yet to learn to succeed and only have themselves to blame should they fail.

Critical interculturalists, among other interculturalists, reject such individualistic explanations as inadequate, at best, and distorting of reality, at worst. They note that meritocracy's liberal premises of "free choice," individualism, and personal responsibility encode mainly a Eurocentric set of cultural assumptions based on the cultural logic of competition, separation, and denial of collective interdependence. They insist on exploring the possibility of proceeding from premises resonant in other, non-Western, especially indigenous, cultures, where values of cooperation, mutual care, reciprocity, and shared responsibility have been known to promote the thriving of all (not just of some individuals), as a starting point for inquiry. They also stress the importance of identifying constraining forces such as historic and ongoing disenfranchisement, institutionalized racism, structural distortions in access to opportunities, and other forms of discriminatory policies and practices that thwart collective thriving and distort life chances. For critical interculturalists, the fact that statistical evidence with regard to social thriving or languishing shows a systematic patterning based on group membership (as codified by race, class, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc.) signals not a strictly individualistic causation for most social disparities but a systemic one. Such patterns cannot be adequately accounted for by referencing merely individualistic differences in motivation but require theories capable of making the operations of social power visible. Grasping intergroup relations thus requires a rendering of macro politics; otherwise, analyses devolve into pathologizing explanations, as is common in discourses of deficit (the cultural deficit model, "cultures of poverty," etc.) that unwittingly end up blaming the victim, thus displacing responsibility for change onto individuals rather than placing it on society as a whole.

Although cultural differences no doubt present real challenges when individuals from differing backgrounds encounter one another, critical interculturalists do not typically regard such encounters as inherently problematic. As noted earlier, what is believed to pose a problem in the encounter of difference is the element of power differentials—that is, the assumption of superiority (or supremacy) on the part of one group over another in an attempt to secure advantage or control, or the communication of attitudes of paternalism and patronage, which results in dependency and disempowerment, on the one hand, and resistance and resentment (if not outright conflict) on the other.

Key then to the task of critical advocacy research is the tracking of the operation of such a power dynamic in all its subtle and not so subtle expressions and manifestations, for example, in its coding in discourses of hierarchy as in "the West and the rest," as "American exceptionalism," and, more prosaically, in notions of "progress" and "development." More subtle and covert is the naturalization and universalization of the Eurocentric norms of Whiteness, Christianity, aggressive pursuit of material wealth, individualism, and rationality as the unspoken measure of what it means to be a human being. Tracking the history of the invention of such liberal ideas allows for their conception as arbitrary constructions of human *being*, inaugurated on a grand scale as a legitimating ideology to justify the colonial plunder and genocide of native peoples beginning in 1492. Indeed, liberalism's emancipatory promise (of "*liberté, égalité, fraternité*") is recognized historically as resulting not in the inclusive thriving of all but in the disenfranchisement of women, people of color, and "poor White folk"—unsurprisingly so given the fact that such a declaration was made within a closed circuit of communication where only White, male, propertied, Christian subjects were present (symbolically) at the table. Today, such liberal tenets find their continuing elaboration in interventionist policies; corporate takeover of indigenous peoples' lands, bodies, and resources; militarism; wars; and planetary destruction.

The invention of race and White supremacy, in particular, is deemed one of the most, if not the most, destructive legacy of such supremacist ideas. As such, critical interculturalists deem it a moral imperative for committed intellectuals to name, critique, and resist this continuing racist legacy in all its institutional enactments and covert interpersonal dynamics. The belief is that conflictual relations between groups are less a result of simple misinterpretation of differing cultural codes than of unresolved issues having to do with histories of injustice, hierarchy, and domination that continue to plague relations between groups in what is now a globalized stage of encounter.

The Critical Turn

The turn to critical theorizing had a belated advent in the field of intercultural communication. Given the discipline's genealogy in the U.S. Foreign Service Institute and its task in the 1950s to service Cold War exigencies, the early study of intercultural communication was informed by the pragmatic need to train diplomats, business personnel, international students, and study-abroad students for extended sojourns overseas. Although the foment of the 1960s and 1970s saw the beginning complexities of intercultural studies' inclusion of a more diversified and politicized conception of culture in terms of gender, race, and class, by the decade of the 1980s, this nascent turn to critical inquiry suffered a serious setback with the return of conservative politics in the form of Reaganomics in the United States and Thatcherism in Great Britain. Furthermore, pressure on the young field of intercultural communication to qualify itself as a true "science" turned the focus to securing disciplinary credibility through the adoption of statistical and mathematical models borrowed mostly from the more established discipline of psychology, which treated culture mainly as a fixed variable tested largely within interpersonal contexts. Although some resistance from scholars coming from other, non-Western traditions began in earnest even during this time period, it was not until the mid-1990s that intercultural scholars trained in critical theory began raising serious questions about the power effects of such ahistorical and decontextualized accounting of intercultural interactions. Moreover, corporate globalization and the imposition of neoliberal policies on struggling economies not only intensified privileged travel such as tourism and business but, more significantly, also intensified the forced migration of impoverished populations as resources continued to be pulled from the South to the North and capital searched for ever cheaper labor in service of the bottom line. Over time, the contexts of intercultural encounters also included those of poor migrant workers, domestic help, mail-order brides, overseas contract workers, refugees, slave laborers in sweat shops, and, more recently, the "terrorism" of the weak in response to the prosaic, everyday terrorism of state- and corporate-sponsored poverty of what are deemed "disposable populations." Thus, critical scholars keenly attuned to social justice issues began increasingly to emphasize the importance of theorizing not just the interpersonal dynamics of intercultural encounters but also the larger macro socio-historical-political-economic contexts framing such encounters. More important, what became clear is the crucial work that had to be done on the ideological front to ferret out the symbolic mechanisms of co-optation, legitimation, and the securing of consent that keep the status quo in place.

The Global Challenge

More than ever, critical intercultural scholars today face the challenge of performing intellectual labor under increasingly dire conditions. With the global population having exceeded 7 billion as of March 2011 (vs. 1.6 billion in the 1900s), the question of how to live together peaceably with other beings on a finite planet presses ever more urgently on would-be critical intercultural scholars. They understand that within the context of increasing global competition over fast-diminishing resources (e.g., fossil fuel, water, land), categories of difference—race, class, gender, ability, age, sexual orientation, and so forth—function not as innocent descriptors of biology and of social reality but as *codes* determining the disposition of power and privilege, of who loses and who wins. The question likely to spell the difference between survival and extinction for the human species is whether or not we can learn to value all lives and all beings in all their diversity and difference and learn to live together on a shared planet without exploitation, domination, and violence.

Examining the context of the past 500 years of modern culture and civilization that spelled the first moment of encounter between diverse peoples and cultures on a global scale is crucial for this purpose, as well as understanding the altering effects that such a momentous historical process has had on life on the planet. The task is to hear the perspectives coming from those least heard from in such encounters: the displaced, disenfranchised, enslaved, disappeared, and vanquished. The task of critical advocacy research is fourfold: (1) to surface the unconscious assumptions, beliefs, and attitudes that unwittingly help keep systems of oppression in place; (2) to identify practices that can help create new structures encouraging of more reciprocal and just relations with others; (3) to cultivate critical awareness and self-reflection in our communicative interaction with those different from us; and, finally, (4) for the privileged and empowered to learn ways of becoming critical allies with those struggling to create a more just, diverse, and ecologically healthy world.

S. Lily Mendoza

See also Change-Agentry; Competition and Cooperation; Critical Race Theory; Feminist Research Paradigm; Intercultural Relations and Globalization; Transformative Learning; Underrepresented Groups

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Critical Incident Methodology

A *critical incident* describes a set of circumstances (the "incident") wherein a conflict or problem arises in a particular setting due to cultural differences between the affected parties, thereby jeopardizing the success or undermining the effectiveness (hence "critical") of a particular activity or work environment. *Critical incident methodology* is the use of critical incidents in an education or training setting to enable participants to practice resolving culture-based conflicts. Critical incidents are also used outside the intercultural field, but within the field they are distinguished by the fact that the core problem or conflict, the heart of the incident, is the result of one or more cultural differences.

This entry describes the requirements and types of critical incidents used in training and educational settings. The entry concludes with two examples of critical incidents and how they can be used to further cultural understanding.

There are two requirements for executing the critical incident methodology: (1) creating or selecting suitable incidents and (2) effectively processing the incidents through a discussion that yields significant learning.

The components of a suitable critical incident include a relevant setting, a significant problem, an obvious clash of cultures, and enough detail to enable a lively discussion of the incident, including possible solutions.

A relevant setting means that the incident transpires in a context with which participants are familiar and can readily identify—for example a business setting for a group of businessmen/women, a government or even a specific agency setting for government workers, and so on. For a mixed group, the setting might have to be more vague and nonspecific.

A significant problem means that the consequences of the incident should be sufficiently compelling to participants that they would immediately grasp the urgency of resolving the conflict. Where to hold the annual office Christmas party, even if there were culture-based differences of opinion, would not normally be a compelling issue. If the opinions were so strong as to disrupt normal workplace performance, however, then such an issue might be suitably compelling.

An obvious clash of cultures is the most important component of an effective critical incident. Participants must be able to recognize right away that the incident is largely culture based, that the parties to the incident have strong opposing or contrasting cultural views with regard to how to behave in the circumstances, and that therefore the resolution of the incident will involve addressing the cultural differences. A simple example might be a multicultural workplace where a manager from Culture A believes that she should delegate to and otherwise empower her direct reports but several of them come from Culture B and are used to being more closely supervised and in fact do their best work when they are micromanaged.

Finally, an effective critical incident contains enough descriptive detail to enable a robust discussion of the incident. The nature of the disagreement or conflict should be spelled out, its effects or consequences briefly described, and basic information provided about the work environment and the roles and relationships of the individuals involved in the incident. Critical incidents are not case studies and are not nearly as long, usually half a page or slightly more. With regard to information about culture, ideally the text should contain no more information than the parties involved could be expected to have, which in most cases would be somewhat limited.

Here are two examples of critical incidents. The first is used by the U.S. government to train people going to work abroad:

> Mr. Benaziz is a very important contact of yours at the Foreign Ministry and, in the last two years, has also become a personal friend. When you met him for lunch this week, he asked you if you would select his son to fill an opening for a local national employee you now have in the division of the U.S. government agency where you work. You happen to know that his son's application has already been reviewed and that he has neither the technical qualifications for the job nor sufficient English skills.
>
> When you start to suggest that his son is not qualified, Mr. Benaziz nods his head and then explains how important this is to him and his family and that as your friend he stands ready to do anything you ask in return for this favor. "Friends have to look out for friends," he says. "I will never forget your kindness." Now what?

This incident is used by a number of American business schools:

> Because you once lived in Russia (for 6 months) and had regular contact with a Russian subsidiary in a previous job, you're seen as the Russian expert in the company where you are an intern, and you have been asked to advise on a thorny issue. This global company has been rolling out a new financial reporting system worldwide, and they're getting some pushback from the IT team in Russia. The Russians have a number of concerns, but the bottom line seems to be that they are unhappy with the timetable for implementing the new system (to be used by local staff that the IT team supports); they say the timetable is quite unrealistic in their setting. Specifically, they say they need more time for testing various pieces of the software involved to find and correct any bugs before the system is implemented.
>
> Your company's response to this has been to point out that everyone knows there are bugs—there always are in anything this big and with so many moving parts—but that it's important for local staff to start working with the applications so the bugs can be discovered and fixed.
>
> The Russian IT guys are not comfortable with this approach; they are very good technicians and very proud of their work, and they say it makes them look bad to treat their end users as guinea pigs and experiment on them. "You don't understand our end users," the Russians have been telling HQ. "If we give them something that's not ready, they will consider this unprofessional, they will wonder about our technical competence and lose their trust in us, and they will blame us for making them look bad."
>
> From the company's perspective, there are a number of problems if the Russians drag their heels on this: For one thing, if they are not using the system, they will not be able to rely on Shared Services (the HQ IT group) for technical support; for another, as long as they remain *outside* the new system, data from Russia will have to be aggregated separately and cannot be widely and quickly shared across the world. As the Russia expert, what suggestions can you make to HQ management?

After selecting or creating effective incidents, the second part of executing the critical incident methodology is facilitating a discussion that yields significant learning for the participants. Participants are asked to read the incidents (ideally in small groups) and discuss among themselves what they would do to resolve the impasse described therein, preferably using some of the concepts they have learned in the course. After the group discussions, participants present their solutions. As various scenarios are presented, they are critiqued by the other participants and by a facilitator.

In educational or training settings, where it is most commonly used, the aim of the critical incident methodology is to make it possible for participants to confront the consequences of cultural differences in *real* situations and to compel them to respond. By bringing abstract concepts and theories to life, critical incidents enable individuals to leave the classroom and apply their learning in the places where it matters.

Craig Storti

See also Cross-Cultural Communication; Description, Interpretation, Evaluation; Essential Principles for Intercultural Training

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Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy (CP) is commonly understood as an approach to education that, in brief, defines education as reflection and action. Therefore, it prompts agency that is reciprocal, since it implies learning-in-interaction, as well as political, because it arises from and results in political awareness and intervention. CP attempts to lead education far beyond the limits of functional methodologies, into ambitious cognitive and social objectives and deep into reflective citizenship. Manuela Guilherme and Alison Phipps posit that CP is never fulfilled; it goes on challenging and pushing individuals toward others' spaces. However, it draws on distinct intellectual traditions and, therefore, it is understood and implemented in a multiplicity of ways. Finally, CP affects the nature of intercultural competence in that it changes its essence, not only because it relies on a particular understanding of the meaning of culture but also because it argues for an equivalent positioning between cultures relating in equity, dialogue, and interaction.

First, to understand the potential of this impact, it is fundamental to review the distinct philosophical traditions that underlie different understandings of what a CP entails, namely, the tradition based on critical theory as developed by the Frankfurt School, that is, from a European perspective, and the development of a theory of CP according to the postulates of Paulo Freire and his followers in the Americas, both North and South. Second, this entry will elaborate on the relationship between CP and intercultural competence, more specifically the implications of the theorization(s) of the former in the performance(s) of the latter. Finally, this entry will develop an argument for the relevance of a CP in the *praxis* of intercultural competencies in the near future.

The Critical Theories of the Frankfurt School: A Philosophical Background to Critical Pedagogy

There has been a strand of European thought on CP that stems from the work of the Frankfurt School, mainly from Habermasian theories, the second wave of the Frankfurt School. This strand, nevertheless, relies on an understanding of *reason* grounded in European intellectual traditions and emerges from an internal conflict between a value-neutral, transcultural, ahistorical, and universal *instrumental reason*, and a *critical reason* located within a particular social framework and fed by social tension as theorized by Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, the first wave of the

Frankfurt School. The former is inspired by the search for emancipation on the basis of equality, whereas the latter calls for emancipatory rationality that does not come from above or beyond. That is, it is society that is made rational, but not in a technical manner. Instead, this is a dialogical and pedagogical process that is motivated by a great concern for social justice. This is the critique of modernity itself, considered as the final stage into which the Enlightenment fell and eventually betrayed itself.

According to critical theorists, rationality emancipates human activity but not in a neutral or detached way. Following from the above are Ronald Barnett's three levels of criticality, namely, (1) critical skills, (2) critical thought, and (3) critique, which the author equates to metacriticism and which accounts for alternative ways of thinking. The author also points out that critique involves taking an external look at what is being critiqued, which is of interest particularly for the concept of intercultural competence, since if critical, it should necessarily be metacritical. As the author further explains, critique involves considering at least one other perspective, one other conceptual framework. This statement leads one to think that intercultural competence, within the framework of CP, requires and develops higher thinking capacities whenever alternative interpretations are seriously and equally taken into account.

Habermasian emancipation is achieved in communication free of constraints, which Habermas described as the *ideal speech situation*. Nevertheless, critical theory does not deal with the individual or the collective as isolated units. Rather, it focuses on the interactions between individuals and groups, none of which are self-contained entities since they exist *intersubjectively*, in Habermas's terms. Habermas justifies his view by identifying four *themes* common to the philosophical movements of the 20th century, despite the existence of different schools of thought, which he designates as *postmetaphysical thinking*, *the linguistic turn*, *situating reason*, and *overcoming logocentrism*. This involves changing the paradigm of subjectivity into the paradigm of intersubjectivity, or the *paradigm of consciousness* into the *paradigm of language*, as Habermas puts it, and it implies using language within the framework of *communicative action*. An intersubjective orientation implies a dialogical way in education that is evident in pedagogy of dialogue where cultural knowledge is produced through the formation of participants' identities and representations.

Critical Theory and Postcolonial Theories: Theoretical Foundations of Critical Pedagogy

The differences between CP based on critical theory (Frankfurt School and followers) and CP based on postcolonial theories (Freire and his followers) are that each has a different approach to rationality and therefore rather distinct perspectives on critical reasoning. However, as far as education is concerned, both urge for reflection, dialogue, and action, as well as a focus on everyday culture and democratic citizenship. The concern about democratic citizenship reminds one of John Dewey, who claims that culture means elaboration and work on both deeds and thoughts and that all culture deserves to be highly elaborated. Frankfurt and Freirean theorists share this view of culture on an everyday basis, despite differences in their perspectives. Like the Frankfurt School, Freire also highlights the dynamic and interactive process of cultural production and explains that culture *is* in movement only, that is, during endless cultural creation.

Both critical theorists (Frankfurt School heritage) and critical pedagogues (Freireans), as well as Dewey, stand up for radical democratic citizenship goals (in education), which also gives rise to the possibility of a notion of *critical intercultural competence*, despite the conceptual antagonism between the two terms, *critical* and *competence*. Dewey claims that education can only be social if the kind of society to which it aspires is already defined.

Although every kind of CP is precisely concerned with defining the kind of society people should have in mind, they do not always aim for the same kind of society. This tenet is particularly evident with regard to intercultural relations in that different colonial matrixes have imprinted distinct relational frameworks on each, either colonizing or colonized, society, and therefore intercultural relations are constructed according to different cultural traditions. Finally, also according to Freire, citizenship depends on the kind of society it wants, and demands continuous commitment and engagement without losing sight of the established goals. Once again, citizenship and culture are likewise endlessly elaborated and re-elaborated by human social agents. CP brings in not only the idea of higher intellectual capacities and political involvement but also a relentless striving for meaningful identity and social responsibility.

Critical Pedagogy as a South–North Movement

CP as a postcolonial movement is widely recognized to have been inspired by Paulo Freire, who, as a political refugee from the Brazilian military dictatorship (1964–1985), worked abroad in both South and North America, and Europe and Africa. As a nonvoluntary immigrant, he had this postcolonial experience of the Global South *versus* the Global North, on which he reflected and acted, in dialogue with the local agents, for critical empowerment of both the individuals and their communities. His work has inspired academics, teachers, theater players, and rural workers all over the world. Among academics who have preserved, echoed, and developed his heritage are Moacir Gadotti and José Eustáquio Romão (Brazil); Carlos Alberto Torres, Henry Giroux, and Peter McLaren (United States); and many others around the world.

Freire introduced several concepts tracing the path of his theory of education, of which *literacia* and *conscientização* are particularly helpful to support a critical understanding of the idea of intercultural competence. Literacy, in Freire's terms, comprises a form of cultural politics, and being literate ultimately means being critically aware of one's context, while *conscientização* is more than becoming aware of one's identity—it entails becoming subjects of history, instead of objects, and therefore taking critical action in that status. Such perceptions are essential for understanding the need for critical interculturality.

Freire focuses on the process of cultural production rather than social reproduction. He acknowledges the tensions resulting from class, race, or gender relations, and culture as being produced within a web of tensions, often of conflicts, which he does not consider as disabling but enabling. *Conscientização* is then the capability to comprehend the relationships between agents, the reasons behind their actions, and their position in relation to one another. Therefore, Freire combines a language of critique with a language of possibility and introduces notions such as *empowerment* and *voice*, which are very dear to critical pedagogues and powerful conceptual instruments to be borrowed by theorists of intercultural communication. A political exile and an educational expert, Freire came into contact with various schools of thought and with distinct pedagogical experiments throughout the world. Not surprisingly, in Freire's works one can find a sense of belonging and, at the same time, a sense of detachment. Both are essential to being critically aware of one's own reality. As he himself argues, taking an external look at social acts is simultaneously to approach them more closely. Freire moved, physically and intellectually, across classes and across cultural and national borders, which made his theories very contemporary, flexible, and usable in any educational setting. Freire, and his followers in the South, offered back to the northern academy (from where they had learned their intellectual traditions about the nature of *reason*) a different composition of what rationality encompasses as well as another perspective of the world as a whole.

Critical Pedagogy and Radical Democratic Global Citizenship

CP aims at blending a *language of critique* with a *language of possibility* in education, according to Giroux's terminology. This means that CP recognizes the importance for education of the various steps that go from the addition of information, through the interpretation and critique of knowledge and society, to the transformation of reality, in a process of knowledge appropriation and application. A language of critique entails a critical understanding of society as it is, with different layers of meaning and with several forces in interaction. In sum, it involves a deconstructive view of reality and a challenge to fixed interpretative frames. A language of possibility results then from the urge to explore new alternatives, to envision a revitalization of democratic ideals, and to engage in social change. The combination of a language of critique with a language of possibility explores the potential for the improvement of societies and for the development of a new ethic that suits the fabric of multicultural and transnational communities.

Along with a language of critique and a language of possibility, CP deals with both micro and macro contexts. That is, CP deals with particular and local issues while it also examines the broader contexts and the ways in which they affect the narrower spaces. In micro contexts, CP promotes critical thinking about power relations at the grassroots level and urges for change and social justice, while also examining how these mirror large-scale struggles in wider contexts. Nevertheless, CP does not confine itself to the critique of the repercussions of the broader context onto the narrower one but also boosts the potential of social and political transformation that the latter can generate into the former. This articulation between critique and agency, at various contextual levels, is of paramount importance for the development of critical intercultural citizenship. The being and doing of contemporary global citizenship are political, and should be critical and pedagogical as well. Global citizenship is understood here not only as transnational or international but also as intranational. With the unfolding of colonization, decolonization, and globalization, the North and the South have, to some extent, been de-territorialized and have permeated every society in both hemispheres. North and South have, therefore, mainly turned into metaphors, although symbolic representations still remain geographically situated.

The notion of global cosmopolitan citizenship has itself encompassed and developed into new concepts that respond to contemporary societal changes, after having responded to new social formations that challenge the traditional concept of the national society and escape its total control. The feasibility of an effective transnational citizenship is considered premature because access to social and political rights still depends very much on rules and regulations established by the nation-state. However, it is a given fact that citizenship is acquiring a de-territorialized, transnational dimension. Geographical mobility, together with social class mobility, is growing so fast and becoming so ubiquitous in today's world that it is starting to become inadequate to name such back-and-forth individualized diaspora as *immigration*, despite some collective dislocations due to political turmoil, environmental calamities, and so on. As a result, a globalized notion of citizenship expands social commitments beyond national borders. That is, such a global citizenship, if understood critically, does not neglect the ethical values and social principles that make citizens in a nation-state relate to one another in solidarity, responsibility, and complicity, by continuing to appeal to democratic ideals, social responsibility, human rights, and civic commitment. Global citizenship, however, is based on societies where cultural and linguistic diversity is the norm, instead of the artificial ethnic fabric of the nation-state. Therefore, global citizens, who are critical, will be expected to continue to act according to moral and ethical values as well as to social principles and political democratic frameworks. Consequently, global citizens need to develop capacities to live interculturally and to communicate between distinct languages as well as between different *readings* of the word and of the world, as Freire puts it.

Critical Pedagogy and Intercultural Competence

Intercultural competence, from the point of view of the critical pedagogies described above, represents critical capacities for communication and interaction across diverse ethnic cultures. At the very core of a critical understanding of what intercultural competence entails is the idea that underlying every intercultural dialogue is an epistemological conversation between different general assumptions in each cultural framework. Furthermore, the deeper layers of the intercultural communication frame remain intact longer because epistemological colonization always lasts longer than political colonization and, moreover, knowledge is the most powerful tool for colonization. Therefore, taking a critical approach to intercultural communication and interaction promotes intercultural equity, equivalence, and exchange between cultural epistemologies. Its importance becomes more evident in undemocratic societies—such as examples given by scholars from different dictatorships around the world of their implementation of a CP in English language education at the university level.

The bridge between CP and intercultural communication is generally called *critical cultural awareness*, and some research on language/culture education has been devoted to it. In 1997, Michael

Byram introduced the concept and defined *critical cultural awareness/political education* as "an ability to evaluate critically on the basis of explicit criteria perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries" (p. 53). Guilherme added to the idea of critical cultural awareness by including elements such as reflection and dialogue, and dissonance and transformation. In fact, the development of critical cultural awareness with regard to intercultural communication makes a difference since it introduces new dimensions such as reflection on the various interests and forces in place, openness to different needs and rights, and the grounds for resistance and intervention. Therefore, CP is intrinsically related to culture, power, and communication. Critical knowledge is appropriated and made meaningful by teachers and learners alike. A CP adopts both a questioning and a proactive stance by combining world description and information interpretation with knowledge creation.

CP itself has undergone some criticism from several sectors. Freirean CP is generally blamed for attempting to reconcile opposing philosophical theories, namely critical theory and postmodernism. On the one hand, it is accused of undertheorizing the discourse on postmodernism and, on the other, of relying too heavily on modern ideals of reason and emancipation based on universal principles. It is often undervalued on the grounds that it addresses gender, race, and disability issues inadequately, and therefore, it has been discarded as outdated. CP theorizers, from different educational areas of study, have, however, responded to such critiques mainly by developing the field of CP further to provide support for the educational needs caused by its implementation (which grow every day since CP is never complete). Nevertheless, CP gives direction, and supported by its theorization and with regard to its relation with intercultural communication and interaction, it has enabled the creation of a new concept, that of *intercultural responsibility*, which aims to highlight the social, relational, civic, and ethical components of intercultural competence. This means that communicators demonstrate that they are aware of the particularities of collaborating with their cocitizens and coworkers, either in an international or in an intranational context. It also implies that they recognize that their identities have been politically, socially, and culturally constructed, based on different ethnic elements and influences. Furthermore, the notion of intercultural responsibility, as based on CP, adds a moral, although cosmopolitan, element to global ethics.

Manuela Guilherme

See also Cosmopolitanism; Critical Theory; Cultural Studies

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CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Paramount to critical race theorists is a critique of the permanence and pervasiveness of race in confronting issues of inequality in the United States. In the mid-1970s, the racial realists and foundational scholars Derrick Bell, Kimberle Crenshaw, Mari Matsuda, and Patricia Williams are attributed with igniting the movement from which the theoretical framework of critical race theory (CRT) emerged. Early scholars of the movement sought to push the bounds of existing critical legal scholarship by making race much more central to explorations of the impact of antidiscrimination laws. Today, CRT not only remains ever useful in that effort but also has proved effective in problematizing the role that race and racism play in education, politics, the economy, and everyday life. Moreover, the substantive and meaningful scholarship that critical race theorists have engaged in continues to frame academic discourse (e.g., in education, cultural studies, English, political science, anthropology, social work, nursing, and history) and various social issues (gender bias, affirmative action, immigration and citizenship status, health disparities, schooling equities, etc.) in the United States and abroad.

This entry defines CRT and outlines three elements of the theory. The entry continues with a discussion of the evolution and influence of CRT in communities of color in an effort to go beyond the Black/White binary. An analysis of the impact of CRT on research and curricular development follows, and the entry concludes with a discussion on the application of CRT to methodology and pedagogy.

Aims and Composition of CRT

CRT has several aims that revolve around two major goals: (1) to understand how White supremacy and the subordination of people of color has been created and maintained and (2) to understand how racialized structures are constructed, in an effort to disrupt them. To that end, CRT is considered an emancipatory epistemology because the effects of race and racism are no longer ignored and the voices of those afflicted are recognized. Furthermore, the intersectional and interdisciplinary nature of CRT allows traditional paradigms and methods and separate dialogues on race, gender, and class to be challenged by showing how these social constructs overlap and in tandem have a disproportionately burdensome impact on communities of color. To understand, examine, and respond to the perpetuation of subordination of people of color, CRT is composed of four basic elements from which the tenets derive their origin.

The first element asserts that racism is normal American culture, thereby underscoring the endemic nature of race in the cultivation of one's very way of life. Critical race theorists, therefore, reject dominant narratives, processes, or systems that claim race neutrality, colorblindness, and meritocracy, as they sustain White dominance and legitimize subordination of people of color. This type of race ideology dismisses the deeply rooted origins of racism, which allow Whites to maintain racial superiority by reinforcing the status quo.

The second element recognizes the voices of people of color through storytelling. In an act of resistance, these stories allow myths and presuppositions about race to be analyzed, to bring to light how they render Blacks and minorities as one down. The lived experiences of people of color are included specifically to offer a counter to the often widely accepted, dominant narrative that tends to make assumptions about the racialized experiences of people of color.

The third element, interest convergence, illuminates how and why the pursuit of racial justice remains so elusive after all this time. Bell provided an illustration of interest convergence in his analysis of the implications of the renowned *Brown v. Board of Education* case. Bell found that the interests of Blacks in achieving racial justice were accommodated only when, and for so long as, those interests converged with the political and economic interests of Whites, which at the time revolved around advancing the nation's foreign policy efforts. Further inspection surrounding the aftermath of *Brown* prompted critical race theorists to recognize the limitations of the *Brown* case with regard to the systematic implementation of equality in education. Because of these limitations, the social conditions for Blacks in America were (and remain) dependent on the ability to appeal to the self-interests of Whites. Interest convergence, as the *Brown* decision reveals, is also a critique of liberalism.

A point of contention among critical race theorists is that a liberalism paradigm in antidiscrimination law tends to champion incrementalism as opposed to instituting a swifter and more measurable form of social change. It is from this point of view that the fourth element, eradication of racial injustice as a means of eliminating all forms of oppression, is understood. Race, because of its endemic nature, is believed to be the power structure with which other systems of power, like those related to gender and class, are built. Thus, the centrality of race and the social activism mandate within CRT aid in the dismantling not only of racism but of other forms of systemic oppression as well.

Evolution and Influence of CRT

With the intent to identify and understand, with greater specificity, the impact of White supremacy on the racialized experiences of individuals beyond that of the Black/White binary, subsequent frameworks (e.g., LatCrit and TribalCrit) have been developed that embrace CRT's vision while also extending its reach. This is of particular significance for several communities of color, but particularly for Latina/Latino, Asian American, and Native American and Indigenous populations, as their racial identity is intertwined with distinct aspects of culture and ethnicity tied to differences in citizenship, language, color, and national origin. LatCrit scholars are concerned with the issues and interests of people of color with Latin American heritage, including but not limited to language rights, immigration reform, political asylum for refugees, and colonialism.

AsianCrits contend that the *model minority* label, often associated with individuals of Asian American heritage, must be rejected. These types of race ideologies render Asian Americans, particularly Laotians, Hmong, Cambodians, and Vietnamese, whose poverty rates compete with the national average, and the oppression they experience virtually invisible. Where race, and therefore racism, is endemic to American culture, TribalCrit asserts that colonization is also endemic to societal norms. Indigenous knowledge and culture are disregarded and replaced with a more Eurocentric American aesthetic and institutional context that recenters whiteness. CRT's commitment to exposing the intersecting and interlocking systems of power has also prompted a deep and critical analysis of the impact of race on gender. Critical race feminism uncovers the gendered aspects of racial injustice by differentiating the lived experiences of women of color from those of men of color, frequently viewed as one and the same. This more nuanced examination of the racialization of gender requires that the intersection be studied so that the lives of women of color are fully considered, given their multiple, complex identities. And last, QueerCrit explores the influence of sexual norms and attitudes, such as heteronormativity, homophobia, masculinity, and sexual promiscuity and race.

Impact on Research and Praxis

Consistent with CRT, various methods and approaches have emerged that challenge more traditional paradigms of knowledge construction and scholarly inquiry (e.g., critical race curriculum, critical race pedagogy, and critical race methodology). This is not to say that the usefulness of CRT is limited to educational discourse but instead to underscore the substantial and measurable outcomes that have emerged with its application to secondary and postsecondary educational contexts and problems. Introduced in 1995 by Gloria Ladson-Billings and William F. Tate, CRT in education emerged with the intent to examine issues of inequity in schooling. Much of the scholarly and empirical research involving CRT produced since has shed light on the operation of power and privilege, as it relates to race, in classroom teaching, in educational policy, and in educational outcomes of students of color, and has thoroughly detailed several radical solutions to improve educational practice and praxis. Highlighted for the shifts in academic climate and educational reform they have inspired, a few of note are discussed below.

Curriculum, as Ladson-Billings asserts, remains a contested property of Whiteness, within schools and from college to college. Seemingly the traditional curriculum, on which most education relies, also maintains a *hidden curriculum* that privileges White students and marginalizes others. This might also explain why gaps in academic achievement persist among students based on race. But Yosso argues that the inequality embedded in curriculum must be addressed before inequitable educational outcomes can be dealt with. Critical race curriculum (CRC) allows for the structures, processes, and discourses involved in constructing curriculum to be critiqued to identify the impact it has on students of color. More apt to meet the needs of students of color than the traditional curriculum, CRC recognizes the *pedagogies of the home*.

Critical race methodology (CRM) was created in an effort to challenge White privilege; it rejects notions of *neutral* research and *objective* researchers, and less informed research that silences and distorts the ways of knowing of people of color. Those who employ CRM use the data collected to construct counternarratives that present the lived experience of those often left out of the discourse. Data collected by the researcher can originate from the research process itself, existing literature on the topic(s), or the researcher's own personal and professional experiences. Rigorous qualitative research, like CRM, requires an assessment of how the research process imposes power structures of dominance between the researcher and the researched. A critical race methodologist engages in research to strengthen the relationship between intellectual labor and life.

Finally, critical race pedagogy (CRP), known earlier as critical pedagogy of race, was derived from the class-racialist, neo-Marxist perspective. The term was coined by Marvin Lynn in 2003 to prioritize race and racism in the examination of education, in homage to CRT, instead of privileging class as had been done previously. Believing that the institution of education plays a central role in the continuation of hegemony in America, critical race theorists and scholars of color fashioned CRP to delineate the complexities of race and education. Michael E. Jennings and Lynn identified three interwoven characteristics that form the basis of CRP: (1) the negotiation of power, (2) the critique of self, and (3) the need to be counterhegemonic. CRP, with its focus on instruction and learning environments, picks up where CRC leaves off, in pursuit of more equitable educational outcomes, as a focus on curriculum is being addressed.

After nearly 40 years, CRT remains one of the boldest and most effective theoretical frameworks employed by scholars who choose to engage in thoughtful examination of issues related to race, racism, oppression, and White supremacy. Critical race theorists engage in scholarship as activists, with a willingness and commitment to struggle for racial justice and equity through research, policy, and practice. Moreover, CRT's impact demonstrates that the world is not beyond the race issue.

Chayla Haynes

See also Critical Advocacy Research; Critical Pedagogy; Critical Research Methods; Critical Theory

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Critical Research Methods

A critical intercultural communication perspective enables intercultural scholars to glean a more comprehensive and dialogic view of intercultural communication, culture, and identity through critical research methods. More specifically, a critical approach to intercultural communication provides a glimpse of the ways in which structures and contexts of power affect our lives and experiences. Indeed, there are invisible dimensions of intercultural communication, the implicit influencers of intercultural relations, such as the media, government, economy, history, global markets, and popular culture. The common element threaded throughout these dimensions is *power*, or the constraining force by which larger dominant structures and, sometimes, groups and individuals are able to gain in position and achieve their aims and interests over or against the will of others. Whether it is noticed or not, these invisible dimensions of power frame intercultural communication encounters, relationships, and everyday experiences with culture in terms of identity, language, and communication styles and practices.

This entry discusses the ways in which intercultural communication is much more than in-person, face-to-face contact between two or more persons. A critical approach to intercultural communication is examined in depth and is expanded to include all of the multilayered dimensions of power that reside in specific contexts and operate beneath the surface of intercultural communication and hidden from sight and awareness.

Contexts of Power and Cultural Studies

The surrounding world and social settings are constituted by larger, unseen power forces that help define and demarcate how one understands and approaches culturally different persons and communities as well as the notion of diversity in general. All contexts of power share three noteworthy characteristics:

1. A context of power is based on an obvious and/or subtle (visible or hidden) hierarchy of dominant and subordinate parties.
2. A context of power revolves around an ongoing struggle for power between dominant and subordinate parties and interests.
3. Each context is both independent of and interdependent with the other.

These characteristics frame the power-focused perspectives of intercultural communication and its critical research methods. For example, one perspective, cultural studies, is a wide-ranging, interdisciplinary, multinational field of study born of many traditions (e.g., British cultural studies, American cultural studies, Black British studies, Asian American cultural studies, Pacific cultural studies, and feminist cultural studies). Its principal aim is to thoroughly examine the relationship between culture and society. Specifically, cultural studies scholars seek to analyze the formation of culture in relation to the everyday practices of social actors and the invisible social structures of governmental control, media impact, and economic power. When cultural studies scholars explain that culture is a struggle, they are referring to the dynamic interplay between the lived experiences of people and the larger social forces. Thus, according to cultural studies scholars, experience is not inherently explanatory; it is constituted historically and politically by systems of language, governmental and class ideologies, and concrete social interaction.

Different discourses, signifying practices (e.g., the assignment, production, and representation of meaning through symbols, signs, codes, utterances, dress, visual images, clothing, gestures, performances, and other kinds of meaning-intertwined relationships as well as social interaction), and economic, political, and cultural forces (ideological state apparatuses, e.g., the law, family, education system, and modes of production) often shape what it means to be members of a particular cultural group.

Many feel compelled to identify with these constructed positions that become designs for living, ultimately shaping the ways in which people conceptualize themselves, others, and their real experiences. But in any political struggle, people are not forever doomed to accept the ideological operations of cultural identity formation as fully determined products. Rather, as social actors, people can invoke, negotiate, challenge, and resist the identity encodings that are created by structures of power. But ethnic identity is also double-sided, resignifiable, and never foreclosed.

As suggested by the Popular Memory Group, Richard Johnson, and Anne McClintock, people are impelled to rethink identity positions as structurally framed and yet not fully foreclosed (not univocally fixed or directly determined). Johnson insightfully deepens the analysis by posing the question "What are the different ways in which subjective [identity] forms are inhabited?" He highlights how identities constitute and frame social subjects, who are "contradictory, in process, fragmented, and produced" and who, within a determined range of meanings and options, can actively repractice and reimagine identity encodings in their everyday lives (Johnson, 1987, p. 69). Thus, the everyday communicative practices of identity—via community performances, oral histories and narratives, and private (selective) memories—contain more than meets the eye. These identity practices reveal how cultural groups often reassemble who they are (to be) in complicated and creative ways (although not always oppositionally).

Drawing from Marxist-influenced works, cultural studies assumes that the cultural processes surrounding identity work effectively precisely because of their positioning within a power-laden social structure. Specifically, this presupposes that there is disproportionate access to the circulation of social meanings and the eventual naturalization of such meanings into a societal common sense. Varied power-laden positions of social actors are evident in multiple ethnographic analyses of the British working class as well as in the theoretical exclusions of a Marxist-driven cultural studies body: that is, women in industrial societies; women of color; Blackness in Britain, the United States, and the Black Atlantic; and Asian Pacific Americans. Cultural studies scholars have historically specified and critically analyzed differently situated groups and communities and the identities created for them. Through a matrix of differently positioned political interests, these scholars interrogate the struggle over meaning between groups and societal structures of domination (political, legal, and economic) with the following research questions in mind: How are specific identities like Blackness/Asianness constructed in a particular context? Which cultural constructions are more visible and seductive in identifying subjects? To what avail? What identity formations are constructed and by which interests? What kinds of cultural work do these representations and significations do (political effectiveness, mobilization efforts, rhetorical appeals)? And what is the wiggle room capacity for oppositional voices to resignify constructions of "who they are"?

Critical Intercultural Research Methods

With regard to research methodology, cultural studies scholars have explored a variety of ways to investigate the interrelationship between the structural formation of identity and concrete social interaction (private narratives, experience, and community life): namely, ethnography (social, material, and historical forms of anthropology), textual analysis, historical studies, and political economy. The cultural studies scholar Richard Johnson maps out the circuit of culture for cultural studies scholars. Such a map represents the complete cycle of culture in terms of lived cultures (community life), the structural context of power and production, language and representations (or texts), and private and public cultural forms (everyday talk, television discourses) and their uses.

Scholars in cultural studies, however, tend to focus on one aspect of the map—either structural production or lived experiences and social interaction—in their studies, thereby bypassing specific aspects of cultural identity as other research traditions do (e.g., the social scientific and interpretive traditions). Some exceptions can be found in Paul Willis's ethnography of young working-class males in Britain, in which he used the ethnographic methods of participant observation to explore the socially created identity within this class. Willis also used ethnographic methods and textual analysis to explore the social structures of education and governmental control. In this way, he analyzed the interworkings of social structures on class experiences and identity and how the males redefined "who they were" in relation to those very structures.

McClintock also contributed a cultural studies ethnography that examines the different identities constructed by British imperialism in the context of Africa. She used ethnography to analyze commercial trademarks, advertisements, and official maps in order to understand the structural and colonial formation of identities for African men and women and British men and women. McClintock also studied the personal diaries of African women to better frame identity construction as a dialogic process between structures and lived, active cultures. Other examples of the dialogic study between structures and cultures can be found in audience and fanship ethnographies and cultural studies ethnographies of different indigenous tribes and *traveling cultures*, or those cultural groups who move in a diaspora.

Cultural Studies Ethnography

How is a circuit of culture systematically studied? If identity is theorized as the constitution of disproportionate meanings from social structures and social interaction and group experience, then cultural studies ethnography entails researchers immersing themselves in the lives and experiences of a particular group *and* its structural formations. This can be done by conducting fieldwork in terms of both participant observation and ethnographic interviewing with a specific group, posing the following questions: What does it mean to be a member of this group? How is such an identity performed and enacted? What are the shared set of meanings, symbols, and membership criteria?

In addition, the researcher can also examine archival photographs and documents describing the group historically (e.g., past anthropological studies, old newspaper articles, past culture-specific newspapers). Such a focus can lend insight into historically shared symbols and expressions and provide a larger view from which to understand the group in terms of the following questions: How has a culture been depicted in the past? What are the most significant cultural symbols, expressions, and meanings over time for the group? This can be done before fieldwork that may place one's observational data into a larger context; ethnographers frame such a context as background information that may "color" their lens (and, as a worst case scenario, indirectly lead them to focus on some aspects over others).

Archival information can also be incorporated or analyzed during fieldwork or when the data have reached their analytical limit. A deep analysis of the public, political, socio-legal, and economic discourses (symbols, articulations, utterances, codes, framings) of cultural groups and their behaviors should also be undertaken in terms of the most vested productions of "how a group is" and "how a group acts." Framing ethnicity solely as an on-the-surface trace or as an empirical set of emergent enacted expressions confines methods of inquiry to examining only identity practices and acts in isolation from their conjoined historical representation and legal encoding.

When data seem puzzling or reach some kind of analytical limit, the cultural studies notion of context may provide far-reaching insight. In facing the constantly moving political context, cultural studies calls for a radical contextualization. That is, a project of cultural studies is always driven by the historical specificity and field of forces of the surrounding and constitutive contexts of identity.

Relations and connections between culture, context, and power command attention in that an event or practice (even a text) does not exist apart from the forces of the context that constitute it as what it is. This openness to contextual specifics and an inside-out framing of cultural struggle enables scholars to perform a multidimensional, antireductionistic analysis of identity and power. Political practices and effects of identity positions are considered in a multitude of ways (personal, relational, material, and cultural production, reading and responses) across and through various spheres (economic, legal, governance and regulation, community), all in light of a context. This emphasis on radical contextualization is key to revisioning ethnic identity. The goal is not only to *think about culture dialectically* but also to center the salient themes, issues, and sociopolitical histories embedded in and surrounding the specific ethnicity/identity being examined. These contextual specifics may frame ethnic identity as seemingly essentialistic or dynamic and fluid. The challenge becomes one of uncovering the series of historical events, crises, and power interests that inform these identity formations. Hawaiians' *blooded speech*, in which native Hawaiians claim authority for identifying group membership, is neither necessarily proof of a subjected group nor an illustration of totally autonomous subjects. Direct, ahistorical translation of a community's speech acts would necessitate one of these readings.

In line with this notion of radical contextualization, researchers can take note of the main themes of identity embedded in their participant observation field notes and ethnographic interviews. If such data seem to revolve around a specific practice, symbol, or repeated expression, these meanings or themes can be traced through corresponding structural contexts such as newspaper articles, official histories depicting particular groups, indigenous histories (accounts written or narrated by actual community members), legislative documents (particularly government hearings through which specific ethnic groups are officially defined, especially Native Americans and Hawaiians), precedented legal cases that ruled on the rights and benefits for a particular group and thus simultaneously defined a cultural group in the formal sense, and global economic processes. The key is to try to find other contexts in which that one theme of meaning or expression is also present. The methodological goal is to historically trace the set of expressions, speaking practices, and themes found within one's fieldwork.

Integrating and Analyzing Ethnographic Findings

As such information is added to ethnographic fieldwork, the question becomes how to use and incorporate it. How is the information integrated with empirically grounded, distanced fieldwork? The next methodological step is to compare the particular theme or expression of identity in the fieldwork with its counterpart in another context (government and legislative documents, historical accounts, political economy, personal diaries, popular culture). The goal is to pinpoint the similarities and differences between contexts. For example, what are the particular functions and meanings of the theme in each context? Whose interest is being served around each theme in each context? How might the differences be related to political interests and historical moments? How does each context frame and shape a particular theme or expression?

When asking these questions, the ethnographer relates the fieldwork context with the surrounding structural contexts in one of several ways. Comparing contexts could provide greater insight on the changing function of verbal expressions, speaking practices, or identity acts that allow the *structure* to be a contextualized device for explanation. One could also use a context as another *voice* that takes part in articulating and constructing ethnic identity for a specific group. Thus, one's analysis could move back and forth between an interactional layer and a structural one (to highlight empirical data—spoken acts and interaction—in one area and structural definitions and historical situations in another). Material anthropologists recommend the treatment of archival documents or material culture as *objective* texts. Instead, these texts can be framed as interested and invested productions of meaning that partly influence identity construction.

Researchers can integrate structural contexts into their ethnographic analyses by using these as comparative points of discussion about the social and personal aspects of identity or as a form of interpretive clarity for conversational data that beg a larger meaning than their empirical face. Structural contexts can also be incorporated into any written document by treating the archival information and interactional context as two different forms of data, each revealing unique insights.

Critical Intercultural Research

The critical intercultural researcher must make a commitment to a larger political project and become an advocate for uncovering the central problem in relation to a specific group. This entails being mindful of the criteria of reflexivity or questioning one's approach along the way and one's relation to the community-of-focus: To what extent am I producing/reproducing cultural material that reinforces fixed images and stereotypes of the past? To what extent am I glossing over the key issues of identity and group belonging and reproducing surface knowledge that can potentially be used against the interests of the group-of-focus? Ethnographers are therefore challenged by cultural studies to continually engage their methodology and research plan on ethnicity and probe into the unspoken, unseen dimensions of ethnic identity expressions and traces.

With an emphasis on the interrelationship between the structural and the interactional/cultural, studies of ethnicity can become *structural-cultural projects*, each different in their contextual and communicative nuances. If we incorporate deep structural (historical, political, economic) analysis into our projects, the expressions and patterns of cultural identity can be examined more thoroughly. Regularities and patterns in cultural and identity expressions can be further interrogated in terms of historical moments and power interests so as to prevent the overlooking of shifts in group belonging and sense making.

Rona Tamiko Halualani

See also Critical Advocacy Research; Critical Theory; Cultural Studies; Interpretive Research Methods

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CRITICAL THEORY

Critical theory forms the foundation for critical approaches in communication studies generally and is therefore applicable to intercultural competence. Although not a unified theory per se, critical theory is a school of thought or systemic approach that can be usefully applied to understanding communication within larger social, historical, political, and cultural contexts.

So for example, the meaning of the battle flag of the Confederate States of America comes from its use for various purposes at various points in history. In and of itself, the design of the Confederate flag only gains meaning from the contexts in which the flag has functioned and the purposes for which it has been used. For some, the flag today represents Southern pride and heritage and is used in contexts that emphasize that end. For others, the flag is a symbol of racism and bigotry, especially as used in White supremacist and neo-Nazi contexts. Both perspectives have informed public conversations in the struggle over U.S. state flags that, long after the Civil War, incorporated the flag of the Confederacy. (It was eventually removed from Georgia's flag in 2003 but remains featured in the state flag of Mississippi.)

The Frankfurt School and Cultural Studies

The origins of critical theory are attributed to the Institute for Social Research (*Institut für Sozialforschung*) in Frankfurt am Main, Germany, founded in 1923 with the aim of furthering social, political, and economic critique. Both the institute and its theorists, including Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Walter Benjamin, Erich Fromm, and Herbert Marcuse, among others, are commonly referred to as the Frankfurt School. Following the Nazi takeover in 1933, the institute suspended its operations, and its members were forced to emigrate. The institute relocated in New York, in 1935, as the New School for Social Research, where European and U.S. scholars formed an academic community focused on history, philosophy, communications, sociology, and political theory, among other disciplines.

The major thrust of critical approaches in communication studies came in the 1970s and later through the rise of cultural studies. Cultural studies traces its roots to the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham in the United Kingdom. At the centre, scholars came from a variety of disciplines and methods but generally shared the perspective that a detailed understanding of the workings of a society and culture is a prerequisite for introducing any positive change in that society.

In the United States, communication studies was among the fields influenced by the work at the centre. The term *critical cultural studies* arose to distinguish this kind of work from the more general meaning of cultural studies as the decontextualized study of culture. Critical cultural studies has emphasized several key issues in trying to understand how culture functions and how to change it.

Key Issues

Everyday Life

The focus on everyday life as a site for social change was particularly inviting to communication scholars. The study of communication is heavily focused on everyday life, which distinguishes it from more established academic areas of study, such as literary criticism, musicology, and art theory. Rather than turn to great literature or other elite art forms, cultural studies scholars turned to television, advertising, graffiti, street performances, popular music, and popular literature to understand how people negotiated their own identities (e.g., gender and race) and how they used these everyday forms of communication to change the traditional ways of engaging in cultural practices, for example, gendered relationships, interracial interactions, or sexuality. These changes were taking place in the streets, in everyday life.

Critical theorists are also interested in understanding how people make choices to improve their lives within the contexts in which they live. Thus, people in different cultural groups may have different understandings about the nature of the social world and different perspectives on what is and is not possible or what is and is not a path that should be taken in life.

Culture as a Site of Struggle

Critical theorists also assume that culture is changeable, a site where different groups struggle to create change that will lead to better lives for themselves and their cultural communities. In this sense, culture does not just change; it is changed by the intervention of actors who push for particular kinds of changes. For example, women suffragists in the United States pushed for changes to laws that limited voting to men. This change in attitudes about women's place in society did not just happen; it was part of a larger struggle about the cultural views of women and their appropriate roles in society. More recently, in the United States and some other countries, there has been a struggle over marriage equality and the legalization of same-sex marriage. Proponents and opponents have used various communication strategies to influence cultural attitudes and laws about these issues. Communication plays a central role in this struggle over marriage and the place of alternative sexualities in society.

Thus, critical theorists are interested in understanding the ways in which communication can be used to change culture in order to create a better world.

Power

For critical theorists, power plays a central role in all communication interactions. But it is important to understand that power is not a one-way process of domination. Power is complex and can be used in myriad ways in the struggle over culture.

In one sense, every culture is structured in ways that already give power to people and institutions in certain ways. In the United States, for example, people may have various opinions about what *stand your ground* laws mean; however, when court cases come up and defendants invoke the *stand your ground* laws to justify their shooting of someone else, it is the court that determines what *stand your ground* covers and what it does not. What the court determines is more powerful than what people may think when they watch the trial on television.

Power can also refer to the ways by which people resist dominant cultural practices, attitudes, and structural constraints. Resistance from disempowered people is one form of the exercise of power. For example, when wealthy tourists visit another country and interact with the locals, there are many contexts that need to be considered in thinking about intercultural competence. In this scenario, the spending of money is an exercise of power. The locals may see a need to provide services to the tourists so that they can earn a living.

In so doing, they may learn many languages to accommodate the tourists. In their communication interactions, the tourists may determine what intercultural competence is, as the locals accommodate to their communication styles and practices. How can the locals resist the domination of the tourists? While the locals may be reliant on the income from tourism, they can demarcate areas where tourists are welcome and other areas that are reserved for locals by not communicating in familiar languages in these other spaces, not accommodating the tourists, and so on.

Apart from domination and resistance, critical theorists are also interested in how and why people consent to domination. The term for this kind of exercise of power is *hegemony*. For example, many people around the world are expending tremendous amounts of time and money to learn English. English is not their native language, but in effect, they consent to the worldwide domination of English at this historical moment. They are making the effort to learn English because they believe that they will benefit from being able to use it to advance their careers, their social lives, and potentially more.

Key Areas of Critical Theory Today

Although the influence of critical perspectives is not limited to any particular aspect of everyday life, scholars have tended to focus on several areas more than others. Some of the areas that have experienced more development are critical race theory, feminist critical theory, queer theory, and postcolonialism.

Critical race theory focuses on the ways in which racism and racial distinctions are perpetuated and reproduced in everyday life. Scholars in this area try to understand the ways by which racial domination is maintained by institutions, everyday media representations, and everyday language as well as the continued circulation of race as a way of explaining various phenomena in society. Critical race theorists are interested in intervening in the everyday reproduction of racialized thinking and its use in maintaining the contemporary racial hierarchy decades after the legal framework that once supported such a hierarchy was systematically dismantled.

Feminist critical theorists are similarly interested in changing contemporary gender politics by understanding the ways in which gendered thinking takes place and where there are points to intervene in its reproduction. Feminist critical theorists focus on the ways gender is used to limit possibilities and on how feminists can be agents of change.

Queer theory arose in response to what might be seen as limiting and rigid ways of thinking about sexuality and how they also constrain people's everyday lives and create inequities in society. Queer theorists problematized sexuality to insist that there were multiple sexualities and that people need not be limited to heterosexuality, or even homosexuality, in their thinking. Queer theorists challenge the normative ways of considering sexuality and how what is normative is determined.

Postcolonialism is a focus on the impact of histories of colonialism and imperialism on various cultures around the world. Because of these various histories, cultures have very different relationships worldwide in terms of languages, religions, cuisine, and other aspects of culture. Postcolonial scholars inquire as to how knowledge about cultures is generated and for whose benefit. They are also interested in the ways in which colonial powers justified their colonial rule and the ways these discourses resonate today, particularly insofar as they are intertwined with discourses about gender, race, and more.

Intercultural Competence

In terms of intercultural competence, critical perspectives would examine the notion of intercultural competence, how it is determined, and what competence means to whom. Critical theorists would place any intercultural interaction in the larger context of power relations and then try to understand how competence functions. For example, in a large, transnational corporate context, an intercultural interaction between a boss from the home office in the United States and a local employee in another country would have to be understood in terms of the power relationships between employer and employee, the use of global English, and so on. The employee would be judged as interculturally competent or not based on the cultural expectations of the employer/boss. Thus, individuals should ask what are the larger, structural configurations that determine who is competent or incompetent in which situations? For example, if travelers need medical attention in a non-English-speaking country, who determines who is and is not competent when they seek out medical help? Should the nurses and physicians be able to speak English, given its global position in the world? If they do not, are they incompetent? In this situation, critical theory emphasizes the larger contexts of global English and the foreign context, as well as the medical context, and the focus of their needs and services. Within all of these contexts, how are determinations made as to what intercultural competence means?

Although there are no easy answers to such questions, critical approaches foreground these issues in considering intercultural competence. Given the imbalance between the number of speakers of any language and their economic power and status, do non–English speakers need to learn English in order to be interculturally competent in today's world? Do English speakers not need to learn other languages? What other aspects of intercultural competence place some people at a relative advantage or disadvantage vis-à-vis other people? Can people come to understand intercultural competence in a way that treats everyone equally in a social world that is unequal? By considering these questions, critical intercultural communication scholars push the boundaries of thinking about intercultural competence.

Thomas K. Nakayama

See also Critical Advocacy Research; Critical Race Theory; Critical Research Methods; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Intercultural Communication

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Cross-Cultural Adoption

Cross-cultural adoption refers to children from one country or culture being adopted by parents from another. This includes *domestic cross-race adoption* (also called *transrace* adoption) as well as *international adoption* (also called *intercountry* or *transnational* adoption). Domestic and international cross-cultural adoptions share many, but not all, considerations. As with monocultural adoptions, the course of development is affected by the child's pre-adoption situation and the ability of the child and the family to construct a supportive adoption narrative. These factors are further colored by the specifics of the cross-cultural circumstance: differing international laws about adoption; the social, familial, medical, and/or political context of the child's pre-adoption life; and the multiple identities an adoptive family must develop. Most children who are adopted across cultures adapt well, develop normally, and are securely attached to their adoptive parents, but many have significant challenges to overcome.

This entry begins with an overview of national and international adoptions and discusses the legal issues surrounding both types of adoptions. The entry then focuses on the many challenges faced by adoptees and their adopted families and concludes with a list of factors that contribute to an adoptee's health, safety, and welfare.

Demographics

Across the globe, 20,000 to 45,000 international adoptions occur each year. The United States is the largest receiving country, with 10,000 to 20,000 international adoptions annually. Other countries receiving large numbers of international adoptions include Canada, France, Italy, and Spain. The countries sending the most number of children for international adoption in recent years are China, Colombia, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Haiti, India, Russia, South Korea, Ukraine, and Vietnam. Given the majority race in these countries and that the majority of adoptive parents are White, most international adoptions are also cross-race adoptions.

In most cases, roughly equal numbers of boys and girls are released for international adoption. China's one-child policy and the traditional value it places on male heirs have resulted in many more Chinese girls than boys being placed in adoptive homes. In the United States, domestic adoptions that are considered cross-cultural are typically cross-race. Attitudes about such adoptions have changed dramatically in the past 50 years. In the mid-20th century, programs to facilitate White families adopting Indian and African American children led to concerns about race and cultural genocide and subsequently to revised standards giving preference to same-race adoptive families. However, the growing overrepresentation of children of color in the foster care system led to further changes in policies; racial preferences are now not allowed within agencies that receive federal funds.

The numbers of cross-cultural adoptions vary widely from year to year and country to country, depending on legal constraints, recent humanitarian crises, concerns about corruption in the adoption system, reports of children being kidnapped or parents being coerced into releasing their child for adoption, and political actions.

International Law

Adoptions must comply with the national laws of both the adoptive parent and the adoptee. These differ widely but, generally, are concerned with ensuring that the receiving families are safe, secure, and suitable and that neither coercion nor corruption has contributed to children being released for adoption. To standardize policies around the world, *The Hague Convention on the Protection of Children and Co-operation in Respect of Intercountry Adoption* was concluded in 1993; currently, 89 countries have agreed to the convention. It is possible to adopt from a country that is not part of The Hague Convention; child, family, and state protections must all be confirmed.

Pre-Adoption Circumstances

There is an enormous range in the pre-adoption circumstances of cross-culturally adopted children. On the one hand, some children are available for adoption at birth as part of a thoughtful, careful, and safe adoption plan or are released for adoption after a sudden change in life circumstance, from a previously healthful family. While these circumstances occur in both domestic and international adoptions, the legal and bureaucratic delays inherent in international adoptions increase the likelihood of some period of suboptimal care for children adopted in another country. At the other extreme, some children live their early months or years in a family or institution marked by poverty, lack of stimulation, poor nutrition, and/or ever-changing and possibly neglectful or abusive caregivers. Whether the child lives in an environment that lacks stimulation or with adults who respond in a contingent way (i.e., one that is attuned to and contingent on a child's signals and behavior) has long-range consequences for the child's development of inhibitory control, attachment, and cognitive growth. Depending on political values, economic conditions, and child-rearing philosophies, countries differ widely in how long children remain in the pre-adoption system, their use of pre-adoption foster care (which usually provides more attentive and nurturing care than an institution), the amount and quality of medical and developmental attention provided, and the levels of socio-emotional stimulation available to the children. Each of these factors has been found to influence a child's short-term and long-term development and health.

Challenges

Medical

In some countries, children with known medical problems (e.g., cleft lip and palate, orthopedic problems, or heart defects) are released for adoption more easily than children without such problems, so the proportion of international adoptees with medical problems is automatically higher. In addition, to the extent that cross-cultural adoptions are more common from environments with substandard pre-, peri-, and postnatal nutritional and medical care, children can come to their adoptive families with a host of medical problems. Some show failure to thrive, anemia, rickets, and other nutritional deficiencies. They may have infectious diseases and/or show the effects of abuse, neglect, and/or prenatal exposure to parental substance abuse. Even if children have been immunized in their birth countries, the vaccines may not be consistent with the receiving country's standards. A thorough medical examination is recommended immediately on arrival, yet this can be a painful and intrusive process for a child who may not yet be soothed by a loving parent's presence.

Developmental

For similar reasons, children adopted from environments that have not supported their growth may show modest to severe physical, cognitive, language, social, behavioral, school achievement, and emotional delays. Lack of stimulation, especially problematic in some institutional settings, can prevent a child from learning to modulate affect and explore the world. With improved postadoption care, however, the great majority of these children catch up and reach normal developmental milestones in most areas.

Emotional and Relational

Under most healthy circumstances, an infant is raised by a small number of reliable, loving, consistent, and attentive caregivers who teach the infant that the world is a safe, trustworthy, predictable place in which to grow. Children grow attached to these adults; this attainment of *attachment* is invaluable for later emotional and cognitive development, allowing the toddler, then child, adolescent, and young adult, to explore the world, take in new information, and expand and enrich social and emotional relationships.

Children raised in neglectful homes, or in orphanages and other institutions, however, are often missing these critical experiences with adults. There may be a changing array of caregivers with little emotional connection to the child and little understanding of the importance of or motivation to provide supportive, attuned, and contingent attention. Institutional life can be specifically unsafe, untrustworthy, and unpredictable. It is not surprising, then, that many international adoptees who spent significant time in such conditions have difficulty attaching emotionally to their adoptive parents. Because they are not used to family routines and transitions (like bedtime or leaving the house to go shopping), these transitions may set off explosions of emotions. Not having learned to trust adults or to expect reliable, consistent care, they may behave in ways that are frustrating to their new families, such as crying, throwing tantrums, injuring themselves, being aggressive, withdrawing, not returning affection, or running around in apparent lack of control. Across the board, however, most adoptees eventually show a normal pattern of attachment, with rates of secure and insecure attachment to their new parents similar to normative groups.

Familial

There is commonly an asymmetry between an adoptive family's eagerness to welcome a new child into its life and the adoptee's wariness and distrust of strangers, compounded by any accompanying developmental and medical issues that interfere with family interaction. Furthermore, even when the child's situation has dramatically improved by objective measures, he or she may be experiencing a great sense of loss—of familiar food, a comprehensible language, understood routines, and known peers and caregivers, with very few ways to express this.

Then, when the child begins to accept the presence of a reliable caregiver, he or she may have a seemingly insatiable appetite for attention, care, love, and even food. Separation anxiety may become intense. Improved health may lead to increased energy and new physical prowess, with little experience in judgment or impulse control, challenging the new parents' skills at keeping their child safe. Patience, warmth, understanding, and skill are required.

Identity

Cross-cultural adoptive families typically develop a narrative, a story about how and why their child entered their family, that helps solidify how they see themselves as a mixed-cultural entity. As the children who are adopted develop awareness of their adoption status, they begin to construct their own *adoptive identity*, addressing questions for themselves about the meaning of the adoption in their lives. They typically have multiple identities—as a *person who was adopted*, as a member of their parents' culture(s), and as a member of their birth culture. Adoptees who have a positive identification in these domains (e.g., learning the language and history of both their adoptive and their birth culture and appreciating the customs and fine arts of both) tend to have better self-esteem. Furthermore, those whose parents talk with them about the racism they may encounter are more likely to use their race group as a reference and have more positive ethnic identity compared with cross-racial adoptees whose parents ignore or deny this racism.

Protective Factors

The majority of cross-cultural adoptees develop normally, but there is variability in outcome. Factors that appear to be protective of a child and that facilitate healthy development include the following:

- *Minimal time spent in pre-adoption institutional settings:* Where institutions are a part of a child's history, it is protective for him or her to have been in good physical condition, with consistent caregivers offering socio-emotional attention tuned to the child's behavior.
- *Younger age at adoption:* Younger age is typically more protective, to the extent that age at adoption is a proxy for the amount of time spent in suboptimal conditions; this is not always the case, of course. For example, when an older child in a loving and supportive family is suddenly orphaned, age at adoption and time in suboptimal conditions are unrelated. There is some evidence of a sleeper effect for children adopted after 18 months of age; they may develop normally during their school-age years but show more problems in adolescence than those who were adopted at a younger age.
- *Fewer medical and developmental problems at the time of adoption.*
- *Parental sensitivity to the child:* Parents who can persist patiently through difficult periods of transition, learn to read their child's signals, and maintain consistent boundaries provide a protective environment for their child.
- *Secure attachment to an adoptive parent.*
- *Living in a community with others from the same culture:* There is mixed research support for the notion that adoptees living in communities and/or with connections to other adoptees from their birth culture will have more optimal levels of racial and ethnic identity and better self-esteem.

In general, the matching of families seeking to adopt a child with a child needing a home, no matter where in the world they each live, typically reaches a positive outcome once the challenges have been met. Increased institutional understanding of the role of optimal care for children awaiting placement will be important in minimizing the negative effects and facilitate a smoother, quicker adjustment for the child and the family alike.

Anne P. Copeland

See also Intercultural Families; Third-Culture Kids/Global Nomads

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Cross-Cultural Communication

The need for effective intercultural communication arises because cultures differ in almost every aspect of communication, from the language spoken through to the subtleties of nonverbal communication. The reasons can be found in the span of human history. As people spread out from Africa, they developed language and communication within a group, which maintained some contact as it spread and grew through reproduction. At some point, people lost contact with their more far-flung relatives. Unrelated groups also existed, and when they came into contact, conflict was the frequent result.

Different groups developed their own languages, communication styles, and values, with little reference to one another. Of course, the common ancestry and common responses to similar environments meant that certain basic similarities, or cultural universals, existed in all (or nearly all) cultures. For example, most linguists today would agree that the basic structure of language—subject, verb, and object—is universal. Psychologists and anthropologists would also agree that values such as honesty and respect are universal across cultures, although manifestations of these values differ. Furthermore, cultures tend to have contact with nearby and related cultures, so it is possible to trace languages and communication styles through a region and contrast them to those of a more distant region. For example, most (but not all) European languages belong to the Indo-European language family, which has similarities in word meanings and grammar that link languages such as English, French, and Russian and differentiate them from another group, such as the Sino-Tibetan (e.g., Chinese languages, Tibetan, Burmese).

Cross-Cultural and Intercultural Communication

Intercultural communication focuses on patterns of interaction between people from different cultures as they engage in mutual meaning making, including the process of developing intercultural competence in bridging differences. For example, if a person from one culture expresses ideas indirectly to someone from a more direct culture, the more direct person is likely to perceive the indirect person to be shy, ineffective, or even secretive. The more indirect person may see the straightforward communicator as patronizing, cold, or even rude. Intercultural communication suggests methods for analyzing this interaction, as well as adaptive strategies. On the other hand, cross-cultural communication compares one culture with another among a pair of cultures (or a variety of cultures), often conducting analyses on the same attributes—in essence, doing *comparisons* of patterns. For example, the cross-cultural professional might look at preschool classrooms and compare teaching styles in two cultures. Thus, intercultural communication focuses on interaction, whereas cross-cultural communication focuses on comparisons.

Another way of looking at this involves the distinction between the emic and etic aspects of culture. *Emic* refers to the unique features of a particular culture from the perspective of a cultural insider. Emic study concentrates on the details of a *specific* culture, often referred to as the *culture-specific* perspective. The culture-specific perspective might ask the following: What is unique about Japanese culture; what characteristics exist there that are not found elsewhere? *Etic*, by contrast, refers to the features of culture and communication abstracted from any particular culture: the underlying dimensions of culture in general, often referred to as the *culture-general* perspective. Etic study, therefore, focuses on cultural universals. The culture-general perspective might ask the following: Where does Japan fall on the widely recognized continuum of individualism and collectivism that we can find in most cultures? A person who is about to have intercultural contact is likely to emphasize the universals (etic) but learn enough about the differences (emic) to cope in a new environment.

Dimensions of Cultural Differences in Communication

Many scholars believe that culture *is* communication; every aspect of culture is expressed, understood, and re-created through communication. There are general features of culture that are nearly universal. Geert Hofstede characterized cultures on four dimensions: (1) *individualism–collectivism*, the extent to which individual interests take precedence over group considerations and relationships; (2) *power distance*, the extent to which people at different levels of the social hierarchy are treated differently; (3) *uncertainty avoidance*, the extent to which members of a culture seek clarity and avoid ambiguity and change; and (4) *masculinity–femininity*, the extent to which a culture treats members of other key social categories, such as men and women, unequally. Later, a fifth dimension was added: *long-term orientation*, the extent to which a culture strives for long- or short-term goals and has a long- or short-term time orientation. This includes whether time is used exactly (emphasizing promptness, saving time, counting time) or less precisely (emphasizing larger time blocks, such as years and lifetimes). These five dimensions have been shown to predict many cultural differences, from values and sex roles to subtle features of language.

Edward T. Hall described languages on a general dimension, from high- to low-context languages. Low-context languages, such as English and German, are explicit and give listeners everything they need to know in order to understand what is said. These languages are ideal for transmitting information to people who lack expertise. High-context languages, such as Chinese and Japanese, leave a great deal unsaid and use silences and nonverbal communication to indicate much meaning. Speakers of these languages depend on relationships and inside knowledge to understand one another.

The ongoing process of globalization means that the cultural isolation of previous times is breaking down. Most cultures are exposed to mass media and to products from other cultures ranging from clothing to soap operas. This influence means that many cultures are adopting aspects of other cultures to produce fusions.

Cultural Knowledge and Cross-Cultural Communication

Many people about to enter a new culture want to learn everything about it. They seek out a cultural dictionary containing all the words, meanings, values, and artifacts that characterize the new culture (emic). Acquiring such *culture-specific knowledge* is exhausting, of course, and cultural trainers tend to emphasize *culture-general knowledge*, or the (etic) dimensions and universals that are used to describe cultures in the abstract.

Of course, people do not view cultures through a neutral lens. There is a ubiquitous desire to distinguish one's own groups positively in comparison with other groups, so that people are likely to have more negative attitudes and beliefs about other cultures, especially when there is conflict or competition between them. These attitudes are cued by language. As soon as a particular language is heard, related attitudes and stereotypes are made salient. Communication often proceeds through this filter, and judgments of individuals are distorted.

Scholars studying cross-cultural communication have looked at cultures in contact. There is a large literature on acculturation, referring to the value that people place on their old and new cultures, and thus the extent to which they wish to adopt the features of the new culture. There are also many studies of *language accommodation*—the extent to which people who can speak two or more languages (which means most people in the world) switch to the language of another speaker or maintain their own language, as a way of signaling their attitude to the other culture. Often, the accommodation is subtle, and people are frequently not aware of the detailed features of the communication style being used.

Why Learn About Cultural Differences in Communication?

The study of cross-cultural communication is endlessly fascinating. As the world comes closer through the Internet and mass media, cultures nevertheless preserve their unique features—and develop new ones. For example, cultures today emphasize the distinctive features of their dress. Even within a culture, groups use dress, speech style, and jargon—all of communication—to distinguish themselves and to maintain a positive identity against other groups. It may not be possible to learn everything about the way every culture communicates, but it is both possible and desirable to become more culturally aware.

Cindy Gallois

See also Acculturation; Assimilation; Intercultural Communication, Definition of; Intercultural Relations and Globalization; Intergroup Contact

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Cultural Contracts Theory

Cultural contracts are essentially the socially binding agreements people sign when they subconsciously or tacitly consent to accept and abide by the cultural values, norms, beliefs, and communication patterns of a given culture as a template for how to behave. Everyone has cultural contracts that reflect their worldviews, and these are constantly in negotiation when people come in contact with cultural others. In fact, the principal goal of a cultural contract is to relationally coordinate with others.

Exploring cultural contracts theory, this entry reviews the background of the theory, the three basic premises of cultural contracts, and the three significant types of contracts, and it briefly examines the role of cultural contracts as they relate to marginal identities.

Background

Emerging from the general academic discussion of cultural competence and shifting worldviews, the cultural contracts theory was created by the identity scholar Ronald Jackson in 2002. It debuted in a special thematic issue on identity negotiation, edited by Jackson, in the journal *Communication Quarterly.* To grasp cultural contracts theory, it is important to understand cultural identity negotiation. This construct suggests that there is an ongoing, fluid process where cultural beings consider the gain, loss, or exchange of aspects of their cultural identity, and hence their power to interpret or define their own worldview. In doing so, one's own cultural standpoint is at stake. Perhaps this is most readily seen when one migrates to another country and takes on the new language and modes of behavior. During this process of adapting to another culture, it can be argued that the new migrant symbolically concedes parts of his or her cultural worldview to appear normal and to interact competently in the new setting.

Negotiation is a power-laden metaphor that is imbued with strategy and conflict. The presumption is that two or more parties are interested in something of value and are willing to engage in some exchange in order to gain access to that valuable target. For the new immigrant, exchange could be about access to linguistic competence or just normal peer-group validation. In either case, this bargaining process varies in duration. It can last a few seconds, as in the case of a person who switches to a more formal tone when speaking to impress others, or it can be long lasting, as is the case when marginalized group members seek to be accepted in U.S. society. By naming the paradigm *cultural contracts theory*, Jackson wanted to capture what exactly is being negotiated in everyday interactions among cultural others.

Jackson reveals that he first developed the concept while negotiating a contract on a new home. He was struck by the contours of a contract, such as the agreement as a whole, the often overlooked details in fine print, the disclosures, the relational dynamics among those negotiating, and, of course, the perfunctory signatures. Because he was a communication scholar interested in identity, the process resonated with him and reminded him of how cultural difference works in our society. There are some broad parameters for intercultural and intracultural communication, and then there are the hidden or fine-print parts of the cultural contracts signed in our society.

The presumption is that all individuals live within the confines of a culture, and the reality is that the social identities within that culture do not exist in a vacuum. They are communicated, and Jackson noticed that if one reads enough literature on identity, one thing stands out, which is that theorists have posited that human beings feel they must do something with identities. That is, identities are often described as being in conflict or positioned on a border, in a gap, in a liminal state, or even stuck in the past. Differences among identities call into question what is normal. Differences as manifested in a cultural identity are by definition divergent or uniquely anchored in a set of norms or standards that humans identify as culture; hence, cultural identities are complex and need interpretation. That is why cultural contracts theory is significant. It helps make sense of the movement, shifting, and normalizing of cultural identities.

Premises of Cultural Contracts

There are three basic premises of cultural contracts theory: (1) identities require affirmation, (2) identities are constantly being exchanged, and (3) identities are contractual. If people were simply accepted automatically for who they are, then there would be no need for a social theory concerning identity negotiation or cultural contracts. Instead, people's identities require acknowledgment and affirmation. The 17th-century philosopher René Descartes became known for the Latin phrase *cogito ergo sum*, translated as "I think, therefore I am." It was a philosophical declaration and proof of existence. He simply contended that one's mere capacity to think demonstrated one's existence. Nothing else was needed to prove it. From Descartes's perspective, personal identity affirmation was whimsical at best. Yet if one digs beneath the surface, it is clear that the term *identity* suggests a sense of belongingness to a group. One's successful coexistence in a society signifies a certain grasp of what is normal and that one has the ability to broadly function in that social world. In other words, individuals are affirmed when they act normally. What is normal is determined by the values, mores, beliefs, and customs of a society. These are also known as *norms*. When individuals embrace and act out the norms successfully, they are not only affirmed but also by definition normal.

The second basic premise suggests that individuals engage in minor and major tweaks to their daily behavior to get along. These calibrations are happening all the time. A famous quote in the field of communication comes from Paul Watzlawick at the Mental Research Institute, often referred to as the Palo Alto Group: "One cannot *not* communicate." This means that people are communicating all the time, even when they think they are not. Imagine a new female student coming to a high school in a foreign country. Even before the student speaks one word, she is communicating via her clothing, hairstyle, and other artifacts such as her book bag, makeup, shoes, and so on. Each of these nonverbal elements communicates something different about the student. When we combine the vocal, nonvocal, verbal, and nonverbal modes of communication, we can easily see how identities are constantly being exchanged.

The final premise is that identities are contractual. This means that self-definition is always being negotiated within interaction with others. There is a socially, politically, and culturally binding feature to all cultural contracts, and when this is breached, there are consequences or penalties incurred. Sometimes this can feel like ostracism, exclusion, marginalization, discrimination, dismissal, or devaluation. Essentially, when individuals belong to a culture that values certain ways of being, any interruption of that becomes problematic. That is why gay people, Blacks, women, the elderly, and other marginalized groups are sometimes treated pejoratively. Their mere difference is perceived at times to be an aberration of what is socially constituted as normal; hence, their culturally distinctive ways of being are penalized.

Types of Cultural Contracts

So what are the different cultural contract types? It is possible for one person to have several cultural contracts for different purposes and different people. These are usually selected on the basis of perceived power. For example, individuals might relate differently with their own families than they do with another person's family or with their friends, coworkers, boss, or pastor. They might have different cultural contracts that they have negotiated with one another. Ordinarily, when those contracts are breached, one of three actions will take place in varying degrees: (1) termination or rupture of the relationship, (2) tendering of a new or revised contract, or (3) settling without penalty due to the perceived high value of the relationship or assessment of minimal damage.

There are three cultural contracts all people sign: (1) ready-to-sign, (2) quasi-completed, and (3) co-created contracts. The ready-to-sign contract is all about assimilation. Some carry these around in their pockets prepared to give them to others. Heterosexuals and able-bodied people do this all the time, and they expect gay and disabled people to assimilate. The quasi-completed contract is one where two or more individuals or groups have decided to partially accept one another. This means that they have a partly prenegotiated contract with some room for relational coordination. They may agree on some things, but they are divergent on significant aspects of their identities and are unwilling to waiver on others. This is often seen among religious or political groups. A staunchly conservative Tea Party advocate might be able to agree with a centrist or liberal democrat on some dimensions of self-protection when it comes to gun ownership but cannot agree on the topic of abortion. That renders the *contract* quasi-completed. Another example is that of a married couple who cannot agree on disciplining their children. Their parenting values diverge on this subject, but they find that many other values remain complementary, so they agree to disagree; hence, they are left with a quasi-completed contract. One would think that individuals would have mostly quasi-completed contracts, but in fact, people are probably more likely to have more of the first kind, the ready-to-sign contract. The final type of contract is the co-created cultural contract. This one is perhaps best exemplified within an interracial marriage. In this case, you have folks from two unique cultures with clearly different values; yet they have managed to value, appreciate, and respect their differences without penalty, ostracism, or partial commitment to each other. This is perhaps the hardest agreement to reach, because it requires self-abnegation. A person has to be willing not just to talk about harmony but to engage in behaviors and actions that demonstrate the full value of others. It is as close to unconditional acceptance as one gets in any society.

The Multicultural Person

Marginalized group members tend to seek out co-created cultural contracts the most. Those who hold the most power in any given society tend to maintain ready-to-sign contracts that they have created. People who consider themselves *multicultural persons* also seek after co-created contracts. According to research on cultural marginality and the mediating person, a *multicultural person* is someone who crosses cultural boundaries, adapting to new norms, and usually has internalized two or more cultures. These individuals often maintain their own culture but recognize that new cultures demand new, co-created contracts and new contextualized rules of behavior. This allows for ultimate trust and openness while facilitating the release of emotional, relational, psychological, and personal baggage. The other party makes this possible because this contract allows for an even playing field where both parties see each other as equals and do not enter into the contract with the expectation of a lopsided commitment to change. Instead, there is a commitment to mutual exchange without coercion.

The cultural contracts theory shows that relational coordinating among people with cultural differences requires work. The personal, social, emotional, and psychological labor that comes with managing difference in a society is too often dismissed until there is a major conflict. The fact is that this constant set of exchanges and negotiations represents the undertow of the social world, which people tend to notice when they experience a tug-of-war between values, beliefs, norms, and worldviews. It is only then that people begin to question what they have to come to know about others and themselves. The metaphor of cultural contracts may bring to mind legal and monetary images; each society has developed a system where things of value can be exchanged. In the social world, the most valuable things individuals have are their identities. People cannot survive without them, since they define their existence and give meaning to their lives.

Ronald L. Jackson II

See also Co-Creation of Meaning; Communication Accommodation Theory; Facework/Facework Negotiation Theory; Identity and Intergroup Communication

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Cultural Humility

Cultural humility is a distinctive and desirable way of comprehending cultural differences; successful intercultural communication can only occur by questioning the primacy of our own perspective. *Cultural humility* refers to respecting the validity of the other person's culture and accepting the creative tension of holding two different perspectives simultaneously.

First described through the lens of the Peace Corps experience, the concept of cultural humility has become central to the discussion of intercultural competence. This entry reviews the origins of the idea, describes the elements included, and suggests the contribution of cultural humility to the development of intercultural competence.

When the concept of cultural humility was first described by Alan Guskin in a small publication of Antioch University in 1991 and then explored in other papers and speeches, the intensely global world of the 21st century had not yet become a full reality affecting all aspects of life. In those earlier writings, there was an effort to capture the profound intercultural experience of the more than 120,000 returned Peace Corps volunteers, including Guskin. What was transformative in the lives of the volunteers both during their service and afterward? Why did the volunteers sense a special bond with one another and the world beyond the United States, generally having served in only one country for 2 years? Many people had traveled overseas to study, others to work for multinational companies or the U.S. government. Yet the experience of many volunteers suggested that there was something unique in the Peace Corps experience. This difference was extremely important for the U.S. American society, and maybe for the world, to fully understand in order to re-create it in other, less intense and risky settings than those common to the Peace Corps volunteers.

One of the powerful realities of growing up in culturally homogeneous settings is that they foster a sense of superiority about one's own way of life and a tendency to judge cultural differences as indicative of inferiority. This result is often unintentional and unconscious, but it is also too often obvious in behaviors and private feelings. One need go no further than watching a tourist who does not speak the local language seeking information in a foreign country by talking louder and louder, as if the volume of speech will improve the intelligibility of what is being requested. The frustration of the tourist too often leads to the feeling that the native speaker is not very smart and should have understood the request.

But this universal tendency to judge language, cultural, religious, and behavioral differences as indicators of the other's intelligence, human values, and even dignity is all too common and creates serious problems in relationships with other cultures and societies.

Ignorance of other cultures goes far beyond the inability to speak foreign languages. People are often equally naive about the values, religious beliefs, and practices of other cultures. This culturally arrogant perspective often influences the interactions people have with members of cultures different from their own.

Such cultural arrogance is obviously a barrier in a global community; it breeds distrust and defensiveness. It surely does not create the potential for peace. A healthier and more productive perspective would be based on a sense of *cultural humility*.

What created a sense of cultural humility among the overwhelming majority of the early Peace Corps volunteers? What differentiated that experience from those of so many others who have traveled overseas and even studied and worked for extended periods of time in other countries? And what can be learned about developing a sense of cultural humility as key to intercultural competence?

Development of Cultural Humility

Survival Skills

At least four important factors were critical to the humility the Peace Corps volunteers developed. First, the volunteers served under the supervision of host country nationals as well as in community settings that required them to learn new sets of behaviors and ways of perceiving in order to be successful—perhaps even to survive—in performing their work. These new survival skills challenged the comfort of their well-learned ways of acting in the United States. In many ways, they developed a new sense of bicultural identity that is commonly found in people from nondominant cultures in the United States—the language and style of behaving that is used when dealing with the European American dominant culture versus the styles used when dealing with one's own ethnic group.

Commitment to Language

A second important factor was that because the individuals had volunteered to serve in another culture, they committed themselves to learning the language and culture as quickly and as deeply as possible. They were focused on learning how to communicate with native speakers and how to function in a new culture—and, of course, eating some interesting food.

Commitment to Service

A third important factor was a commitment to serving others. While serving others can sometimes lead one to feel a sense of superiority over those needing help, the sense of service that permeated the Peace Corps was not that of an expert but of a partner—being part of the others' culture and community rather than being apart from them. In fact, in the early days of the Peace Corps, volunteers were frequently not experts.

A Common Venture: Acculturation

A fourth factor was that each volunteer was part of a larger group that shared a common venture to serve in another culture. Individuals were not alone as Peace Corps volunteers. At times, they might have felt frustrated and wondered about what they were getting into, but they knew that others were also struggling, and that gave them the strength to continue their integration into the new culture and take physical risks. In effect, they were being resocialized in terms of their behaviors, their perceptual cues, and even their feelings, a process known as *acculturation*. They also knew that they were part of a larger mission called the Peace Corps and that there were support staff in country who would serve as a safety net if they were in trouble. In many ways, most of the volunteers felt as if they had a mythical shield placed over their bodies that protected them from disease and misfortune, a feeling similar to journalists who enter war zones, even though they were isolated and they also knew that the shield did not always work.

The result of these experiences was that many volunteers identified with friends and colleagues who did not share the American ways of expressing personal emotions, the norms regarding appropriate behavior, or the meaning of individual and group pride. Those with cultural humility internalized the fact that people from other societies view their own culture as completely valid as they do theirs and must be respected for doing so. And many volunteers realized that effective human interaction requires people to appreciate and respect the similarities and differences in cultural perspectives.

Transferability of Cultural Humility

An intriguing aspect of cultural humility is its transferability to experience from one culture to another. Having questioned the primacy of their own culture and having understood the validity of another's culture, those with cultural humility often entered a new cultural setting in a learning mode, listening to verbal communication and watching nonverbal expressions for the cultural and noncultural substantive differences. They most likely did not make assumptions about their ability to automatically understand another; rather, they likely assumed that they might be ignorant of what is really being communicated and, therefore, asked questions intended to clarify what was actually meant and expected. Cultural humility means making physical and verbal approaches in a humble manner, allowing hosts to direct individuals in adapting their behavior. A perspective based on cultural humility allows people to acknowledge that the potential for miscommunication and misunderstanding is great and this reality must be continually respected.

Cultural humility can foster intercultural communication in any language because each person feels respected; they do not judge any culture as superior to the other; they do not evaluate another culture but understand, accept, and respect it. Sometimes, different cultural perspectives may conflict with one another, yet they can be respected and seen as legitimate.

In effect, an individual who has a well-developed sense of cultural humility continually holds two or more different and possibly conflicting cultural perspectives as equally legitimate and understands that the resulting tension must be accepted (and seen as desirable) if durable relationships are to develop between individuals and groups who have such differences. This creative tension accepts the validity of different and revered cultural perspectives and understands the need to bridge these differences by respecting them, respecting the individuals involved, and seeking a means for effective interaction.

On the 25th anniversary of the Peace Corps in 1986, Bill Moyers, one of U.S. America's foremost social commentators and one of the founders of the Peace Corps, eloquently summed up the deepest meaning of the Peace Corps and, in so doing, offered a conception of cultural humility:

> We knew from the beginning that the Peace Corps was not an agency, program or mission. Now we know—from those who lived and died for it—that it is a way of being in the world. It is a very conservative notion, because it holds dear the ground of one's own being—the culture and customs that give meaning to life—but it is revolutionary for respecting the ground revered by others. This is the new politics and the new patriotism that may yet save this fragmented and dispirited age, and it is the gift [the Volunteers] gave us. (Quoted in Guskin, 2010, n.p.)

Alan Guskin

See also Acculturation; Intercultural Sensitivity

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Cultural Intelligence

Regardless of what country a person lives in or what organization the individual belongs to, it may be hard to find a professional setting where cultural differences among colleagues and within organizations do not matter. Wherever people work these days, they will at some point be interacting with others from another culture in the broadest sense of the word.

For the purpose of this entry, culture is defined not only in the traditional national context but also as relating to a wide variety of contexts, including ethnicity, age, gender, sexual orientation, class, organization, vocational aptitude, and physical ability, to name just a few. Hence, working across cultures has become the norm in today's for-profit and not-for-profit businesses, academia, and even politics. More and more, cultural intelligence is a required competence to move up in our increasingly interconnected world. A person's ability to build and maintain trusting and enduring relationships could be the single most critical contributor to a successful career. This entry will clarify the meaning of cultural intelligence, introduce a model of cultural intelligence, and suggest the underlying competencies that support it.

Some individuals seem to have a natural knack for interacting effortlessly with colleagues from different cultural backgrounds, while others struggle and encounter problems immediately. There are building blocks of this mercurial intelligence, sometimes called contextual intelligence. These elements relate importantly to intercultural competence (Figure 1).

The most common use of the word *intelligence* in a personal context refers to the intelligence quotient, or IQ, of a person. The IQ score is derived from several standardized tests designed to assess intelligence. The majority of such tests aim to measure deductive reasoning, pattern recognition, and, generally, the cognitive ability of a person. More recently, the work of the psychologist Daniel Goleman has defined and popularized the idea of *emotional intelligence* (EQ). Goleman stresses the importance of knowing and regulating a person's emotions and recognizing their impact on others, as well as the importance of empathy to motivate others.

Physical intelligence (PQ) does not yet have a wide academic literature base beyond the bodily-kinesthetic intelligence described by Howard Gardner's multiple-intelligence research. However, increasing attention to embodiment through the lens of neuroscience is changing this. PQ refers to a person's ability to use the body to convey messages, transmit sensory information, and

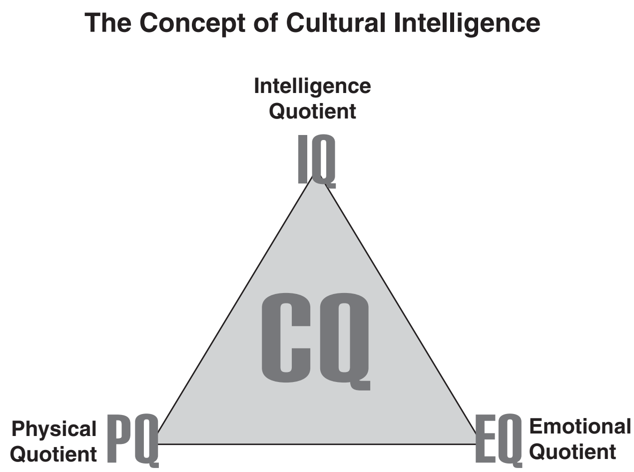

Figure 1 The Concept of Cultural Intelligence

Note: Cultural intelligence is a combination of three types of intelligence.

embody values to others that can enhance trust building between the relevant parties. Sometimes referred to as *leadership presence*, it enables a person to increase empathy and obtain physical and mental commitment from another individual or a group of individuals.

Cultural Intelligence Defined

Cultural intelligence, then, is the combination of the aforementioned three types of intelligence in the context of social interaction, with the purpose of creating trust-based relationships on which decisions can be made and actions taken. Cultural intelligence refers to the ability and competence to use all the human senses to converse, empathize, function, and transact effectively with those of another cultural background. It includes the competence to recognize and understand the contextual differences between cultures without mastering the norms and values of every single culture one encounters. It helps develop a comprehensive and concise ability to deal with the interaction of diverse cultures.

Cultural intelligence is closely connected to EQ; however, it begins where EQ leaves off. An emotionally intelligent person understands what makes us human in general, and specifically from person to person. Cultural intelligence goes beyond that. A culturally intelligent person understands the implication and meaning of value differences and handles the various implications and potential polarity of cognition, emotion, and motivation in different cultures successfully.

Among the various types of intelligence that have been identified over the years, cultural intelligence is one of the top differentiators for successful business and organizational leaders. Leaders' implicit ability to adapt and act with versatility, agility, resilience, and conviction makes them better equipped than others to create efficient and effective teamwork across boundaries in support of an organization's strategy.

What Is the Intelligence of a Culture?

Belonging to a specific culture means sharing with a certain group of people the solutions to the basic challenges of life. Shared values, norms, and assumptions help people predict, coordinate, and develop actions when tackling problems and questions. Solutions differ from group to group and are largely based on their environment and context. Such solutions are learned, taught, and passed on from generation to generation. A culture is intelligent when it adapts to its environment and provides itself with a higher than average ability to survive. All cultures wish to survive, and they create solutions to do so. Only those that continually upgrade, adjust, and change appear to be able to survive the inevitable challenges of the environment, and hence other cultures.

A case in point is the English language, which has dominated the international political, education, and business scene for many decades. One of the most important reasons is that it is flexible and adapts to local and global needs, while adopting a vast number of new words and new connotations from an ever wider range of users.

The Different Shapes and Forms of Culture

We encounter culture in many different forms and formats. When dealing with national cultures, we compare values, behaviors, and norms that constitute common denominators among members of a specific national culture. These shared values and beliefs help members survive in their environment and solve their problems. They predict behaviors and make members feel comfortable with one another. From the outside, such values and beliefs are what distinguish, for example, the Japanese from the U.S. Americans or the French from the Chinese.

The same applies to various other types of culture, such as industrial, organizational, departmental, functional, and vocational. As in the case of a country, here too are traits and characteristics, norms and values that make individuals belong to an organization, in which they can predict behaviors and rely on solutions that help them interact as a group and set them apart from others. The main traits of any culture are implicit, invisible, and sturdy. It thus takes more than the mere observation of explicit traits and characteristics to grasp what any one culture is all about.

Cultural intelligence does not require individuals to identify the explicit traits of any *specific* culture but rather to identify consistent frameworks for examining any cultures they may encounter. With this in mind, people may then develop intelligent competencies to successfully function across different cultures. For instance, using a framework to examine communication styles, a person may recognize that direct communication is inappropriate in a particular culture or organization and may then choose to develop skills for indirect communication.

Understanding Cultural Differences: The Notion of Dimensions and Dilemmas of Culture

All cultures share the same challenges to their survival. They may differ in the way they choose to be governed and in the way they collaborate, debate, agree or disagree, and include or exclude people from daily processes, but all cultures face the same basic dilemmas of scarcity of resources in one way or another. Those who studied this phenomenon have all come up with the notion of dimensions of cultures. This notion contends that there are seemingly generic value dimensions that can be measured in cultures to indicate their general, normal preference in terms of relationship management, time management, and the way they relate to their environment. Examples of these dimensions are indicated in Figure 2.

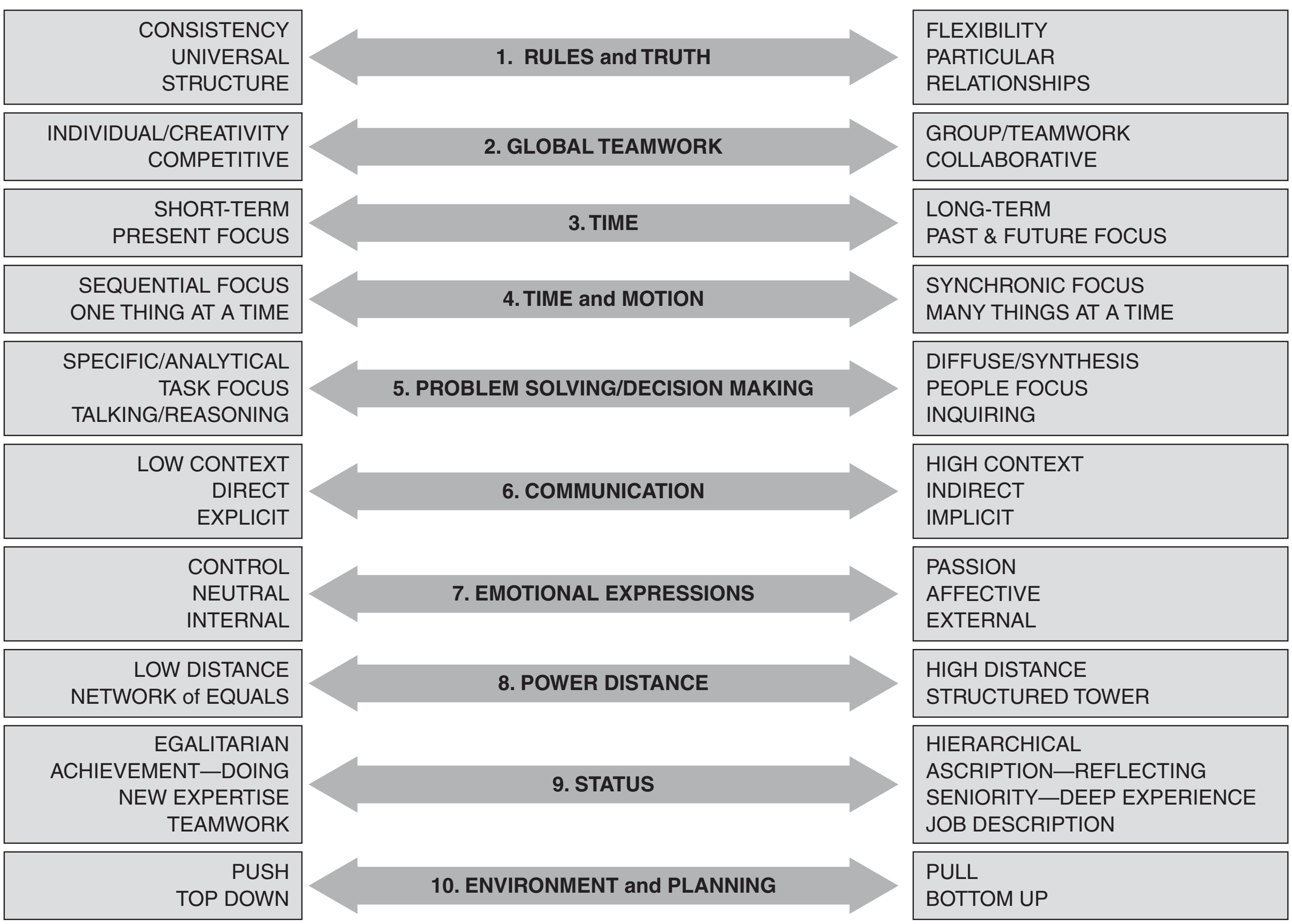

Figure 2 Dimensions and Dilemmas of Culture

Essentially, we learn from this that there are seemingly opposing assumptions about how we deal with the challenges of relationships, time, and nature/environment across all types of cultures. By addressing these challenges in surveys, researchers have furthermore learned that some cultures approach such challenges/dilemmas from one side of the dimension, whereas others prefer the opposite side of that same dimension.

All cultures share the same basic universal challenges and dilemmas. But they approach the solution to their challenges from different perspectives and convictions. In the United States, "the squeaky wheel gets the grease"; in Japan, "the nail that stands out gets hammered down." In many Asian cultures, the concept of individuality implies the fundamental connectedness of individuals to one another. In their view, harmony, attending to others, and interdependence are often seen as the foundation to success as a society. On the other hand, in the United States, most individuals strive to be independent and focus on identifying and developing their own uniqueness.

At the core of these very different viewpoints lies one fundamental question, approached from two different poles on the same value continuum: What will help our society, organization, or team to reach satisfaction, success, and overall well-being? What is at its core—the group or the individual? The degree to which society fulfills the need of the individual, on the one hand, or the interests of the group, on the other, is one of the fundamental intercultural dilemmas. Other intercultural dimensions and dilemmas have been identified, among them the tensions relating to divergent perspectives on time, power distance, communication styles, relationships, and rules, as well as feelings and emotions.

It is that continuum of values that culturally intelligent individuals grasp. To move in and out of different cultures implies that there is a great amount of awareness about the self *and* others. These leaders know themselves yet see and understand how different viewpoints can help and be reconciled by their own. The most basic realization and the primary sense of awareness and sensitivity is that values are not objects that exist in a vacuum but are differences that come to us in pairs placed on the opposite sides of a continuum, as indicated in the 10 continuums/dimensions in Figure 2. The trouble is that, in any one culture, a person may have been singularly inspired by one side of a cultural value continuum over another, giving priority to one's own cultural values over others. This notion is central to and a distinct cornerstone of cultural intelligence.

Becoming Culturally Intelligent

As mentioned earlier in this entry, there are always astoundingly well-equipped people who are simply brilliant at navigating cultural divides and who appear to have no problems overcoming the largest hindrances and serious challenges with other groups of people from truly different cultures in social, political, organizational, or personal life. Did they ever take a class in intercultural relations? Were they ever surveyed, mapped, or provided with feedback? Or are they simply naturally gifted to handle the real dilemmas that cultural differences present?

The issue here is not to belabor the nature-versus-nurture argument but to ask the question whether there are implicit competencies that support cultural intelligence and, if so, whether such competencies are teachable and thus scalable.

If leaders are beset by cultural dilemmas in their careers and potentially in their personal lives, then it must be concluded that even if they are naturally gifted, they need to leverage their ability, optimize its use, and maximize its impact. Hence, this ever so splendid—as well as required—ability, this intelligence, has to be made to scale. This is why much effort is currently being invested to identify the most fundamental competencies that establish a greater awareness of cultural differences and a better capacity and capability to deal with the implications of cultural intelligence and optimize its benefits. Many research papers have been written and multiple models applied in support of providing a teachable and scalable model of cultural intelligence at the individual leadership level. One such piece of research entails the IRC, *intercultural relationship competence*. It proposes four distinct competencies that support cultural intelligence in the manner described here.

Four Cultural Intelligence Competencies

Culturally intelligent individuals are able to conduct their relationships and interactions across borders more effectively and appropriately than others. They manage to grasp culture-specific concepts of perception, feeling, acting, arguing, and thinking. The four basic cornerstones of their cultural intelligence can be learned, measured, and improved: (1) intercultural sensitivity, (2) intercultural communication skills, (3) the ability to build commitment, and (4) the ability to manage uncertainty.

- *Intercultural sensitivity* describes the degree to which a person takes an active interest in others, their cultural background, needs, and perspectives *and* his or her own. When people are aware of their own convictions and assumptions, the better prepared they are to succeed in conducting intercultural relationships. The world and the people in it are learned by contrast: Only when people are exposed to differences do they have to defend, question, explain, root for, confirm, or potentially adjust their values and convictions. That's half the battle: knowing oneself and helping others to better understand one's own culture. People think they know how they are being perceived, but often, the opposite is the case. Steps that can be taken to improve cultural sensitivity include (a) paying attention to one's own values and the implications for one's own behavior; (b) never assuming that people from different or even seemingly similar cultures also act in a similar way, especially when it comes to solving problems and/or going about a specific task; and (c) paying attention to verbal and especially nonverbal signals, which is another challenge for individuals who come from cultures where not much is left unspoken and said "between the lines." Much can be learned about how other cultures signal interest and agreement, disagreement and criticism. Being sensitive also means being knowledgeable and intelligent. Oftentimes, cross-cultural encounters are stumbled into, hoping for the best, without the proper preparation that would be applied anywhere else in business. Cultural encounters and relationship building require the same due diligence applied to a merger or acquisition: To show up, to pay attention, to observe, to study, and to retain knowledge are necessary requirements.

- *Intercultural communication* should be on everybody's mind when it comes to working across borders. Virtual teamwork, the use of ever-changing new technologies, global and inclusive decision making, an increasingly more communicative civic, regulatory, business, and market/consumer responsiveness through social media such as Twitter—all these developments amplify the challenges of communicating in the context of cultural differences. Improving how intelligently individuals communicate across cultural borders includes improving their ability to actively monitor their own communicative behavior and their versatility in changing their communication style when confronted with needs and expectations that are not covered by their own preferences in communicating. With the proper level of attention and awareness, a lot can be done to become better at this. What has been said about cultural sensitivity is true here as well: Become aware of your own communication style and preferences as well as their perception in various contexts before attempting to help others. To listen actively for differences encompasses assessment ahead of time of what others may expect and want to get out of a conversation. It also includes being able to paraphrase what has been said, to ask open-ended questions, and to focus on the underlying context or relationship dynamics. The ability to adjust a preferred style of communication to another cultural context is paramount to successful and effective cross-cultural communication.

- *Building commitment* is most likely one of the most important competencies of any successful leader today. Great leaders actively build relationships and invest in them. They strive to integrate different people and personalities within their organization, knowing that there is great potential in combining the unexpected. Building networks, supporting cooperation among teams and individuals, recognizing stakeholder needs, and fostering continuous relationship building among team members are just some of the steps that can be taken toward improving relationships with colleagues and within organizations. A leader cannot expect team members to become more culturally savvy without role-modeling the behaviors needed to achieve that. Building commitment around cross-cultural issues and showing genuine passion and dedication for these topics are crucial trademarks of cultural intelligence.

- *Managing uncertainty* is very important in being able to navigate other cultures—whether these are different nationalities, work cultures (e.g., an engineering firm has a very different culture from that of an advertising agency), or age-groups. Someone who is good at managing uncertainty is the quietly self-possessed person who can sit back and let others handle a given situation, before taking the steering wheel when a decision has to be made. A recent study inquired what expatriates found to be the most helpful skills when trying to succeed abroad. Not surprisingly perhaps, the majority stated that a sense of humor, the ability to handle failure, and dealing with constant uncertainty are at the top of the list. To become more culturally intelligent means to embrace the complexities of any culture with all its contradictions and idiosyncrasies. Successful leaders seek out the difference rather than avoiding it; they consciously dive into unknown territory because they know that conquering it will make them better, stronger, and more effective in getting the highest performance out of relationships.

Defined in a broad manner, cultural intelligence includes all kinds of cultures, from national to vocational and beyond. Cultural intelligence is now being accorded a status similar to that of the other recognized forms (IQ, EQ, and PQ), and today's leaders are increasingly recognizing the need to enhance their own cultural intelligence and scale it throughout their organizations.

Furthermore, the oldest and best research available on cultural differences underlines the notion of cultural dimensions and value continua. Most cultures face the same dilemmas and challenges, but they approach these from seemingly opposite assumptions about a number of very elementary issues of survival. Understanding these dimensions assists in sequencing and contextualizing an individual's cultural preferences and assumptions with those of others.

Based on far-reaching academic research applied to tens of thousands of global leaders today, four competencies are defined as the most critical to becoming more culturally intelligent (as suggested by both the literature and those on active intercultural duty). A deeper understanding and a greater comprehension of the roots of cultural differences for all people, young and old, coupled with higher levels of competence, will help individuals manage and reconcile civic, regulatory, and business challenges across the world.

Maarten Asser and Anja Langbein-Park

See also Intercultural Communication, Definition of; Intercultural Competence in Organizations; Intercultural Sensitivity; Value Dimensions: Hofstede

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Cultural Literacies Approach

The fundamental idea behind cultural literacy has existed for centuries, perhaps as long as humans have created and learned cultural knowledge. It refers to the practice of becoming familiar with a large and diverse core of knowledge connected to a range of contexts, artifacts, and contents that convey cultural information. This includes an awareness of popular cultural forms, ideas, and practices as well as aspects of the elite cultural sphere. Such knowledge may be acquired in many ways, such as through family interactions, formal education, travel, and the Internet.

As an approach to intercultural competence, cultural literacy depends on both broad and deep knowledge. However, the phrase *cultural literacy* has been highly contested in recent decades and has changed in meaning over time. The term *literacy* is increasingly used now in its plural form, *literacies*, to acknowledge the existence of many forms of cultural knowledge and various ways of knowing.

In discussing the changing approaches to cultural literacy, this entry briefly reviews the development of the idea, moving from more traditional perspectives of the canon of required readings to a more contemporary, inclusive perspective, describing various forms of cultural literacy.

Popularization of the Phrase

In the 1980s, a group of academicians, educators, and policymakers argued that education should focus on discipline-based content and cultural transmission. This was in opposition to the child-centered perspective prevalent at the time, which was rooted in the Progressive Era work of John Dewey and other scholars who valued an education grounded in experiential learning. In support of the discipline-based argument, which was motivated by fears related to the Cold War and increasing global market competition, the phrase *cultural literacy* was popularized and defined as a body of common knowledge believed to be important for the well-educated democratic citizen. This definition of cultural literacy led to serious concerns about an education that focused in large part on Eurocentric mainstream texts, cultural concepts, and artifacts. In E. D. Hirsch Jr.'s 1987 book *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know*, cultural literacy was represented as an awareness of ideas and artifacts that make up the dominant culture. Hirsch believed that it was important for every American student to have a common core of knowledge, and he produced lists of terms and phrases representing concepts, practices, beliefs, and objects that he felt made up that core. He suggested that all young people should learn about the influential works of Western culture to understand and appreciate literary works and the culture that produced them.

At best, the cultural ideals on which this definition was based involved enabling people without the resources necessary to gain this knowledge to benefit from the social capital that these texts and artifacts bestowed. But the definition also enabled powerful individuals and groups who control teachers, curriculum, and other aspects of educational systems to neglect, deny, or denigrate the value of multicultural, resistance, or otherwise diverse forms of culture that influence various populations, particularly the popular forms of culture created and valued by young people themselves.

The conception of cultural literacy that was popular in the 1980s and 1990s was reflected in the changes made to educational systems based on certain standards. Educational standards have increasingly influenced schooling internationally since that time and have increased in rigor. The United States is one of the few countries in the world that now has a national curriculum, and although the proposal is highly contested, policymakers have pushed for a common core of knowledge to be taught in school. However, conceptions of cultural literacy have changed.

Contemporary Perspectives: Cultural Literacies

In the 21st century, most of the basic information about the items listed in Hirsch's book can be found online. Indeed, much of it might now be considered trivia by some, in the sense that it is detailed information not generally used in daily life. Highly specialized knowledge used by experts in a professional field was not included in Hirsch's book or was included with the intent of recommending a basic familiarity with the idea, phrase, or object. The book is an example of its time because it not only represents a particular political perspective but also reveals what was considered by some people at that time to be relevant.

In modern life, many forms of cultural literacy are considered valuable, and these might best be referred to as *overlapping cultural literacies*. Contemporary ideas about cultural literacy revisit Dewey's ideas and refer to Pierre Bourdieu's argument, which directly connects knowledge to experience. This conception of the phrase is based on the premise that knowledge can only be achieved through direct connection to cultural carriers and interactions within cultural fields (e.g., business, education, or politics). The notion of literacy is thus broadened and applied to a cultural field that may be an identifier for individual membership.

Also, literacies that have to do with forms of social practice, such as critical literacy or ethical literacy, are closely tied to cultural conditions and responsibilities.

Knowledge of one's own cultures and fields is particularly significant because it not only provides cultural capital but also aids in the development of identity. It allows one to negotiate aspects of local, family, and professional environments and cultural conditions.

Knowledge of other cultures outside one's own is also critical for the development of identity in a democracy and as a global citizen. There are cultural frameworks for learning about other cultures that are culture general as well as culture specific. The *culture-general* view provides a general outline of cultural attributes that may be applied to most cultures; *culture-specific* frameworks focus on the patterns in a single culture. Each culturally curious person must consistently avoid stereotyping and realize that a little knowledge can be a dangerous thing. However, as members of the global community, individuals require some knowledge of alternative cultural perspectives. Many forms of culture exist, and what might be considered the dominant culture is not a singularity. Cultures have rough edges and are unstable, dynamic, and integrating on a continual basis. The dominant culture is often considered to be the culture of those powerful enough to control the media, politics, and education, whether they use 19th-century publishing or contemporary social media. Most cultures currently comprise many cultural influences that have intermingled to create collective knowledge. No one person has access to, or memory of, all of the knowledge within the collective.

Cultural Form Literacies

Another type of cultural literacy has emerged that refers to knowledge about a particular cultural form. *Cultural forms* are imagined, created, and used across cultures. For example, *visual literacy* refers to visual knowledge and the ability to decipher, understand, and criticize visual imagery of all sorts. The newer literacies are related to digital technology, particularly online uses of technology.

Now, *literacies* refers to general knowledge of both popular and high culture, lay and basic professional language, and information involving intertextual and intergraphical references that enable cross-cultural interpretation and facilitate readers, listeners, and viewers to understand authors' and artists' intentions. It also includes knowledge of how best to acquire information through the use of various media and technologies, which include cultural forms that are used across traditional cultural boundaries and form intercultural connections.

A lack of these literacies will lead to misinterpretations and can sometimes result in damaging stereotypes. Cultural knowledge created in one culture can be misinterpreted by people in other cultures, with serious effects. Also, literacies develop over time and with experience, often depending on educational opportunities. For example, research has demonstrated that children have many misconceptions about visual images, which can influence the way they interpret and use imagery. Many adults are generally unaware of the ways images function to teach people ideas, values, and beliefs. Viewers who have a low level of visual literacy may not be aware of the ways the communicative properties of imagery work (e.g., through the use of metaphor). Deep levels of cultural meaning may escape viewers without the early development of visual literacy. Perceptions profoundly affect what is seen, and the interpretation of what it means. Without this knowledge, people tend to remain at an adolescent level of understanding, which is one of the reasons why negative visual stereotypes survive. As a result, visual literacy needs to be taught for people to gain access to deep cultural knowledge from visual forms.

It is important to note that cultural experiences can also be interpreted by individuals in legitimate ways without complete knowledge of the associated cultural information. In fact, misinterpretation or reinterpretation of cultural references can, at times, be a jumping-off point for constructive new ideas and creativity.

The Example of Visual Literacy

Fundamental to contemporary cultural literacies is the ability to analyze the cultural forms that influence contemporary life. Most people growing up in postindustrial countries begin to see a wide range of visual culture at a very young age from a variety of sources, such as television, films, computers, comics, magazines, and museums, to name a few. Most images can be interpreted on the surface level in a literal manner. People have a large memory capacity for imagery, and adults tend to have a wide range of images that aid interpretation and deepen meaning.

Images not only can be highly effective in conveying the intended cultural associations but may also convey unintended or contradictory meanings. As a result of this experience, people develop basic, generic knowledge about visual culture. For example, they are able to understand and talk about the surface meaning of images without much formal instruction about the deep meaning and its relationship to formal qualities (i.e., the qualities of the form per se, in contrast to the content of the form).

People are also able to interpret surface-level meaning, which is often the intended meaning, because cultural forms and systems usually have access points based on the human visual perception systems. However, understanding deep meaning, such as how the relationship between form and content suggests meaning, how to create meaningful images, and how to use images for one's own purpose, takes a higher level of visual literacy. This deep meaning is where intercultural associations tend to lie, and visual literacy aids in its interpretation.

People make many different types of cultural associations when viewing visual culture forms. Intentionally and unintentionally, cultural associations become attached to the range of visual culture through their use and viewing in various contexts, such as rituals, ceremonies, and daily routines. These associations influence the ways meaning is constructed when viewing images, which can include intertextual, intergraphical, and other cross-fertilizing references that connect various types of texts, images, and other cultural forms. Intercultural knowledge is created and conveyed as a result of these associations.

Kerry Freedman

See also Culture Specific/Culture General; Media in a Globalized World; Stereotypes and Generalizations

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Cultural Patterns

A *cultural pattern* is a category or dimension of the human experience that is common to all cultures but that differs in its expression or manifestation from one culture to another. A simple example would be the concept of personal identity; it exists in all cultures, but it takes different forms in different cultures with regard to any number of variables. These variables include the importance of the self, the relation of the self to the group (usually expressed as degrees of individualism and collectivism), the degree of face that attaches to the self (saving face, losing face), and accepted forms of self-expression. Taken together, a group of cultural patterns comprises what is usually referred to as a *mind-set* or a *worldview.*

Cultural patterns make up the core of the field of intercultural or cross-cultural communication. As the prefixes *inter* and *cross* suggest, the field is largely, although not exclusively, concerned with making cultural comparisons. But such comparisons can only be made if there is a basis for comparing, a series of themes or dimensions found in all cultures but differing in certain respects from one culture to another. These themes or patterns create a framework or template for analyzing a culture, making it possible to identify its key characteristics, to compare characteristics across cultures, and ultimately to identify cultural differences. For their part, cultural differences are the rock on which most cross-cultural interactions are founded, and thus their identification is arguably the most significant undertaking (or contribution) of the intercultural field. Indeed, awareness of, sensitivity to, and, in some contexts, acceptance of cultural differences are the standard measures of intercultural competence.

In many ways, the development of the intercultural field has been the search for and identification of cultural patterns, beginning, many would say, with the work of Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck, published in *Variations in Value Orientations*, wherein they described five patterns: (1) the basic nature of human beings and (2) people's relation to the environment, (3) to one another, (4) to activity, and (5) to time. This foundation has been expanded many times over the years, most notably by the Dutch social psychologist Geert Hofstede, who compiled his list of cultural patterns through a research survey carried out for the IBM corporation in 40 countries. Hofstede's research initially identified four cultural dimensions: (1) power distance, (2) uncertainty avoidance, (3) individualism, and (4) masculinity. He later added two other dimensions: (1) long-term orientation and (2) indulgence versus restraint.

In 2004, Robert J. House, Paul Hanges, Mansour Javidan, Peter Dorfman, and Vipin Gupta, in their book *Culture, Leadership, and Organizations*, presented the results of extensive research in 62 countries, identifying the following nine patterns: (1) performance orientation, (2) assertiveness, (3) future orientation, (4) humane orientation, (5) institutional collectivism, (6) ingroup collectivism, (7) gender egalitarianism, (8) power distance, and (9) uncertainty avoidance.

Other interculturalists have identified additional patterns (although at times different terminology is used to describe the same pattern), subsets of the more general patterns have likewise been developed (e.g, communication style has been further divided into topics such as feedback, the importance of face, expressing disagreement), and patterns have been developed for specific contexts such as the workplace, business, and education.

Examples of Cultural Patterns

For comparative purposes, many of the dimensions are often presented in terms of dichotomies, or polar opposites, between the poles of which each culture can be located along a continuum defined by the two extremes. Some of the common patterns, with their two poles, are shown in Table 1.

In business and/or workplace settings, other patterns have been identified, some of which are related to, or subsets of, the more general categories listed above and some of which are unique to their context. Typical examples are shown in Table 2.

Table 1 Examples of General Cultural Patterns

Pattern	*Range of Cultural Manifestation*
Locus of control	Internalism to externalism
Concept of self/identity	Individualism to collectivism
Power distance	High to low
Uncertainty avoidance	High to low
Future orientation	Short-term to long-term
Performance orientation	High to low (task orientation to relationship orientation)
Assertiveness	High to low
Communication style	High context to low context (direct to indirect)
Concept of fairness	Universalism to particularism
Concept of limits	Unlimited possibility/opportunity to limited
View of human nature	Benign to skeptical (good to evil)
Concept of time	Monochronic to polychronic
Concept of status	Egalitarian to hierarchical (achieved to ascribed)

Table 2 Examples of Work-Related Cultural Patterns

Pattern	*Range of Cultural Manifestation*
Management style	Decentralized to centralized
Degree of guidance/supervision	Minimal to extensive
Decision-making style	Top-down to consensus
Meeting style	Problem solving to getting together
Performance orientation	Task/results to harmony/relationships
Worker–employer relationship	Opportunistic to mutual loyalty
Negotiating style	Win-win to win-lose
Attitude toward risk	Risk tolerant to risk averse

It is easy to see how comparing a culture with a short-term orientation toward the future, for example, against one with a long-term orientation would reveal numerous differences in cultural values, norms, and behaviors and to see how such knowledge would be invaluable when individuals from the two cultures interacted with one another.

Not all cultural patterns are expressed as dichotomies; patterns of nonverbal communication, for example, are usually expressed in terms of different categories of nonverbal communication, such as gestures, facial expressions, body postures, eye contact, and personal space. Specialists in body language (kinesics) have identified the existence of all categories in all cultures, with each culture assigning its own meanings and norms to nonverbal expression. A gesture in one culture, for example, may mean something completely different in another culture or may mean nothing at all; in both cases, attempted communication has been unsuccessful.

Describing cultural patterns requires making lightly held generalizations. While generalizations can be instructive with regard to a group, they may or may not be accurate for individuals within the group. Therefore, one should avoid stereotypes, which are *rigid* generalizations based on limited knowledge of the culture. Generalizations by their very nature discount circumstances and ignore context. But there is no such thing as a general circumstance, nor does anything ever happen outside of a particular context. Cultural patterns are descriptive, in short, but they are not predictive. They suggest, *all other things being equal*, how people *might* behave or how they *might* react in certain situations but not how they will, or how they will always, behave. As tools for analyzing a culture, patterns are at once immensely valuable and somewhat suspect but always worthy of scrutiny.

Craig Storti

See also Ascribed and Achieved Status; Competition and Cooperation; Locus of Control; Power; Value Dimensions: GLOBE Study; Value Dimensions: Hofstede; Value Dimensions: Trompenaars; Worldview

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Cultural Relativism

Cultural relativism, described variously as a theory, doctrine, or principle, emerged in the field of anthropology about a century ago, yet it still sparks debate and controversy. The concept logically migrated to the new fields of intercultural relations, intercultural training, and intercultural communication. Cultural relativism refers to the idea that the meaning, perceptions, behaviors, beliefs, values, actions, and organization of a group of people can be explained and understood only through that group's cultural lens. The challenge for those seeking to acquire or build intercultural competence is to decide where they stand in the debate regarding cultural relativism. This entry explores a few of the most significant contributors to the idea of cultural relativism, distinguishing it from other related terms, and briefly examines perhaps the most controversial aspect of cultural relativism, that of human rights. The final section offers a few ideas about how one might make sense of these seemingly disparate concepts and incorporate them into intercultural competence.

Key Contributors to the Idea of Cultural Relativism

The renowned anthropologist Franz Boas is credited as the first to suggest the concept of cultural relativism. He advocated that no culture was inherently better than another, that each culture's characteristics had evolved as a result of its own history and adaptations to its own unique circumstances and was not simply a function of race and environment.

Years later, Melville Herskovits, an anthropologist and a student of Franz Boas, defined cultural relativism this way: The judgments that individuals make come from their experience, and that experience can only be interpreted through the perspective provided by the culture they learn. In other words, it is impossible for a person from one culture to make an objective judgment about another culture. He added that if an individual were inclined toward one standard of moral values, ample evidence to the contrary would be found when analyzing other societies.

The anthropologist Edward T. Hall, considered the founder of the fields of intercultural training and intercultural communication (he was the first to use the term *intercultural communication*), added more insight to the idea of cultural relativism. He viewed culture and communication as one and the same. He believed that messages consist of parts: Words are the sets, sounds the isolates, and syntax or grammar that which produces the meaning or patterns; he considered cultures relative to one another at the pattern level. To further analyze and compare cultures systematically, he came up with 10 systems of human activity, the first being interaction, which he believed to be the genesis for the nine other systems, such as association and temporality.

Hall agreed with Herskovits that all human experience was enveloped by a cultural context, which prevented anyone from objectively assessing a culture outside of one's own. However, he wrote that cultural relativity meant more than comparing the standards of good and bad in cultures; it required careful investigation into the detailed components of culture to discover exactly how one culture compared with another.

Cultural Relativism Compared With Related Concepts

A counterprinciple, *universalism*, holds that human beings share fundamental similarities that supersede their cultural differences. In other words, there are ways of being and setting moral standards that apply to humans universally without regard to culture. One way of thinking about the relationship between cultural relativism and universalism is to think of them on a continuum. Scholars may see this continuum differently. For example, the psychology scholar John Berry identifies three terms on the continuum: (1) absolutism, (2) cultural relativism, and (3) universalism. He distinguishes the terms this way: (a) at one end is *absolutism* (human psychological experiences are the same in all cultures; e.g., honesty is the same); (b) at the other end of the continuum is *cultural relativism* (cultural patterns explain the entirety of human behavior, and the meaning of those patterns can only be interpreted through the eyes of members of that culture); and (c) in the middle between the two is *universalism* (although human beings share psychological experiences, culture may influence how these experiences manifest themselves).

Berry argues that universalism is quite different from absolutism though the two are sometimes confused. He believes that universalism takes culture into account to understand the wide range of human behavior, which is open to not only similarities (also called universals) but also differences that are culturally specific among human groups. On the other hand, he also strongly distinguishes universalism from relativism because he sees universalism allowing cultural comparisons that are indispensable to understanding the diversity of human behavior in the world.

Yet another concept, *moral relativism*, may also be confused with cultural relativism. Moral relativism basically means that every culture's moral system is as valid as any other. But the concept goes further in many people's understanding: that no absolute moral standards exist outside of any cultural context.

Controversial Intersection: Cultural Relativism and Human Rights

After World War II, cultural relativism arrived at an intersection with human rights, which has become perhaps its most controversial area. Human rights came to the fore with the United Nations document the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. With that document, human rights began being discussed as a universal phenomenon. However, advocates of cultural relativism pointed primarily to the wide range of cultural and religious manifestations of diversity in the world and argued that human rights should be subordinate to the norms of these local groups. In addition, they claimed that the concept of universal human rights is simply a reflection of Western values linked to the goal of promoting Western influence around the world. On the other hand, proponents of universal human rights cited the diversity argument as a prime reason why these rights need to be universal, so that they could not be subject to the whims of local, cultural, religious, or political leaders. These proponents also argued that recent research from a variety of disciplines substantiates that human beings share a number of qualities (or universals) regardless of culture, which justifies universal rights to protect this shared humanity. One example of this research comes from Berry, mentioned previously, in which he identifies four underlying psychological features shared by all humans that can be found within the categories of (1) perception, (2) cognition, (3) emotion, and (4) personality.

Implications for Intercultural Competence

Contrary to the popular opinion that cultural relativism simply means *anything goes*, *there are no standards*, and *everything is relative*, various scholars have offered a more nuanced view, which provides helpful guidance to those seeking intercultural competence.

One perspective comes from Elizabeth Zechenter, a lawyer writing on the intersection of cultural relativism and human rights. She believes that it is *illusory* to think that individuals must avoid judging other cultures for fear of being *ethnocentric*, and that people cannot deny brutality and oppression masked as *cultural traditions*. She further writes that cultural relativism does indeed involve making judgments, whether acknowledged or not, the result of which is to condone mistreatment and wrongs against those without a voice or influence. Zechenter advocates for universal human rights, which she argues have raised moral and ethical standards in the world where they have been adopted. She points to the abolition of slavery as one of the most visible elevations of human dignity on a global scale.

From the intercultural communication field, Janet Bennett and Milton Bennett discuss the values conflict inherent in the stage of Acceptance in the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity. To assist people when they come face-to-face with the validity of differing value sets, they cite the work of William Perry, who advocated for a slightly different idea, called *contextual relativism*. Perry suggested that individuals should redevelop the ability to make ethical decisions—that is, making choices and judgments not out of an either-or mentality but that are appropriate for the context at hand.

Moving on to Adaptation, the stage following Acceptance in the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity, the model again focuses on how to make decisions and find one's moral place. At this point, they discuss it in terms of power, which is not to be avoided but exercised in the form of individuals acting on their convictions. Those actions, however, are framed appropriately for the cultural contexts in which individuals find themselves; Perry refers to this skill as *commitment in relativism*, which basically means a high level of culturally responsible ethics.

Barbara R. Deane

See also Beliefs, Values, Norms, Customs (Definitions); Cultural Patterns; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Anthropology; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Psychology; Ethical Universalism; Hall, E. T.; Universal Human Rights

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Cultural Self-Awareness

Cultural self-awareness is a person's conscious ability to critically view and understand the objective and subjective cultures to which the individual belongs. A person with cultural self-awareness may also be able to see the self from different cultural points of view. Cultural self-awareness is relevant to intercultural competence from the personal identity and personal growth standpoints; it is also an important component in an individual's intercultural competence development. The remainder of this entry covers the core concepts of cultural self-awareness and examines its place in the broader context of intercultural competence.

Core Concepts

Having self-awareness of one's own culture, or cultures (because each person belongs to macro and micro cultures, or large and small cultural groups, respectively), means that an individual has examined many layers of meaning—from the most visible expressions to the deepest set values and assumptions. People learn and adopt culture from the social environments in which they grow up, from their families, their schools, their faith groups, their workplaces, and the communities in which they live. Yet often people can only develop a deeper awareness of culture by engaging in constant or repeated interactions with people who are different from them, those who represent *cultural difference.* In particular, when individuals encounter cultural differences, the dissonance (*culture shock*) causes them to reflect on themselves as if for the first time.

A classic image that helps illustrate the layers of cultural self-awareness is an onion, which is formed of many concentric layers. When we look at an onion, we only see the exterior, but we know that there are more layers underneath. This is a simple analogy for cultural self-awareness. Intercultural scholars do not always agree on what the layers are, but there is general agreement that a basic level of cultural awareness exists in each person and that there are one or more levels of culture beneath that awareness that may or may not be recognized.

People may be aware of just the outermost layer of the cultures to which they belong: language, music, cuisine, dress, holidays, rituals, and other cultural elements that are perceived with our senses. These aspects of culture may be loved or not, but people recognize them and, on some level, identify with them. These elements are termed *objective culture*, *symbols*, *artifacts*, or outward ways in which a group of people express themselves. The sari, a so-called traditional or ethnic dress, is a symbol to an Indian, but so are blue jeans and a T-shirt to an American. To access a richer understanding of culture and to comprehend the deeper meanings beneath cultural symbols and artifacts, it is necessary to peel the onion. As the top layer of culture is peeled away, culture appears more complex than simply what is seen or heard. There are at least two more layers of culture, each one more deeply set and therefore more difficult to bring into awareness. These layers are (1) *values* and (2) *assumptions*.

The values of a culture are frequently below conscious awareness; they define what a culture believes is good. There are many models of cultural values, but often at the deepest level, the models explore values such as power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism, forms of group identity, orientation toward time, nature, social systems, and many others. Values also influence a culture's preferences about concepts such as honor, face, interaction patterns, and gender roles. For example, in Japan a child is taught from the earliest age to be responsible for the group, sharing in classroom chores, taking turns carefully, and so on. This is a simple example of the much more complex Japanese value of harmonious participation in a peer group. These values become part of a cultural code that each child learns to follow in order to integrate successfully into the group. Cultural values create a scaffold of what is expected by the world around us.

Cultural assumptions are implicitly held beliefs about what is true and good; they are core, unspoken, and often unchallenged concepts. For instance, in many Western cultures, there is a core assumption that an individual can and should adapt and grow, that dependence is undesirable, and that personal identity is meaningful. These unexamined, deeply held assumptions rarely surface as a part of cultural self-awareness.

An example is a difficult challenge posed separately to an American and to a Filipino: If your mother and your child, both helpless, are on a sinking boat and you can save only one of them, whom would you save? Americans often say that they would save the child because the child represents the future. Filipinos often say that they would save the mother because she honors the past. Cultural assumptions are what guide and shape our values and symbols; once people begin to understand their assumptions, it becomes easier to comprehend and maintain more conscious awareness of the other, outer onion layers.

When individuals don't have to explain a joke, a reference to a television show, or the meaning of a holiday or religious practice, it is likely because they and the people they are interacting with share the same or a similar culture. Cultural self-awareness increases the more individuals interact with people who don't share their culture. Having developed the ability to understand, explain, or compare cultural values and assumptions is the hallmark of a person with cultural self-awareness. To develop cultural self-awareness requires thought, examination, and comparison to come to an understanding of these layers of ourselves.

In the Context of Intercultural Competence

Like intercultural competence, cultural self-awareness is not innate but must be learned. Cultural self-awareness is such a primary characteristic of intercultural competence that many interculturalists say that a person cannot develop intercultural competence without first having developed cultural self-awareness. Repeated or long-term exposure to other cultures, particularly facilitated exposure, allows individuals to see that other valid symbols, values, and assumptions exist. As people begin to see their own symbols, values, and assumptions as cultural conventions or models that they choose to follow in order to maintain membership in their own cultures, the greater their cultural self-awareness becomes.

Elizabeth Stallman Madden

See also Assumptions and Beliefs; Culture Specific/Culture General; Identity; Power; Worldview

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Cultural Studies

Cultural studies is an interdisciplinary field of scholarship that incorporates theories and methods from a wide range of academic disciplines to focus research on power, hegemony, representation, the fight against privilege and oppression, and the pursuit of social justice. Areas of concentration in cultural studies include ethnicity and race, the media, theory, feminism, gender and sexuality, colonialism/postcolonialism, political economy, and the arts. By integrating the research, scholarly advances, arguments, and positions of various academic disciplines, such as literature, communications, sociology, anthropology, history, political science, economics, philosophy, and religion, cultural studies reflects on social change in a unique and interdisciplinary way.

The field of cultural studies is highly political. And if one principle describes cultural studies' most significant preoccupation in scholarship, it is the principle of representation. It informs all areas of cultural studies scholarship. The term *hegemony*, coined by the political philosopher Antonio Gramsci, was adopted by cultural theorists in Britain and elewhere to describe the sometimes covert power relations in society. Power is also examined in the material sense; that is, the economic bases of power relations are investigated in cultural studies in addition to the power bases. The former is the reason why free-trade agreements such as NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement) often appear in the literature of cultural studies. It also highlights the field's leading preoccupation with representation.

Cultural studies scholars often focus on oppressed peoples. Many times they have turned to the southern United States to give a compelling view of social justice. In arguing against privilege, cultural studies scholars frequently examine racial and gender norms, with special attention to race relations in the United States, and also elsewhere in the Western world. The Civil Rights Movement has been heavily used as an example in contemporary cultural studies literature.

This entry examines the origins and history of cultural studies, highlighting significant theorists, reviewing substantial contributions, and describing the range and development of cultural studies globally.

Origins of the Field

In 1964, Richard Hoggart founded the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham in the United Kingdom. This was the beginning of the institutionalizing of cultural studies, and the event also marked the beginning of the tradition that would become known as British Cultural Studies. The cultural theorist Stuart Hall participated in the centre, later becoming its next director in 1968. Other key figures of the Birmingham school included Raymond Williams, E. P. Thompson, and, later, Dick Hebdige. Hall imported several of the theories of the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, the French literary critic and philosopher Roland Barthes, and the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci into the centre's programmatic statements, including its theory of hegemony. Hoggart had a tremendous and formative impact on the field with his book *The Uses of Literacy*, as did Thompson with his book *The Making of the English Working Class*.

Before cultural studies was formally founded at the Birmingham centre, the so-called Frankfurt school, and its Institute for Social Research in Germany, embarked on research known as *critical theory*, which resembled an inchoate cultural studies in that it provided social and cultural criticism—of a Marxist orientation—as well as a theoretical engagement with the popular culture of its era. The notable scholars of the Frankfurt school working in this tradition included Theodor W. Adorno and Max Horkheimer; the latter was a director of the Institute for Social Research. Many of the Jewish Marxist intellectuals of the Frankfurt school were forced to seek exile in the United States during the rise and reign of National Socialism in Germany, during which time they provided a cultural and social criticism of American society and its popular culture. Such was the case with Adorno and Horkheimer and their conceptualization of the culture industry. Prior to the Frankfurt school, German philosophers working in the neo-Kantian tradition of scholarship at the turn of the 20th century attempted to articulate a philosophy of culture and an analysis of what was known as the *cultural sciences*. Ernst Cassirer is an example of a neo-Kantian philosopher with such a scholarly interest.

Legacies of Cultural Studies

Cultural studies then spread to academies in Australia, Canada, South Africa, and the United States; it was commonly studied in English and communications departments in North America and was associated with media, gender, and literary studies in Australia. Today, many cultural studies scholars in the United States and Canada still find a home in communications studies as well as in English departments or literature programs. The field is less developed in France and Germany than in the Anglophone world, although there has been some degree of exploration in the former countries. One academic initiative introduced in recent years is European Cultural Studies, where the European Union is treated as a whole entity or as a nation-state with its own cultural history and political landscape. The area of media studies has developed to the point where in some cases it is studied separately from cultural studies, as is the case with ethnic studies and gender studies. In the former, African American studies has emerged as a school of thought, as has Latin American studies.

Cultural Studies: Core Elements

Ethnicity and race form important areas of cultural studies scholarship, and at times are juxtaposed or intertwined with colonialism and postcolonialism. Henry Louis Gates Jr. is a leading scholar of race in cultural studies, and his works, such as *Writing "Race" and the Difference It Makes*, are among the most influential scholarship in this field. Feminism, sexuality, and gender constitute a significant focus of contemporary cultural studies. The work of Judith Butler, most notably *Gender Trouble*, is a prime example of gender scholarship in cultural studies. Scholarship at the intersection of gender studies and critical social/political theory in cultural studies includes works by Nancy Fraser and Seyla Benhabib, namely, Fraser's *Unruly Practices* and Benhabib's *The Situated Self*.

Theory in cultural studies includes critical and cultural theory, social and political theory, structuralism/poststructuralism, modernism/postmodernism, aesthetic and literary theory, Marxist theory, consumer culture theory, postcolonial theory, critical race theory, media theory, feminist theory, gender theory, and queer theory. The pioneering literary and cultural critic Walter Benjamin's *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* along with Horkheimer and Adorno's book chapter "The Culture Industry" form a theoretical core of early cultural studies. The work of the social theorist Pierre Bourdieu, most notably his notion of *habitus*, as well as Michel Foucault and his account of discursive practices have contributed to social practice theory in contemporary cultural studies. The philosopher Jean-François Lyotard presented a theory of postmodernism for cultural studies in *The Postmodern Condition*, and the work of Jürgen Habermas, especially his *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, wrestled with such a notion of postmodernity, opting for modernism/modernity in its place.

Literary theory and criticism by the likes of Raymond Williams and Terry Eagleton form a substantial part of the tradition of cultural studies in the humanities, with works such as Williams's *Marxism and Literature* and Eagleton's *Marxism and Literary Criticism* representing the juncture of political economy and literary theory/criticism in the field. Consumer culture theory was pioneered, in part, by Jean Baudrillard in his work *The Consumer Society.* Postcolonial theory is a framework employed by cultural studies scholars to explore the limits of colonialism, empire, imperialism, and globalization and to understand the postcolonial condition in contemporary society. Critical race theory forms the intellectual foundation of ethnicity and race in cultural studies, while feminist theory, gender theory, and queer theory form the theoretical framework for the treatment of feminism, gender, and sexuality, respectively, in cultural studies. Media theory, pioneered by the Canadian scholar Marshall McLuhan, is commonly used throughout contemporary cultural studies scholarship.

Political economy in cultural studies includes Marxism/neo-Marxism, Fordism/post-Fordism, liberalism/neoliberalism, capitalism, and a general emphasis on consumerism and consumer culture. The work of Foucault on liberalism and neoliberalism was among the first of its kind in cultural studies scholarship, and it is studied to a great extent today. Foucault's work on neoliberalism, *The Birth of Biopolitics*, has been deeply explored by cultural studies scholars. In contemporary cultural studies scholarship, the work of David Harvey has also focused on this theme in recent years.

Religion is a focus of cultural studies, especially as it interacts with colonialism, postcolonialism, ethnicity, race, gender, and political theory. Colonialism and postcolonialism themselves build off the theoretical apparatus of cultural studies, with the aforementioned postcolonial theory a key component of the field's conceptual framework. Notable studies with this scholarly orientation have been carried out by the philosopher and literary theorist Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in her work *Can the Subaltern Speak?* and by the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai in his work *Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy*, as well as in the work of the theorist Homi Bhabha, especially his *The Location of Culture*.

The media have long been a focus of cultural studies scholarship, which has since branched off into media studies in some cases. Theorists such as Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, Baudrillard, and McLuhan have all contributed to an intellectual focus on media in cultural studies. John Fiske has pursued media scholarship in a cultural studies tradition, as has the critical theorist Douglas Kellner. Media was a major emphasis of the influential Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in the United Kingdom, especially in the works of Hall. At the Institute for Social Research in Frankfurt, Germany, and since his retirement as its director in 1993, Habermas focused on the role of the media in a democratic society and in the public sphere, and this work of his has been explored by cultural studies scholars for more than 35 years.

History has been employed as a methodology in cultural studies since its genesis, and historicism is a position that scholars in the field advocate, challenge, refute, or reject to advance a number of their arguments. Scholars such as Hayden White have pursued history scholarship in cultural studies—as exemplified in his work *Metahistory*—which is at the crossroads of the humanities and the social sciences. The Birmingham school's E. P. Thompson originally pursued history scholarship in cultural studies with his work *The Making of the English Working Class*. However, many scholars employing history in cultural studies often regard the work of the 19th-century philosopher Karl Marx as an intellectual source of their arguments and positions.

Today, the field of cultural studies has become increasingly specialized despite its interdisciplinary origins. There are cultural studies of music, cultural studies of art, and cultural studies of education, as well as many other emphases. Popular culture and cultural criticism have long been at the center of cultural studies scholarship, and the former phenomenon is a reason for its initial marginalization in the academy and its frequent disciplinary practice in communications departments. The role of economics and certain strands of economic theory has increasingly become an important factor in cultural studies scholarship, especially since the push for globalization has been felt in the international community. International relations have also become increasingly significant in the practice of cultural studies, with some academic institutions developing international cultural studies.

Dustin Garlitz

See also Civil Rights; Critical Race Theory; Critical Theory; Ethnicity; Gender Theory

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Culturally Appropriate Instructional Design

The technique used by educators to create learning events, such as classes and workshops, is called *instructional design* (ID). There are many approaches to ID, but the overall goal is to ensure that the targeted learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to perform successfully. What many instructional designers do not know, however, is that people in countries or cultures other than their own are likely to learn and teach differently. This entry examines the intercultural competencies that are required at each step of a culturally responsive ID process.

In the United States, for example, college professors design or teach their courses to stimulate their students. They expect students to ask questions, to challenge assumptions, to apply learning to the "real world," and to seek their own answers to questions. In contrast, in many Asian cultures, professors are expected to behave as authorities in their field. Thus, they are more likely to pass on their knowledge to students through lectures and assigned readings. They would be less likely to expect students to ask questions or challenge assumptions. Students would tend to memorize verbatim what the professors or textbooks tell them. The professors would not usually expect students to discover answers to questions, and students would probably not have opportunities for hands-on experience. Thus, a student accustomed to an Asian approach to teaching and learning would possibly feel alienated in an American classroom, and vice versa.

Research has shown that such culturally different environments can actually interfere with students' learning. To ensure that all students achieve *equitable learning outcomes* (meaning that all learners expend the same amount of time and effort to achieve the same results), instructional designers need to enhance the ID process by making it culturally appropriate. The process of *culturally appropriate instructional design* (CAID) is one in which all contributors (content experts, managers, scriptwriters, programmers, etc.) modify their usual ID techniques to account for the unique needs of learners and educators in other countries or cultures. As evidenced by many research studies and testimonials, failure to incorporate CAID diminishes learning, as well as increasing frustration and disengagement, which, in turn, contributes to financial loss, unskilled workforces, unsafe work environments, and disenfranchised workers.

Exercising CAID

In the discipline of ID, there are many approaches to creating effective learning events. One of the simplest, most popular approaches is to use the *ADDIE Model*, in which each letter represents a step in the ID process: Analysis, Design, Development, Implementation, and Evaluation. However, to exercise culturally appropriate ID, each step requires application of a cultural filter.

Analysis

In the typical Analysis phase of ID, designers research the characteristics of their target audiences (e.g., previous experience, gender, size of the audience, literacy level), depending on the overall goal of the learning event. However, in CAID, this step becomes much more critical to success because designers also need to research the cultural characteristics of the learners and their context.

Instructional designers: Per the cultural adaptation process model, designers need to consider the following characteristics to ensure that their design will be compatible with the needs and preferences of their target audience:

- Learning environments (access to or familiarity with different technologies, etc.)
- Socioeconomic characteristics (values, social status, religious influences, etc.)
- Communication styles (use of language, symbolism, gestures, etc.)
- National cultural dimensions (individualism, hierarchy, orientation to time, etc.)
- Subgroup characteristics (learning styles, personal skill levels, exposure to other cultures, etc.)

For example, learners in the United States might enjoy a humorous animation; however, members of cultures that are more formal could consider it silly or even offensive.

In addition, designers will need to confirm their findings and proposed adaptations with members of their target audience to ensure that they are on the right track before moving on to the Design phase. For example, the designers' research may indicate that the targeted learners are unfamiliar with U.S. slang; however, the end users might reveal that, because of their past work with U.S. companies, they are comfortable with it. Therefore, that aspect of the design might not require modification. While designers might safely assume that they know their audience, it is a dangerous assumption when the group comprises other cultures.

Design

In the previous, Analysis, phase, the designers created the skeleton of the course—what content is needed, what instructional approaches will be effective, and what media should be used. In the Design phase, however, several other contributors help put meat on the bones of this skeleton, which is often called the *storyboard*. Thus, they too have a role in creating culturally appropriate learning events.

Instructional designers: Based on their research and feedback from the targeted learners, they create culturally appropriate learning activities, content sequences, assessments (tests), and supplemental resources. For example, the U.S. version of the learning event may start with a case study and a quiz, followed by supporting content. However, the sequence of these elements might change for learners in more risk-averse cultures. By providing supporting content first, and then offering the case study and a group case analysis, the learners in a risk-averse culture will be more comfortable with the sequence of the interactivity.

Content developers and subject matter experts: Together, these contributors typically provide, gather, and organize the content to be used in a learning event; however, they need to discern what is or is not relevant to learners in the target country or culture and make the appropriate adaptations. Note that this is where *reusable learning objects* (RLOs) are essential—text or media relevant to different cultural groups that can be plugged into course components as needed. For example, if laws on employing persons with disabilities vary across cultures, content developers would create a learning object on this topic for each of the targeted audiences so that it is relevant to them.

Scriptwriters: These contributors frequently create scenarios, case studies, or videos for learning events. However, in CAID, they have the additional responsibilities of identifying characteristics of the targeted learners that can be seen or heard, such as the ethnic makeup of the targeted learners, the proportion of women versus men in the workplace, or how they might communicate (e.g., formally or informally). For example, a scenario developed in the United States may contain a free-flowing conversation between an employee and his or her boss. However, for hierarchical cultures, where such conversations would not happen because the boss would never be questioned or approached by subordinates, the script would be revised to reflect that reality.

Editors: The role of editors in CAID goes far beyond correcting grammar, spelling, and so on, of text. In addition, editors need to ensure that the principles of Global English have been applied (practices that facilitate comprehension for non-native English speakers), such as using short, active sentences and eliminating idioms and jargon.

Graphic designers: Graphic designers are often responsible for layout, templates, color schemes, and static images. In CAID, they also need to consider symbolism (what is meaningful or not to the targeted learners), color representation (what colors may have negative connotations), and what is represented in static images (so that they reflect the learners' environment, not that of the designers). RLOs (reusable learning objects) also work well for these challenges. For example, if a scene depicting the work environment in the United States contains casually dressed young females, its counterpart RLO for Eastern Europe may depict older, more formally attired men because it better reflects their reality.

Development

In the Development phase, contributors produce what are called the *learning assets*—all of the puzzle pieces needed to create the final product—and link those assets together to create the complete learning event. Again, though, each contributor has additional responsibilities in CAID.

Media producers: These contributors turn scripts into actualities—videos, animations, and so on. However, in CAID, they need to be aware of potential issues or challenges. For example, they may use an actor with a British accent, but learners in the United Kingdom would immediately know that the person is American. In many instances, Americans tend to depict sets of multicultural characters (what they consider to be diversity) in their media, while the context of the targeted learners is usually very different and, thus, the target learners do not recognize the images as their world.

Programmers: Technical staff (programmers and those who use authoring software) have additional unusual challenges when learning events are in online formats, especially when they need to be translated. For example, in many languages, people read from bottom to top or right to left, which is in contrast to how English is read. In addition, computer code varies across technical environments. Thus, programmers need to know in advance to which countries a course may be exported so that they can, at a minimum, create a course that will be easy to translate by a localization service. Another often overlooked aspect of online learning events is navigation, which needs to be compatible with end-user expectations and technical platforms.

End users: Typically, end users are involved in some level of testing (alpha and beta testing for online courses) before a learning event is finalized. Given the examples provided so far, it is obvious that their input is even more critical in a cross-cultural or multicultural context. Their input at this stage will address both content and technical issues before resources are committed to final production in the Implementation stage.

Implementation

The Implementation stage should be the smoothest, providing all previous steps were completed appropriately. However, usually something needs to be fixed, corrected, or changed once the course is offered to its target audience. In the case of CAID, these modifications could be based in cultural and environmental differences as well. When the course is implemented (usually by a project manager), there should be systems in place to collect data on usage, technical issues, and end-user feedback. Such systems might include a link in an online course to send feedback to the project manager or simply a collection of feedback from a classroom-based learning event. Most important, any incidents related to cultural differences should be communicated back to all contributors not only so that they can be fixed but also so that everyone learns more about other cultures in the process.

Evaluation

Evaluation, the phase in which the effectiveness of the learning event is assessed, is often ignored in the ID process because it requires additional resources to track participation, monitor the use of skills in the field, and so forth. However, it is a particularly powerful step in CAID. For instance, for an online course, a learning management system may track participation, how long it takes learners to complete the course, how many times they take quizzes before passing, their final scores, and so forth. If learners in different countries can sort such information, it provides quantitative data that can be used to detect issues or challenges raised by cultural differences. For example, if learners in another country on average took three attempts to pass a quiz in contrast to once for their American counterparts, then something is wrong. Such quantitative analyses can be used in conjunction with self-reported feedback and provided to all contributors to the CAID process as a learning tool. For example, the learners in another country may report that they felt the quiz responses relied more on one's experiences than on the information provided in the course and, thus, the quiz did not represent their context.

Contributors to the CAID Process

It is obvious that, as a process, CAID involves multiple contributors who, in turn, must be trained to work differently in the new cultural environment. The additional responsibilities of these contributors have been discussed above; however, project managers typically oversee the creation of learning events. Project managers have two additional responsibilities. First, they need to ensure that their contributors are all trained to make cultural adaptations, as necessary, in their role. Second, they need to ensure that the CAID process is effective by promoting a logical sequence of steps in the development process that prevents costly redos, redundancies, and avoidable errors. For example, programmers should receive content that has already been edited for Global English, or it will likely be sent back. Media developers need to cast culturally appropriate actors for videos before they start production. ID is akin to building a house: Completing the steps in the right order significantly lowers the use of all resources—finances, people, and time—over the duration of the project and results in a quality product.

CAID is the model for developing learning events that are intended for global audiences. Instead of creating learning events that are based on the values and experiences of the designing culture, the model accommodates to the extent possible the cultural needs and preferences of learners in other cultures and countries. Not every event needs to be adapted; nor does each different set of targeted learners need its own unique version of the event. However, by following the CAID process—and training contributors on the cultural aspects of their role—learning events will be developed in a cost-effective manner and in ways that support equitable learning outcomes.

Andrea Edmundson

See also Global Learning; Globalized E-Learning; Learning Styles Across Cultures; Online Global Communication; Teaching and Training Online

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Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

Culturally responsive pedagogy is a rubric representing several strains of research in which the objective is to understand, from a cultural values perspective, patterns of behavior within the classrooms and training rooms of different societies. The approach used by an instructor in guiding learners' activities varies from place to place, being shaped by numerous factors (subject matter, learners' ages, etc.). One factor underlies and influences all others: the constellation of cultural values prevailing in the local community.

This entry discusses research into culturally responsive pedagogy that disentangles community values from other factors and explores how they govern the instructor's approach, the students' behavior, and the overall culture of the classroom.

The Motives for Research Into Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

The principal motive for research into culturally responsive pedagogy is to reveal the values underlying differences in behavior so that, grounded in contextualized understanding, practical guidance can be developed for people involved in educational boundary crossing (including for those on the receiving side). Such research became prevalent during the 1970s.

Much research has been carried out to support Western instructors who practice their craft in Asia or Africa. The most attention has gone to English teachers, who typically use *communicative* methods that expect spoken class participation by students. In many cultures, learners resist this approach, occasionally to the point of class boycotts. The flow of instructors from the West has been complemented by a counterflow of learners to the West, where a challenging transition awaits them at the levels of learning methods and classroom behavior. For instance, the roles of student and instructor and the rules for their interaction may be quite different from one culture to another.

Another similar driver of this research, especially in the United States and Canada, has been the influx of immigrant learners into local schools at all levels, as well as the necessity to provide education for indigenous peoples. This research often is conceived as a quest for educational equity, and sometimes it frames its conclusions in ethical terms.

During more recent decades, another motive for this research has been the concern by many in the United States over the growing evidence that their schools are not adequately educating American youth. This concern has spawned comparative studies of instructional methods, school cultures, and teacher training in other nations, especially in East Asia and Finland, to identify practices that could be tried in the United States. A parallel development among Western scholars has been inquiries into the *paradox of the Asian learner*: The conditions in Asian classrooms, including authoritarian teachers, huge class sizes, the focus on examinations, and memorization by students, *should* yield poor outcomes. But Asian learners consistently outperform their Western counterparts. And studies of *deep* versus *surface* learning have revealed that Asians learn more deeply. Researchers continue to examine how these counterintuitive outcomes might be explained.

The Nature and Scope of This Research

Insights into classroom cultures come from anthropologists, ethnographers, and others, who use their five senses to observe the patterned behaviors of instructors and learners within classrooms and contextualize what they observe by inquiring into the values that prevail in the local community. This distinguishes them from those, mainly psychologists, who characterize individuals' cognitive abilities and preferences, or *styles*, related to learning.

Learning style research has a wide interest in the West, especially in the United States. The belief animating such research is this: Each human has unique, inborn preferences for ways of learning, which can be gauged by assessments (many of the self-report variety). If an instructor can adapt teaching methods to suit a learner's preferences, that learner will learn more. This research now extends to the design of e-learning presentations.

Teaching style research is similar in that it relates an instructor's teaching style to his or her inborn cognitive style. Recently, teaching style research has increasingly focused on how an instructor can *match* each learner's preferences. Meanwhile, the methods and findings of learning style research, and the impact of matching, are increasingly coming under doubt.

Although all the research efforts referenced above share a similar motive, to improve educational outcomes, this entry concerns assumptions, methods, and findings that differ markedly from those of research into teaching style or learning styles.

Anthropologically oriented researchers do inquire into why learners become motivated to learn and how they go about learning. But these efforts do not try to *get inside the heads* of individuals. Rather, they consider classes of people, for example, Chinese students, within their cultural and historical context to grasp their *learned* values about the purpose and process of learning and what it means to have *learned* a classroom-taught topic.

The scope of anthropologically oriented research is extremely broad. Since the 1970s, practitioners have been carrying out their patient observations within classrooms from nursery through university levels at public, private, and faith-based institutions located in myriad corners of the globe in communities ranging from urban modern to remote traditional. Ethnographic studies have occurred on Mount Kilimanjaro, in the former East Germany, near Marrakech, outside Bangalore, at U.S. Indian reservations, on Ghanaian grasslands, within English suburbs, and in South African Zulu homelands; the complete list is too long to be given here.

Two Culturally Calibrated Approaches to Instruction

Notwithstanding the prodigious diversity of research sites, the preponderance of attention has gone to classrooms in two world regions: East Asia, principally China but also Japan, and the Anglo-Saxon West, especially the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. What has emerged is a solid understanding of the characteristic approaches to learning and instruction within these two regions and of their grounding in each region's historical and cultural milieu. Superficially considered, these findings reflect the popular saying that an instructor plays one of two roles: (1) a *sage on the stage* or (2) a *guide on the side*. Deeper familiarity with the findings reveals that this dichotomy is seriously misleading.

Each of the two culturally calibrated approaches to classroom instruction is known by a variety of names; here names are used that express a key characteristic of each approach:

- *Knowledge focused:* The basic responsibility of the instructor is *to deliver content* that (a) transmits to learners accepted knowledge while also (b) guiding them in gaining virtue.

- *Learner focused:* The basic responsibility of the instructor is *to facilitate a process* that (a) respects each learner's inborn capacities and (b) strives to motivate each learner to learn.

Virtue here involves far more than deportment and etiquette; it comprehensively refers to patterns of human relationships that reflect the community's expectations and core values.

Before elaborating these two basic approaches, it's important to note that there could be more than two. One researcher proposed three, but they weren't widely adopted. Numerous classroom cultures have been described; categorizing them into a few general types is daunting. These two reflect the preponderance of findings: from East Asia and the Anglo-Saxon West (Table 1).

The Knowledge-Focused Approach: Confucian, Collectivist

Although the knowledge-focused approach characterizes classrooms in a variety of world regions, its historical and philosophical foundations are

Table 1 Ten Contrasts Between Knowledge-Focused and Learner-Focused Classroom Cultures

Basic Questions Posed by Society	*Appropriate Answer in a Knowledge-Focused Culture*	*Appropriate Answer in a Learner-Focused Culture*
What is the basic purpose of classrooms?	A place to transmit to learners locally accepted virtue and knowledge.	A place to provide for learners a motivating set of learning activities.
How much learning is expected to occur?	To full content mastery.	To the extent permitted by each learner's aptitude and preferences.
What is the principal driver of learning?	Each learner's indefatigable effort, spurred by heart and mind (hao xue xin).	Each learner's internal motivation to do the mental work of learning.
What is the most respected way to learn?	To receive and to master locally accepted knowledge from sources external to oneself (sages, texts).	To gain insights via self-generated curiosity and discovery, which may involve consulting external sources.
What learner behaviors are expected/valued?	Quiet attention to content delivery. Absence of physical/vocal activity is not evidence of non-engagement.	Physical/vocal participation in learning-related activities. Quietness is interpreted as non-engagement.
When and how is creativity encouraged?	Creativity may be attempted by a learner after she attains full mastery.	Instructors encourage each learner's creative expression early and often.
What is an instructor's key responsibility?	To authoritatively deliver accurate, challenging content, including virtue-related guidance, to learners.	To facilitate a motivating learning process, taking into account each learner's aptitude and preferences.
How do learners regard the instructor?	With deep respect, as their second parent (virtue) as well as The One Who Knows (knowledge).	With common respect, as an advanced fellow learner who can encourage, inform, and mentor.
What is an instructor's role vis-à-vis learners?	The One Who Knows; thus, tells them what to learn and how to learn it. Similarly, plays an active role in the development of each learner's virtue.	Content guide; motivator and mentor; tailors his approach to each one's aptitudes and preferences. Has very little responsibility for their virtue.
By whom and how are instructors evaluated?	By administrators; content-focused. Gauges how accurately content and virtue are transmitted to learners; test scores may be a key indicator.	By both administrators and (directly or by proxy) learners; learner-focused. Gauges learners' level of engagement based on visible activity and test scores.

often associated with the Chinese sage Confucius (551–479 BCE). Confucius was active when the highest goal of learning was appointment as a civil administrator, achieved by obtaining a top score on a grueling, 3-day examination. His teachings emphasized the transmission of accepted knowledge, delivered by instructors who, in the context of societal harmony via respect for hierarchical relations, were revered by students. Confucius taught that the goal of learning is its practical application, including in the moral uplift of society. He advocated that each learner should attain *mastery* through persistent effort. The impact of his views is felt to this day as Chinese students relate to their instructor as both *an* authority (knowledge and virtue) and *in* authority (classroom process), giving rise in the West to the phrase *sage on the stage.*

Central to an understanding of classroom culture in this tradition is the instructor–student relationship. The instructor is The One Who Knows; thus, it is he or she who definitively tells students *what* to learn and *how* to learn it. Often left out of this picture, however, is classic Confucian *senior–junior reciprocity*, in which the junior exhibits filialness (reverence) toward the senior while the senior exhibits concern and caring for the junior, *an active, parent-like responsibility* to ensure that the junior attains virtue as well as knowledge.

A senior's goal for the junior is virtuous behavior, which in many cultures outside the West emphasizes self-abnegation in support of intragroup integrity and harmony. One component of virtuous behavior is a process of learning that strives toward mastery through indefatigable effort, driven by heart and mind (*hao xue xin*). Virtuous effort includes reading, listening, note taking, pondering, inquiring, discussing, imitating, practicing, perfecting, and memorizing, all repeated until mastery is attained. To ensure that the junior attains mastery and does so by virtuous means, a senior applies direct criticism and authoritative guidance.

A learner's presumed abilities, inborn aptitude, and preferences have little or no impact on a knowledge-focused instructor's methods. Confucius knew that learners have varying abilities. His path to equivalent outcomes was not tailoring the content to *fit* the learner. Instead, it was *perseverance by the learner:* If someone [else] does it once, do it a hundred times. By truly doing it this way, although unintelligent, one becomes bright, and although weak, one becomes strong.

There is no need for an instructor to try to induce motivation within each student. The culture in which instructor, student, school, and family are immersed regards as virtuous the attentiveness and perseverance required to gain mastery; that is motivation enough. A student may ignore this aspect of virtue. A student, exhausted by relentless striving, may give up. Those who persist to mastery are rewarded by society's recognition. Responsibility for learning and the risks of not learning belong to each student.

In knowledge-focused classroom cultures, a student's goal is to become virtuous and to master accepted knowledge. The student's role is to be reverently attentive to The One Who Knows, the instructor. A student who is attentive but remains silent and *passive* is not assumed to be disengaged. Instructor–student interactions *do* occur, often with warmth, but outside of classroom time. The instructor's roles are to be a paragon of virtue, a repository of knowledge, an authoritative deliverer of both to students, and a parent-like director of all their efforts, without making allowances for their uniqueness or motivation. The instructor's role does not extend to coaxing novel productions or fresh insights from students; only *after* a learner has attained mastery are attempts at creativity appropriate.

The knowledge-focused approach is often discussed in Confucian terms because most of the research that led to its identification occurred in Confucian cultures. It is more useful to understand this approach as an expression of *societal collectivism.* In a 1986 journal article, Geert Hofstede noted that collectivism, closely seconded by high power distance, has a pervasive impact on patterns of behavior within the classroom. Among the values with enduring impacts are the following:

- Reverence for local virtue and traditional knowledge and their guardians, the instructors
- High desirability of ingroup harmony, maintained in part by veneration of hierarchies
- Low desirability of individual self-expression, which contradicts ingroup integrity
- View of individuals as malleable and obliged to pursue *societally defined* self-perfection

- Warm reciprocity within unequal-status senior–junior relationships
- All grounded in a mind-set in which one thinks of the self in "my ingroup" ("we") terms.

The Learner-Focused Approach: Socratic, Individualist

To some extent, the learner-focused approach typifies classrooms across the Anglo-Saxon West. However, it's most convincingly on display in the classrooms of self-described progressive and child-centered schools, many in the United States and the United Kingdom. Their classrooms provide especially interesting comparisons with knowledge-focused classrooms.

The origin of the learner-focused approach is traceable to Plato, Socrates, and Aristotle (collectively 427–322 BCE), that triumvirate of Greek philosophers who had a determining impact on Western thought. During their era, it was believed that a human's five senses are inaccurate witnesses to the external world. Where can accurate information be found? Their answer was "inside oneself." Influenced by a belief in mystical insight traceable to Pythagoras (a contemporary of Confucius), Plato taught that there exists an eternal *real* world of pure concepts, perfect models for everything external, and that, via contemplation, each individual can find that *real* world *inside* himself. From that beginning, and in spite of the rise of empirical science, Western assumptions about knowledge transmission have focused more on the likelihood of each individual's gaining *insights* and less on his or her learning from wise others.

Activating this constellation of beliefs was Socrates, who publicly doubted everyone's beliefs, including those of the powerful. He gained fame for claiming, after using a series of questions to steer a person to recognize a fact, that the person's knowledge was self-generated (suggesting that the fact always had been internally available). Socrates's claim expresses a foundational assumption of the learner-focused approach: that whatever is worth knowing has its origin not in someone high in the power hierarchy or in a wise sage or venerated text, all of which may be, and *should* be, doubted, but in the individual's own curiosity, discovery, and reasoning.

The instructor–student relationship in a learner-focused culture, compared with that found in a knowledge-focused culture, is a study in contrasts. First, there is scant admiration for any instructor who definitively tells students *what* to learn and *how* to learn it. Some of that necessarily occurs, of course, but choices for the students must be preserved (optional readings, elective courses, term paper topic choice). An authoritative tone by the instructor is never desirable. Students are expected to show common respect toward their instructor, not to exhibit filial reverence. The instructor is expected to show concern for his students but not to extend that to parent-like responsibility and (except in faith-based schools) not to become involved in students' deep moral development beyond basic etiquette and deportment.

In learner-focused classrooms, the intent is that students will gain new knowledge through their own inquiries, in a manner and to an extent that reflects their inborn aptitude and preferences. The instructor's role is one of mentoring and gentle guidance, as though the instructor was an advanced fellow learner. It is of high importance that each student be *internally motivated* to do the mental work of learning. Since motivation to learn is lacking in some students, it becomes the instructor's responsibility to induce it. Thus, one identifying feature of a learner-focused classroom is activity by the instructor not merely to maintain the students' interest but also *to cause them to become intrinsically motivated* to learn. The result often is a conscious effort to make learning enjoyable, ridiculed as *edutainment* by knowledge-focused learning advocates. A second identifying feature is that attempts are made to draw creative productions from each student, including very young ones, or at least to draw from the students' unique verbal expressions evidence that they are becoming independent persons.

A third identifying feature of learner-focused classrooms is that the performance of the instructor is evaluated not only by the school's administrators but also directly or indirectly by the students, an incentive for the instructor to strive to be liked. In the case of older students, instructor evaluations often are direct, sanctioned by the administration, and available online. In the case of younger students, administrators' evaluations are liable to gauge how well an instructor is responding to each student's aptitude and preferences, and the extent to which all students appear actively engaged. Engagement is evidenced by in-class behavior such as answering and asking questions, contributing vocally in projects with peers, and so on. In many classrooms, each student is graded in part on participation. A quietly attentive student is liable to be viewed as unengaged, which can lower the instructor's evaluation. In a learner-focused classroom, it is the instructor who is responsible for the students' learning, more precisely for their *physical* participation in *active learning*.

Clearly, the learner-focused approach is grounded in *societal individualism*. Hofstede's 1986 analysis recognized ways in which individualism, in tandem with low power distance, determines classroom cultures. Among individualist values with enduring impacts are the following:

- Societal distrust of handed-down knowledge and belief in the efficacy of personal insight
- Grudging acceptance of hierarchies, viewed as useful for purely practical purposes
- View of an individual's attributes as *given* at birth, unique, and very largely stable
- High desirability of individual self-actualization and creative self-expression
- Emphasis on the fundamental equality of all humans, which reduces openness to Confucian-style senior–junior relationships
- All grounded in a mind-set in which one thinks of the self in "me-as-unique" terms

Do These Findings Have an Ethical Component?

In *Innocents Abroad*, the educational historian Jonathan Zimmermann tells the story of tens of thousands of American teachers who were sent overseas during the early 1900s to improve the learning, and the lives, of indigenous peoples. As with others in recent years who have headed from the West into Asia and Africa, a part of these teachers' mission was to share the transformative power of *progressive* (learner focused) classroom methods with those laboring under the burden of *old-fashioned* (knowledge focused) instruction.

As documented by Zimmermann, most of the teachers gradually concluded that their classroom methods were ineffective with indigenous children. Most recognized, too, that they were caught in an ethical dilemma. For although they professed respect for local cultural uniqueness, their daily work was a straightforward universalist attempt to demonstrate that there's one best way to teach everyone, everywhere.

Cornelius N. Grove

See also Cognitive Styles Across Cultures; Constructivism; Critical Pedagogy; Culturally Appropriate Instructional Design; Intercultural or Multicultural Classroom; Learning Styles Across Cultures; Training for Education Abroad

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Culture, Definition of

> *The best reason for the layperson to spend time studying culture is to learn something useful and enlightening. . . . This can be an interesting process, at times harrowing but ultimately rewarding. One of the most effective ways to learn about oneself is by taking seriously the cultures of others. It forces you to pay attention to those details of life which differentiate them from you.*
>
> —Hall (1959, p. 31)

These are the words of the anthropologist Edward T. Hall, who coined the term *intercultural communication* in his seminal book *The Silent Language* in 1959 and who is credited with launching the field of intercultural communication. Hall's words about culture would become the defining features of the intercultural communication field: that a serious interest in culture is important and accessible for everyone, and not just the province of specialists who travel to distant places to study people previously not subjected to such research, as many thought at the time. People can best learn more about themselves through a greater understanding of others, just as beginning to learn another language is often the first time individuals begin to understand the features of their mother tongue; this interest has practical implications for everyday life. For these reasons, the subject of *culture* in ordinary (not academic) usage has never been so widely employed in popular discourse.

This entry explores the concept and definition of culture and looks at the various uses of the concept. The entry goes on to discuss culture as communication and concludes with an explanation of formal and informal culture.

A Word in Search of a Definition

How best to define *culture*, let alone particularizing culture, such as "my culture," has been elusive since the term was first used by Edward Tylor in 1871. Tylor thought of culture as a complex whole, and he included in his definition knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, and customs.

Nearly a century later, the Harvard anthropologists Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn published a compendium of 160 different definitions for *culture* in use at that time, and the number has only continued to grow without agreement on a single definition. This calls to mind what the former U.S. Supreme Court justice Potter Stewart famously said about pornography: "I can't define it, but I know it when I see it."

Ironically, or for the very reasons that provoked so many efforts to define *culture*, the term itself has been under assault in academic disciplines, notably in anthropology, where it had long been regarded as a cornerstone of the field. For decades, the concept of culture has been criticized for many conceptual failings, especially as a reified concept, presenting an abstraction as if it were a thing. And yet ironically during this same period of academic contention, the word *culture* has entered the popular vocabulary as a useful term, widely used, or misused, without demands for a precise definition.

That *culture* appears as a noun rather than as a verb (as once suggested by another anthropologist, Leslie White) sets up the challenge of how to talk about culture. The word *culture* is an abstraction, leading us to speak of the complex dynamic of processes as if it were an entity, much as words like *weather* or *health* are potentially misleading in regarding ongoing processes. Curiously, some who today avoid using *culture* as a noun seem to find the adjectival or adverbial forms, *cultural* or *culturally*, respectively, less objectionable.

Culture as a Euphemism

As the word *culture* has expanded into popular usage, there are risks that the term will be used as a euphemism to disguise prejudice, especially by politicians and other public figures. Racist attitudes may be disguised by references to terms such as *inner-city culture*, or stereotyping may pass unnoticed in the guise of *their culture*. Indeed, it is not difficult to identify comments that raise such a suspicion.

Metaphors for Culture

How one thinks of culture is revealed in the implicit metaphors people use. Is culture *out there*, a place inhabited by people who largely seem to share common codes of interaction, which might be interpreted as manifesting certain beliefs and values? Or does *culture* exist more in the observer's perceptions and interpretations? Is *a culture* rooted in place and time? "When I left my culture . . ." or "I suddenly realized I had entered a new culture," or "I grew up living in two cultures." Culture is often presented that way, as people try to express their experience or seek to help others interpret theirs. The geographical metaphor is among the most common ways of talking about culture, perhaps because that seems to describe one's experience, which connects importantly to learning and competence.

And yet the word *culture* is also used to characterize what a person has internalized (*subjective culture*) as one moves from place to place. Many speak of culture almost as one's personal property that might be readily discarded when no longer needed, as *cultural baggage*: "Do they expect me to just leave my culture at the door?" Or is *culture* the media through which, or with which, individuals perceive the world? *Cultural filters*, or *cultural lenses*, are frequently used metaphors in the intercultural communication field. *Culture* is a word that is used in all of these ways, sometimes resulting in mixed metaphors that come across as vaguely incoherent: "When I entered the new culture, I had to leave my cultural baggage at the door and put on new cultural lenses in order to overcome culture shock."

The variety of metaphors for culture that characterizes the field of intercultural communication arises in part because self-identified *interculturalists* come from myriad backgrounds: academic, professional, geographical, and social. They apply their experience and attempt to offer insights in situations where formal definitional consistency is not paramount. How to define culture has not been a persistent issue within the intercultural communication field, a largely applied field, in contrast to a formal discipline such as anthropology, to which the intercultural field is so indebted.

Analogies

The absence of a simple, useful, working definition of culture has given rise to a variety of analogies that may gain from their poetry what they lack in rigor. Analogies, of course, are also subject to argument, especially with regard to which features of culture are highlighted in any particular analogy with the result that other important features are slighted or ignored. A few of the most common analogies described by some in the intercultural communication field are noted below.

The Iceberg Metaphor

Culture is likened to an iceberg, in that only a fraction of culture is observable or recognizable, while most of it is hidden below the surface, and in that unseen part lurk the greatest risks in intercultural communication. Here, the function of the analogy is to emphasize the importance of appreciating the cultural forces that are not immediately apparent. The analogy also draws attention to the subjective cultural elements on which intercultural communication tends to focus and differentiates them from the objective elements with which people are most familiar (art, music, dance, etc.). Apart from these aspects, the analogy offers very little.

The Rainbow Metaphor

Explaining a culture may resemble describing a rainbow. From a particular perspective in time and place, a clear, ordered, elegant, even beautiful vision of a rainbow—or a culture—may appear, and yet as conditions change and one attempts to come closer, this vision vanishes. Here, the emphasis is on how the perspective of the observer determines what is described, including an apparent clarity that is possible only from some distance.

The Environment Metaphor

Oftentimes, interculturalists will emphasize the difficulty of culture learning by noting that a person's cultural environment is taken for granted and out of consciousness. "Who discovered water? It probably wasn't a fish."

The "Conversation Into Which One Enters" Metaphor

The rich idea that culture preexists one's arrival and endures beyond one's departure is epitomized in this evocative passage by the rhetorical critic Kenneth Burke (1973):

> Imagine that you enter a parlor. You come late. When you arrive, others have long preceded you,

> and they are engaged in a heated discussion, a discussion too heated for them to pause and tell you exactly what it is about. In fact, the discussion had already begun long before any of them got there, so that no one present is qualified to retrace for you all the steps that had gone before. You listen for a while, until you decide that you have caught the tenor of the argument; then you put in your oar. Someone answers; you answer him; another comes to your defense; another aligns himself against you, to either the embarrassment or gratification of your opponent, depending upon the quality of your ally's assistance. However, the discussion is interminable. The hour grows late, you must depart. And you do depart, with the discussion still vigorously in progress. (pp. 110–111)

Here, the emphasis is on how individuals acquire aspects of *their culture* as they engage with others and, through that engagement, may exert some small influence on cultural processes that have a long and enduring history.

Common Features Among Most Definitions of Culture

Hall summarized the features that most definitions of culture have in common.

- Culture is learned, not innate. It is about the *nurture* part of the *nature–nurture* topic, which also continues to evolve and be challenged, as in any social science. Culture, however it is defined, assumes that it is acquired nonconsciously and learned, and not part of one's DNA.

- When speaking of culture, it is something shared among people, not unique to one person. Even while appreciating that each person is unique, the *cultural* parts are those that were learned and are shared with others. The language one speaks is a good example of this and has served as a model for other aspects of intercultural communication.

- Individuals learn from the earliest age what they need to know in order to survive in the world. They are sensitized to some stimuli and learn to ignore others that are not functional. Again, the language model is instructive; every baby is capable of hearing and making every possible sound in every language, but soon the child finds it difficult to distinguish and express sounds that are not part of the mother tongue. One survival value of culture is to prevent stimulus overload.

- Culture is also a system of interconnected assumptions, expectations, behaviors, and more. When one thing changes, other parts of the cultural system will be affected. Most obvious today may be the impact of technologies on behavior. Those of a generation who have grown up in a digital world relate to others differently than those of earlier generations where face-to-face communication, with all the attendant social skills, was the norm. Sherry Turkel, a sociologist at MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), has written extensively on the impact of digital technologies on current-day communication and culture. When technologies first appear, they seem *outside of the culture*, even to threaten the culture. Many quickly become just *another part of the culture*, such as earlier technologies like the clock or the automobile or, indeed, what Walter J. Ong called the most powerful technology, writing.

- In the ways in which the concept of "culture" is used by interculturalists, a significant feature is that all of the above are largely outside of one's conscious awareness if one has not lived or worked with people whose cultural backgrounds (assumptions, expectations, web of connections, etc.) are significantly different from one's own. The concept of culture, then, in intercultural communication feels real and becomes relevant when more formal, though no less arbitrary, categories of nationality, race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or power inequities alone are insufficient.

A caveat by James Spradley may be added to this short list. When treating culture in a broad but particularized, yet mostly undefined, way, such as Japanese culture or midwestern culture, or even more narrowly, such as medical school culture, no one knows *the culture*; at best, one knows something from the experience afforded by a particular perspective. No one experiences the entirety of perspectives. If one speaks of, say, the culture of a particular university, the perceptions of the university president are not that of newly hired faculty; nor is either of them the same as that of a graduating senior or the experience of campus culture by an incoming student who may become acculturated more quickly than he or she realizes. The emeritus professor knows the culture of the school in yet different ways, conscious of both continuity and change, which are themselves selective, and yet ignorant of the realities experienced by this year's freshman.

A Straightforward Working Definition

In his response to a discussion among anthropologists at Harvard on the topic "What's the Use of Culture?" Matthew Liebmann suggests a clear, simple, comprehensive definition: "Culture is that which is socially acquired." Liebmann explains,

> While there is much to unpack in this short definition and it is admittedly not without problems, for me the promise it holds comes from a semiotic take on the culture concept, and a focus on the key phrase, "socially acquired." In order for culture to be acquired, it must, by necessity, be externalized in publicly accessible signs. This definition is thus appealing because it accounts for all forms of culture—artifacts, utterances, behaviors, laws, morals, and everything else in that laundry list [that was part of "classic definitions"]—all can be thought of as forms of signification. This definition resists being forced into either a materialist or idealist box. (Personal communication, April 1, 2014)

Culture Is Communication

The inextricable bond between culture and communication was noted long ago by Franz Boas, one of the founders of the field of anthropology in the United States and who, for many years, headed the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University, where so many influential anthropologists studied in the first half of the 20th century. It was the reassertion of the culture-and-communication link that both helped give rise to the intercultural communication field and directed the focus of interculturalists to that linkage. Taking a broad view of *communication* to include all human behavior to which meaning is attached, most of purposeful human behavior is guided by what has been acquired and learned from those in close proximity (the culture), as are the meanings assigned a given behavior. With this as a focus, there is much in that vast realm of *culture* as studied by others that does not receive much attention in the field of intercultural communication.

Within the field of interpersonal communication, Gregory Bateson, who also emphasized the link between culture and communication, distinguishes the *content* aspects (usually referring to the topic in spoken communication) from the *relationship* aspects (usually referring to the implicit assumptions and expectations about communication, or rules of engagement). It may be said that to a great extent intercultural communication competence is centered on the culturally shaped relationship aspects of communication. The content/relationship theme was elaborated by three of Bateson's protégés, Paul Watzlawick, Janet Beavin, and Don D. Jackson, in their 1967 book *Pragmatics of Human Communication*, which they dedicated to Bateson.

Hall also developed a whole new vocabulary and conceptual apparatus to describe and compare how human beings make mutual meaning in the process of interacting across cultural divides. Hall advocated a constructivist approach from the beginning. Unlike early anthropology, which was originally positivist, the field of intercultural communication much more narrowly and modestly focused on examining how, in the context of face-to-face, everyday social interaction, people coming from different perspectives could engage in constructing meaning and arrive at mutual understanding.

One of the most significant ways in which intercultural communication diverged from anthropology was the emphasis intercultural theory places on developing *culture-general* categories and broadly applying them across a diverse range of cultural contexts, rather than a preferred anthropological approach that privileges pursuing the more common *thick description* involved in exhaustively documenting a single group. In intercultural communication, the culture concept shifted from being considered a separate, explicit, objective reality to referring to a more subjective and cognitive process. It also moved away from the microdescriptions (e.g., culture specific) favored by anthropology and expanded its scope to include broader, comparative communication characterizations (e.g., culture general).

From its inception, intercultural communication has been almost wholly engaged in developing *theories of the middle range*, observation driven and largely inductive, eventually deriving broad generalizations from specific observations, seeking to bridge the gap between empirical observation and higher level theory.

Formal and Informal Culture

Another theme in Hall's work that helps those in the intercultural communication field approach culture is his distinction between *formal* and *informal* expressions and manifestations of culture. Formal culture includes those aspects that are explicit, often highlighted, and readily acknowledged. This area includes not only that which forms the substance of academic disciplines (including the fine arts, literature, and history—areas that are often subsumed as the whole of culture by eager students and international tourists) but also the laws, rules, and regulations to which one can refer in sanctioning or prohibiting actions. Informal culture is what one learns about actual norms and expectations that guide behavior, including communication. A highway sign that says "Speed Limit: 70 MPH" is a part of formal culture. Locals know that they can drive at almost 80 miles an hour without being stopped by the highway patrol: That awareness is a part of informal culture. There will be an intercultural communication conflict if the driver who was going 75 miles an hour is pulled over by the officer, who says, "You were exceeding the speed limit." This formal/informal distinction and relationship are central to the meaning of culture in the intercultural communication field. Indeed, the arguments about how best to define culture, if at all, are a good example of the demands of formal culture.

The concept of culture has been defined and redefined in countless ways during the past century and a half, beginning as a central concept in anthropology and, in more recent decades, rejected as a concept by many in the same field. In the field of intercultural communication, culture has also been a defining feature, conjoined with the process of communication, with an emphasis on the internalized, subjective, largely outside of conscious awareness influences that people acquire and that affect perceptions, expectations, behavior, and judgments. Creating a definition that regards culture as both external contexts and the internalized processes by which people give and find meaning in their behavior continues to be elusive.

John Condon and Bruce LaBrack

See also Beliefs, Values, Norms, Customs (Definitions); Constructivism; Culture Specific/Culture General; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Anthropology; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Intercultural Communication; Hall, E. T.; High-Context and Low-Context Communication; Language, Culture, and Intercultural Communication; Stereotypes and Generalizations

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Culture Distance; Value Orientations

Culture distance refers to the degree to which interacting people share meanings. The fewer meanings that are mutually shared, the greater is the culture distance. "Meanings" references the meanings not only of words but also of behaviors, emotions, events, objects, time and space, concepts and ideas, norms and morals, beliefs and ideals—the list is long.

A *value* is a belief about whether a certain thought or activity is desirable or undesirable, an ideal to be pursued or an evil to be avoided. Values are shared by most members of a group; values are a critical component of each group's identity. Beginning in infancy, the members of a group acquire a set of values through immersion and emulation within their ingroups, principally their family. This set of values eventually guides, and gives emotional force to, the sense of what's important in life and, day by day, influences choices from among alternatives.

As used by interculturalists, *value* is descriptive, never prescriptive or judgmental. It describes one's preference to exhibit, and to expect others to exhibit, certain behaviors within certain situations. Any value term—such as *individualism* or *hierarchical*—is a neutral reference to a pattern of behavioral preferences and prohibitions, or what might be called a group's policies.

Orientation refers broadly to a directional alignment; its root, *orient*, designates the east. For interculturalists, orientation designates an individual's or group's tendency to align with a particular direction of thought, activity, morality, expression, belief, value, or meaning.

Value orientation refers to an individual's or group's alignment with a reasonably well-integrated combination of values—for example, "Australian values." If all humans had the same value orientation, interculturalists wouldn't be needed. But value orientations differ; identical behavior can be judged very differently when enacted within different groups. Consider the expectation that married females will remain at home, supported by their husbands. In some cultural groups, this is an ideal that families try to afford. In other groups, it is viewed negatively. In still others, this expectation receives little attention either way.

Two people raised from infancy in the same town and educated in the same schools will share an extensive range of meanings; their value orientations will be similar and their culture distance small. (If a significant culture distance separates them, it is likely to derive from dissimilar ethnic or religious backgrounds.) Two individuals raised far apart—say in Xi'an, China, and Munich, Germany—will likely share few meanings. If, within their home nations, they separately learned the same language, they will share meanings of certain concepts and words, but with respect to behaviors, norms, events, objects, time, space, morals, ideals, and so forth, their meanings and value orientations will probably be dissimilar; their culture distance may be quite large.

This entry discusses these two related terms, emphasizing how interculturalists think about values and illustrate them using "dimensions." It also questions why value orientations are almost always viewed as bipolar, and it explores the possibility of there being one fundamental value dimension that underlies the other commonly discussed dimensions.

Understanding Values and Value Orientations

When we view human life broadly beginning in prehistoric times, one conclusion is that all people have certain fundamental concerns—that is, universally perceived choices regarding how they view themselves as individuals, their relationships with other humans, and their relation to the natural and supernatural environment. For example, one fundamental concern is "To whom does an individual have primary responsibility?" Three possible answers (among others) are (1) to himself or herself; (2) to other group members, such as family, close friends, and/or the group's leader; or (3) to a supernatural being or philosophic ideal.

As suggested by various researchers, there are many fundamental concerns, each of which has two or more possible solutions. There are complex reasons why the people living together at any time and place settle on any particular solution for each concern. Certainly, the solutions adopted by a group, as demonstrated by its members' behavior, are assumed to have survival value for the group. All solutions together constitute a patterned, more or less integrated whole that is *meaningful to*, practically *workable for*, and *valued among* most if not all of that group's members. This patterned, reasonably well-integrated whole is the group's *culture*, the pattern a majority of its members tend to follow.

The fact that a group has adopted certain solutions to its fundamental concerns can be inferred from observation of its members' behavior. Extending the example above, if many behaviors of most individuals can be seen as attempts to achieve greater social status, material wealth, political power, or procreation opportunities, then we can generalize that within this culture an individual's primary responsibility is to himself or herself. Or we could say that within this culture "people tend to value individual-oriented behavior." Or we could use a single word, *individualism*, to reference such behavior. If many behaviors of most individuals can be seen as attempts to advance the interests of an extended family or clan, then we could say that *group orientation* or collectivism is a value of this culture.

Collectivism, *individualism*, and other value terms are shorthand labels for the observable tendency of group members to exhibit similar behavior in similar situations. By the careful use of such descriptors to refer to behavioral commonalities, we facilitate discussion and analysis.

Matters become complex when we recognize that collectivism, or any other shorthand value label, is too broad to designate behavioral subtleties. We might conclude that Group A and Group B both exhibit collectivism yet notice dissimilarities in the precise behaviors that yield this label. The key question becomes "Within this group, *how* does collectivism manifest itself?" For example, in Group A the interests of the clan might be promoted by heavy emphasis on academic excellence via intense study, leading to lucrative and powerful employment, whereas in Group B the interests of the clan and the organization might be promoted by hiring relatives.

How Interculturalists Think About Values

Interculturalists are professionally involved in thinking about values, and especially about group-level differences in values and how those affect interpersonal interactions among the members of various groups. *Culture distance* refers to group-level differences in values.

For some recipients of intercultural services, behavioral preferences viewed as values are implicitly (and, in some cases, explicitly) imbued with a sense of right and wrong. For example, nepotism was mentioned above; for some, it would be considered wrong. So interculturalists often need to emphasize that, as used in *their* work, any value term is merely a descriptor of a set of situation-specific behaviors. No set of behaviors is seen as having supernatural sanction or condemnation; none is believed desirable or undesirable for humans at all times and places. Values are not virtues. This value-neutral stance—*cultural relativism*—is criticized by some who claim that it condones an amoral, or even immoral, approach to living. Interculturalists might claim that comprehension of another culture in a neutral way does not imply acceptance but understanding.

Interculturalists also emphasize the link between *values*, which are ideals, norms, and motivations, and *behaviors*, which are observable events. This, too, can present a hurdle because some recipients of intercultural services expect merely to be told how to behave when abroad (e.g., "Don't show the soles of your feet"); they want a dos and don'ts list. But interculturalists are reluctant to offer narrow guidelines because doing so implies that every member of a group adheres to the same cultural principles. Furthermore, it bypasses a valuable opportunity to explore the deep ideals that motivate the characteristic behaviors of members of the other culture. Such an exploration requires attention to the other group's assumptions, core values, and social expectations about relationships, hierarchies, work, time, gender, morality, and so forth, comparing and contrasting the others' values and motivations with the values and motivations of the learner's own home culture. This is far better preparation for the learner, who will encounter an unpredictable, complex range of situations within the other culture.

Value Orientations Are Described Using "Dimensions"

Another feature of how interculturalists think about values is that they are always conscious that all value descriptors are generalizations, that each describes a central tendency in the behavior exhibited by the members of a group. *Central tendency*, in this case, refers to the similarity in the situation-specific behavior commonly exhibited by most—never all—members of a group. For example, if most group members on the job are observed to rarely take the initiative, instead carrying out only those tasks set by their supervisor, then interculturalists would offer the generalization that this group tends to value "inequality" or "hierarchy" and, conversely, tends not to value "equality" or "participation."

A consistent feature in how interculturalists discuss values is directly related to the fact that value descriptors are always generalizations. Only rarely does a generalization exactly describe the characteristics of any single member of a group. And never does an entire group demonstrate, strongly and consistently, every behavior associated with one value descriptor. Human reality is never that neat. So it is common for two descriptors that label opposing values to be paired opposite each other on a continuum or spectrum—often called by interculturalists a *dimension*—as shown here:

Individualism | | | | | | | | | Collectivism

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

In this illustration, there are nine gradations separating the two poles of the dimension. There is no set number of gradations; one often sees, for example, five and seven gradations.

This dimensional approach is useful for several reasons. First and foremost, a two-poled dimension makes it possible for researchers to talk about the degree to which the behavior of an individual or group is oriented in one direction or the other. So instead of saying vaguely, "This culture tends to be rather individualistic," we can instead suggest, "On this 9-point individualism–collectivism dimension, in comparison with other cultures, this culture rates as 2.5." Generally, however, this kind of statement is made with great caution, since values are highly dependent on situational and contextual variables.

Second, the use of dimensions visually conveys the fact that interculturalists never think about any value difference as a simple dichotomy. Using the example above, it is inconceivable that any individual or group is 100% collectivist, 0% individualist. So the gradations of difference are laid out across a dimension, which helps users avoid the temptation to dichotomize.

Third, the fact that it is easy to talk quantitatively about values invites observational research to discover the degree to which groups—usually national groups—are oriented toward one dimensional pole or the other. Such research has a distinguished history; some findings and their authors have become household words among interculturalists. During the 1980s, Geert Hofstede's landmark study *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values* was widely relied on. Other researchers have also made valuable and fascinating contributions. A short list might include the anthropologists Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck, whose research preceded that of Hofstede by almost two decades. Subsequently came Shalom Schwartz, Fons Trompenaars, and Charles Hampden-Turner, and most recently the GLOBE Study, organized out of the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School.

Two additional perspectives on generalizations must be noted. The first fact is that many people, not only interculturalists, are highly sensitive to the dangers of stereotyping. A stereotype is a type of generalization, but one that is rigidly applied as though all group members are identical. Therefore, interculturalists routinely emphasize the difference between a stereotype, which is misleading, closed-minded, and often pejorative in intent, and a generalization, which is a flexible and open-minded guide for one's social expectations and for further inquiry and learning.

The second is that all people everywhere, within their home culture, may safely be guided by their generalizations about the values and behavior of their fellow community members, because they formed those generalizations beginning in infancy through direct observation and experience. But if they continue to rely on their home-grown generalizations during interactions with culturally different others, then they are at risk. The intercultural profession was formed to reduce or eliminate that risk by developing intercultural competence.

Are All Value Dimensions Inherently Bipolar?

Among interculturalists, it is rare to come across contemporary instances in which values are discussed in terms other than as contrasting dyads. All well-known value dimensions are described in bipolar continua: high context–low context, individualism–collectivism, hierarchy–equality, and so on. Triads are infrequently considered, but they are possible. For instance, in their early work, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck described an essential problem each culture had to resolve: How does the culture relate to nature? The suggested possibilities were three: (1) live in harmony with nature, (2) subjugation to nature, or (3) mastery over nature.

Obviously, the answer to "Are all value dimensions inherently bipolar?" is "No." However, a key reason why bipolar dimensions were originally conceived and remain in wide use is that, for researchers, they are far easier to conceive, investigate, quantify, and express, allowing for culture comparison particularly at the macro level. The location of a point on a graduated straight line is clear for quantitative researchers to discuss and illustrate. Furthermore, numerous cultural assessments use quantitative data for developing cultural self-awareness for individuals working or studying with other cultures. By comparing data at the micro level, individuals can prepare for the value contrasts they may experience while sojourning in another culture.

Does One Basic Value Orientation Underlie All Others?

An intriguing question concerning value orientations is whether all the commonly discussed dimensions are actually the superficial expressions of one basic dimension that underlies and subtly influences all the others.

A single underlying value dimension was proposed long ago. This possibility arose because of the basic and widely observed characteristic of culture distance, which some might call the difference between individualism and collectivism.

Within some societies, individuals are so strongly ingroup oriented that their self-interest is subordinated to their ingroup's interests. Individuals share similar ideas about values and behaviors, and they have intense, loyal, enduring relations with other ingroup members, while feeling suspicious of members of other groups, even groups within their own society.

Within other societies, individuals do belong to ingroups (at least their families), but each individual's self-interest is not necessarily subordinated to that of the ingroup, and expectations about values and behavior may vary sharply from those of other ingroup members. They might have closer relationships with various non-ingroup members than with members of their own families and other ingroups. Such individuals are extensively integrated into portions of the wider society, where most relationships tend to be transient and transactional and few are deeply caring and long enduring.

The names often given to this grand dimension's poles are *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, terms proposed in 1887 by the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies. *Gemeinschaft* usually is translated as "community," while *Gesellschaft* is rendered as "association" or "society." (*Gemeinschaft* includes a syllable pronounced "mine," which is a reminder that it designates the preference for what is mine, my enduring ingroup. *Gesellschaft* includes the syllable "sell," which is a reminder that it designates broader societal involvement, potentially including buying and selling via merely transactional commercial activities.)

Interculturalists who are persuaded that the *Gemeinschaft/Gesellschaft* distinction might indeed be fundamental to most or all common value dimensions point to the fact that many dimensions can, arguably, be listed under one or the other heading. For example, see the following table:

Gemeinschaft (Community)	*Gesellschaft (Association)*
Collectivist	Individualist
Particularist	Universalist
Collaborative	Competitive
Supportive	Assertive
Hierarchy	Equality
Relationship	Task completion
Plentiful time	Scarce time
High context	Low context
Harmony	Accuracy
Being	Doing

For the interculturalist, these continua are richly reflected in many ways in contemporary values research and provide an entry into understanding the complex reflection of cultural values in various contexts. For developing intercultural competence, comprehension of contrasting values and their situational manifestation is an excellent starting point.

Cornelius N. Grove

See also High-Context and Low-Context Communication; Ingroup/Outgroup; Motivation and Culture; Value Dimensions: GLOBE Study; Value Dimensions: Hofstede; Value Dimensions: Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck Value Orientations; Value Dimensions: Schwartz; Value Dimensions: Trompenaars

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Culture Learning

This entry introduces the concept of *culture learning*, which is defined as the content and process of learning about a culture other than one's own. In what follows, five dimensions of culture learning are presented and discussed in detail. The concept of culture learning is particularly significant because understanding the nature of culture and knowing how to learn culture are both central to developing intercultural competence. It is the core premise of this entry that without culture learning of knowledge and skills, it is much more difficult, if not impossible, to become interculturally competent. The purpose of this entry is to introduce culture learning to the reader and to discuss in more detail how each of the five dimensions relates to intercultural competence.

Culture learning has its theoretical and conceptual roots in the closely related fields of intercultural communication and intercultural relations. It is the applied field of intercultural education and training, however, that has brought the concept to life by incorporating the dimensions of culture learning into real-world, interculturally oriented training design, curriculum development, and instruction. It is theory being put into practice, because culture learning can, in fact, be taught.

For trainers and educators involved in intercultural programs, being familiar with the dimensions of culture learning can be very useful in (1) identifying specific dimensions that are particularly relevant to their group of learners; (2) integrating key culture concepts, such as cultural patterns and cultural difference, into their training program or course; (3) providing learners with opportunities to enhance their own culture learning skills—for instance, learning the processes of acquiring and then making sense of new cultural knowledge; and (4) supporting a *learning-how-to-learn* approach to intercultural education that empowers individuals to be effective culture learners on their own.

Culture is something that is learned so early in life that by adulthood it is hard to either describe one's own culture or recall how it was originally learned. Because individuals have long since become competent in learning and navigating their culture, they are no longer conscious of this knowledge or these skills; that is, they have *internalized* them. Therefore, as adults, people have to become culture learners once again in a more deliberate and systematic manner.

Culture Learning Dimensions

Five dimensions constitute the concept of culture learning: (1) the elements of culture, (2) cultural self-awareness, (3) culture-general learning, (4) culture-specific learning, and (5) learning how to learn culture.

The Elements of Culture

Understanding the nature of culture serves as a conceptual building block for becoming interculturally competent. In the field of intercultural communication, culture refers to all of those things that people in the community create, maintain, and pass on to the next generation. These include *products or artifacts*, *values*, *norms*, *attitudes*, *religious and other beliefs*, *language*, *communication styles*, *nonverbal communication*, *learning styles*, *ways of thinking and problem solving*, and *approaches to conflict resolution*, to name the most prominent. These elements of culture constitute the achievements of a people as well as the framework that guides and governs human relations for the members of the particular cultural community. Without culture, people would not know how to appropriately and effectively communicate and relate to one another.

The concept of *cultural values* represents one of the most important elements of culture. In their classic work, Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck introduced five core value areas that they assert are addressed by all societies: (1) orientation to human nature, (2) the relationship of humans to nature, (3) orientation to time (time sense), (4) activity, and (5) social relations. The authors went on to identify patterns of cultural variation for each of these; for example, a culture group's *time sense* is categorized into being oriented primarily toward the past, present, or future. Geert Hofstede conducted seminal research on workplace-related values around the world, which led to the identification of four value distinctions: (1) high versus low power distance (power distance) in social relations, (2) high versus low tolerance of ambiguity (uncertainty avoidance), (3) individualism–collectivism, and (4) masculinity–femininity. The work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, Hofstede, and others on value orientations has been very helpful to educators who are preparing persons to live and work in other cultures.

Cultural values should be thought of as patterns rather than absolutes because while almost everyone in the culture knows the preferred value, there is almost always a certain amount of cultural variation within the community. This variation may be due to culture shifts across generations, individual preferences or *idiosyncratic culture*, periods of culture change and flux, and the presence of different cultural groups, such as immigrants and refugees, who bring with them their own values and beliefs.

Knowing that there are value patterns to be discovered as well as variations among people in a given culture is critical knowledge for becoming an effective culture learner. Having this perspective helps persons avoid stereotyping or reifying culture; rather, they treat cultural observations as preliminary understandings that will be in need of constant refinement. Knowing that a culture is composed of patterns as well as variations thus provides an entry point into the culture, not a stereotypical view of it.

Intercultural communication makes a key distinction between *objective* and *subjective* culture, which might be thought of as the more visible and less visible aspects of culture. Objective culture refers to those creations or artifacts produced by people that can readily be observed, such as art, architecture, clothing, food, dance, drama, and music. Subjective culture is made up of the less visible aspects, such as values and beliefs. These reside within persons, who act on them in their everyday life. To the outsider, however, they are not obvious.

It is very important to provide opportunities and skills for learners to acquire subjective culture knowledge so that they can begin to see culture, learn about it, and adapt to it. For those with limited intercultural experience, this is difficult at first. *Ethnocentrism* or *monoculturalism*, the application of one's own lens to the understanding and evaluation of another culture, is the most common approach of the person with limited prior intercultural experience and knowledge. Being *ethnorelative* or having an *intercultural worldview* means learning and adapting to new and different cultural perspectives. Mitch Hammer suggests that intercultural competence is the capacity to shift cognitive perspective and adapt behavior to the cultural context. It can only occur with a deep understanding of culture.

Cultural Self-Awareness

Cultural self-awareness means learning about oneself as a cultural being—that is, becoming mindful of one's own culture, including values, attitudes, and behaviors. It also means recognizing these values, attitudes, and behaviors as being informed by the culture or cultures in which one was raised. It begins with the recognition that one does have a culture and accelerates with the discoveries of what that culture is.

Research shows that the discovery of cultural self-awareness represents the transition or turning point from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism, from a monocultural to an intercultural worldview. The more people learn about themselves in a cultural sense, the better prepared they are to explore another culture as well as anticipate and search for cultural differences. None of this is possible without cultural self-awareness.

Cultural self-awareness is fundamental to intercultural competence because (a) it involves recognizing culture's influence in one's life and, by extension, the lives of others; (b) it means understanding in principle how important culture is to oneself and others, thus endorsing the view that culture matters; and (c) the knowledge that comes with cultural self-awareness allows people to compare and contrast their own with another culture, and then anticipate culture clashes and congruities.

Culture-General Learning

Culture-general learning means gaining an understanding of and preparing to experience the more universal phenomena that are associated with crossing cultures: intercultural adjustment, culture shock, cultural adaptation, or cultural assimilation. These are not exclusive to a particular culture but are experienced by persons moving into any new culture setting.

These processes of adjustment and adaptation are quite challenging at every level: emotionally, cognitively, and behaviorally. They involve discomfort and stress as the person struggles to become familiar with the new culture; yet there is also the excitement of making new cultural discoveries and becoming more effective. The level of intensity may vary according to the degree of cultural similarity or dissimilarity, but the experience of adjustment will still be there.

The importance of culture-general learning is that it helps people think through in advance the challenges they might face and consider ways to work through them. If individuals are not aware that they will experience the disorientations of intercultural adjustment and culture shock, they will be unprepared for it. If they have considered what intercultural adjustment and adaptation mean, they will see the need to develop coping strategies and culture learning skills in advance—skills that could ultimately help them become more interculturally competent.

Culture-Specific Learning

This concept refers to becoming familiar with the elements of culture as they exist within a given cultural community. Culture-specific learning addresses two key questions: (1) "What does this new culture look like?" and (2) "How can I learn more about it?" The concept is very relevant to intercultural competence because interacting and communicating effectively, shifting one's frame of reference, and adapting behavior all occur in a specific cultural context. It is one thing to understand culture theoretically but quite another to apply that knowledge in the real situation.

If an individual has learned about cultural values already, that person can now discover the ways value orientations manifest themselves in the new culture, what the general value principle is, and how much variation there is from the norm. Knowing the cultural content and using culture learning skills provides a lens for exploring culture in situ, wherever a person might be located.

Learning How to Learn Culture

Empowering individuals to become self-directed culture learners is one of the most significant objectives of intercultural education and training. As a pedagogical principle, the learning-how-to-learn approach means giving individuals the tools for learning about a culture, not stereotypes of the culture. Paradoxically, what many seek is a quick guide, the so-called dos and don'ts of a culture. This is not surprising because they may not yet have the skills to acquire cultural knowledge on their own.

Learning how to learn culture involves, first, *reflecting on experience*: seeking ways to make meaning of intercultural encounters and taking the time to reflect on the experiences in the new culture. Research clearly shows that immersion in a culture without reflection limits the development of intercultural competence. Second, it means knowing how to learn from *cultural informants*, principally host culture persons but also expatriates who have lived there and know the culture very well. This includes learning to ask questions in an appropriate and respectful manner. Third, it means *careful observation* of daily life, such as how people meet and greet, their nonverbal communication patterns, the distance they maintain between one another, and the many other nuances of everyday encounters. Fourth, learning how to learn means *careful listening* to what people say in different types of situations. This is important because language is cultural and culture involves language. The goal here is to learn the common expressions and vocabulary used for different circumstances, from greetings to leave-taking. Fifth, it means approaching learning in a provisional, *hypothesis-testing* manner, such as treating initial observations and understanding as preliminary and incomplete at best. In this way, culture learning is ongoing, and the person remains open to new understandings. Sixth, learning to learn a new culture means taking an *experiential approach* and trying out cultural behaviors in a variety of situations. This is the learning strategy of testing one's knowledge of a culture by putting it into practice. Seventh, this approach means *learning from the media*: newspapers, books, magazines, television, and social media. Paying attention to how the culture is represented in the press and other media can stimulate many insights.

Intercultural educators can play an important role in intercultural competence development by serving as *cultural mentors*. This involves providing relevant culture content (the elements of culture and culture-general phenomena) that can be used before, during, and after being in another culture. Cultural mentoring also means helping facilitate the learner's application of this content toward developing cultural self-awareness, culture-specific learning, and learning how to learn culture.

R. Michael Paige

See also Intensity Factors; Intercultural Communication, Definition of; Intercultural Competence Development; Intercultural Sensitivity; International Education; Value Dimensions: Hofstede; Value Dimensions: Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck Value Orientations

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Culture Learning in the Language Classroom

Language learning is linked to culture learning through the assumption that language and culture are inseparable and that full understanding of a language is only possible if learners have some knowledge of one or more countries where the language is spoken. For many years, culture learning involved knowing about national cultures; this has often been criticized as leading to stereotyping or *essentializing*. More recently, however, the emphasis has been on culture as complex and constantly evolving, and thus, culture learning involves knowing about different groups within societies as well as the changes taking place in those societies. In addition to the long-established focus on *knowledge* of other cultures, the cultural dimension of foreign language teaching is more recently expected to also influence *attitudes* and build *skills*, both components of intercultural competence. Language educators design activities to enhance learners' attitudes toward people speaking the target languages, reduce prejudice, and increase their ability to interact successfully with such people. Thus, intercultural competence is now considered by many to be a central aspect of learning in the language classroom, even though there may not be as much attention paid to it as might be expected, owing to gaps in language teachers' preparation or lack of teachers' skills in culture teaching.

This entry provides a historical overview of the cultural dimension in the language classroom, demonstrates how various education policies reflect theoretical developments, and outlines some of the pedagogical principles and methods of intercultural language teaching.

Historical Overview of Cultural Dimensions in the Language Classroom

That culture and language are inseparable has been widely assumed in modern language teaching since it began in the 19th century and is closely related to the notion that language and thought are also inseparable. Language is not only an embodiment of culture but also a medium through which human beings create and negotiate new cultural meanings. While this relationship remains largely but not entirely uncontested, the cultural aspects of language education have been approached from different perspectives. From the 1880s until the 1950s, language learning was predominantly confined to the elite and the middle classes. Culture pedagogy in the Anglophone tradition tended to focus on concrete representations of *high culture* in great works of literature. The elite who were to journey abroad also studied travel guides and phrase books to gain a wider perspective of knowledge of the land and the people. In the German tradition, the notion of *Landeskunde* was understood to include not only high culture but also knowledge about traditions and daily life and elements of geography and history. A similar position was taken in the French tradition with the notion of *civilization*.

In the 1960s in the United States of America, there was a move to make the cultural content of language teaching more visible and at the same time more similar to teaching in continental Europe. This took place in an era characterized by racial, ethnic, and political conflicts, thereby pushing the importance of intercultural communication further up the agenda. In the 1970s, culture pedagogy in the United States tended to adopt a pragmatic approach to facilitate intercultural communication for business or political purposes. Thus, there was a preponderance of interest in studying aspects of *low culture*—everyday life, norms, and values—as opposed to the *high culture* that had been favored in previous years. In Germany, the misuse of *Landeskunde* (or *Kulturkunde)* in the Nazi period to reinforce German identity rather than promote knowledge about other people led to a reassessment of its purpose after 1945 in both the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany, until eventually a values-driven approach took over.

In the 1980s, cultural learning became generalized and normalized alongside a more specifically linguistic- and communicative-oriented pedagogy. However, in spite of this broad acceptance, cultural aspects tended to be taught discretely. Culture and language learning generally existed in practice in a dichotomous relationship, despite their assumed inseparability at the theoretical level. It is important to note that in the 1980s, foreign language learning was becoming more widespread in many countries and was no longer confined to elite groups. It was a period in which the *communicative approach* for teaching languages was extremely popular; the purpose of foreign language learning was to give learners the skills for authentic or functional communication in a more interconnected world and economy. In this context, learning to communicate was often related to task accomplishment, such as purchasing and selling goods or transactions that would be helpful to tourists. This period was not only one in which there was a notable shift away from the study of literature but also a time during which the cultural dimension, in general, assumed an inferior status to communicative competence. The little cultural information that survived in textbooks tended to take a tourist orientation. In retrospect, this is surprising, not least because of the strong influence of the work of the anthropologist Dell Hymes on the communicative approach. While Hymes emphasized cultural competence as well as sociolinguistic appropriateness as a basis for communicative competence, this was commonly overlooked by language teachers.

Nonetheless, applied linguists started to argue that one of the most important aims of language teaching should be to foster cultural awareness, tolerance, and understanding. Modern languages education includes topics that directly lend themselves to helping learners develop positive attitudes and a better understanding of other cultures. The development of cultural awareness involves examining cultural practices and values that are typical of the target language community, for example, national festivals, religious holidays, culinary practices, and daily routines, to name a few. At the same time, learners should be made aware of their own cultural practices, a focus that was new to language teaching.

In the 1990s, however, some theorists started to underline the limitations of the cultural awareness approach, arguing that this orientation views culture as homogeneous and static, especially if the notion of a *national culture* is used. They contended that learners are potentially led to believe that the population of a country, as a collective group, all act in a similar way, opening up the risk of stereotyping. They highlighted cultural complexities and flows and advocated a new *transnational* or *intercultural* pedagogy. The intercultural approach to language learning promotes languages education for bridging cultural differences and developing harmonious relationships between different cultural groups in ever increasingly diverse and multicultural societies.

In intercultural language learning, the study of culture and the study of language should be closely integrated; the study of culture, which leads to acquisition of knowledge about others, should occur through the medium of the target language. Furthermore, the introduction of the notion of competence—in common with new approaches in many other subjects and classrooms—meant that knowledge became only one aspect of what is to be taught and learned. Competence includes attitudes, skills, and behaviors in addition to knowledge, and there are many descriptions or models of intercultural competence—in addition to linguistic competence—that are considered necessary for successful interaction with people who speak another language.

One approach to teaching competences has been to see language learners as potential ethnographers, discovering and understanding another country or foreign culture for themselves. This is particularly relevant for those learners for whom a short sojourn or long residence in another country is part of the course of study. Where this is not the case, the study of the literary canon has been extended or replaced by reading and analyzing media documents of all kinds, such as newspapers, films, web pages, or any kind of document or data produced in the other culture.

The learning of intercultural communicative competence in the language classroom may also occur through virtual interaction, where learners communicate across borders using networked technologies. This may occur using synchronous social media like Web chat or Skype, thereby providing opportunities for intercultural communication in real time. Alternatively, students can communicate asynchronously by e-mail or on social media sites. An advantage of the latter is that there is time to interpret and reflect on the communication before learners formulate responses.

The Cultural Dimension in Language Teaching Policy

In many instances, the theoretical thinking about the role of foreign language learning in fostering intercultural understanding has been echoed in international and national education policy documents. Over the past two decades, policies have stressed the need for young people to learn to accept other cultures through the school curriculum, in general, and through foreign language education, in particular.

Examples of international policies are as follows:

- The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, whose aim is to provide a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabi, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks, and so on, across Europe, refers to general competences (in addition to linguistic competences) that a learner requires to be able to interact successfully in communicative situations. These include general and sociocultural knowledge of the target language countries, intercultural awareness, intercultural skills, and an open attitude to otherness.

- UNESCO's document *Intercultural Competences: Conceptual and Operational Framework* refers explicitly to intercultural *communicative* competence as a key element of relationship building and as a means of resolving conflict between different cultural groups. It emphasizes that learning to communicate appropriately with cultural others extends far beyond linguistic competence.

Examples from selected countries are given below:

- In the United States of America, the *Standards for Foreign Language Learning in the 21st Century* are encapsulated in the 5 Cs model: communication, cultures, connections, comparisons, and communities. This framework emphasizes the significance of both linguistic and social knowledge required to participate in multilingual communities in a culturally appropriate way.

- The English national curriculum for modern foreign languages introduced in 2008 listed intercultural understanding as one of the key concepts underpinning the study of languages.

- The New Zealand languages curriculum included a cultural knowledge strand that recommends that learners compare different beliefs and cultural practices to understand more about themselves and become more understanding of others.

- In China, the *Compulsory Education Curriculum Standards for English* states that understanding the cultures of English-speaking countries helps not only in learning English but also in deepening appreciation and understanding of China.

Teaching Languages and Intercultural Competences

The reconceptualization of the foreign languages teacher's role as a teacher of both language *and* intercultural competence has important implications for pedagogical skills. In contrast to teaching for cultural awareness, the intercultural approach demands more than just knowledge about the target language country or countries. While deeper cultural knowledge can improve a teacher's attention to and treatment of the cultural dimension and help scaffold cultural learning, this is not the only area of expertise required for developing intercultural communicative competence. Therefore, if it has not been possible for the languages teacher to spend time abroad to acquire in situ knowledge about the country, this should not be a significant hindrance. According to Michael Byram's widely used model for teaching intercultural competence (e.g., in the New Zealand curriculum), the languages teacher should be able to develop not only learners' cultural knowledge but also their skills, values, and attitudes. The teacher, therefore, needs to know how to provide students with opportunities for interpreting and comparing cultural differences, whereby they are able to appreciate how their own values may influence their views of both their own and other cultures.

The development of these pedagogical skills in a subject discipline that has been historically concerned with the cognitive aspects of linguistic learning is not without challenges. However, if one of the central purposes of language teaching and learning is to develop harmonious relations with people from other cultures for humanitarian, political, or economic reasons, these deserve special attention.

Michael Byram and Gillian Peiser

See also Definitions: Knowledge, Skills, Attitudes; Language, Culture, and Intercultural Communication; Language Use and Culture; Linguaculture; Teacher Education

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Culture Shock

The term *culture shock* was originally coined by Kalvero Oberg in 1960 to refer to the anxiety and frustration experienced in a new cultural environment due to the loss of familiar cues that guide our daily behaviors. Oberg not only highlighted the emotional aspects of culture shock, including anger, frustration, anxiety, and feelings of helplessness, but also suggested that its symptoms might include behaviors such as "excessive concern over drinking water, food, dishes and bedding"; "refusal to learn the language of the host culture"; and a "terrible longing to be back home, to be able to have a good cup of coffee and a piece of apple pie." In addition to this rather quaint description, Oberg identified four stages of culture shock, commencing with (1) the honeymoon stage, characterized by euphoria, fascination, and enthusiasm, through to (2) the crisis stage, accompanied by frustration and anxiety, and then on to (3) the recovery stage and (4) the adjustment stage.

Although Oberg's musings on culture shock were based more on anecdote and armchair speculation than empirical evidence, the concept rapidly became popular, largely due to its intuitive appeal. Practitioners recognized the utility of the concept for its application to the selection, training, and support of individuals on overseas assignments. However, in keeping with Oberg's formulation of culture shock as an "occupational disease" of people transplanted abroad, culture shock was widely viewed as an inevitable pathology, if not mental illness, as George M. Foster noted. Along these lines, the 1960s field mental health program for the U.S. Peace Corps, as described by C. B. Arnold, was specifically designed to ameliorate the negative impact of culture shock, viewed as the focal point of overseas adjustment problems.

Through the 1960s and 1970s, variations on the culture shock theme emerged in discussions of culture fatigue, language shock, role shock, and transition shock. Common to these discussions were the negative emotions arising from or connected to the shock or fatigue of crossing cultures. These were summarized by R. Taft, who described six emotional reactions characteristic of culture shock: (1) psychological strain, (2) a sense of loss and deprivation, (3) feelings of rejection, (4) confusion, (5) anxiety, and (6) feelings of impotence. The exclusive emphasis on the negative emotional responses to cultural contact and change has been one of the key criticisms of the culture shock construct. Other major criticisms have included (a) the lack of an underpinning theoretical framework,

(b) the limited availability of assessment tools, and (c) the absence of empirical support for Oberg's stage model.

The overemphasis on symptoms and the absence of theory were countered by Colleen Ward, Stephen Bochner, and Adrian Furnham, who elucidated the experience of crossing cultures by proposing a process model of culture shock. Their ABC model has three components: affect, behavior, and cognitions.

1. The *affective component* loosely resembles Oberg's representation of culture shock as buzzing confusion, but the "shock" experiences are set in the broader context of stress and coping. In effect, cross-cultural transition can be viewed as other life changes that precipitate stress and require coping responses. In this way, culture shock is neither a pathology nor a mental illness; rather, it is a normal reaction to change and challenge. Seen from this perspective, effective coping and positive outcomes can be facilitated by personal (e.g., an emotionally stable personality) and social (e.g., a social support network) resources.

2. The *behavioral component* of culture shock is set in the context of culture learning theory. The core idea is that the rules, conventions, norms, and assumptions that regulate interpersonal interactions vary across cultures. It is the goal of cultural novices to learn the culture-specific skills (or in Oberg's terms, to familiarize themselves with the culturally appropriate cues) in order to function effectively in a new cultural milieu. Once this goal is accomplished, not only has the learner grasped key cues, but disorientation, confusion, and general strain are also diminished.

3. The *cognitive component* of culture shock deals with perceptions of self and others in new cultural settings. It arises from a collection of theoretical perspectives that broadly address social identification and elucidate the dynamics of how people manage their cultural identities, how they view their own cultural group, how they view other cultural groups, and how these processes and outcomes vary during cross-cultural transitions. In relation to Oberg's discussion of negative stereotyping and cultural misunderstandings, social identity theory and attribution theory are particularly relevant.

These theoretical frameworks also inform practitioners in training for intercultural competence. The ABCs of culture shock parallel the three capacities identified as critical for overseas effectiveness: (1) the ability to manage stress, (2) the ability to communicate clearly, and (3) the ability to establish interpersonal relationships. The culture learning approach emphasizes knowledge and skills and targets behavioral change as the basis for intercultural competence. Social identification theories relate more closely to attitudes and awareness, fostering critical reflection on one's own group and nonjudgmental attitudes toward others. The stress and coping framework is relevant to all three domains: (1) the negative affect arising from culture shock, (2) the behavioral skills required for stress management, and (3) the cognitive appraisal of the stressful situation, including the role perceived to be played by members of the host culture.

Despite the considerable discussion of culture shock in the academic and popular literatures, there have been few attempts to measure it directly. The potential sources of stress encountered during cross-cultural transition (e.g., the pace of life, the language spoken, the food eaten) and the amount of readjustment required for each are assessed by the Cultural Readjustment Rating Scale, described by James Spradley and Mark Phillips. The Brief Psychological Adaptation Scale (Demes and Geeraert) has been developed more recently to assess the emotions experienced in conjunction with cross-cultural relocation. However, the Culture Shock measure developed by Mumford is the only instrument designed specifically for the assessment of culture shock. The 12-item scale is a combination of seven core culture shock items (e.g., "Do you feel strain from the effort to adapt to the new culture?" and "Have you found things in your new environment shocking or disgusting?") and five interpersonal stress items (e.g., "Do you feel anxious or awkward when meeting local people?"). Using this measure, D. B. Mumford demonstrated that cultural distance predicted culture shock and that culture shock, in turn, predicted greater risk of premature return home for British volunteers. Despite these findings, the measure has not been widely used in subsequent research.

Beyond theory and measurement issues, the paucity of empirical research, particularly on Oberg's stage model of culture shock, has been the subject of criticism. The description of the model is rather vague and imprecise, with the "honeymoon" stage described as lasting "from a few days or weeks to six months depending on circumstances." Evidence for this early, euphoric stage, often linked to the U-curve of cross-cultural adjustment, has been sparse. There are a limited number of longitudinal studies that capture the earliest stages of cross-cultural transition and monitor sojourners' emotional reactions over time. Those that are available are more likely to report high levels of emotional distress, rather than euphoria, on entry to a new culture, and when euphoria is followed by crisis, this pattern appears only in a minority of cases.

Despite these criticisms, culture shock has been an enduring construct. A recent Google search for culture shock yielded 97 million hits. Among the top-ranked items were practical guides for immigration and overseas postings from governments and commercial agencies and sites for international students. It is easy to understand the term's appeal. Most people who have traveled abroad have had a firsthand experience of customs, practices, and traditions that are so unfamiliar as to evoke a shocked or disgusted response when viewed through one's own cultural lens. Nevertheless, while it may be enthralling, and even helpful, to read "culture shock" books that tell us how to do business in Brazil, socialize in Mauritius, or learn about the food in Mozambique, the term *culture shock* is very limiting in terms of advancing our understanding of the process and outcomes of cross-cultural transition. "Shock" overemphasizes the negative and threatening aspects of novel situations and the pathological reactions to the unfamiliar. It also ignores the positive growth experiences that can result from intercultural contact and change.

It is likely that *culture shock* will remain in the popular culture vocabulary for the foreseeable future. In academic circles, however, theory and research have largely moved from culture shock to acculturation and adaptation. This approach allows educators and researchers to examine the changes, both positive and negative, that result from sustained intercultural contact and the factors that facilitate or impede psychological well-being, the acquisition of appropriate culture-specific skills, and the development and maintenance of effective and satisfying intercultural relations for cross-cultural travelers.

Colleen Ward

See also Acculturation; Assimilation; Cultural Humility; Intensity Factors; Reentry; Theory of Acculturation

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Culture Specific/Culture General

Culture specific and *culture general* refer to two complementary types of knowledge and skills that help people understand other cultures and function effectively in them. Culture-specific approaches encourage deep understanding of one cultural context through detailed cultural knowledge. Culture-general approaches organize culture-specific data in ways that facilitate cross-cultural comparison and generalizability of knowledge. This entry outlines defining the characteristics of each and explores their relationship to the following sets of closely related terms: ethnography/ethnology, emic/etic, and objective/subjective culture.

Culture Specific Versus Culture General

The difference between *culture general* and *culture specific* is an important one in the study of cultures. It reflects the necessity of attending to (a) deep-seated cultural differences that lose their nuanced meanings when rendered outside their cultural contexts (culture specific) and (b) broader understandings of human existence that emerge from cross-cultural comparisons that illuminate human similarity amid cultural variability (culture general). Each emphasizes the development of a different kind of understanding. The distinction between the terms *culture specific* and *culture general* is linked to the contrasting approaches of ethnography and ethnology within the discipline of anthropology. *Ethnography* refers to an in-depth study of a specific cultural system. *Ethnology*, in contrast, refers to the anthropological study of human cultures based on cross-cultural comparison. The primary goal of ethnology is generalizable knowledge of the human condition and its variations throughout the world. It is a culture-general approach. The primary goal of ethnography is deep and authentic understanding of one cultural system, whether or not this knowledge is generalizable, and it is a culture-specific approach.

An example of rich, culture-specific description can be seen in the classic ethnography *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, written by Bronislaw Malinowski and published in 1922. In it, Malinowski describes the complex workings of the Kula Ring of the Trobriand Islands, a unique system of trade with elaborate (culture specific) rules, rituals, and social implications. Soon after, Marcel Mauss used the culture-specific work of Malinowski and others in his attempt to formulate and illustrate his influential culture-general theory of the workings of gift exchange (later republished as the book *The Gift*).

Emic Versus Etic

The terms *emic* and *etic* arise from the distinction between cultural specific and cultural general. When the linguist Kenneth Pike coined the terms in 1954, he adapted the distinction made by linguists between phonemic analysis (analyzing *phonemes*, units of sound meaningful to native speakers of a language) and phonetic analysis (analyzing *phones*, units of sound that differ from one another, whether or not a native speaker would recognize them as distinct). While phonemic analysis is concerned with understanding a language's system of sounds from the point of view of a native speaker, phonetic analysis relies on the development of theoretical and methodological tools that allow sounds to be identified and analyzed beyond the bounds of a single language. This allows linguists to compare across language systems and to better understand how languages work in general, as well as how specific languages work in ways that might go unnoticed by native speakers.

Pike proposed that the distinction between these two approaches could be applied to the analysis of social behavior more generally, allowing scholars to clearly differentiate between the (emic) description aimed at capturing how members of a cultural group experience the world and the (etic) description aimed at capturing patterns that might be invisible or irrelevant from a *native's point of view* (as the emic perspective is sometimes described) but are useful to social scientists. *Emic* and *etic* are not synonymous with *culture specific* and *culture general*, respectively, despite a great deal of overlap between them. Rather, an emic analysis provides a particular kind of culture-specific information, reflecting distinctions experienced as meaningful by members of a culture, and an etic analysis is organized to be consistent with a culture-general approach, even when it provides culture-specific information.

For example, it is common for anthropologists to write ethnographies with the emic goal of *translating cultures*, of capturing and describing the way members of cultural groups think about and formulate their actions in the world to render them comprehensible to outsiders. In the ethnographic work of Malinowski on the Trobriand Islands (discussed above), Malinowski emphasized the importance of capturing the native's point of view, and one technique he used was the inclusion of long passages directly quoting the words of Trobriand rituals. In contrast, when Mauss used Malinowski's work to illustrate his theory of gift exchange, his was an etic analysis, one concerned with presenting those aspects of the Trobriand gift exchange that would illuminate his culture-general theory.

Subjective Culture Versus Objective Culture

The meaning of the previous terms also overlaps with *subjective culture* and *objective culture.* In the work of the sociologist Georg Simmel, the first to elaborate a distinction between the two, *subjective culture* refers to the elements of culture contained within the subjective, internal experience of individuals (e.g., values, beliefs). *Objective culture*, in contrast, includes aspects of culture that have an independent existence (e.g., artifacts, institutions). It is found in the products of human activities, including tangible, physical objects (clothing, tools) as well as systems that influence individuals but are not fully understood by them (gender systems, kinship systems). For example, the typically larger personal space of U.S. Americans relative to Latin Americans highlights a difference in subjective culture, while the dominant languages spoken in the United States versus Latin America (English and Spanish, respectively) highlight a difference in objective culture. The psychologist Harry Triandis refined this distinction in the context of cross-cultural research in the 1970s, contributing to a more robust theoretical conceptualization of subjective culture, specifically, and emphasizing the importance of research methods to facilitate its study. His work has been influential in positioning *subjective culture* as a central concept in the intercultural field.

There is significant overlap in meaning between *emic* and *subjective culture*; subjective culture exists, like emic perspectives, in the minds of members of a culture. *Objective culture*, however, does not have a similar overlap with *etic.* The defining difference between the terms is different in each set. The core distinction between subjective and objective culture lies in the contrast between interiorized and externalized cultural phenomena. The essential difference between *emic* and *etic* stems from the distinction between *culture specific* and *culture general*, respectively.

Significance of the Terms

Historically, theoretical approaches have differed in the degree to which culture-specific or culture-general understanding is sought. When one of the two is emphasized to the exclusion of the other, this difference can make efforts to attend to the other controversial. For example, very early in the history of anthropology, an opposition between culture-general and culture-specific approaches was established when Franz Boas and his students, who maintained a strong culture-specific orientation, fiercely attacked the culture-general approach of the 19th-century evolutionists. Since that time, some theoretical schools in anthropology have maintained a clear focus on one while devaluing the other. Others have taken a more balanced approach. Differing preferences can be seen in other fields as well. For example, cross-cultural psychology and intercultural communication have tended to emphasize culture-general frameworks. The two approaches can be seen as complementary; each contributes important and distinct kinds of knowledge and skills that are necessary for understanding and functioning in other cultures.

Laura A. Bathurst

See also Cultural Relativism; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Applied Linguistics; Ethnographic Research

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Culture-Specific Identity Development Models

Culture-specific identity development models are an offspring of the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Technically and demographically speaking, America has always been a culturally diverse country; however, from 1776 to the mid-1950s, various means were employed at the local, state, and national levels to suppress the status and participation of various social groups, inclusive of all women and people of color. In the case of women, their suppression was achieved through customs, traditions, and the law, while slavery and violence (including genocide) were used to deny the equal participation of African Americans and Native Americans. Mapping each group's struggle against oppression is beyond the scope of this entry, but, fast-forwarding to the mid-20th century, each marginalized group found a voice through the social movements that erupted during the 1960s and 1970s: the African American Movement (Civil Rights Movement, ca. 1954 to the 1970s), the Second Wave of the Women's Movement (ca. the 1960s to the late 1980s), and AIM or the American Indian Movement (ca. 1968 to the 1970s). There was even a regional dimension to the movements, as the Puerto Rican Movement sprang up on the East Coast and the Chicano Movement on the West Coast. In each instance, the members addressed oppression (racism, ethnocentrism, sexism, prejudice) while simultaneously exploring and celebrating the group's long-suppressed cultural history, roots, and societal contributions. Each of the movements has been the focus of scholarship showing that a major psychological dynamic common to each is captured in the word *epiphany* and the phrase *Über* consciousness.

In the early 1970s, a handful of African American scholars, most of them psychologists, observed the psychological behavior and characteristics of participants of the Black movement. They reported that many participants had experienced or were in the process of experiencing an identity shift or *identity conversion.* Participants said to be positioned at an advanced stage were described as having once embraced an *old* self that accorded limited salience to their group affiliation, while in the present, a new sense of self was in evidence characterized by *Über* consciousness as well as a sense of urgency to solve pressing problems through militant group identification and collective action. Their epiphany seemed to solidify and make central a sense of connection to the group that was missing or downplayed at the start of their metamorphosis. Others seemed not yet to have completed the change and were in the midst of an identity transformation. This focus on identity change was made iconic in the popular media with images of the Black militant, the militant feminist, or the militant Native American as cases in point.

Scholars translated their observations into multistage models of identity change. The first to do so were African Americans, and subsequently, the African American identity change model provided a template in the construction of models for other groups. In general, the models tended to consist of four or five stages, as summarized here.

Stage 1

Since the models depict a *moving forward*, the first stage depicts that which will eventually be discarded (the old self). Sometimes, the old self is drenched in self-hatred tropes, but in other instances, the theme is lack of importance and the absence of a sense of urgency about matters pertaining to one's group. A perspective reflective of a colorblind, blasé, *matter-of-fact* attitude shapes one's perceptions, as expressed in statements like "I am black, but so what?" or "My being a woman is not important." The relevance and importance of group membership is played down and accorded limited salience, although in some instances, self-hatred themes reveal important albeit negative attitudes toward the group. A sense of self, anchored by social affiliations unrelated to one's group, may be in evidence. Any and all of the above factors are said to place the person at risk for identity change. Most theorists associate and envelop the first stage in a negative psychological valence; however, more often than not, persons at the first stage may not be mentally ill or suffering from low self-esteem. Rather, they may be ordinary, everyday folk who simply embrace attitudes that accord race and culture limited importance. While some people are classically self-hating, the majority are not. What makes individuals Stage 1 oriented is not self-hatred but a worldview or value system that downplays the significance of race. The majority of this group focuses on group identity affiliations that are not connected to Black culture or race, such as religion, professional status, social class position, or sexual orientation. The significant factor in this stage is not necessarily confusion, self-hatred, and mental illness but an identity that gives low salience to race.

Stage 2

Following the description of the calm before the storm, the second stage is bounded by an experiential encounter that in effect pulls the rug from under the person's feet. The event (or it may be a series of events that chip away at the person's attitudes) destabilizes the person's old sense of self and makes the person feel compelled to change. Rather than a cognitive shift, the person is described as being pushed and forced to change—drawn into the vortex of change.

Stage 3

The third or middle stage depicts the open struggle between the pull of the old self and the lure of change. When the push to change has the upper hand, the person feels drawn toward those activities that will help prove to the self and, as important, to other group members, that the person is changing in the right direction, becoming the *right kind* of Black person, the *right kind* of feminist, or an *authentic* Indian. This can lead to *high-risk activities* such as confrontational acts and even violence. One feels compelled to act, to do something and make *change* happen. If the person possesses creative skills to begin with, the oceanic aspects of the middle stage can result in intense periods of creativity. The most vocal and seemingly unequivocal advocates may, on the inside, be experiencing instability, self-doubt, and a hunger for homeostasis. Stage 3 persons tend to be *ideologues*, framing issues in either-or, right/wrong codes. Nuance is not a characteristic of the middle stage. The high pitch, *Über* consciousness, rigid cognitions, and oceanic aspects of the middle stage are unsustainable, and the person is described as sliding toward identity stabilization.

Stage 4

In the transition from the psychological tumult of Stage 3, the person shows signs of becoming more comfortable with and accepting of his or her reconfigured sense of self. Traces of the old self may linger in the background, but when the conversion is relatively successful and complete, the reformulated sense of identity is habituated and internalized. This is evidenced by the causes that now engage the person, a change in social network, a keen interest in the group's history and culture, and so on. Succinctly stated, the person now accords high salience to the problems faced by the group, shows an appreciation of the group's history and culture, and has a desire to participate with other group members in advocating for the group.

Stage 5

Some models have a fifth stage that centers on *commitment*. In such cases, the fourth stage is focused on internalization, while the fifth stage explores the way the person evidences long-term commitment to the group. Advanced development shows the person more open to the experiences of other groups, thus making it possible to envision and negotiate alliances across group boundaries. The implication is that before a person can entertain the idea of allying with other groups and causes, he or she must first bring to resolution the issues related to his or her own group identity. If the middle stage can be understood to be a temporary embracement of a very *essentialist identity*, the advanced stage allows for a more balanced and *relativistic sense of self* that is open to comparative (intergroup) transactions and exchanges.

This fifth-stage trend toward multiculturalism connects to a counternarrative of the single-group identity models concerning *intersectionality*. Intersectional-oriented theorists argue that the average person represents an identity matrix because membership in a single social category is inadequate to describe an individual. Despite this criticism, the mono models have been the object of a vast amount of empirical research.

Relevant to the current discussion is what psychological change is associated with *Über* consciousness. The *what has changed* question is generally linked to a conception of the self-concept as consisting of two interrelated structures: personality and group identity. One line of theorizing is that the old, unchanged identity showed signs of damage from having to cope with everyday oppression, resulting in lower self-esteem. Such an analysis tends to associate personality damage with the Stage 1 identity (the identity that is the object of change) and higher levels of self-esteem with advanced stages of the model. Jean M. Twenge and Jennifer Crocker conducted a meta-analysis of self-esteem studies that employed the Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale and were conducted with Black participants, covering the time period before and after the Civil Rights Movement. They found evidence of change, with lower self-esteem linked to studies conducted before the movement and higher levels thereafter. A second, independent meta-analysis of similar studies, which incorporated results from a range of scales, found no evidence of change. Neither meta-analysis examined studies involving the simultaneous measurement of both self-esteem and ethnic/racial identity, as was done in a meta-analysis conducted by Timothy B. Smith and Lynda Silva. They recorded a weak, nominal effect size between the two constructs.

Although clear-cut evidence of permanent personality change is hard to come by, it should not be overlooked that epiphanies are linked to a spellbinding oceanic rush and an exhilarating sense of rejuvenation. This intense motivational surge appears to be evanescent, fading over time and leaving the converted with the same personality structures and dynamics that characterized them at the onset of their *Über*-consciousness cycle.

More lasting change associated with *Über* consciousness is alteration of a person's group identity and worldview. Starting with a fleeting and diaphanous sense of connection to one's group, the aftermath of *Über* consciousness can be a deeply felt, mesmerizing, and profoundly spiritual attachment to one's social group. During the apex of the conversion, the person may entertain a highly *essentialist*, romantic, and boundary-thick conceptualization of the group. With advancement into the deeper stages of conversion, more realistic thinking takes hold, and lasting results can occur to the person's value system, worldview, ideology, and cultural aesthetic. This is evidenced by changes in one's social network, in the causes one supports and advocates, in one's social and political affiliations, in the types of social events that fill one's leisure time, in the type of media to which one is attracted, and in one's choice of novels, poetry, and expression of culture. This may be due in large part to the social movements of the 1970s that changed the group identity component of the Black self-concept. Before and after the movement, the level of self-esteem remained in the average range, but there was an increase in group identity and pro-Black salience, as evidenced by a heightened interest in Black history and Black studies, demands for greater access to mainstream American institutions, distributive justice, and an interest in the development of a Black identity.

When such change is collective, as in a social movement (e.g., collective and shared *Über* consciousness), the result can be profound change in the course of history for a once marginalized social group. In summary, *Über* consciousness and monocultural identity development result in redirection of one's social efforts and reshaping of one's meaning-making system while having little influence on one's general level of mental health, other than evanescent rejuvenation.

William E. Cross Jr.

See also Cultural Self-Awareness; Developmental Theory; Identity; Identity Management Theory; Identity Negotiation Theory; Racial Identity Development Models

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CURIOSITY

People possess differing degrees of curiosity about various aspects of life; for example, it is possible to be highly curious about the origin of the universe, how stars are formed, and the astronomical cycles, yet have no desire to know or learn anything about investing in the stock market. Similarly, individuals vary in the degree to which they are curious about other cultures and the people within them. A sojourner may be deeply curious about African art but not about conflict resolution strategies in Ghana. This entry will examine definitions of curiosity, research on its relationship to intercultural competence, and the contribution of curiosity to effective interaction across cultures.

Definitions

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines curiosity in a general sense as "the desire or inclination to know or learn about anything, *especially* what is novel or strange; a feeling of interest leading one to inquire about anything."

However, despite the widespread acceptance of the importance of curiosity to intercultural effectiveness, there is no agreed-on definition of intercultural curiosity among scholars. A variety of terminology exists in the cross-cultural research literature to describe intercultural curiosity and its various dimensions. Some use the term *inquisitiveness* to describe the concept, while others use the term *interest. Intercultural curiosity* is the desire or inclination to know or learn about people who are culturally different and their cultures.

Research on Intercultural Curiosity

Intercultural scholars have theorized that individuals who possess high levels of curiosity or inquisitiveness about other cultures are more apt to be successful when they find themselves living and working abroad or working in their native country with people who come from culturally diverse backgrounds. Empirical studies support this hypothesis. It is now broadly accepted by scholars, consultants, and practitioners that curiosity has a positive influence on intercultural effectiveness. Some scholars argue that curiosity is the most important of all interpersonal competencies that are associated with global leadership and intercultural effectiveness, because it serves as a foundational competency or "glue" that either triggers or sustains the strength of all intercultural competencies.

Researchers in the field have mainly focused on measuring the aspects or subcomponents of the concept of intercultural curiosity. Their assumption is that people can have higher or lower levels in various dimensions of curiosity. To date, some scholars have developed questionnaires of intercultural effectiveness that measure subcomponents of curiosity, but no questionnaire has yet been developed that focuses solely on the measurement of intercultural curiosity as a general construct.

For example, one subcomponent of intercultural curiosity that is part of a widely used questionnaire in the field is *relationship interest.* Relationship interest refers to the extent to which people exhibit interest in, and awareness of, their social environment. People high in relationship interest are curious about others with whom they interact and thus strive to understand the kind of people they are. It involves curiosity specifically about people who differ *culturally* from the individual and is not the same as curiosity about cultural differences in history, cuisine, the arts, or sports. Relationship interest has been shown to predict foreign language acquisition and cross-cultural management skills on the part of expatriates.

Contribution of Curiosity to Intercultural Effectiveness

Theoretically, when combined, measures of the various subcomponents of curiosity could produce an overall or general index score of intercultural curiosity. Thus, an important next step for scholars is to study all of the subcomponents of curiosity and then map out the most important components of intercultural curiosity. Following that process, a more comprehensive questionnaire about curiosity could be created, which would enable people to better understand their own levels of intercultural curiosity, assist educators in teaching and training this critical skill, and inform interculturalists about how they can deploy their curiosity to enhance their intercultural effectiveness.

Mark Earl Mendenhall

See also Assessment Centers; Global Leadership; Intercultural Competence Development; Intercultural Intimate Relationships; Intercultural Sensitivity

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D

Definitions: Knowledge, Skills, Attitudes

This entry focuses on defining intercultural competence. Traditional studies and literature on intercultural competence often define this concept in terms of knowledge, skills, and attitudes. In fact, definitions of *competence* generally emphasize the broad categories of knowledge, skills, and attitudes, frequently termed *KSAs*, *ASKs*, or some variation thereof. The term *competence*, which is contested in the literature due in part to its conceptual deficits and its casual use, has also been equated with a discrete skill set, although not usually in the case of intercultural competence, given its process-oriented nature. Competence, in this case, refers to that of an individual, and many of the definitions of intercultural competence over the past half-century have evolved from European and Anglophone perspectives that tend to emphasize the individual as being at the center of the competence.

There are many other terms used for *intercultural competence*, depending on the discipline and context. The terminology used for this and similar concepts includes *global competence*, *cultural competence*, *cultural intelligence*, *international mindedness*, *multicultural competence*, *global citizenship*, and *global learning*, among others. For example, the fields of healthcare and social work often refer to this concept as *cultural competence*, while business may use terms such as *cross-cultural effectiveness*, *global leadership*, or *cultural intelligence*, and education uses terms such as *global learning* and *international mindedness*. Different cultures use different terms for this concept including the term *intercultural competence*, which is widely used in European contexts, while in Japan and China, reference is often made to *global talent* or *global human resource development*. International organizations such as the United Nations use *intercultural competence* or *competences*. While research may find the term *intercultural competence* used most frequently, especially since it implies interactions across difference, there may never be agreement on the terminology itself, given the wide range of contexts.

Scholars and practitioners have debated at length as to what constitutes intercultural competence, often resulting in lists of specific knowledge (cognitive), skills (behavioral), and attitudes (affective). Some argue that in addition to KSAs, one should also include separate categories for motivation, context, outcomes, or even awareness as yet another distinct category. In general, intercultural competence broadly refers to the management of human interactions that results in more appropriate and effective outcomes at the individual, relational, group, and organizational levels. In basic phraseology, intercultural competence highlights the elements necessary for successful human interactions across difference.

One of the more influential definitions of intercultural competence is that of Michael Byram, which has been used widely, especially within a European context, and stresses linguistic competence as well as critical cultural awareness. A developmental model that has been highly influential in training and research is Milton Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity, which outlines six stages of human development in response to cultural difference. Presumably in this model, an individual's potential competence in intercultural interactions increases as his or her experience of cultural difference becomes more sophisticated. The first grounded research–based definition and framework of intercultural competence emerged from Darla Deardorff's work, which outlines agreed-on attitudes, knowledge, and skills that are foundational to individuals' internal and external outcomes of intercultural competence. These three definitions, among others, are discussed in Brian Spitzberg and Gabrielle Changon's chapter in *The SAGE Handbook of Intercultural Competence*, a seminal work on this concept. Depending on the discipline, culture, and context, different influential definitions of intercultural competence emerge. Spitzberg and Changnon conclude that given the rich conceptual and theoretical landscape of intercultural competence in recent decades, some extensive commonalities are emerging across the definitions on which future research can build.

In reviewing the myriad definitions in existence, including Deardorff's study that documents the consensus among leading scholars in this regard, the following emerges as specific knowledge, skills, and attitudes, frequently used in defining intercultural competence. Intercultural competence is broadly defined as *communication and behavior that are both effective and appropriate in intercultural interactions*, with *effectiveness* referring to the degree to which the individual's goals are achieved and *appropriateness* referring to the manner and context in which those goals are achieved. (*Note:* The following list does not represent the complexity of the more than 300 terms and constructs related to intercultural competence and should not be construed as the authoritative definition of intercultural competence.)

Knowledge

The following four areas emerge as vital knowledge areas in intercultural competence: (1) *cultural self-knowledge and awareness* includes understanding how one has been culturally conditioned to behave and communicate based on the cultural groups to which one belongs; (2) *knowledge of other cultures* includes deeper, culture-specific knowledge about particular cultures, including an understanding of underlying cultural values, attitudes, and the ways in which members of other cultural groups have been culturally conditioned; (3) *knowledge of other languages* includes not only knowledge of grammar and vocabulary but also sociolinguistic knowledge of how the language is used in social and cultural contexts; and (4) *contextual knowledge* includes history, literature/cultural artifacts and political/economic/religious systems and influences on culture, as well as the contextual knowledge needed in the particular interaction (health care, engineering, tourism, social, etc.).

Skills

Emerging skills necessary for intercultural competence range from the basic microlevel skills of listening and observing to macrolevel skills involving interaction such as communication. Specifically, the following skills are often identified as essential to intercultural competence:

- *Listening/attentiveness* to the content of the interaction as well as to what is not said
- *Observing thoughtfully*, which means paying attention to all the cues in an interaction, especially the nonverbal cues, as well as being self-observant
- *Reflecting or mindfulness*, which includes self-monitoring/attending and critical self-reflection
- *Perspective taking* (or empathizing), which involves awareness of and the ability to see from others' perspectives
- *Communicating*, which includes verbal and nonverbal communication, including the awareness of one's and others' communication styles and the ability to decode and code shift as necessary in intercultural interactions

Language, though not overtly named in many intercultural competence definitions, can also be included as necessary but not sufficient for intercultural competence, since language fluency does not guarantee that one will be able to navigate another culture appropriately and effectively.

Attitudes

Some recent studies consider attitudes to be foundational to the acquisition and development of intercultural competence. Crucial attitudes necessary for intercultural competence include the following: (a) *open-mindedness*, which means refraining from judgment or making assumptions about others; (b) *curiosity*, the desire to learn more about others and other cultures, and seeking to understand; (c) *respect*, which means valuing the other as a fellow human and recognizing that respect manifests itself differently in behavior, depending on the culture; and (d) *tolerance* of those who differ and of ambiguity (not knowing).

Attitudes emerging from recent studies vital to intercultural competence include those of mutuality and cultural humility, which is composed of cultural self-awareness and respect, or valuing, of the Other.

While this entry has emphasized the requisite knowledge, skills, and attitudes that constitute intercultural competence, it is important to note that this is a brief synthesis that has emerged from European and Anglo scholarship. Scholars from other perspectives may not define intercultural competence in these ways and, for example, may not necessarily start with an individual's knowledge, skills, and attitudes in defining intercultural competence. Rather, the focus may be on the interaction or on more *relational* perspectives, as may be discussed by Arab, Chinese, and Vietnamese scholars, for example. Other definitions of intercultural competence may emphasize the *contextual nature* of the concept, including historical, economic, and social realities, as being inseparable from the definition itself, as in the scholarship of some Latin American scholars. And even in contexts where the individual is part of the definition of intercultural competence, the concept of identity may differ, as in the example of the South African concept of *Ubuntu*, which views the individual as inseparable from the group to which he or she belongs. As other intercultural competence definitions emerge, the concept will continue to evolve and develop in ways that help further refine understanding of the human experience of interactions across difference.

Directions for Future Research

There are numerous areas of further research related to defining intercultural competence, including understanding this concept from multiple cultural perspectives, beyond the traditional European and Anglo definitions. Further research is needed as to the role of emotion in intercultural competence as well as the role of personal attributes/personality in the development of intercultural competence. Adaptability, while emerging as central in many definitions and lists of intercultural competence, needs further research including the issues of degrees of adaptability, mutuality (who adapts to whom), and the role of one's identity in the adaptation process. Given that intercultural competence development is a *lifelong* process, as described by Janet M. Bennett, further research is also needed on the actual process of developing essential knowledge, skills, and attitudes over time.

Existing definitions of intercultural competence that delineate specific knowledge, skills, and attitudes often lead to assumed or stated outcomes such as effective and appropriate communication, goal achievement, relationship development/satisfaction, and conflict resolution, to name a few. Understanding the desired outcomes of intercultural competence is crucial in defining the requisite components of the concept.

Exploring lists of the requisite knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary for intercultural competence can be considered insufficient and somewhat simplistic, since there is no list that can apply to all contexts and cultures. Furthermore, intercultural competence is increasingly defined in greater complexity, which often acknowledges the vital role of identity, the nature of intercultural development, and the interconnectedness of intercultural competence within wider contextual situations. Such lists, however, can be seen as a starting point for beginning to define more fully the concept of intercultural competence. And regardless of definitions and lists, it is important to recognize that intercultural competence does not equate with knowledge or skills but is rather a complex conceptualization based within disciplines and contexts with varying outcomes and implications. Bridging the gap between knowledge and practical application is the critical role played by intercultural competence.

Darla K. Deardorff

See also Intercultural Competence Development; Intercultural Competence in Organizations

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Description, Interpretation, Evaluation

Educators will often suggest that if you do only one activity in an intercultural class, the best choice is the "Description, Interpretation, and Evaluation" exercise, known colloquially as the D.I.E. This entry will discuss the origins, pedagogical goals, process, and recent revisions of this critical teaching and training activity.

Origins

The D.I.E. exercise was inspired by the work of general semantics. Alfred Korzybski, considered the founder of general semantics, wrote on *reports*, *inferences*, *and judgments*, outlining distinctions among these cognitive processes. Samuel Ichiye Hayakawa popularized Korzybski's ideas in the mid- to late 20th century, bringing concepts from general semantics into the vernacular, including notable quotes such as Korzybski's "the map is not the territory." Furthermore, he warned that making immediate judgments inhibits our analytical process.

Building on and adapting these ideas, Janet Bennett and Milton Bennett, working in a group of intercultural workshop facilitators, developed the original D.I.E. at the University of Minnesota Speech Communication Department in 1973. Designed to teach participants how to suspend judgment while interacting across cultures, the exercise has been refined over the past decades by a variety of authors and is arguably the most widely used intercultural exercise worldwide.

Pedagogical Goals

To develop intercultural competence, individuals need to cultivate curiosity, cognitive flexibility, and nonjudgmentalness. Curiosity has been labeled the keystone of intercultural competence, strengthening as it does other competencies by its presence. The curious interculturalist has more opportunity to explore new situations and more likelihood of correctly interpreting cultural differences appropriately. Cognitive flexibility, or frame of reference shifting with empathy, is known to be a prime mediator for reducing prejudice and stereotypes. Finally, nonjudgmentalness allows the interculturalist to approach new learning as free of biases and stereotypes as possible in order to interpret unfamiliar situations with cultural humility.

These core competencies are challenging to develop. However, with thoughtful, well-sequenced training, they can be cultivated. The D.I.E. can provide skills practice for each of them, with guidance from the teacher to foster greater flexibility in interpretation.

The Process

The basic D.I.E. process involves selecting ambiguous objects and photographs for guided discussion. The exercise involves four steps.

First, the participants describe what they see, without any interpretations or evaluations. For example, they may see an object that is clear plastic, square at the bottom, round on top, made of four pieces, with a screw-top lid, approximately 4 inches high and 2 inches wide. By allowing the participants to continue describing the object for

5 to 10 minutes, the facilitator elicits many details that would ordinarily be ignored, just as such details are ignored when observing other cultures.

In the second step, the participants are asked to interpret the object: What might this strange thing be? What is it used for? With the above mysterious object in mind, they might suggest that it is a trap for bugs, a container for spices, a puzzle for children, or a candleholder, for instance. They are encouraged to be as imaginative as they can be in order to promote cognitive flexibility. How many interpretations can they create?

The third and final step requires evaluation of the object. Using selected interpretations, the facilitator asks for *both* a positive and a negative evaluation of the object. For instance, if it is a candleholder, why is it an excellent candleholder? (It is clear, and we can see the flame.) Why is it an inferior candleholder? (It is plastic, and it will melt.) By exploring both positive and negative evaluations of the object, participants have to suspend their own judgment and shift into the frame of reference that someone else might hold. Many later adaptations of the D.I.E. attempt to find the most likely explanation; this version promotes curiosity and cognitive reframing by asking for multiple interpretations and evaluations.

In this fashion, the group moves through practicing suspending judgment, shifting the frame of reference, and developing curiosity about the object. The brief fourth step is to reveal the nature of the object—in this case, a kitchen utensil designed to chill hard-boiled eggs into square shapes for decorative salads.

While this discussion has been based on the use of objects, all manner of stimuli can be used, including photographs from other cultures, video clips, cultural symbols, critical incidents, or even the behaviors of colleagues and fellow group members. The activity is most effective when intentionally sequenced from the least challenging stimuli (e.g., an object) to more complex and therefore more challenging stimuli (e.g., a colleague's behavior).

Variations on the Original Exercise

The D.I.E. exercise has stimulated a number of other writers to adapt the exercise from different perspectives. Stella Ting-Toomey describes an approach that emphasizes observation prior to description and asks for suspension of judgment as the final step. Called O-D-I-S, it moves through a thoughtful process of *o*bservation, to *d*escription, to *i*nterpretation, and, finally, to *s*uspension of judgment. Carolyn Ryffel developed an alternative titled D.I.C.E., building on the original D.I.E., adding a step of *c*hecking (C.) one's interpretation to allow the participants to discover what is actually going on. Donna Stringer and Patricia Cassidy published another version of the exercise, similar to the D.I.E. Kyoung-Ah Nam and John Condon published another variation in response to the difficulty of teaching participants to confine their comments to interpretations. They were also uncomfortable with the potential cultural implications of the acronym D.I.E. and changed it to D.A.E., standing for *d*escription, *a*nalysis, and *e*valuation. Their acronym carries a variety of interpretations of the Korean word *dae*, one of which means "counter to our instincts," a widely used phrase in Korea, which has the additional implication of countering our tendency to be evaluative. Most recently, Darla Deardorff described a process similar to the D.I.E, using different vocabulary for the OSEE tool: *O*bserve what is happening, *s*tate objectively what is happening, *e*xplore different explanations for it, and *e*valuate which explanation is more likely.

All of these versions promote curiosity, cognitive flexibility, and nonjudgmentalness, each of which is core to intercultural competence.

Janet M. Bennett

See also Cultural Humility; Curiosity; Perceptions

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Developing an Intercultural Vision

There is an intrinsic tension between vision development and intercultural competence as traditionally defined. In some respects, they may actually be antithetical. Competence suggests a specified destination—a set of skills that can be identified and acquired. Vision suggests an expanding horizon, an active engagement with a constantly changing destination that will always remain somewhat out of reach. Ironically, that horizon inevitably expands as people develop an ever-deepening understanding of the diversity-related complexities and perplexing challenges of the intercultural world.

Basic to this tension is the idea of learning. Competence connotes something that can be learned. Vision demands that you must continuously keep on learning. Achieving a defined competence in a world of continual change ensures rapid obsolescence. Vision embraces the recognition of the inherent inadequacy of a fixed conception of competence in a constantly changing world of cultural diversity.

This raises an issue: How can the static, terminal concept of competence be integrated with the dynamic, future-oriented concept of vision? It can be done by making vision an integral element of competence—a dynamic conceptualization of competence that embraces the recognition that permanent competence can never be attained in an ever-changing intercultural terrain.

This entry defines the essential elements of intercultural envisioning. Distinguishing tame and technical problems from wicked and adaptive challenges, the entry concludes with an analysis of a useful perspective of action in the face of intercultural dilemmas.

Building Competence Through Envisioning

One way of addressing this vision-competence conundrum is through the process of envisioning. What differentiates envisioning from merely creating a vision? The simple answer is that envisioning is a dynamic process. It involves the continuous revisiting and reconstructing of one's personal vision combined with effective action even as that vision is being rethought and expanded.

Intercultural envisioning can be examined from a number of perspectives. Three are particularly relevant to the ongoing process of continuously increasing intercultural competence (as contrasted to achieving a terminal competence):

1. Crossing the Intercultural Great Divide
2. Grappling with intercultural dilemmas
3. Adapting to continuously emerging challenges

Crossing the Intercultural Great Divide

Essential to intercultural envisioning is recognizing the existence of what can be thought of as the Intercultural Great Divide of personal consciousness. That Great Divide separates a life of cultural constraint from an open-ended life of cultural transcendence, involving continuous intercultural learning and self-challenging.

This divide parallels a shift in consciousness observed by many developmental theorists. While these theorists have framed the world in different ways, their models generally posit major shifts in consciousness. Those shifts involve the following:

- A willingness to challenge conventional thinking
- A conceptualization of truth as, to some degree, culturally and personally constructed
- The courage to openly engage the complexity of multiperspectival truth even if this engagement threatens one's sense of certainty and stability
- The ability to develop a set of personal principles for ethical action

- The continuous reevaluation and reshaping of these principles as a result of new experience and learning

In the intercultural realm, those who have not yet experienced this consciousness shift can be thought of as being *culturally constrained*. That is, they may be unaware of how their culture (or cultures) has shaped the personal lenses through which they view the world, restricted their ability to interact effectively across cultures, and influenced how they address culturally based issues and challenges.

Even those who do recognize these cultural restraints often fear venturing into the realm of uncertainty that comes with a serious engagement with alternative cultural perspectives. Instead, they cleave to the clear answers provided by tradition, authority figures, and established belief patterns. When they do seek to connect with those from other cultures, they may fail to recognize that others may be experiencing the world quite differently.

In contrast, *cultural transcenders* are those who have embarked on a life of continuous intercultural exploration and the discovery of multiple culturally based ways of viewing the world. Fueled by curiosity and a willingness to explore the complexities of diversity, they seek not only to recognize the existence of cultural differences but also to understand how those differences influence values, beliefs, worldviews, and behavior. They also recognize the perils inherent in this endless intercultural journey—that a better understanding of the multiplicity of cultural perspectives may challenge their deepest beliefs and unsettle their own personal perspectives. Cultural transcending, therefore, involves a willingness not only to live with uncertainty but also to pursue it.

The Intercultural Great Divide is not a chasm to be breached in search of a defined destination or terminal competence. Rather, it is an invitation to a life of continuous reenvisioning, a never completed journey through a land of constant change, lifelong learning, and the relentless resolution of new intercultural dilemmas.

Grappling With Intercultural Dilemmas

As part of this journey, cultural transcenders will constantly be challenged by the real world of ethical complexities and dilemmas. The experience of addressing these dilemmas provides much of the learning through which cultural transcenders continually grow and reenvision.

As they engage with otherness, cultural transcenders inevitably confront differing, culturally rooted values, norms, moral codes, ethical systems, and patterns of behavior. They encounter conflicting perceptions of concepts such as equality, fairness, honor, respect, responsibility, and justice. Disagreements arise about how these ideas play out when applied to concrete dilemmas of personal living, organizational functioning, and intercultural interaction. In such situations, it is not enough, like Polonius in *Hamlet*, merely to be in favor of all of the good things and opposed to all of the bad things. In intercultural settings, the "right" thing is not always easy to determine, particularly when culturally rooted differences in the ideas of good and bad are involved.

Through intercultural envisioning, transcenders should try to understand different, culturally based moral imperatives and the ethical foundations of the beliefs and practices of other cultures. In making decisions, intercultural envisioners assume greater responsibility for developing their own diversity-related belief systems rather than merely relying on cultural conditioning for making intercultural judgments. Moreover, through the envisioning process, transcenders seek to enlarge their own repertoire of possible ethical principles, examining them within an expanding intercultural context.

Because life requires judgments, decisions, and action, envisioning transcenders inevitably must confront the complex issue of "limits." How far are individual transcenders personally willing to go in respecting different cultural expressions? Cultural transcenders reject platitudes as guides, including interculturalist platitudes. In the real world of cultural complexity and intercultural conflict, they face the unavoidable challenge of establishing their own personal limits to accepting others' cultural practices.

In the abstract, a commitment to intercultural understanding involves trying to become more flexible in dealing with others on their own terms. However, even if transcenders succeed in understanding beliefs or actions from the perspectives of their practitioners, they will ultimately hit the *limits wall*, encountering culturally driven beliefs and actions that they find so abhorrent or unacceptable as to fall beyond the pale of tolerance, acceptance, and certainly respect. In short, intercultural envisioning does not embrace an "anything goes" moral relativism, but it does impel transcenders to try to understand other cultural systems as systems of beliefs and values, and reflectively analyze their own critical reactions to others' beliefs and practices.

Continuous Adaptation

Beyond judgments and decisions, life also requires action. Even while engaging complexity, learning continuously, and contemplating personal principles, intercultural transcenders must also act.

Prior to entering the Intercultural Great Divide, people tend to remain locked into patterns of certainty and often view life as a series of polarities, certain that there is always a clear good and bad, right and wrong. When addressing issues, they usually view the world as a series of problems to be solved, assuming that *the* right answer can be found.

In selected circumstances, a problem-solving framework may be appropriate. However, when applied to the wrong issues, particularly intercultural issues, a narrow problem-solving approach can not only lead to failure but also will often create even greater complications. Those unintended consequences may actually exacerbate diversity-related conditions or situations.

A problem-solving approach may be appropriate for what Horst Rittel and Melvin Webber called "tame" or what Ronald Heifetz and Donald Laurie termed *technical* problems. With tame/technical problems, the goal is clear, uncontroversial, and perceived similarly by all (or nearly all) involved, a situation unlikely in complex intercultural situations. For a problem-solving approach to work, there needs to be one major cause that can be dealt with in isolation from other possible contributing factors and one best solution that can be technically determined. Moreover, there need to be clear guidelines or precise measures for determining if and when a solution has been achieved.

Therefore, problem solving is best applied within a closed system, where there is little possibility of unexpected reverberations or unintended consequences outside the system. In these conditions, if the solution "fails," another solution can be tried without penalty. Such conditions are rare when diverse cultural perspectives are involved.

In contrast, there are different, more complex types of issues referred to by Rittel and Webber as "wicked problems" or by Heifetz and Laurie as "adaptive challenges." These wicked problems/adaptive challenges have multiple causes, some of which are rooted outside the system under scrutiny. Such challenges defy clear solutions and precise measurement, sometimes because they have multicultural dimensions and are perceived quite differently by those involved. They may exist at the intersection of different (sometimes cultural) systems and hold the potential for generating unexpected consequences that reverberate across multiple domains.

A technical, unicausal problem-solving approach appeals to culturally constrained people who have a deep attachment to certainty, authority, and dilemma-free decision making. Therefore, many complex diversity-related challenges are debated endlessly in the vain search for rational, technical, and measurable solutions. This results in often passionate arguments over designating the "real" problem or determining the single "correct" solution. For example, this sometimes occurs when people search for definitive solutions to complex challenges such as systemic discrimination and the recruitment and retention of culturally diverse employees both domestically and globally.

In contrast, cultural transcenders—those willing to admit, confront, and even embrace intercultural complexity and uncertainty—are better able to recognize when wicked problems/adaptive challenges exist. By adopting an envisioning approach to intercultural issues, they emphasize continuous personal, organizational, and societal adaptations—not solutions—to the diverse world around them. This calls for discerning diverse cultural perspectives, recognizing the emerging possibilities, engaging the inevitable dilemmas, identifying personal limits, and revisiting ethical principles even as they act.

For instance, the issue of equality in an intercultural context presents one such "wicked" problem. Some might view equality as treating everybody alike. Others might view equality as treating people as they would like to be treated, including treating them differently out of respect for their cultural beliefs and practices. This becomes even more complicated when treating everybody alike leads to some people being treated with a lack of fairness (itself a concept with conflicting cultural interpretations) due to their differing cultural perspectives, beliefs, values, or behavior.

Consider the passionately differing views, often culturally rooted, about free expression versus defamatory speech, gender roles and intergender behavior, and the cultural or institutional accommodation to multiple religious beliefs. The cultural transcender does not try to avoid such complex issues and dilemmas or to address them with an oversimplified problem-solving framework. Rather, transcenders forthrightly address such dilemmas as adaptive challenges that must be revisited regularly, while at the same time they continuously reenvision their own personal values.

The world around us is changing rapidly even as the globe shrinks. Diversity-related issues are increasing in nations around the world, while global cultures find themselves continuously more intertwined. Such changes require not only new thinking but also a willingness to constantly reenvision.

Cultural diversity is a certainty that inevitably involves uncertainty. Present in nearly every aspect of life today, diversity contributes to complex situations that are most effectively dealt with by the creative and adaptive process of intercultural envisioning.

Carlos E. Cortés and Louise C. Wilkinson

See also Assumptions and Beliefs; Cognitive Styles Across Cultures; Cultural Humility; Developmental Theory; Equality Versus Equity; Ethical and Moral Reasoning; Intercultural Relations and Globalization; Pluralism

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DEVELOPMENTAL THEORY

Developmental theory consists of descriptions of human development from conception to the end of life to aid understanding and provide explanations for human behavior across the life span. Most theories provide logical or conceptual frameworks for understanding specified phenomena; for developmental theories, the phenomenon of interest is human development. The best known comprehensive developmental theories of human development include those by Piaget, Vyogotsky, and Erikson. Other developmental theories address some aspect of human development (e.g., cognitive, moral, or identity development) or a particular epoch of development (infancy, childhood, adolescence, early adulthood, middle adulthood, or late adulthood). Developmental theories describe many dimensions of individual development, and the range of dimensions they encompass reflects the breadth of this topic. These dimensions include changes in biology, cognition, emotions, motivation, personality, and how one relates with others.

Since developmental theories are typically grounded in developmental psychology, developmental theorists follow the criteria associated with theory development and validation in science and the social sciences. Thus, developmental theories are based on a body of evidence, can be empirically tested, and are subject to modification as new evidence or argument becomes available.

This entry discusses the concept of development, the role of context in developmental theories, constructive-developmental theories, stage theory in developmental models, and developmental theory and intercultural competence.

The Concept of Development

At the heart of any developmental theory lies the concept of development. Although it is related to aging, maturation, and growth, development has additional criteria that must be met for changes in individual characteristics to be considered developmental in nature. Most important, a *developmental change* reflects a transformational change, which is a change in form, organization, or structure. Examples of developmental changes are physical changes in a developing fetus and an infant, the production of thoughts that are symbolic and not just concrete in childhood, and the ability to relate two abstract concepts (e.g., democracy and capitalism or mutuality in relationships and self-care) in adolescence and young adulthood. Transformation occurs in one's *system* of being, thinking, and interacting. Such systems generally change in an orderly and sequential way; these changes reflect developmental milestones rather than one specific route through life, as variability is inevitable due to environmental and cultural factors. These milestones are ordered from less to greater complexity (e.g., crawling, walking, running), although individuals retain the ability to access skills and approaches associated with earlier milestones and don't typically revert to earlier systems (except under circumstances that are stressful, unfamiliar, or overly challenging). Thus, although all development is change, not all change is developmental.

The Role of Context in Developmental Theories

Although they have their origins in developmental psychology, developmental theories are typically interactionist in nature; that is, they acknowledge that development occurs in a context and that it is the interaction between the individual and the environment that promotes (or inhibits) development. Thus, development is much more than biological change alone; it is also more than the influence of context alone. Although this may seem intuitively obvious, developmental theories and research have been criticized for focusing only on factors germane to individual-level psychological issues. In fairness, the same criticism has been levied against sociological theories and research for focusing only on factors germane to group-level sociological issues. Clearly, both biological and cultural/sociological resources play a central role in helping individuals build new psychological systems and consolidate a new system despite temptations and pressures to revert to earlier, simpler systems.

Constructive-Developmental Theories

Many psychological developmental theories attempt to describe how people construct meaning, that is, how they interpret or make sense of their experiences. They are typically grounded in the constructive-developmental tradition: It is constructive in that it focuses on how people construct meaning; it is developmental in that it focuses on the evolution of ways of making meaning and on changes in the systems (and their related processes and behaviors) that underlie this evolution. In this tradition, the concepts of structure and content are often contrasted when referring to transformational changes that signify development. Structure refers to the form of their meaning-making systems (e.g., how one frames an argument); content refers to its substance (the bottom-line judgment). For example, when deciding which candidate to endorse for an election, two people might endorse the same candidate (same content) but for different reasons (different structure). Suppose that one of these individuals made this decision without learning about the candidate or the issues, instead basing it on advice from parents or friends (an externally derived system that does not require personal evaluation). The other person made his or her decision based on an examination of the candidate's views and how well they reflected his or her own points of view and values (an internally derived system in which the individual took responsibility for evaluating the candidate's credentials). In this case, the structure of the rationale used by the second individual reflects a more developmentally advanced approach and meaning-making system. Developmental theories that focus on meaning making have been created to describe development in domains such as cognitive development, personal epistemology, faith development, and moral and ethical development; self-authorship theory is holistic, encompassing development across domains.

Stage Theory in Developmental Models

The concept of stages is both a hallmark and a lightning rod for criticism of developmental theories. A *stage* is a theoretical concept that refers to a particular level or organization of the system (terms such as positions, orders, and steps are also used by some theorists). As the variety of terms suggests, it is not used consistently and carries different connotations depending on the theory.

Stages are a hallmark of developmental theories because they signify key developmental milestones that define important intrapersonal changes, helping to organize the complexity of human development in ways that benefit parents, educators, counselors, employers, and individuals themselves. For example, knowing that an adolescent's seeming irrationality is normative and predictable is reassuring to parents who struggle to understand why their child doesn't follow through with a plan of action. And educators who understand that a great deal of support and practice is needed when introducing abstract concepts to students who think concretely avoid frustration (their own and their students') and are more likely to be successful teaching the concept. Evidence showing that these milestones are widely observed despite differences in geographic location, national origin, ethnicity, and personal attributes demonstrates the power of these theories to describe human development. This is not to ignore important cultural differences.

Stage theory has also been criticized as overstating developmental patterns by ignoring interpersonal variability, forcing responses (and respondents) into stage-labeled *boxes*, and imposing the view that development is orderly, linear, and continuous. Proponents of this view argue that individual variability is not sufficiently recognized in stage models and find the idea that development is linear to be particularly problematic. Claims of universalism by Western theorists have also been criticized as not sensitive to cultural differences.

James Rest, a prominent theorist of moral development, addressed several of these concerns by proposing two types of stage theories, simple and complex, arguing that most of these criticisms reflected the assumptions of simple stage theories. He argued for a complex stage interpretation that retained the patterns across milestones while acknowledging variability within and across individuals in the production of behaviors that signified a given stage system. Furthermore, using this approach, studies have shown that when individuals are in the process of transforming their internal systems, their behavior during this transition is much more variable than when they have consolidated the new system.

Kurt Fischer proposed an alternative approach: He accounted for intrapersonal variability by showing how individuals operate within a developmental range of skills that stretch from their typical, everyday *functional* level to their *optimal* level, which they can achieve under conditions of high support and the opportunity to practice and receive feedback. Since a range can span stages, and since individuals may access more than one system while they are in transition, it is misleading to say that someone is *in a stage* of development.

A Developmental Perspective on Intercultural Competence

Developmental theory has been used in the context of intercultural competence to describe how individuals develop the capacities to interact more effectively with people from differing cultural groups. Theory-based research on the development of intercultural competence has shown that development evolves from a way of understanding and acting that is egocentric, ethnocentric, and cognitively simple to one that includes a broader range of perspectives (Milton Bennett uses the term *ethnorelative* in his model of intercultural sensitivity), is cognitively complex, and situates individual responses in cultural contexts. For example, individuals who operate at an early developmental level show naivety about different cultural practices and values, have difficulty recognizing the concept of culture beyond demography or geography, show lack of understanding of other cultures, show lack of awareness of how social systems affect group norms and intergroup differences, and tend to see themselves as *normal* and those with different cultural perspectives as strange or unusual. In their developmental model of intercultural maturity, Patricia M. King and Marcia Baxter Magolda examine cognitive, intrapersonal, and interpersonal dimensions, which expands the list of characteristics. Other attributes include being unaware of one's own privilege (if in a dominant group), devaluing or making negative comments about one's own culture (if in a subordinated identity group), focusing on one's own feelings (e.g., discomfort, curiosity) but not others' feelings, and turning to others to define one's own cultural identity and beliefs about culture.

These characteristics evolve through a series of increasingly complex steps to an advanced level that is more consistent with the concept of competence (and with many collegiate and professional goals in the intercultural domain). Individuals who operate at an advanced level are able to use multiple cultural frames, consciously shift perspectives and behaviors into alternative cultural worldviews, accept that others' identities are informed by their experiences, and are not threatened by cultural differences. They also understand that multiple social identities are part of the self and others, and engage with diverse others in meaningful, interdependent relationships that are grounded in understanding and appreciation of human differences. They further understand society as an organized entity that shapes social interactions and creates social inequalities, and reciprocally, how individual and community practices affect social systems. They are willing to work for the rights of others, often to promote social justice.

This comparison of early- and advanced-level characteristics described in developmental theories of intercultural competence illustrates the key, defining characteristic of developmental theory. That is, the characteristics of developmentally advanced categories are not simply different from early-level characteristics but reflect qualitatively different, transformational changes between milestones, which are not idiosyncratic to each individual but reflect general patterns across individuals. These changes suggest increasing complexity and adaptability, and they provide tools to help individuals engage in intercultural interactions. Those with a deeper understanding of intercultural issues, and of their own cultural assumptions and intercultural relationships, are better prepared to act in interculturally appropriate and effective ways.

As with other competencies, having the capacity to think and act from a more advanced system doesn't mean that an individual will use it consistently: Working at the upper edge of one's developmental range requires support, and stressful circumstances often cause people to revert to earlier systems. Developmental changes are often triggered by feelings of dissonance when individuals are confronted with the limitations of their ways of being, thinking, and knowing. Educators, parents, advisors, and others attempting to promote a student's development can use developmental theory to understand and respond to the student. Knowing that dissonance helps stimulate development will help them respond in ways that don't discount or avoid the discomfort but that acknowledge it and its value in creating a teachable moment. The milestones within developmental theories also provide useful benchmarks when creating educational experiences and other opportunities to promote intercultural competence, especially in selecting developmentally appropriate goals, strategies or pedagogies, and feedback.

Patricia M. King

See also Constructivism; Developmentally Appropriate Pedagogy; Intercultural Competence Development; Intercultural Sensitivity; Transformative Learning

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Developmentally Appropriate Pedagogy

Teaching, research, training, and coaching that both reflect and contribute to the evolving understanding of intercultural communication are collectively known as developmentally appropriate pedagogy. Grounded in constructivist assumptions about learning, developmental pedagogy is experiential and holistic. As it has evolved, such pedagogy has continued to explore and test intercultural communication's assumptions, and its evolution, in theory and practice, has accompanied intercultural communication's increasing focus on outcomes and on the elaboration of training and coaching practices designed to help learners achieve these outcomes.

This entry briefly traces the emergence and evolution of developmental pedagogy, outlines the differences between behaviorist and constructivist assumptions about learning, and identifies common applications of developmental pedagogy in intercultural training and coaching.

Constructivist Roots of Developmental Pedagogy

From the final decades of the 19th through the mid-20th century, behaviorism dominated human learning theory. In the behaviorist account, an external and objective world is the primary agent of learning. Knowledge is embedded in the world, and humans learn as the world imprints itself on them. Educators analyze the world, identifying and organizing the universal knowledge they find there. Transferring knowledge through readings and lectures, they ask learners to memorize information and acquire new habits that will allow them to learn more effectively in the future.

By the 1950s, constructivist theories and research from many disciplines were profoundly challenging behaviorist assumptions. In the constructivist account, there is no external and objective world, no universal meaning. Instead, shaped differently by previous cultural and personal experiences, learners come to frame the world in very different ways. Learning is much more than information transfer or habit formation: It is a developmental, experiential, and holistic process wherein learners individually construct, and with members of their various cultural groups co-construct, the meaning that they experience in the world.

Intercultural communication emerged as a discipline in the 1950s as early adherents explored the application of constructivist assumptions about learning and development to the training of individuals preparing to live and work abroad. Intercultural communication has integrated constructivist findings from—and contributed its own insights to—fields as diverse as anthropology, psychology, communication, linguistics, experiential learning theory, organizational behavior, critical theory, meditative practice, physics, cognitive biology, and neuroscience. Each of these fields continues to elaborate and refine theories of human development, and intercultural educators typically rely heavily on several of these areas to help learners develop the competencies they need for crossing cultural boundaries.

Intercultural Educators' Reliance on Developmental Theories

There may be as many different approaches to intercultural teaching, research, training and coaching as there are intercultural educators. However, they typically share several common understandings about human learning and development, including a reliance on theories that represent development as a series of stages through which individuals or groups progress as they become interculturally competent, constructing their experience of cultural difference and similarity in increasingly complex ways. Intercultural educators most frequently use David Kolb's experiential learning theory (ELT) and Milton Bennett's developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (DMIS), which suggests the broad range of ways in which developmental theories embrace constructivist assumptions. ELT, the older of the two, follows a line of descent through John Dewey, Jean Piaget, and Kurt Lewin. Since the 1980s, intercultural educators have increasingly embraced ELT and the testing instrument derived from it, the Learning Style Inventory (LSI), which Kolb introduced in the early 1970s.

ELT offers a multilinear account of human learning. To learn fully in this theory, that is, to learn holistically, depends on the extent to which a learner is able to experience the world through each of four basic modes or styles: (1) *concrete experience* and (2) its polar opposite, *abstract conceptualization*, and (3) *reflective observation* and (4) its opposite, *active experimentation*. Learners synergistically develop each of these four through progressing around the experiential cycle. A long research history with Kolb's LSI strongly suggests, however, that most learners do not proceed around the cycle—do not develop affectively, perceptively, cognitively, and behaviorally—when left to their own devices. Instead, learners tend to rely habitually on one or two of the basic learning styles, thereby missing the opportunity to learn fully and holistically. Recent research has led Kolb and his colleagues to introduce a second version of the LSI, which features nine, instead of four, basic learning styles, but both versions are grounded in the same experiential learning theory principles.

Milton Bennett originated the six-stage DMIS in the late 1970s. Building on insights from his and others' experience in training learners to adapt to cultural difference and from the theoretical work of the social psychologist George Kelly, the DMIS describes a unilinear developmental process by which individuals or groups come to experience cultural difference and similarity in strikingly different ways. A growing number of intercultural educators incorporate this model in their work. The DMIS describes a developmental progression, first through three ethnocentric stages (Denial, Defense, and Minimization) and then through three ethnorelative stages (Acceptance, Adaptation, and Integration). Recalling research-based adjustments recently made in ELT, recent Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) research has also led to adjustments in the DMIS. A revised version that Mitchell Hammer has introduced describes the developmental continuum as a five- rather than six-step process, with Minimization now represented as a transitional stage between two Ethnocentric (Denial and Polarization) and two Ethnorelative (Acceptance and Adaptation) stages. However, both models continue to describe intercultural development as a unilinear and intentional process through which learners come to construct their experience of cultural difference and similarity in increasingly complex and creative ways.

Since the late 1990s, when Bennett and Hammer codesigned the IDI to test the validity of the DMIS, intercultural educators have relied on the IDI for a number of purposes. It is widely used, for example, to assess the effectiveness of various educational interventions, and more than 65 doctoral committees have approved the instrument for dissertation research. The IDI research record—echoing findings from the LSI and other validated instruments—indicates that most individuals do not reach the higher stages of development. Instead, responding to cultural difference in characteristic ways, learners unconsciously embrace worldviews that prevent them from interacting effectively and appropriately with culturally different others. In short, most learners do not necessarily develop beyond a certain point without interventions.

Intercultural Communication and Development: Historical Evolution

Intercultural educators also normally share a recognition that learning and development involve very different types of change. When a learner learns, the change occurs within an existing set of knowledge or skills, within the boundaries of an already existing framework or worldview that he or she has earlier (and unconsciously) constructed. A musician who improves on a familiar song, composes a new song, or learns to play a new instrument is said to have learned when the change incrementally adds to or improves on what the person already knows, within an existing worldview that defines and confines understanding of what music is and who the individual is as a musician. On the other hand, when a learner develops, this is change of a different order, one that entails the reordering or reconstructing of worldview, a transformation of basic assumptions and understandings about the world and the individual's place in it. When a musician improves on or learns a new song and the experience comes to reconstruct earlier understanding of what it means to be a musician, and the very meaning of music itself, the person is then said to have transcended the earlier worldview—to have developed. To the extent that the musician is able to intentionally shift frames in ways that increasingly approximate the frame of a culturally different other, the person is said to have developed intercultural competence.

Intercultural trainers and coaches, relying on the ELT, the DMIS, and other developmental models and theories to guide their work, focus principally on helping learners develop, rather than simply learn. Intercultural communication emerged in the U.S. Foreign Service Institute (FSI) in the 1950s as Edward T. Hall—one of the discipline's founders—and some of his FSI colleagues realized that teaching foreign aid workers anthropological theory was not helping them solve the sorts of cultural problems they were encountering while living and working abroad. Instead, Hall developed what would come to be known as the contrast culture method. During group sessions, trainers and those trainees who had completed earlier assignments abroad provided examples of typical problems that U.S. citizens were experiencing abroad, identifying specific behaviors, ideas, or attitudes that were problematic and contrasting these with U.S. cultural practices.

Hall and his colleagues understood that humans have the capacity to adapt to cultural difference, and they believed that individuals normally adapted to challenging behaviors and ideas as they simply spent more and more time abroad. They also understood, though, that the Cold War stakes were high, that U.S. diplomats and foreign aid workers were frequently finding themselves in critical situations that required them to respond to cultural differences before they had been on site long enough to adjust—and they believed that culture contrast training (along with second language training) could jump start and compress the duration of the normal adjustment process prior to departure.

The contrast culture method, viewed historically, does not reject learning for development: It is transitional, poised Janus-like between behaviorism and constructivism. On the one hand, in having trainers and trainees talk about cultural differences, contrast culture faces back toward behaviorist learning and its faith in knowledge transfer (the belief of Hall and his colleagues that individuals normally and naturally adjust over time, following immersion in another culture, recalls behaviorism's faith in an environment that imprints itself on learners). On the other hand, the culture contrast method also faces forward, toward constructivist assumptions about human development: It focuses on learners rather than on universal knowledge or on the expertise of teachers, it asks learners to recount their own and others' lived experiences, and it asks them to reflect on those experiences in order to identify characteristic patterns of behavior in their own and other national cultures.

However, a large body of research has for some time seriously challenged the sufficiency of these FSI training program assumptions: Findings strongly suggest that neither immersion in cultural difference nor preparing learners by describing and talking about such differences is associated with intercultural development. The findings support what trainers themselves have over time come to understand: that to become increasingly effective and appropriate in interacting with culturally different others, educators need to intervene in ways that ask learners to become aware of their own characteristic ways of framing experience, and also experience how they habitually respond as they find themselves in training contexts that ask them to stretch beyond the boundaries of their own worldviews.

Developmental Assumptions: Intercultural Training and Coaching

Most trainers and coaches now select and sequence training activities in ways that help learners bring into awareness the assumptions that lie behind their worldviews. They help learners become aware that their assumptions and the patterned ways they experience these are holistic—that they experience emotionally, perceptively, cognitively, and behaviorally. They facilitate experiential and developmental activities designed to help learners understand how they individually create and, through their membership in the various cultural groups to which they belong, co-create, these assumptions. They help learners understand that humans have a capacity to willingly transcend deeply ingrained worldviews but that to interact with culturally different others, most individuals need to focus very intentionally on developing four basic competencies.

Most trainers and coaches focus learners' attention squarely on these four competencies very early in a training program: first, to increase their own cultural and personal self-awareness; second, to increase their awareness of culturally different others in their own cultural and personal contexts; third, to effectively and appropriately bridge the gaps, often considerable, between their own experience and that of culturally different others; and fourth, to identify, manage, communicate, and apply emotions effectively and appropriately in any cultural context. As trainers and coaches have come to recognize the critical role that emotional experience plays in the making of meaning, they have increasingly come to give special emphasis to this fourth competency, incorporating into their work insights and training practices from emotional intelligence or cultural intelligence.

Professionals take learner needs into account in deciding how much, and what sort of, emphasis to place on their facilitation of each of these four competencies. They understand that for individuals to develop, they need to be challenged—and that if they are challenged too much, they will leave the training space emotionally, intellectually, or physically and will thus not develop. Trainers and coaches thus seek to balance challenge with support: When they perceive that a particular learner is reaching the point where additional challenge is likely to be overwhelming, they provide that learner with the support the person needs. People can and do respond in a variety of ways to intercultural challenge. The capacity for dealing with challenge is partially a function of the extent to which a person is developed, so many trainers and coaches ask trainees to complete the LSI, the IDI, or other instruments before the first session, so that they can predict resistance at the beginning of a program. Based on the degree of resistance anticipated, the trainer can limit the challenge and provide the support individuals are likely to need.

Learners often come to developmental training programs with expectations very different from those of their trainers and coaches. Most learners frame learning behaviorally, especially where learning in new cultural contexts is concerned. Their categories for cultural difference are typically limited to nationality, ethnicity, gender, and age, sometimes including religion, region, or profession as well. They often equate learning with experience: The more they experience, the more they will learn. They frequently believe that humans learn differently when they live or work in other countries, that what is new and different in the environment somehow imprints itself on people from elsewhere. They may believe that people adapt to new cultures, normally and naturally, simply through spending enough time in the new place—particularly when they are immersed in events there. They often believe that those who are reasonably proficient in the host language are even more likely to adapt quickly. And they believe that an intercultural training program will be useful when it is offered prior to departure for a new culture or at the very beginning of a stay there. Furthermore, they presume the program will be successful to the extent that it provides them with a list of do's and don'ts, tips that will allow them to avoid gross insults and unpleasant experiences.

Most are not prepared for a training program that is developmental and whose methods are experiential and holistic. Most will be unfamiliar with, and may have trouble accepting, a program whose overarching goal is to help them develop intercultural competence. They will not understand why it is important to explore the sources of their assumptions about the world. They will be surprised when, instead of receiving the desired list of do's and don'ts, a trainer or coach asks them to reflect on their response to unfamiliar categories of difference: in learning, cognitive, and communication styles; nonverbal behavior; and cultural value dimensions, among others. Many will not understand when an educator asks them to practice stretching outside their own worldviews. And not a few will regard it as more than a little strange when a trainer or coach asks them to bring their emotional responses into awareness when they find themselves challenged. Negotiating these gaps between learner and trainer expectations may be the greatest challenge that educators face today, one that requires them to continually practice their own competence in crossing cultural borders.

Michael Vande Berg

See also Co-Creation of Meaning; Developmental Theory; Hall, E. T.; Learning Styles Across Cultures; Value Dimensions: Hofstede; Value Dimensions: Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck Value Orientations; Value Dimensions: Trompenaars; Worldview

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Dimensions of Diversity

Diversity, the ways in which humans are similar and different, is and always has been a reality in the workplace as well as on campuses. *Inclusion*, on the other hand, is a choice. How an organization defines diversity forms the basis of its diversity and inclusion process and frames the conversations of leaders and employees, administrators and students. The dimensions of diversity depict those categories of similarity and difference around which there is inclusion and exclusion. Developed by Lee Gardenswartz and Anita Rowe, the model depicting the Four Layers of Diversity illustrates a wide range of differences that affect interactions and organizational operations.

This entry illustrates the dimensions of diversity from a widely used model of various aspects of the diversity construct. With personality at the core, the model includes elements of diversity that are generally outside the individual's control, including age, gender, ethnicity, physical/mental ability, sexual orientation, and race. The next ring of the model identifies the external aspects of diversity that affect an individual's identity. Finally, the last ring enumerates aspects of the organization that affect diversity within. At each level, the impact of diversity on domestic and global organizations, in both corporate and academic contexts, will be explored.

Personality

At the center of the model is *personality*, the unique style of interacting that each individual has. Some people are introverted, while others are outgoing; some confront in conflict, and others seek harmony; some are more reflective and introspective, others more active and outspoken. Organizations often have preferred styles: for example, "We like self-starters and go-getters here" or "If you're not analytical, no one will listen to your ideas."

Internal Dimensions of Diversity

Beyond the central core of personality, the six *internal dimensions* of diversity, referred to in the early days of diversity work as *primary dimensions*

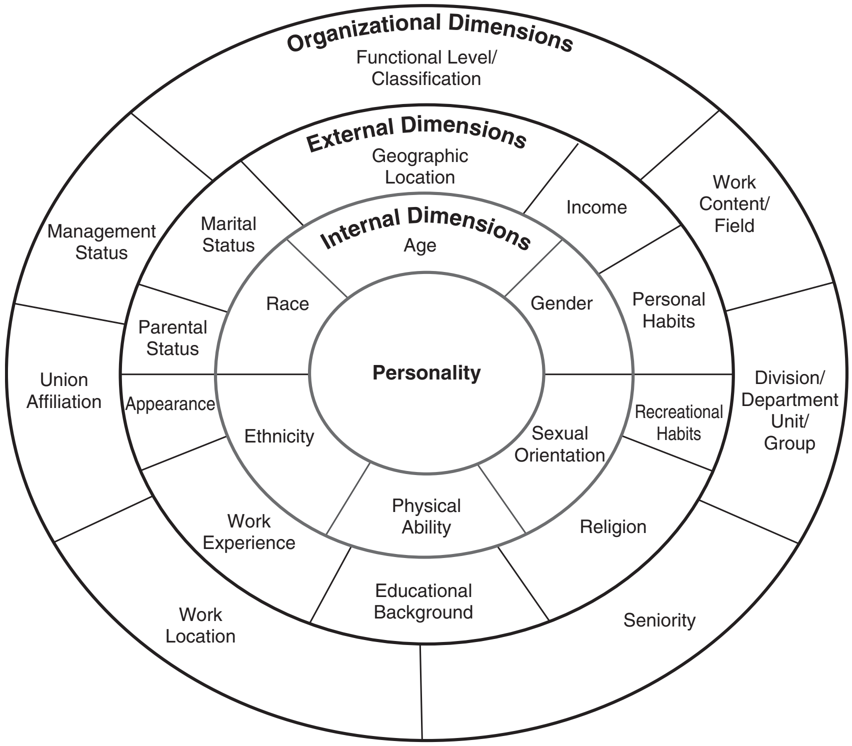

Figure 1 Four Layers of Diversity

Source: Originally published in Gardenswartz, L., & Rowe, A. (1994). *Diverse teams at work*. Burr Ridge, IL: Irwin Professional. Copyright © 1994, Society for Human Resource Management, Alexandria, Virginia. All rights reserved. Reproduced by permission. Portions adapted from Loden and Rosener (1991, pp. 18–19).

by Marilyn Loden and Judy Rosener, have a profound influence on perceptions, expectations, and opportunities. In addition, these dimensions are, for the most part, beyond an individual's control. The six primary dimensions are age, gender, ethnicity, physical/mental ability, sexual orientation, and race.

Age

Age is currently one of the most talked about dimensions of diversity, particularly in the workplace. The era in which one grows up puts an indelible imprint on values and expectations. Consider the differences between a postwar baby boomer, raised by Depression-era parents; a Generation X'er, growing up in the affluence of the 1980s; and a GenY'er, accustomed to the latest technology. Maturity levels and life experiences leave their mark as well. Stereotypes abound at both ends of the spectrum. Younger staff sometimes complain of not being taken seriously and of being accused of wanting too much too soon, of being entitled. Older staff often feel that they are discounted as out of date, technophobic, and resistant to change.

Gender

While it is no longer a surprise to encounter a female mechanic or a male nurse, expectations about gender roles still linger. All individuals are socialized into gender-appropriate behaviors and expectations, yet gender roles continue to evolve over time. In addition, the same behavior may be perceived differently when exhibited by one gender or the other. An aggressive male manager may be seen as in charge and a leader, while a female manager behaving in the same way might be viewed as pushy and arrogant. A woman asking for time off for a child's school performance may be seen as not dedicated enough to her work, while her male colleague making the same request might be viewed as a model parent. Another aspect of the gender dimension that is more prevalent recently concerns addressing the needs of individuals who are transgendered or who are going through the gender reassignment process.

Ethnicity

An individual's nationality (passport culture) or ethnic background includes aspects such as native language and culture. Some people proclaim their heritage as well as their current cultural identity and define themselves as Mexican American, Japanese Brazilian, or Chinese Canadian. Others label themselves only by their country of origin (e.g., Cuban, Russian, or South African). Some with multiple or unknown nationalities in their backgrounds identify themselves as "just plain Canadian."

Ethnic differences can bring variations in cultural norms, holiday observances, food preferences, language proficiency, and group affiliation. Cultural patterns can also influence a person's values, beliefs, and behaviors, such as willingness to disagree with the boss or strategies for providing feedback. One's first language and proficiency in an adopted one are also aspects of ethnicity. Non-native English speakers often report that others assume that they are less intelligent and competent because of their accented English.

Physical Ability

Approximately 57 million Americans have some kind of physical disability. Some of these impairments are visible, such as paralysis or blindness. Others, such as hearing loss, diabetes, or dyslexia, are not readily apparent. Those who have physical disabilities often comment on the discomfort they perceive that able-bodied individuals have in dealing with them. Many organizations have added mental/emotional ability to this category to include aspects that relate to mental health.

Sexual Orientation

Human sexual orientation can be viewed as a continuum, with some individuals being heterosexual, some bisexual, and some gay or lesbian. While those who are heterosexual generally express their orientation in casual conversations when referring to wives, husbands, and family activities, those who are gay, lesbian, or bisexual do not always have such freedom. While same-sex partner benefits and LGBT resource groups have been common in many organizations for more than a decade, judgments, inappropriate humor, and discomfort in dealing with sexual orientation still exist in many places. As with all dimensions of diversity, the organization's concern is to create an environment where people can bring their whole identities to work or to campus and be free to devote energy to their tasks rather than having to be preoccupied with hiding parts of themselves.

Race

Many individuals proudly claim to be "color blind," often mistakenly assuming that this is a compliment to a person of color. According to Janet Elsea, in her book *The Four Minute Sell*, in the United States, skin color is the first thing we notice about one another. Race is not a biologically accurate category since there is more genetic variation within a racial group than between groups. However, race is a sociological construct based on physical aspects such as skin color, eye shape, and hair texture. Many organizations come to recognize that they have less racial variation at executive levels than they do among employees, and satisfaction surveys often reveal disparities between racial groups. On campuses, a similar pattern often emerges.

External Dimensions

Beyond the internal layer are the *external dimensions* of diversity, those experiences that influence identity, although individuals have more control over these variables.

Religion

Not only does religion provide many people a basic set of values and rules that guide their lives, such as the Ten Commandments or the Noble Eightfold Path, but it also prescribes observances, rituals, and holidays. Seventh-Day Adventists and observant Jews who consider Saturday the Sabbath would not want to work on that day. A Muslim employee who prays five times a day would not be available for noon staff meetings. Food preferences may be directed by religious rules—kosher for Jews, halal for Muslims, and a vegetarian diet for Seventh-Day Adventists. Religion can also become a potentially contentious organizational issue when individuals send religious messages to others or when meetings are opened with a sectarian prayer.

Education

An individual's type and level of education are clearly factors in both corporate and academic worlds, where specific credentials and résumés are required. This is most obviously true in colleges and universities. In corporations, degrees are often noted on name tags, and the type of training one has, technical, business, or scientific, and one's level of education influence credibility and opportunities. In addition, some organizations have preferred academic institutions from which they recruit or fields of study that are favored.

Marital Status

Marital status connotes various things to different people. Married men are sometimes assumed to be more stable and settled, and married women in their childbearing years can be seen as a dependability risk. Marital status can also have an impact on work group relationships when spouses are included in work-related social events or need to be considered in decisions about promotions or assignments that involve relocation.

Income

Income levels often affect self-esteem, job satisfaction, and stress levels for members of all kinds of organizations. Reflected in class status, income can also provide or limit access to education, transportation, and travel. Where people live and what recreational activities they enjoy are usually influenced by income.

Parental Status

Having children means additional responsibility. Child care arrangements and last-minute emergencies due to children's illnesses can sometimes affect meetings and work responsibilities in the corporate world, while affecting students' performance in academic settings. Employees without children often complain about being disadvantaged by "parental privilege," being expected to do overtime, extra shifts, and weekend work, while those with young children find it disruptive to get to early-morning meetings, deal with last-minute shift changes, or be called for duty with little warning. Group assignments, field trips, and service learning requirements present challenges to busy parents attending university programs.

Appearance

In various organizations throughout the world, there are diverse reactions to individuals with pierced noses, lips, or tongues; colorful tattoos; shaved heads; or even long hair. Major controversies have occurred over men with turbans or women wearing head scarves. These and other appearance factors such as personal size can create barriers to hiring, career advancement, or even academic success in organizations. Although many people have been taught not to judge a book by its cover, appearance influences opinions about others as well as a person's own self-esteem.

Personal Habits

Personal habits such as smoking, drinking, or exercising can affect health. They can also be catalysts for building or hindering collegial relationships. People who take lunchtime walks or smoking breaks, or go out together for beers may form bonds that can strengthen professional relationships. These activities may also exclude other individuals who do not share the same habits. In addition, any substance abuse problems affect not only health and performance but safety as well.

Recreational Habits

Recreational preferences form another part of the diversity mosaic. Camaraderie builds among those who share a common activity. Networking and relationship building for individuals may take place on the golf course, while doing yoga, or while watching the World Cup matches on television. Some activities serve as levelers, bringing people together, while other activities can exclude. Activities such as a picnic or a 10-kilometer run for a cause can help build relationships within the diverse workforce or the campus community.

Geographic Location

The areas where people were raised, and where they presently live, have a bearing on behaviors, attitudes, and access. Cultural norms and paces differ in big cities and small towns, different parts of each country, and the regions of the world. Individuals may have a harder time fitting in when they "aren't from around here" or may be immediately included because they have a similar background.

Work Experience

Computer analysts, researchers and technicians, accountants and landscape workers, and engineers and educators, all come together and make contributions in each organization. Yet often, some experiences are valued over others. Differences can bring value to teams when the contributions of each member are appropriately utilized. However, teams can also exclude people by discounting their experience. Often, experience in a particular industry or company is preferred, and other experiences are devalued.

Organizational Dimensions

Beyond the internal and external layers are *organizational dimensions* that can be the source of assumptions and opportunities—helping or hindering teamwork, collaboration, and effectiveness.

Functional Level or Classification

No matter how flat the management or administrative structure, all organizations have some kind of hierarchy. This chain of command creates a sense of order and security and, at the same time, can cause barriers because of a perceived caste system. Levels or classification labels may serve as coveted signs of status, indications of pay differentials, or sources of power.

Management Status

It is rare to find an organization in which there is no "us versus them" feeling between nonmanagerial and managerial staff. In academic contexts, this divisiveness occurs among staff, faculty, and administration. Because of differences in responsibilities and perspectives, the concerns and viewpoints of managerial and nonmanagerial personnel are often not the same. These differences can help a staff or department get a richer picture of an issue in order to solve a problem. However, they can sometimes put people at odds with one another and trigger assumptions and stereotypes. Comments such as "They don't care about us, and they don't want to hear about our pressures" are heard from one side of the divide. "They just want us to punch in and punch out; they don't care about the bigger picture" is a complaint voiced from the other camp.

Department/Unit/Work Group

The professional home for individuals is often not the organization as a whole but usually their own department or unit, where relationships are built and careers developed. Yet all departments are not created equal. Stereotypes about specific departments or units are common. Some departments are revenue generating, while others are seen as overhead; some are innovative and cutting edge, and others are dysfunctional. Such differences often play out in obstacles to interdepartmental communication and cooperation.

Union Affiliation

In countries where there are labor unions, it matters whether individuals in an organization are union members or not. The kind of relationships that exist between union and nonunion employees and with management or administration can add another wrinkle to the diversity fabric. Attitudes toward management and contracts often influence interactions on the job.

Work Location

Whether individuals work in the main building or in a trailer in the parking lot, at the main campus or off-campus, in the field or at headquarters, can make a difference in viewpoints, needs, and attitudes. Work location not only influences communication and visibility, but it can also be seen as a sign of status or value. More recently, greater demands for flexibility and technology that enables virtual work have led many organizations to allow staff to work remotely from home.

Seniority

Promotions, schedules, vacations, overtime, and other perks are often doled out on the basis of seniority. Union contracts and organizational policies have traditionally used seniority as a fair and accepted way to give advantages. Seniority may bring some disadvantages as well. During downsizings, complaints are occasionally heard that some of the best employees are let go because of their short time with the organization, while those with more seniority are kept regardless of competence.

Work Content/Field

The kind of work that people do accounts for yet another difference. Engineers and accountants generally do not see things the same way. Neither do lawyers, or sales or human resources staff. Nor do professors, clerical assistants, or statisticians. Each type of work is a subculture of its own that gives its members a methodology for defining and working out problems. In addition, each field of work has its own status.

All these dimensions represent areas around which there may be similarity and common ground as well as differences. When well managed and leveraged, these dimensions have the potential to bring new perspectives, ideas, and viewpoints as needed by the organization. However, if mismanaged, they can sow the seeds of conflict and misunderstanding, which sabotage teamwork and productivity and hinder effectiveness. To maximize the ability to manage this complex set of differences, organizations need to gather information about perceptions of staff at all levels regarding inclusion and exclusion around all dimensions of diversity. Equipped with this information, the organization can set priorities and create a strategic plan to increase inclusion where needed.

Lee Gardenswartz and Anita Rowe

See also Diversity and Inclusion, Definitions of; Diversity in Higher Education; Ethnicity; Global Diversity Management; Lay Theory of Race; Race and Human Biological Variation; Sexual Orientation

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Disability as Culture

What is culture? One definition of culture is that it is a system or domain from which individuals gather roots and form values. Janet Bennett defines it as the shared beliefs, values, and behaviors of a community of interacting people. Both of these definitions of culture would suggest that people must take stock of who they are, where they come from, and how their beliefs have been formed, not only about themselves but also about those who are different.

This entry defines the concept of disability and suggests the notion that people with disabilities can be considered a culture group. It provides a discussion of the challenges and barriers for people with disabilities in social situations and in the workplace. Following is an explanation of the intersection between disability status and intercultural communication. The entry concludes by outlining various remedies available to organizations and to people with disabilities in an effort to mediate the barriers, real and perceived.

People with disabilities and those who serve such people often struggle with the negative cultural norms they were raised with and live in, such as family members who love their disabled children but do not believe that they can accomplish anything with their lives. Some may assume that a sheltered workshop may be the only work opportunity possible for a person with a disability. The belief that people with disabilities are an embarrassment to family, friends, and the community at large because there is something wrong with them is perhaps the biggest cultural norm to overcome. However, having a disability does not preclude the possibility that the person has much to contribute.

Another cultural norm on the opposite end of the spectrum is creating false expectations by putting people with disabilities on a pedestal: "He is so inspirational!" or "Isn't she amazing?!" Although people with disabilities may well appreciate the kudos, constant praise leaves no allowance to be human, to have strengths and limitations. So the person with a disability is faced with a conundrum: Am I worthless or inspirational? For persons with disabilities, it is a daily challenge to manage both the negative and the positive stereotypes that they live with.

Consumer groups in the United States who were interested in the welfare of blind people, along with others who worked in the field of blindness, were the first to begin to challenge some of these norms. They lobbied on behalf of blind people so they could receive the necessary training to become job competent. State rehabilitation agencies were designed to provide blind-specific training in order to help individuals learn job and life skills. Eventually, other disability groups joined in these efforts, so that today there is increasing dialogue about the talents and contributions people with disabilities can offer to the marketplace.

However, there are still some huge cultural gaps, even among diversity and inclusion (D&I) professionals, intercultural practitioners, and those who work in the field of disability. For instance, there are relatively few individuals with disabilities attending national and international D&I or intercultural conferences. Though in many corporations the disability coordinator is part of the D&I office, on many college and university campuses they are separate entities. Some of this is due to the biases the groups have about one another. Another reason relates to how political and institutional organizations are set up to address issues of diversity, inclusion, and intercultural communication.

Barriers

One of the barriers that divide these groups is fear. On the individual level, there is a fear that a person with a disability will have hurt feelings so it is difficult to provide truthful job performance feedback. Within corporations, there is fear about appropriately dealing with accommodating a person with a disability or of being sued if they do not. Many people have a fear of becoming a person with a disability, so they may be unable to see their disabled colleague as a viable part of the team. Another barrier is the sometimes mixed message from service providers for people with disabilities—letting the employer know that their client is entitled to receive certain services but at the same time advising the employer to treat the client as an equal.

Disability itself sometimes seems to be a barrier to promotional opportunities. People with disabilities are often told how amazing and inspirational they are, but employers often cannot imagine them progressing past their current capabilities.

Remedies

Professionals in the field of intercultural relations can approach people with disabilities with an inquisitive mind-set. When they reach the limits of their understanding of the disability, they need to be prepared to be in the "I don't know what I don't know" conversation. Particularly in the area of disabilities, a person, even an intercultural specialist, may legitimately not know what to ask. With a touch of cultural humility, the interculturalist can welcome the person with the disability as a teacher. Disability, like many other cultures, is not a monolithic culture regarding values, beliefs, and behaviors. There is diversity not only among the different forms of disability but also within specific disability communities.

Those who have a disability and those who are service providers can learn to speak a common language rather than just "disability speak," so that intercultural allies can readily support client achievement. Furthermore, service providers must examine their own belief systems about the capabilities of people with disabilities. They can look for commonalities among cultural differences that can span the total grid of the people making up the workplace. Building on these commonalities, they can then begin to focus on cultural differences as assets. The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity, for example, is useful to support the growth of all participants irrespective of their culture group.

Affinity groups in organizations can provide a common ground from which all groups can work, including groups for people with disabilities. Presently, in many corporations and universities there is a diversity initiative, and underneath this umbrella, individuals have opportunities to gather in their own culture-specific or employee resource groups in order to encourage one another, discuss challenges, and assist employers in the recruiting process.

As these professional groups seek to learn about the commonalities and differences among them, the entire field of intercultural communication, D&I, and work with people with disabilities will be strengthened so that services are provided for all people and not just a few. Reducing bias and facing fears about relating to others who are different can give way to creating a workplace that truly works for all.

Steve Hanamura

See also Dimensions of Diversity; History of Diversity and Inclusion; Respect

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Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: An Overview

Culture plays an essential role in shaping how people see the world. It creates the lenses that form one's perspective, which influences how meaning is made from observations, perceptions, interpretations, and evaluations. *Intercultural competence*, also known as cross-cultural competence, is the ability to effectively comprehend, respond to, and communicate with people from diverse cultural backgrounds in a variety of contexts. To be interculturally competent requires the necessary skills and the capacity to juggle multiple cultural vantage points simultaneously.

In this entry, several definitions are showcased from a variety of disciplines. Intercultural competencies are framed through the perspectives of cultural anthropology, political science, sociology, psychology, and communication. The entry discusses cultural paradigms, characteristics, and competencies as well as the role and value of measuring intercultural competency.

When the world had more limited travel and communication opportunities, there were fewer chances for people from differing cultures to interact. Technology has expanded the scale of global interaction, and cultural boundaries have become increasingly blurred. When information from multicultural perspectives is abundant and readily accessible without systems or structures to process it, people may become susceptible to interpreting intercultural communication inaccurately.

However, these challenges present opportunities. To overcome cultural difficulties and communicate productively, it is vital to be aware of one's own cultural orientations. Accepting cultural differences and dealing appropriately with cross-cultural conflicts and negotiations can create a more culturally inclusive social world. For globalization to be successful, educational institutions, government agencies, corporations, and more need to develop ways to function with more intercultural competence.

Definitions of Intercultural Competence

Cultural Anthropology

Culture is created by the patterns of behaviors and interactions of a group of people abiding by socially constructed norms. There are explicit and implicit patterns that make up a culture. Culture can encompass a person's heritage, education, customs, norms, family, and worldview. For the purposes of understanding intercultural competence from a cultural anthropological perspective, culture is defined to encompass components that can be found at the large (macro) and small (micro) levels. People are born, socialized, and acculturated into their subjective cultural norms. These norms influence how the group creates shared meanings, beliefs, knowledge, feelings, and patterns of thoughts to achieve culturally acceptable ways to express these constructs. The objective aspects of culture govern the implicit patterns of beliefs and values. These consist of laws, governing institutions, customs, the arts, and the unique history of the particular cultural group. According to this definition, to be interculturally competent means to understand one's own beliefs, values, thoughts, and feelings, and how they should be expressed, and being open and receptive to learning about the same cultural elements from others with whom one interacts.

Political Science

Political science is concerned with the policies and politics that govern a nation-state. The theory and practice behind governance and political systems reflect the cultural contexts. The political system influences cultural norms, and cultural norms influence the political system. Politics influences the ways in which particular groups of people understand their political leaders and their roles; the government and its responsibilities; the institutions and agencies that carry out the work of governments; the laws that are passed to regulate people, services, and businesses; the act of voting; and the role of the average citizen. Thoughts about the types of systems people want to be governed by are culturally influenced, and this influences how they choose, support, or defy the political systems within which they live.

From a political science perspective, intercultural competence entails understanding and appreciating the nuances of behavior and the expectations that individuals have about the way government systems should work with respect to shared beliefs. Being a *good citizen* in one part of the world does not necessarily transfer to another with different political systems. To be interculturally competent, one must learn about and respect different schools of political thought, how they affect the cultural framing of people, and how governance expectations and behavior can be adapted accordingly.

Sociology

When a sociological lens is used to examine intercultural competence, there are several research areas to consider that relate importantly to culture, such as identity, socioeconomic class, age, social change, social stratification, families, race and ethnic relations, gender and sexuality, and intergroup relations. In addition, many sociologists examine human social relationships and institutions of culture from a variety of complex theoretical perspectives, such as functionalism, conflict theory, structuralism, and symbolic interactionism. These research areas and theories shape the ways in which cultural orientation and social issues are understood and enacted when considered from a large-group or institutional standpoint. Sociologists differentiate between material and symbolic culture.

An interculturally competent person in this framing would view social complexity using the powerful research tools of sociology to examine significant issues from multiple cultural perspectives, with a consciousness of the impact of such research and the ethical concerns involved.

Psychology

A psychological perspective of intercultural competence would encompass the study of the mind of the human being and behaviors across cultures. The goal is to understand both the intrapsychic functioning of individuals and the interactions within and between groups, with the aim of learning what is mutually beneficial. Using psychology as the lens from which to view and understand culture references a wide application of what psychologists look for in culture, especially in the field of cross-cultural psychology. Here, culture can be thought of as a broad range of activities, events, structures, and habits adhered to in common by a group of people. Cultural belief systems influence how individuals interpret the behaviors of others. Through the psychological lens, one can better understand the motivation behind actions, providing ways to shorten the gap between intentions and the impact one may have on others. To understand another person's motives, it is often necessary to become introspective and explore the intrinsic motivations that influence how one chooses to interact with others and how that contributes to meaning making.

Social psychologists and cross-cultural psychologists consider individuals in relation to their contexts because of the mutual impact between individuals and the environment. The person–environment interface is particularly critical for intercultural competence. When behaviors do not change in a new environment, it places limits on intercultural effectiveness.

Communication

Through communication, shared meaning is created with others through a dynamic process. People communicate within and between cultural systems that affect the ways in which information is exchanged and interpreted. Communication becomes *intercultural* when multiple cultural contexts exist, based on different values, beliefs, and behaviors.

When communicating with another person who has a different worldview, events may be interpreted differently, which can lead to miscommunication or even conflict. The complexity becomes further compounded when differences in languages are considered and when people are communicating in a second language. However fluent individuals might become in the second language, they still may not possess the same sensitivities they would when speaking their mother tongue. Nonverbal communication also differs from culture to culture, and people may use a behavior to emphasize a point they are making that may be understood quite differently than they intended. For example, the meaning of silence takes on different attributes across cultures. There are visual representations that vary as well from culture to culture, and at the same time, there are globally recognized symbols that are understood around the world, such as stop signs and markings for restrooms. To be interculturally competent requires a level of openness and agility because as individuals co-create meaning, it is exchanged dynamically (in action) versus statically (inaction). It requires self-reflection to explore each communicative exchange as an opportunity to learn about one's own culture as well as others'.

Framing Intercultural Competence

In addition to different disciplinary approaches to culture, there are different models for framing intercultural competence. Some of this framing is related to the discipline or background of the research, practice, and organizing orientation of the person(s) developing these models, paradigms, stages, orientations, and frameworks. When reading across a variety of these frames, there are characteristics that span multiple models. Categories that have similarities with one another, for example, include ways to define how people are related to one another in terms of power distribution and whether they have high or low power attributions in this particular relationship. A second characteristic present in more than one model is the differentiation of goals and priorities that people espouse in the dimension of individualism versus collectivism.

Several models and frameworks have been synthesized here into a single list of 12 characteristics of intercultural competency. There is a brief explanation of each characteristic. (For more complete descriptions of each model, please see the Further Readings at the end of this entry.) These characteristics are presented neutrally as continua or dilemmas, with no implied judgment. What is *better* is what is appropriate in the cultural context. Furthermore, each of these characteristics interacts with the others in a cultural system. They are presented here as independent continua, when in fact several of them are in play at the same time in any given cultural setting, creating dynamic interactions that produce specific results.

Characteristics of Paradigmatic Dimensions and Orientations of Intercultural Competence

Power Distance

This dimension expresses the degree to which power is distributed and attributed to people in a cultural context based on their ascribed or achieved position. Access and types of interactions are related to the power relationship individuals have with others, and there are different types of symbols to communicate this, such as titles, seating location in a group, and allotted private space.

Individualism Versus Collectivism (or Communitarianism)

This continuum reflects the priorities for goal satisfaction and what can be expected from others as the norm for participation. In individualism, people are expected to prioritize taking care of themselves and their immediate families. In collectivism, individuals expect their relatives and/or members of a particular ingroup to look after them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty.

A society's position on this dimension is reflected in whether people's self-image is defined in terms of *I* or *we*.

Masculinity Versus Femininity

These tendencies lead toward more competitive or cooperative behaviors. Masculinity represents preferences for achievement, heroism, assertiveness, and material rewards for success, which could be categorized as competitive. Femininity represents preferences for cooperation, modesty, caring for the weak, and quality of life, categorized as cooperative. This continuum influences expectations for how to raise children according to gender roles in many cultures.

Uncertainty Avoidance

This dimension expresses the degree to which members of a society feel comfortable with uncertainty and ambiguity. One of the main factors influencing this dimension is how societies deal with uncertain futures. This is represented by the degree of control over codes of belief and conduct, and the level to which deviations are tolerated. Another way this appears is in how people and institutions within a culture approach and manage risk and the degree to which they allow it to be present.

Pragmatic Versus Normative

This dimension addresses how people relate to the degree of complexity around them that cannot be explained. Societies with stronger normative orientations seek narratives that reveal the absolute truth; they respect traditions and focus on achieving quick results. Societies with stronger pragmatic orientations believe that it is impossible to fully understand the complexity of life and that truth varies depending on the situation, context, and time. They adapt traditions to changing conditions, save and invest, and persevere in achieving results.

Indulgence Versus Restraint

This characteristic reflects how much individual versus societal control there should be on seeking and fulfilling the need for happiness in one's own life. Indulgent societies allow more free gratification of the basic and natural human drives related to enjoying life, having fun, and seeking happiness. Societies that exhibit more restraint are more likely to suppress or delay gratification of needs, with stricter social norms to regulate the ways in which the need for happiness can be fulfilled.

Universalism Versus Particularism

This dimension draws attention to rules and laws, how well regulated they are, and the degree to which they are upheld. In societies that are more universalistic, rules are the same for everyone, and all are subject to the same regulations regardless of circumstance. In societies that are more particularistic, there are considerations given to adapting the rules and regulations based on the circumstance and the relationship to those enforcing the rules.

Neutral Versus Emotional

This dimension considers how emotionally expressive one should be, how to assess the types of situations to show emotion, and how this emotion should be shown. Emotions are a part of being human, yet each culture has socially constructed norms for what are acceptable, mature, and professional ways to show emotions. Context plays a role because expectations may differ depending on the situation.

Specific Versus Diffuse

In some cultures, there are sharper boundaries between people's professional and personal lives, and in other cultures, these boundaries are more diffuse or fuzzy. These boundaries are governed by codes of conduct and protocol to guide how to choose and prioritize between one's professional and personal lives, topics of conversation to discuss and those that are taboo, ways in which to behave, dress, and address others, and so on.

Achievement Versus Ascription

In achievement-oriented cultures, people's success is based on their own individual or group accomplishments. Status is earned in achievement-oriented cultures. In ascription-oriented cultures, individuals are born into positions of status and privilege. One does not need to earn this position, but there are sets of responsibilities that come along with this status.

Sequential Versus Synchronic

Sequentially oriented cultures perceive time and events happening in a linear order, a sequence. Certain things need to happen and/or need to be accomplished before others. In synchronistically oriented cultures, events can take place simultaneously, and it is important to understand the rhythms of time. This also influences communication styles as linear or circular reasoning, respectively.

Internal Versus External Control

This refers to where one's center of virtue is located, whether it comes from within or is situated in the surrounding environment. This dimension is concerned with the amount of control a person has over the environment versus the environment having control over the person. Cultures that are more internally controlled are more intentional and drive strategies and actions. Cultures that are more externally controlled are responsive to the environments. Externally controlled cultures may seem to take longer to respond; however, once they do, they are quick.

Measuring Intercultural Competence

There are scales available to measure where individuals are situated on the different cultural dimensions. Some of these are standardized instruments that are administered by a trained facilitator. The results are shared and described. Other assessments are more informal and may pose questions that individuals answer on their journey of self-discovery. In all situations, the power of observation and self-reflection cannot be overestimated. When people learn how to pay attention to what is taking place around them, understand their role in interactions, and ask for feedback in culturally appropriate ways, they will experience continual learning opportunities and chances for improved, culturally sensitive behaviors.

Ria Yoshida and Beth Fisher-Yoshida

See also Assessments of Intercultural Competence; Cultural Self-Awareness; Intercultural Competence Development; Intercultural Competence in Organizations; Value Dimensions: Hofstede; Value Dimensions: Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck Value Orientations; Value Dimensions: Schwartz; Value Dimensions: Trompenaars

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Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Anthropology

Any account of the foundations of intercultural competence theory and practice necessarily requires acknowledging the contributions and influences of the discipline of cultural anthropology, specifically the ways in which the concept of culture evolved throughout the 20th century, which is the subject of this entry. The focus will be on the anthropological concepts and fieldwork methods that were adopted by and incorporated into the emerging field of intercultural communication as it developed over the second half of the century, including the ways in which their underlying paradigms and conceptual toolkits diverged significantly.

Disciplinary Foundations

Many of today's central anthropological concepts related to the study of culture are a fairly modern development, occurring from the late 1800s through the first four decades of the 20th century. The discipline's initial approaches to the study of human behavior became codified during this time, including those aspects now considered hallmarks of anthropological inquiry. The traditional emphasis was on direct fieldwork methodologies designed to critically observe and record data for further analysis and interpretation of human interaction.

For more than a century, anthropology has wrestled with how to conceptualize and conduct research on the subject of culture. It is generally, but not universally, agreed that culture can be conceived of as the nonbiological heritage of human beings. It refers to the learned and shared values, beliefs, and behaviors of a community of interacting people, including their material products.

Anthropology, as a separate social science discipline, shares both European and American roots. Almost from the beginning, the discipline has, sometimes uncomfortably, straddled the humanities and social sciences. Eric Wolf (1964) is generally credited with the oft-quoted characterization of anthropology as

> less a subject matter than a bond between subject matters. It is in part history, part literature; in part natural science, part social science; it strives to study men both from within and without; it represents both a manner of looking at man and a vision of man—the most scientific of the humanities, the most humanist of sciences. (p. 88)

In the 19th century, anthropology was often housed in European medical schools or in departments of ethnology (comparative studies across cultures). This reflected the broad, inclusive nature of the discipline, which can include the physical sciences (e.g., primatology, archaeology, evolutionary/paleoanthropology, and physical/biological anthropology) as well as descriptive and sociolinguistic inquiry related to language description, language acquisition, and the role of communication in human society.

Anthropology defined its core mission as providing a holistic, but admittedly always partial, view of all human activities from prehistoric origins to contemporary societies and their myriad cultures. Nothing was to be left out, and the widest possible intellectual net was cast. It was once a hallmark of academic anthropology that all students would be expected to have a general knowledge of the "basic four fields" (biology, linguistics, archaeology, and sociocultural anthropology). Modern technical complexity and subfield specialization have made this ambition all but impossible. The largest numbers of practicing contemporary anthropologists are engaged in understanding and researching a variety of cultural anthropology; however, not all anthropologists are necessarily, or equally, concerned with the concepts of culture.

Moreover, many anthropologists often work outside of academic institutions and across a wide variety of both domestic and international settings, often doing applied or advocacy work. However, culture remained a key, if contested, concept for decades, even as new schools of anthropological thought arose and declined and new intellectual approaches to making sense of human activities, including definitions of culture, continued to evolve. Reconceptualizations and redefinitions remain common, and disagreements about the scope, nature, and characteristics of culture continue at many levels.

Early discussions about culture in the 19th century had been dominated by a focus on how societies should be categorized and ranked along a continuum, collectively subsumed under the concept *unilineal evolutionary theory.* Cultural evolutionists postulated that all human societies passed through the same sequence of stages (technology, beliefs systems, economic levels, etc.), basically progressing from simple to complex. Using a trope of "savagery versus civilization" and employing racial hierarchies, evolutionists held *culture* as synonymous with *civilized.*

These schemas were based on the profoundly stereotypical and racist assumptions that arose within a political context of worldwide imperialism, colonial empires, and Western military, economic, and political domination. It was a crude comparative exercise that was allegedly based on set criteria and postulated an absolute standard of civilization that permitted societies to be hierarchically ordered and differentially evaluated. It was also an empirical, positivist, and ambitiously integrative approach; research was based on an "observer" examining the "observed." Culture existed, more or less, as something that could be directly perceived.

Culture and Cultural Relativism

Beginning in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, anthropology underwent a series of intellectual transformations that strongly rejected unilineal evolutionary perspectives in favor of *cultural relativity* and also stressed a more scientific and objective approach to gathering information. The field also commenced developing creative and productive research methodologies that yielded more accurate, replicable, and reliable data.

These fundamental theoretical shifts are most closely associated with Franz Boas, who founded a doctoral program and an anthropology department at Columbia University in 1899 and whose ideas were continued by his graduate students over the next four decades. Boas's seminal theoretical conceptualization of cultural relativism, which replaced the unilineal models of human cultural evolution, was based on his beliefs, backed by direct participant observation, that the way of life of all peoples in every human society was a product of the unique history and physical context of that society.

To Boas, every society was equally complex and needed to be understood from the perspective of that culture. He was an empiricist who recognized that each culture creates its own solutions and meanings, as well as being, to some extent, malleable. He personally eschewed what he called "grand theory building" (his approach was a much more narrowly focused "historical particularism") because of his distrust of and disdain for the kinds of amateur "armchair anthropology" that were common in the 19th century. A number of his students (e.g., Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and A. L. Kroeber) became major figures in the field themselves and were not as reluctant as their mentor to propose new theories of culture that might have more useful and universal applications across a wide range of societies.

Boas and his students sought to make anthropological inquiry more rigorous, systematized, and scientific by stressing intense fieldwork based on direct participant observation, acquisition of local languages, and avoidance of judging aspects of another culture by the standards of one's own. In the 1920s, Bronislaw Malinowski's several years of independent ethnographic research among the South Seas Trobriand Islanders definitively illustrated the value of long-term immersion and keeping detailed and meticulous accounts. He also demonstrated the necessity of trying to understand the culture and society from the "native's point of view" and using the natives' languages and conceptual categories to do so, as well as developing methodologies to accomplish that task.

Boas noted that when people from different frames of cultural reference interact, there is a natural and probably universal response by which each group attempts to make sense of the other through its own cultural lenses. He called this perspective *ethnocentrism* and spent much of his career exploring ways to reduce such attitudes and promote an understanding and appreciation of different life ways and their unique cultural expressions. He saw professional neutrality in the pursuit of knowledge as a moral imperative.

Development of New Schools of Anthropological Theory

During the years between World War I and II, several new avenues of inquiry arose. The theory of structural functionalism, developed by Alfred Radcliffe-Brown, provided a heightened appreciation for the interlinked and tightly organized nature of cultural systems (especially kinship, economics, and religion). The Culture and Personality movement, led by Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and Geoffrey Gorer, investigated how the personalities of people within the same culture were formed and reinforced. The theory postulated that culture arises from members' personalities, and in turn, personality is also derived from culture. These efforts were particularly effective in highlighting cultural variability and in delinking race, language, and culture. However, both approaches had major flaws. Structuralism, in its purest form, held societies to be so tightly integrated and interdependent that it became difficult to account for how they could undergo change. Culture and Personality studies tended to use dualistic models and reductionism in ways that are no longer considered appropriate. The Culture and Personality school also put a strong emphasis on the process and outcomes of enculturation, initial culture learning, and child-rearing practices, which eventually fell out of disciplinary favor following World War II.

From the 1950s into the 1970s, anthropology partially returned to its traditional intellectual territory of investigating non-Western, Third World, small-scale, often illiterate, and largely tribal or peasant rural societies, which were frequently located in the newly decolonized and independent nations. Attention was also being paid to understanding the linkages between the "Great Tradition" (e.g., Chinese and South Asian) ideology and literatures and how these were manifested and reflected in the local, indigenous practices ("Little Traditions") of folk societies. Anthropology also expanded its applied role and involvement in domestic contexts across a broad range of industries, institutions, and corporations.

In the United States and elsewhere, anthropology graduates began to move out of academia and seek employment in novel, nontraditional employment contexts. These included hospitals/healthcare organizations, architecture/urban development, educational exchange/study-abroad organizations, international and multinational corporations, Peace Corps, governmental agencies (e.g., U.S. State Department), international aid agencies (e.g., U.S. Agency for International Development), armed forces, police, and law and legal advocacy, among others. They sought settings where anthropology could provide investigative and consultative functions and possibly contribute to policy debates while frequently providing cross-cultural training.

At the same time, American anthropology was drawing increasingly on sociological theory and moving away from theories of cultural homogeneity. This new focus on processes of social interaction also moved further away from culture as something external to the individual and became more concerned with the interactive and subjective aspects of culture. There was a blending of psychologically oriented U.S. cultural anthropology with sociological attention to social dynamics, or "culture-in-action," wherein the observer became a part of the field of reference. It was increasingly acknowledged that detached, unobtrusive research was difficult or, perhaps, impossible.

Continuity and Conflict

It was also becoming accepted that, by using and adapting the kinds of linguistic distinctions proposed by Kenneth Pike for anthropological inquiry, one could usefully distinguish between insiders' perceptions of their culture (*emic*, from *phonemic*) and outsiders' perspectives (*etic*, from *phonetic*) of their culture. These twin vantage points provided ways to understand and describe different viewpoints. Using the *emic* lens, one could investigate and describe an individual's specific, selective cultural viewpoint. By applying *etic* categories, one could make more general comparative statements across a wide range of cultures. The latter is almost the exact opposite of historical particularism. Pike offered new, intriguing ways to describe and view a single language/culture while also providing categories that could be generalized across languages and cultures in appropriate and comparable ways.

In the last quarter of the 20th century, anthropological theory became dominated by an emphasis on "meaning," referring to the ways (largely psychological, cognitive) through which humans make sense of the world, and "materiality," which refers to relationships between humans and their external physical realities. In the 1960s and 1970s, theoretical approaches tended to favor one over the other. The French structuralism of Claude Lévi-Strauss, the interpretive anthropology of Clifford Geertz, and the symbolic anthropology of Victor Turner and Mary Douglas all shared a primary concern with meaning, while others pursued ecological interactions and the organization of political economies, stressing materiality.

Anthropologists also worked to reconcile or conjoin such foci by making the issue of "power" a central concern. This eventually led to a long period of self-criticism within anthropology, including concerns about how the field produced its knowledge, and its relationship and obligations to those it studied. Sharp critiques of ethnographic objectivity and ethnographers' subjectivities (e.g., James Clifford and Renato Rosaldo) set off decades of reflexive debates that focused largely on deconstructing texts and critical assessments of the discipline.

Simultaneously, other postmodernist attacks on anthropology came from continental philosophers and cultural studies proponents (e.g., Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault) who drew the discipline's attention to its alleged complicity in establishing and perpetuating systems of inequality and subjugation. These movements had little to do with, or few positive things to say about, culture per se. Rather, they tended to stress validity issues and catalog what they perceived as overall disciplinary shortcomings.

Other modernist movements that tended to be critical of the anthropological enterprise included feminist/women's studies, transculturation and "border"/"margin" studies, and ethnic studies/multiculturalism. Such feminist and postmodern critiques about the dominance of patriarchy, questions of authenticity, authority, and voice, and assertions of multiple, conflicting interpretations of a text, and so on, all worked to undermine, or at least seriously challenge, a discipline that had historically viewed its central mission as the objective description of "the other" in ethnographic terms. Anthropology is still working out how to respond to these theoretical and philosophic challenges.

Nevertheless, cultural anthropologists continue not only to examine the so-called objective, external aspects of a culture but also to conceptualize culture as being, to a large extent, subjective and reflecting the unconscious cultural patterns shared by members of a group. This implies a move toward viewing "culture" as far from being simply an objective collection of traits and systems, and increasingly toward a consideration of how culture can be approached as a subjective, mental artifact. Culture had become seen as both less overt and external, and more of an interior set of assumptions that motivates and guides human interaction and that can be decoded.

Some anthropologists seem increasingly willing to take an even more radical, constructivist, subjective stance toward culture, similar to that developed in the intercultural communication field and exemplified by the seminal work of Edward T. Hall. In this paradigm, culture is seen as being co-created, the mutual making of meaning, and, therefore, part of the process of human beings engaged in intercultural communication. The field of intercultural communication conceptualizes culture as an interactive process of creating shared meanings between people from different cultures.

In this perspective, the concept of culture completes a historical shift, from initially being considered an absolute "thing" that exists independently to more of an observational strategy, as well as a rich, interactive process. Intercultural communication theory differs from classic anthropological approaches in many ways. One of the most significant differences is the emphasis intercultural theory places on developing "culture-general" categories and broadly applying them across a diverse range of cultural contexts, rather than an anthropological approach privileging an exhaustive, in-depth exploration of a single group.

On balance, anthropology has made major descriptive (ethnographic) and comparative (ethnological) contributions to the study of humans in all their complexity and variety. Not the least of these are the crucial foundational concepts of *cultural relativism* and *culture* itself. For more than a century, anthropology has provided rich data and an array of theories and creative methodologies that have contributed significantly to informing and enriching current debates about the forms and content of cultural competency.

Bruce LaBrack

See also Culture Specific/Culture General; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Applied Linguistics; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Intercultural Communication; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Psychology; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Sociology; Hall, E. T.

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Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Applied Linguistics

Applied linguistics is an interdisciplinary academic field that identifies, investigates, and provides solutions to real-life problems related to language. Other disciplines that influenced its development include anthropology, education, communication, psychology, and sociology, but the field of theoretical linguistics has been the dominant influence. Applied linguists study a range of issues that affect people's lives, for example, how language can function as cultural capital (a social resource) for people, how it often serves as a reason for discrimination in society, or how the brain processes language. The core of the field, though, is how humans can best teach and learn languages.

Because language learning is a central concern in the field, applied linguistics is closely affiliated with Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL/TESOL), Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL), and Teaching English as an International Language (TEIL) studies. Currently, English is the most commonly spoken language in the world, with more than a billion speakers. Three times more people study English as an additional language than speak it as a first language or mother tongue, and many of the academic professionals teaching this vast number of language learners have been trained in applied linguistics. The MA degree has been the mainstay of most applied linguistics departments, with MA recipients often teaching at universities both at home and abroad. Today, applied linguistics departments frequently offer PhD degrees and English instruction in Intensive English Programs. An increasing number are also developing BA degrees as well as TEFL certificates for teaching abroad.

Because language teaching, by its very nature, involves more than one linguistic or cultural group, one might assume that culture and intercultural competence would be central concerns of applied linguistics. Immigrants and visitors from all over the world study English in English-speaking countries, creating an intercultural dynamic between teachers and students as well as between students themselves. Likewise, thousands of native English speakers who go abroad to teach in foreign-language settings experience intercultural interactions with their students and communities on a daily basis. Yet despite what might seem a natural affinity for intercultural competency on the part of language teachers and students, the relationship between the study of culture/intercultural communication and applied linguistics has been problematic.

In the sections below, this entry discusses (a) the history of applied linguistics from a focus on linguistic competence in the 1960s to an emerging focus on intercultural communicative competence, (b) the role of culture in the language classroom, and (c) the current status of intercultural communicative competence in the field.

Historical Background

To help understand why culture has historically not played more of a role in applied linguistics, this section explores the shifting theoretical frameworks that have in many ways defined the development of the field of applied linguistics: *linguistic*, *communicative*, and *intercultural competence*.

Linguistic Competence

During the 1950s, the field of linguistics was greatly influenced by Noam Chomsky's work on transformational grammar. Linguists at that time emphasized *linguistic competence*, a person's abstract knowledge of a linguistic system. The field of applied linguistics was just beginning to develop as a discipline, and taking its cue from theoretical linguistics, applied linguistics also focused on decontextualized language. Scholars investigated the forms and structures of language without much consideration for their functions or the situations in which they are used. When linguistic competence is the goal, students of English might learn the grammatical differences between "I *see* a cat *now*," "*Yesterday*, I *saw* a cat," and "*Tomorrow*, I *will see* a cat."

However, this grammatical knowledge does not necessarily help an English language learner interact appropriately with other English speakers.

Communicative Competence

During the 1960s and 1970s, the number of international students in the United States increased dramatically and resulted in the rapid growth of ESL programs on many U.S. campuses. Because of the dominance of English in science and technology, business, and even pop culture, people throughout the world began studying it in rapidly increasing numbers. Additionally, as globalization began to affect the world economy, governments and corporations around the world began sending representatives abroad, where they often used English to form alliances, resolve conflicts, and negotiate contracts.

In response to the changing status of English around the world and the need of its new speakers to be able to communicate effectively, within the field of applied linguistics the theoretical foundation changed from linguistic competence to *communicative competence*. The linguist, anthropologist, and folklorist Dell Hymes insisted that learners of a language need not only grammatical knowledge but also knowledge of the social appropriateness of language in particular contexts. Researchers began studying the authentic language that people actually use, instead of the idealized forms commonly found in textbooks. For example, one area of research focused on *speech acts*, or language used to accomplish a social purpose, such as greetings, requests, apologies, and compliments in various settings. The results of these studies were often surprising. For instance, applied linguists learned that the response to a compliment on one's apparel in the United States is often not "Thank you" (as our parents and textbooks claim) but a disclaimer like "I got it on sale." An underlying assumption of communicative competence is that students learning English will be communicating primarily with native speakers of English. Culture became a consideration in applied linguistics research once scholars recognized that communicating effectively involves understanding socially acceptable ways of using language. This focus on the native speaker, or *native speaker model*, affected other facets of language. For example, the standard for pronunciation was that of the native English speaker.

Intercultural Competence

English emerged as a lingua franca or international language during the second part of the 20th century. Even though most English speakers in the world are *not* native speakers of English, the native speaker model continued in the field of applied linguistics. However, the underlying assumption of communicative competence that English language learners need to learn the social norms (culture) of native speakers became more and more problematic as it became clear that English was used increasingly in intercultural interactions. For example, it is not important for lingua franca English speakers to know and use U.S. social norms for English if they are, say, Greek speakers talking to Turkish speakers in Cyprus. Other concerns also arose. Is it respectful of students' own cultural identities to expect them to always follow the communicative rules that native English speakers would? And does linking English with norms common in the United States or Great Britain perpetuate the notion that these higher status varieties of English are *right*, as opposed to other varieties around the world? An *intercultural communicative competence* model shifts the focus away from native speaker norms and focuses on intercultural interactions.

What does this shift mean in terms of culture and teaching English? Intercultural communicative competence seems more abstract and less definable than communicative competence. If we do not teach U.S. or British culture, then whose culture should we teach? Whose pronunciation? Whose communication style? Whose proxemics (use of space)? Whose chronemics (use of time)? Whose norms of writing? Whose rules of social hierarchy? Whose rules of politeness? Is it reasonable for English learners to study the cultures of all the people with whom they interact? These questions are in many ways unanswerable in the abstract, but they are answerable for a particular context (e.g., Why are students learning English in this context? With whom will they interact?).

Within applied linguistics, perhaps the best known pedagogical model of intercultural communicative competence was developed by Michael Byram, a model consisting of *knowledge*, *attitudes*, *and skills*. *Knowledge* includes one's knowledge of self and the world, including much about one's own background and some knowledge about the person with whom one is speaking. Knowledge of the interlocutors increases (we hope) the more one communicates with them. For example, Gudrun, a student from Sweden, went to Morocco to study Arabic. When she first arrived, her Arabic was poor (she was a beginner), and she ended up using English to communicate with her classmates and her teachers. Her classmates were from India, Brazil, China, Mexico, Canada, Turkey, and the United States. What did she need to know to communicate effectively? Some knowledge of her fellow students' countries and backgrounds would have been helpful, but perhaps more important, she needed to know Byram's second type of *knowledge*: knowledge about the processes of interaction or communication. She needed to know what to pay attention to (e.g., nonverbal and verbal communication categories); she needed to know that communication varies across cultures, that Swedish cultural communication norms are but one type out of many. This information about language and communication is a type of knowledge. According to Byram, to be an effective intercultural communicator, Gudrun also needed awareness and particular *attitudes*. A person can understand how language works but not have the awareness to observe the nuances of communication differences. Gudrun was aware of differences in touching, drinking alcohol, and being on time among her classmates. Gudrun demonstrated attitudes of openness, interest, and curiosity, and a readiness to suspend judgment of others. In fact, she began to rethink her own subjective reality. As Gudrun interacted with her classmates and Moroccans, her knowledge of their backgrounds, countries, educational systems, and ways of communicating increased, which resulted in even more awareness and positive attitudes.

According to Byram's model, knowledge and attitude are preconditions for effective intercultural communication, which in the end manifests in *skills*. His Intercultural Communicative Competence Model depends on two broad categories of skills: (1) interpreting and relating and (2) discovery and interaction. For example, as Gudrun built up knowledge, she was able to interpret events and interactions in a more insightful way, perceiving the points of view of each interlocutor. She also used the skills of discovery and interaction to learn more about Moroccans and her fellow students. Some of the skills she used were carefully observing behavior, asking questions, and researching things she did not understand. Gudrun, thus, did not assume that she would use British sociocultural practices when interacting in English with, for example, a Brazilian student; she negotiated patterns of interaction and a relationship based on her knowledge, attitudes, and skills.

Cultural Differences in Teaching and Learning

Because language learning and teaching are such central concerns in the field of applied linguistics, it is important to discuss in further detail the relationship between intercultural competence and language pedagogy. Around the world, children are socialized according to the norms of their cultural communities, learning *correct* ways of eating, playing, interacting with adults, speaking, and behaving. They also, usually quite unconsciously, learn how to learn and develop points of view about *good* teaching and learning.

When teachers and students began moving around the world in the 1970s and 1980s to teach or study English, they noticed that teaching and learning practices, textbooks, classroom size, furniture arrangement, methods of punishment, and curricula varied from place to place. Often, native English speakers brought with them their teaching practices and values, creating dissonance between their way and the ways of the students they taught. An eminent applied linguist, Suresh Canagarajah, who studied English growing up in war-torn Sri Lanka, describes this dissonance. His English teacher used popular teaching practices from Great Britain (e.g., student-centered methods like group work and student presentations) that the Sri Lankan students often perceived as uncomfortable or unproductive. To exemplify the situation, Canagarajah describes the British textbook narrative of Peter, a first-year student at Reading University. While reading about Peter, Ravi, a Sri Lankan student in the classroom, hears the fighting outside the window and wonders if he will ever attend a university in his own country. In addition to the problematic content of the textbook, the British teacher and the students view the process of learning differently (as a detached mental activity vs. personal learning) and perceive the concept of knowledge differently (value free vs. ideological). Canagarajah's work highlights the validity of different learning styles and questions the idea of universally applicable *best* teaching practices.

Beneath these surface-level differences in behaviors are deeply held assumptions about how learning occurs and how people should relate to one another. When their assumptions are different, both teachers and students may become frustrated, confused, anxious, and ineffectual. Knowing about such cultural differences in pedagogy is important. From an intercultural competence approach, however, knowledge alone is not enough. Teachers and students must negotiate their relationships, developing classroom patterns that both can be comfortable with.

Current Status of Intercultural Competence

Although applied linguistics has not always peacefully coexisted with culture and intercultural competence, these concepts do play an important role in the field today. Their increasing significance may be due to U.S. universities' current enthusiasm for global/intercultural competence or to the bottom-up influence of ESL/EFL practitioners who live with cultural differences every day in their professional and personal lives. Despite the increasing attention paid to culture, however, not all applied linguists are interested in or comfortable with studying intercultural competence. In fact, culture has been referred to as one of the most controversial issues in the recent history of applied linguistics. Critics have accused intercultural scholars of oversimplifying cultural differences, reducing individuals to cultural stereotypes. Some interculturalists are also dismissed as postcolonialists or orientalists. The future of intercultural competence in applied linguistics is promising, however, with the developing interest in global competence and with new ways of thinking about and teaching about culture.

Gayle Nelson and Kris Acheson

See also Critical Theory; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Intercultural Communication; English as a Lingua Franca; Essentialism; Learning Styles Across Cultures

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Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Intercultural Communication

The definition of culture has a rich and varied history. The variation is seen in the hundreds of definitions compiled by a group of communication scholars led by John Baldwin in 2006. While there exist many different definitions, there are three that are currently commonly accepted in intercultural communication studies—each has been influenced by various disciplinary traditions, including anthropology, psychology, and linguistics, and most recently by critical theory and cultural studies. In fact, Edward T. Hall, the founder of the field, emphasized that the field itself should be interdisciplinary as any one discipline does not have all the answers to intercultural communication. This entry demonstrates how each definition leads to different ways of understanding intercultural communication.

Anthropology and Sociolinguistics: Culture as Contextual Symbolic Patterns of Meaning

Probably the most influential disciplinary contribution in the early years of intercultural communication was from anthropologists such as Margaret Mead and Hall, who viewed culture as national groups of peoples that possessed certain core characteristics. About the same time, the linguists Benjamin Whorf and Edward Sapir, through what has become known as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, emphasized the interrelatedness of language and culture, that differences in the way languages encode cultural and cognitive categories significantly affect the way people perceive the world around them. This can be seen in the various terms cultural groups use to describe colors. For example, the Diné (Navajo) people have one word for blue and green, two words for two different colors of black, and one word for red; these four words form the vocabulary for primary colors in their culture. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis suggests that English and Diné speakers perceive colors differently than those in other cultural groups (e.g., U.S. English speakers).

Later, anthropologists like Clifford Geertz stressed that definitions of culture included the symbolic expression of cultural groups' core characteristics and, to truly understand these symbolic cultural patterns, scholars should attempt to provide very detailed, *thick* descriptions of important cultural events. His famous example was a description of the cultural ritual of a rooster fight in the Bali culture and the important meaning of this ritual for the Balinese people. In the same tradition, the sociolinguist Dell Hymes, in the 1970s, extended this notion of culture, emphasizing the importance of understanding language patterns as a cultural activity, and developed a framework to study speech in depth and in context. He and his colleagues also introduced the notion that the definition of culture should not be limited to national groups but also socioeconomic, gender, racial, and ethnic groups.

Building on these anthropological and sociolinguistic definitions of culture, Donal Carbaugh, a scholar of the ethnology of communication, suggests that it is best to reserve the concept of culture for patterns of symbolic action and meaning that are deeply felt, commonly intelligible, and widely accessible. Patterns that are deeply felt are sensed collectively by members of the cultural group (whether national, ethnic, racial, etc.). To qualify as a cultural pattern, the activity must have the same symbolic significance for all members of the group; they must all find the activity meaningful in more or less the same way. Furthermore, all participants must have access to the pattern of action. This does not mean that they must all use the pattern; it only means that the pattern is available to them.

These patterns can be seen in the communication rituals of cultural communities. For example, the *call and response* in many Black churches, where the congregation has an ongoing response to the minister or other leaders during the service, holds symbolic significance and evokes feelings of togetherness and collective participation in the religious experience. The communication theorist Gerry Philipsen extends Carbaugh's notion of culture by emphasizing that these patterns must endure over time, passed along from person to person. Some are passed on for generations. The *call and response* pattern, for example, can be traced to the days of U.S. American slavery, when the oral tradition among Blacks was strongest as they were legally forbidden to learn to read or to write. Intercultural communication studies following this definition of culture are usually descriptive studies of meaningful communication patterns within one cultural group or studies that contrast patterns in two or more groups.

Psychology: Culture as a Set of Learned, Group-Related Perceptions

Psychologists, like the early anthropologists and sociolinguists, viewed culture as shared, and as a set of learned, group-related perceptions, like a computer program, that guide our behavior. In fact, the noted social psychologist Geert Hofstede refers to culture as the programming of the mind and explains his notion of culture in terms of a computer program, that all individuals carry around notions of the correct way to think, feel, and act, which was learned throughout their lifetime, primarily through interactions in the social environment and with various groups of individuals, first in the family and neighborhood, then in schools, and so on. Culture becomes a collective experience because it is shared with people who live in and experience the same social environments.

Perhaps the most core elements of the mental programming are broad values and beliefs that individuals hold regarding the best way to live and interact with others: beliefs in the supernatural, how to relate to others, how to relate to nature, and an orientation to time, to name a few. Intercultural communication experts following this definition study how these *programs* vary from culture to culture and influence communication behavior.

For example, some cultural groups (many in the United States), share an emphasis on individualism, believing that the best way for an individual to live is to be independent and not depend much on others. So many older people prefer not to depend too much on their family or others. In contrast, some cultural groups (e.g., Mexicans) believe that being dependent and interconnected with others is good. In these cultures, extended families are the norm, older people almost always live with their children, and adult children may live at home until they are married and even after marriage.

Values regarding the orientations to time and achievement also vary; many U.S. cultures emphasize the future and the importance of being busy (even on vacations) and accomplishing tasks, even at the expense of human relationships. In contrast, many other cultural groups emphasize the importance of enjoying the present, focusing on the relationships in the moment, and see little value in planning far ahead (after all, people have little control over the distant future). On a practical level, these important differences in cultural patterns can cause problems in our global multicultural workforce; if employees have different cultural *programming* (values), one worker may place emphasis and energy on establishing smooth harmonious relationships at work, while another may think it is more important to get the work done and not worry about work relationships.

It is easy to see, then, how these important cultural value differences can lead to stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. The employee who thinks that task accomplishment is more important than harmonious relationships may be viewed as cold and uncaring by the employee who values harmonious relationships. The employee who values harmony may wonder what he or she might have done to merit this coldness and may avoid interacting with the disapproving task-oriented person.

Critical Theory/Cultural Studies: Culture as Heterogeneous, Dynamic, and a Contested Zone

Although the notion of culture as shared, learned group patterns of perception or symbolic behavior has long been the standard in a variety of disciplines, more and more people, even anthropologists, are beginning to question its utility. And some anthropologists and applied linguists suggest that emphasizing the notion of culture (bounded groupings of humans) is even unhelpful. At a recent international conference on language and intercultural communication, several presenters advocated dropping the focus on culture from their studies.

A most recent view of culture rejects definitions of culture as a shared set of patterns of thinking and behavior and, rather, sees cultural patterns as heterogeneous, dynamic, and often a site of contested boundaries. These notions originated with German critical theory (rooted in Marxism) in the 1940s and British cultural studies scholars like Raymond Williams in the 1960s and spread from Europe to Australia, Latin America, and other parts of the world. The thinking of these researchers encouraged intercultural communication scholars to reject the static definition of culture as shared and learned patterns of perception. They, in fact, called it a dangerous myth that actually suppresses and ignores marginalized voices and experiences and encourages stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination.

First, they emphasize the heterogeneity of cultural groupings and question how much of *culture* is truly shared. For example, one may question whether a monolithic U.S. American culture actually exists. What do the many different cultural groups within the United States truly share? It often seems that there are more differences among these various ethnic, racial, and gender groups than similarities. Second, they emphasize that cultural boundaries are often contested and not easily agreed on. For example, increasing numbers of people have multicultural identities, growing up to negotiate *multiple* cultural realities. For example, the American singer Mariah Carey, who is Black, Irish, and Venezuelan; the late Jamaican singer Bob Marley; and others like them often resist the many efforts by others to pigeonhole their race/ethnicity.

These experts suggest that viewing culture as a contested site offers new ways of thinking about intercultural communication. By viewing *U.S. American culture* and *French culture* not as a group of people possessing core characteristics or completely shared perceptions or programming but as diverse, heterogeneous groupings of people, one can become more sensitive to how people in that culture live, and not assume that the heterogeneity in one country functions the same way in another. That is, the way sexuality, ethnicity, gender, and social class groupings function in the United States is very different from the way these function in other countries. For example, distinctions between White and Black races are fairly rigid in the United States, and many people become uneasy when they are unable to categorize individuals. In contrast, Brazil recognizes a wide variety of intermediate racial categories in addition to White and Black. Viewing any culture as a contested zone or site of struggle allows one to better understand the complexities of that culture. Critical definitions of culture lead to studies on, for example, how U.S. women's roles are contested and expressed (e.g., why, given U.S. women's historical struggle to gain legal and social acceptance, the overwhelming majority of women continue to follow tradition and adopt their husbands' names) or how conflicting messages about Latino identity are communicated in popular texts (films, books, music videos, television shows). In conclusion, many intercultural communication professionals today accept a fluid and inclusive view of culture; they accept and see the interrelatedness of these different views. That is, culture is at once a shared and a learned pattern of beliefs and perceptions that are mutually intelligible and widely accessible. It is also a site of struggle for contested meanings. Taking this view can help facilitate discussions on conflicting cultural notions, to recognize the truth in all sides of the conflict and understand the ways in which multiple realities constitute the whole of the cultural quandary.

Judith N. Martin and Thomas K. Nakayama

See also Beliefs, Values, Norms, Customs (Definitions); Biracial Identity; Class; Critical Theory; Culture, Definition of; Essentialism; Intercultural Communication, Definition of; Power; Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

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Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Psychology

Like other social sciences, the field of psychology has incorporated culture into many of its theories and much of its research. Psychology has also made significant contributions to the interdisciplinary field of intercultural communication and to an understanding of what it means to be interculturally competent. The initial focus of this entry is on the various psychological approaches to culture, or subfields of psychology including cross-cultural psychology, cultural psychology, and multicultural psychology. Subsequently, the focus shifts to a few key theories that are relevant to intercultural communication and culture, with brief summaries of social identity theory, intergroup contact theory, stereotype threat, emotional intelligence, and Lev Vygotsky's social developmental theory.

The early foundations of psychology were predicated on the idea that culture did not play a large role in shaping who we are and how we develop as individuals. Although the role of culture was sometimes considered to some extent, it did not receive significant attention when compared with the attention given to intrapsychic processes and behavior. Sociocultural concepts began to be incorporated into psychology when theorists increasingly placed importance on the idea of shared meaning and how it contributed to one's experience of the world. Connections between self and others, between the mind and the external world, were given greater significance: the self in context.

Briefly, some of the foundations of intercultural communication include cultural relativism, linguistic relativity, subjective culture, sociolinguistics, constructivist psychology, and communication theory. Among those who played a prominent role are a few psychologists. For example, the cultural psychologist Harry Triandis is a significant contributor in the area of cultural relativism, even though it is more of an anthropological concept. Additionally, a key concept underlying constructivist psychology—that experience is not a function of being in the vicinity of events but, rather, is how we construe or interpret them—is based on the work of George Kelly. Kelly's theory of personal constructs illuminates the role of an individual's perspective on that person's reality. When integrated with the cultural relativistic perspective that there are different views of reality based on cultural differences, the constructivist concept may mean that a person is able to construct alternatives more easily, which could lead to stronger intercultural adaptation skills.

Cross-Cultural Psychology Versus Cultural Psychology

Two of the three primary subfields of psychology that focus on culture are often seen as divergent. The differences are not all clearly distinct in nature; there are overlaps and middle grounds, and both study the relationship between culture and human behavior. However, their views on the universal differ, along with what is emphasized.

Cross-cultural psychology makes comparisons across cultures and seeks to find out what is universally applicable versus what is culture specific. There is a fundamental agreement that human behavior is influenced by culture, but within a context of common or universal psychological functions and processes. Sometimes cross-cultural psychology is viewed more as a research methodology because it grew out of culture-comparative research studies.

Among the many areas cross-cultural psychology has addressed are acculturation, attribution theory, emotions and facial expressions, child-rearing practices, and the *Big Five* dimensions (personality traits). For instance, one example relates to social psychology's attribution theory and the fundamental attribution error. The *fundamental attribution error* refers to the tendency to interpret another person's behavior by overemphasizing internal explanations (e.g., personality traits) while underemphasizing external explanations such as the environment or the context of a situation. It has been found that people from individualistic cultures tend to make the fundamental attribution error more than people from collectivist cultures. This difference appears to parallel how individuals in each culture view themselves in relationship to their environment, and the emphasis placed on internal dispositions versus context. This illustrates that differences were found in how attribution manifested in different cultures but that the differences were viewed as the same basic psychological process, which would be seen as support for universalism.

Alternatively, cultural psychology views psychological functioning as different and specific across cultures. Cultural psychology takes a more cultural relativistic view rather than a universal one. More emphasis is placed on culture as an internal construct (with culture residing inside the person); and context is emphasized more in cultural psychology as well. This culturally relative perspective is one of the foundations of intercultural communication. In general, cultural psychology has focused on studying a few cultures in depth as a way to see how psychological processes are influenced by culture. As in some anthropological methods, ethnographic research is common. Cultural psychology and a parallel branch of psychology, indigenous psychology, both use more *emic* or relativistic approaches to study specifics about various cultures from within, versus an *etic* approach, which is more universal in nature, where multiple cultures are examined at the same time by an objective outsider to compare them.

An example of a cultural psychology concept is Harry Triandis's *idiocentrics and allocentrics cognitions*. Briefly, the behavior and emotional experience of idiocentrics coincide with most of those in individualist cultures, and allocentrics with most of those in collectivistic cultures; but people in all cultures have both, and they are situationally dependent. He argued that behavior was not predicted by personality or situation but was determined instead by the interaction between a personality that is shaped by culture, and the current situation. In line with cultural psychology premises, Triandis's concept is more contextual, internal, and culturally relative.

Core Concepts of Multicultural Psychology

Multiculturalism refers to a plural society, where equality among its diverse members is generally accepted and cultural identities may vary. While there is potential for resistance, the dominant group may need to be accommodating in a multicultural society, although typically, a great deal of adaptation already exists on the part of minorities. Given this understanding, the subfield called multicultural psychology focuses on a person's identity, behavior, and experience, in the context of a person's history, culture, and environment. At the same time, it also focuses on how different cultures coexist in one society, while utilizing a social justice perspective that includes considerations of prejudice, power, privilege, and oppression. The importance of equity, diversity, and inclusiveness is addressed at the individual, group, organizational, and other larger systemic levels. Multiculturalism has been seen as the *fourth force* in psychology, after psychoanalysis, behaviorism, and humanism, because of the paradigm shift it provided within the field.

Because multicultural psychology has its roots in clinical and counseling psychology, many of the tenets and theories relate to psychotherapy with diverse populations. Multicultural counseling posits that the helping role and process need to be more culturally sensitive, in a way that is more consistent with a client's life experiences and cultural values, and acknowledges individual, group, and universal dimensions. Multicultural psychology also stems from research that explores racial group differences and the impact of racism, discrimination, and poverty on people. A well-known example is the 1940s study by Kenneth and Mamie Clark that used Black and White dolls. Children were asked about the presumed intelligence and attractiveness of the different dolls; the researchers concluded that racism and discrimination were negatively affecting the African American children's self-esteem and self-perceptions. Their findings deeply influenced the Civil Rights Movement in the United States; they were used in the Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. the Board of Education*, which led to school desegregation.

Identity Development Models

Research on the impact of racism and discrimination led to racial and ethnic identity development models, which is one of multicultural psychology's most significant contributions. The first racial identity development model was developed by William E. Cross Jr. in the early 1970s. Cross's Nigrescence Model consisted of five stages that African Americans go through, and moves from a White frame of reference to a positive Black identity. His model has been revised since the original theory, but the Nigrescence Model continues to be seen as a classic, and subsequent models parallel its course overall.

Since Cross's groundbreaking model, there have been numerous other racial and ethnic identity development models (general and for specific racial/ethnic groups), as well as identity models that involve sexual orientation. Some notable racial/ethnic models include Janet Helm's White Racial Identity Development Model; Donald Atkinson, George Morten, and Derald Wing Sue's Racial/Cultural Identity Development Model (formerly known as the Minority Identity Development Model); Jean Phinney's Ethnic Identity Development Model; Jean Kim's Asian American Identity Development Model; Aureliano Sando Ruiz's Chicano/Latino Identity Development Model; and Maria Root's Multiracial Identity Development Model. Sexual orientation development models have focused on the coming-out process, positive identification, and, to varying degrees, connection to the queer community. Anthony D'Augelli's Model of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Identity Development is one of the more well-known models. Transgender identity, gender identity models, and identity development models that include more than one variable have been and are being developed as well.

One way to understand these identity models is to see them as a process through which a person tries to answer the question "Who am I?" with respect to society's perception of them, which includes oppression and privilege related to various group identifications. Forming an integrated and positive identity is also key to these models. Although they are often presented in stages, most theorists agree that the process is fluid.

Multiple Identities Dimensions Approach

An additional and complementary approach that multicultural psychologists have used is a multiple identities dimensions approach. While the identity development theories emphasize identity as a process and its development, multicultural psychologists also view cultural identity along dimensions to capture the complexity of an individual's multiple identities.

One example of this approach is Pamela Hay's ADDRESSING Model. Her acronym delineates the various aspects of a person's cultural identity to consider

A—Age and generational influence

D—Developmental and acquired . . .

D—. . . Disabilities

R—Religion and spiritual orientation

E—Ethnicity

S—Socioeconomic status

S—Sexual orientation

I—Indigenous heritage

N—National origin

G—Gender

Hays uses her model to understand a person's cultural heritage and identity. When exploring these cultural influences, noting those that are more salient versus those less salient is important. Understanding power, privilege, oppression, values, worldviews, and culturally appropriate communication and interventions is also emphasized when thinking about the interaction and relationship between a therapist and a client.

Two other examples of the multiple identity dimensions approach are Patricia Arredondo's model and Derald Wing Sue and David Sue's Tripartite Development of Personal Identity model. Arredondo delineates dimensions A, B, and C. Dimension A includes group-level variables similar to those in Hay's model, while dimension B includes more mutable identities (e.g., educational background, geographic location, relationship status), and Dimension C refers to historical moments/eras. Alternatively, Sue and Sue's model consists of concentric circles, with the innermost circle containing the individual level, which includes unique qualities like genetic endowment, and nonshared experiences. The middle circle, or group level, focuses on similarities and difference, such as race, sexual orientation, marital status, religious preference, culture, disability/ability, ethnicity, geographic location, age, socioeconomic status, and gender. Finally, the outer circle is the universal level (*Homo sapiens*) and relates to the ability to use symbols, common life experiences, self-awareness, and biological and physical similarities.

The multiple identities dimensions approach takes into account historical and systemic variables while focusing on a person's complex or multiple identities and how they affect an individual or an interpersonal interaction.

Multicultural Counseling Competencies

There are three primary competency areas in multicultural psychology: (1) awareness, (2) knowledge, and (3) skills. Each of the three competencies has been elaborated extensively by D. W. Sue and other psychologists. Awareness focuses on the clinician's own self, awareness as a cultural being, of the person's values and biases and how those may affect diverse clients. Knowledge includes but is not limited to knowledge about various cultural groups and sociopolitical systems and institutional barriers that may affect clients in society. Finally, skills include a variety of helping responses that are culturally sensitive; these may involve interpersonal interactions or be more institutional or systemic in nature.

Other Theories That Relate to Culture and Intercultural Communication

The following section briefly describes five important theories and concepts in other areas of psychology (e.g., social psychology) that are related to culture, and intercultural communication and competence.

Social Identity Theory

During a time (the 1970s and 1980s) when psychology was being criticized for focusing too much on intrapsychic and interpersonal processes, and not enough on things like culture and group-level factors, the social psychologist Henri Tajfel developed social identity theory. This classic theory has had a broad influence. The theory argues that an individual's identity consists of a personal and a social component and that since a sense of belonging is important, a person's identity is partly based on group membership. Furthermore, to increase one's self-esteem or self-image, a person is motivated to evaluate the ingroup (*us*) more positively than the outgroup (*them*).

This process is achieved by social categorization, which is in part how people stereotype. Tajfel argued that grouping things together is a normal cognitive process; however, when comparisons are made, discrimination may occur or be exacerbated due to people's desire to feel better about themselves. Exploring intergroup behavior through this lens allows for greater understanding of ingroup and outgroup dynamics that may be seen across and between various cultural groups.

Intergroup Contact Theory

Gordon Allport's (1897–1967) classic intergroup contact hypothesis has been applied to efforts to reduce prejudice in schools and among groups in conflict. Allport's theory proposes that intergroup contact can result in positive outcomes if four conditions are met: (1) equal status, (2) common goals, (3) intergroup cooperation, and (4) support of authorities, law, or custom. Later research added a fifth condition, personal contact (e.g., friendships). Indirect contact has also been found to be somewhat effective at reducing some prejudice. There have been other updates to Allport's classic theory, but overall it has been supported. Allport attributed prejudice and negative stereotypes to overgeneralization and oversimplification, which are based on inaccurate or incomplete information about a group. In turn, learning more about a group, revising previous categorical understandings, and correcting mistaken beliefs, or the *reconceptualization of group categories*, is a key concept in the reduction of prejudice.

Subsequent research by Thomas Pettigrew and Linda Tropp found additional support for intergroup contact to decrease discrimination among both dominant and nondominant groups; however, while the effect was stronger when the conditions were present, none of them were necessary. To increase positive outcomes, reducing anxiety about intergroup contact was found to be the most significant mediating variable, followed by increased empathy and perspective taking and increased knowledge about the outgroup, respectively. Attending more to anxiety reduction in intergroup contact situations could be a powerful catalyst of positive outcomes with respect to the reduction of prejudice.

Stereotype Threat

Social psychologists have studied stereotypes extensively. One relatively more recent area of research has been the concept of stereotype threat. Stereotype threat occurs when there is potential for people to confirm a negative stereotype about their group and in turn experience it as more self-defining; this is also more likely to happen when anxiety is experienced. Alternatively, research has found support for the opposite effect as well: stereotype lift or boost, related to positive stereotypes.

Initial research focused on how Black college students' standardized test performance decreased when their race was emphasized but their scores were equivalent to those of their White student counterparts when race was not emphasized. Subsequent research has extended beyond underachievement on academic tasks and included other groups. For example, results were similar when looking at stereotypes and performance related to women in math, and gay men providing child care. People are more vulnerable to stereotype threat and having their performance undermined if their group identification is stronger.

Understanding stereotype threat is important for intercultural relationships and conflict as it affects perceptions and situations that may be cultural in nature. Additionally, major concerns like educational and social disparities may be affected.

Emotional Intelligence

Different definitions of *emotional intelligence* exist, but generally speaking it refers to a person's ability to perceive, understand, and manage emotions in relationships and utilize them effectively for emotional and intellectual growth. High emotional intelligence has been linked to greater career success. If a person is able to understand others more and in ways that are motivating and cooperative, then that can potentially be translated to better relationships, leadership skills, and overall group situations. Daniel Goleman is a well-known popular psychologist who has written several books on emotional intelligence. He proposed five components of emotional intelligence: (1) self-awareness, (2) self-regulation, (3) motivation, (4) empathy, and (5) social skills.

Emotional intelligence may be highly applicable to intercultural competence with respect to cultural adjustments and intercultural conflict. When someone has adequate or significant emotional intelligence, that person will be able to transition to a new culture more effectively because he or she will be able to build better relationships and manage stress. In intercultural conflict, emotional intelligence is important for similar reasons. Emotional intelligence is also said to be related to cultural intelligence as it can enhance it. Both imply the ability to suspend judgment and think before acting. However, it would not be uncommon to find someone high in emotional intelligence but not necessarily high in cultural intelligence. In other words, a person may be adept at dealing with the emotional and relational components but not understand the group-level and cultural aspects needed for a particular context.

Social Developmental Theory

The Russian psychologist Lev S. Vygotsky (1896–1934) uses a sociocultural perspective in his social developmental theory, sometimes called a cultural-historical theory; it is usually studied in the context of learning and cognitive development. While a full discussion of Vygotsky's theory is beyond the scope of this entry, it is important to note that his theory is distinct from the more predominant theory of cognitive development proposed by Jean Piaget. Piaget viewed his stages as universal across cultures, and he argued that development must occur prior to learning, in a way that characterized development as independent capabilities. Alternatively, Vygotsky's theory was more culturally relative and specific in nature; he believed that learning preceded development and that culture shapes cognitive development through interactions.

Vygotsky integrated culture and history in his theory in an unprecedented way. According to Vygotsky, learning takes place in a social interaction and when it occurs within the *zone of proximal development*. Simply, the zone of proximal development is an area where a child cannot achieve something independently but can do so with some guidance or instruction; the social relationship, which is culturally based, allows a child to develop skills and higher mental functions. These mental functions are therefore socially and culturally influenced and vary in their manifestation. Vygotsky's theory has been influential in educational settings as well as in the field of cultural psychology.

Psychology and Intercultural Communication

The field of psychology has been an important relative of intercultural communication and has made significant contributions to what it means to be interculturally competent.

A major difference between the two fields is that while psychology addresses the group level of analysis at times, it also places great, and often greater, emphasis on the individual (e.g., identity). Intercultural communication employs a group-level analysis of culture, even though it addresses individual behavior and communication.

With its roots in cultural relativism, cultural psychology is more congruent with intercultural communication's core tenets than is cross-cultural psychology. However, even though it employs a more universal perspective, cross-cultural psychology research has also been found to be pertinent to intercultural communication and an understanding of culture. With respect to this particular issue, multicultural psychology is more similar to cross-cultural psychology as it attends to the individual, group, and human or universal level in its philosophies.

As previously stated, social identity, intergroup contact, stereotype threat, and emotional intelligence are applicable to how people interact and to intercultural competence. For example, navigating intercultural conflict is a higher level intercultural skill that can be enhanced by an understanding of these psychological theories and concepts.

In psychology, the term *cultural competence* is used rather than intercultural competence. The difference in terminology (*inter*) may also point out a limitation or a potential future direction in psychology. Cultural competence in psychology is primarily addressed from the multicultural perspective and uses the aforementioned awareness, knowledge, and skills framework. Psychology may benefit from the integration of intercultural communication concepts, especially in terms of skills. Psychology primarily emphasizes developing a variety of helping responses that are culturally sensitive. This is not to say that multicultural psychology does not include other important and even similar skills in its framework. The difference lies in how the intercultural skills are interaction focused and may be translated into more meaningful and in-depth adaptation skills. In other words, understanding the different intercultural communication skills and concepts, like linear and circular communication, can enhance culturally sensitive interpersonal skills and group-level knowledge and dynamics in a more nuanced and clearer manner. Additionally, when applied in an effective way, the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity could lead to improved connections and decreased anxiety, both of which are important on many levels, such as intergroup contact. Curiosity, one of the most critical intercultural skills, is also rarely considered. Achieving higher levels of intercultural competency that indicate an unconscious level of integrated knowing is difficult without curiosity. In part, intercultural communication skills may offer a supplemental map that is more detailed than multicultural psychology's view of competency skills because of its focus on interaction and adaptation.

While by no means the definitive distinction, a significant difference is that multicultural psychology tends to integrate issues of social justice, power, privilege, oppression, systems, and race more into its cultural frameworks than the intercultural communication field does. This is likely due to the multicultural field having its roots in the U.S. Civil Rights Movement. However, intercultural communication skills are integral to the more macro social justice issues, and working at the intersection can be important. An organization is more likely able to diversify its staff if intercultural knowledge and skills are applied. The potential for an even more complementary relationship between these fields is apparent.

Cheryl Forster

See also Cultural Relativism; Diversity and Inclusion, Definitions of; Intergroup Contact; Multicultural Counseling; Prejudice, Bias, Discrimination; Racial Identity Development Models; Sexual Orientation Identity Development; Social Identity Theory

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Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Sociology

To develop a deeper understanding of intercultural competency calls for an interdisciplinary approach that draws on diverse fields, such as sociology. This entry explores the role of sociology in furthering our understanding of culture, which has direct relevance for understanding intercultural competency.

The entry begins by looking at how sociologists define culture and its diverse genres. After describing the origins and evolution of cultural sociology, the entry goes on to delineate the core cultural concepts used by sociologists, identify major areas of research, and then discuss the challenges facing this emerging field. The entry concludes with a discussion of how sociology can further contribute to our understanding of the complexities of intercultural competence.

Origins and Development of the Field of Cultural Sociology

The study of culture by sociologists is not new, although the formal field of cultural sociology is a recent development. Key pioneers in the emerging discipline of sociology, such as Émile Durkheim, Max Weber, and Georg Simmel, addressed culture in their work. Durkheim, often referred to as the father of modern sociology, in his important work of 1912, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, examined cultural lives in both indigenous and modern societies. Later, another major figure in sociology, Talcott Parsons, analyzed the relationship between culture and social structure. He concluded that culture should basically be left to anthropologists to study and argued that sociologists should focus on social structure and the intersection between culture and social structure.

Parsons's student, Marion J. Levy, was one of the early modern sociologists to concentrate on culture, primarily as a result of his World War II experience in East Asia and his competency in the Japanese language. He published important books on the Chinese family structure and why Japan moved ahead of China economically. These studies led him to develop a strong interest in modernization and variations in societies. Sociologists such as Levy and Alex Inkeles pioneered modernization studies. Inkeles came to this interest after doing national character studies related to the Soviet Union and later edited a major book on the comparison of nations and cultures.

Another major contributor to the sociological study of culture was the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, who in his classic study "Forms of Human Capital" introduced the important construct of *cultural capital*. Through that work, he made valuable contributions to understanding the important link between culture and education and educational inequalities.

Also related to education, the sociologist John W. Meyer at Stanford introduced the important concept of the *social charter* of schools, related to school culture and socialization. He then went on to look at globalization and global culture, as reflected in his influential construct of *world society*.

Soon after the publication of major works by Bourdieu, the American Sociological Association (ASA) created a cultural sociology section in 1987. It is now one of the largest and fastest growing sections of the ASA. Then, contributing to the further development of the field, Yale University in 2002 established the interdisciplinary Center for Cultural Sociology (CCS). In 2006, the British Sociological Association, in collaboration with SAGE Publications, started the new journal *Cultural Sociology* to provide a scholarly outlet for this field. In 2013, the CCS launched the *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* to provide an additional outlet for scholarly work in this area of study. The sociologist Michèle Lamont of Harvard notes that there is an "explosion of interest in cultural analysis" among sociologists.

How Sociologists Define Culture and Delineate Genres of Culture

Although there are many competing definitions of culture, there has emerged no universally accepted one. Also, the definitions vary by disciplinary field. Anthropologists have commonly defined culture as the whole way of life of a specific people (e.g., Costa Ricans). Sociologists have generally moved beyond this culture-specific definition to a much broader focus on *meaning making* and, thus, define culture as what Lamont describes as the publicly available symbolic forms through which people experience and express meaning. Yale's CCS also emphasizes meaning-centered analysis.

Among the major genres of culture identified by sociologists are

- *high culture*, or "*big C" culture*, meaning products of civilizations such as art, literature, and music—those in the humanities normally study this type of culture;
- *everyday culture*, or *mass culture* ("*small c" culture*), meaning the ways of life of ordinary people and their ways of interacting, with an emphasis on process;

- *popular culture*, such as the Korean wave (*Hangul*) or popular Korean music groups such as Girls' Generation and Super Junior, which generate interest among youth across the globe;
- *organizational culture*, such as Robert Goldman's study of Nike culture and its context;
- *material culture* versus *nonmaterial culture*; and
- *specific national/ethnic cultures*, such as Robert M. Marsh's study of Japanese factories and Anita Weiss's study of Pakistani women.

There is also the issue of whether culture is the dependent or independent variable. In other words, is culture something to be explained, or is it a factor to help explain other social phenomena and issues? A related question is whether culture is the object of study as such or whether it is a perspective to use in studying major social issues such as race, class, ethnicity, gender, and inequality.

Core Constructs in Cultural Sociology

The sociologist Michèle Lamont at Harvard has identified key constructs in cultural sociology. Among these are *field* (Pierre Bourdieu), *cultural capital* (also Bourdieu), *cultural tool kits* or *repertoires* (Ann Swidler), *cultural resonance* (Michael Schudson), *cultural diamond* (Wendy Griswold), and *idioculture* (Gary Alan Fine).

By field, Bourdieu refers to settings in which agents and their social positions are located. Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital has had much influence, both intellectually and practically, as was previously described. Ann Swidler's construct of cultural toolkits is also sometimes referred to as culture-in-action. She developed this concept to help better understand how culture leads to action. Her metaphor of the toolkit refers to the habits, skills, styles, symbols, stories, rituals, and worldviews from which people solve problems or develop strategies for action. Her concept of the toolkit could easily be adapted to the challenges of developing intercultural competency.

Wendy Griswold developed a diamond model to show the relationships among creator, receiver, social world, and cultural object. Michael Schudson's concept of cultural resonance relates to the relevance of a cultural object to its audience and, thus, is important in media studies. Gary Alan Fine's construct of *idioculture* refers to small groups and their social interactions. Fine's concept is particularly attractive to sociologists because it is quite feasible to study such groups empirically.

Major Research Areas of Cultural Sociology

Michèle Lamont has identified four key research areas constituting the field of cultural sociology. The first is research on race/ethnicity and immigration. This area is particularly important with the dramatic growth in immigration across the globe in recent decades. Stanley Tambiah of Harvard argues that diaspora studies (the study of subnational cultural groups) are the most cutting-edge area of social science research. A current example of such research is the new volume by the Princeton sociologist Douglas S. Massey, titled *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Demography of American Immigration*.

A second area of research identified by Lamont is inequality, a topic of interest to sociologists for a long time. The impetus for attention to the role of culture in addressing this issue is Bourdieu's important construct of cultural capital. A third area is comparative sociology or comparative cultural sociology. Here, the major challenge is to go beyond the overly simplistic "national character" studies. The fourth and final area is the sociology of knowledge and science. An important element in this area is the different ways of knowing, which vary significantly from culture to culture.

The sociologist Samuel L. Gilmore has also articulated the major areas of research constituting the field of cultural sociology. He identified seven primary areas, rather different from those of Lamont. The first area is the study of elite artistic activities, the study of "high culture," which has important relevance to what Robert Rosen calls "global literacy" and, thus, to intercultural competence. For example, in preparing for work in Central Asia, it would be valuable to be aware of the epic poem *Manas* and how it provides insight into Central Asian cultures. Similarly, in preparation for work in Vietnam, it would be good to be aware of the classic epic poem *Tale of Kieu* by Nguyễn Du, or for work in the Philippines, one could take note of the brilliant novels of José Rizal.

The other areas identified by Gilmore are the study of the day-to-day conduct of people, the study of science, the study of religion, media studies, the study of popular culture and its production, and, finally, the study of work organizations.

Methodological Issues in the Sociological Study of Culture

Traditionally, sociologists have largely been concerned with the development of scientific principles and laws to be tested and proven through an examination of empirical data. This reflects the evolution of sociology as a scientific field that uses "objective" procedures and data. In this sense, the field has been highly etic (focus on universals), with a search for "universal truths." Thus, there has not been major interest in the study of particular culture-specific topics, which are common in fields such as history, anthropology, and the humanities. Sociologists are, thus, not prominent in area studies centers. Nor are they expected to go off to do extended fieldwork in exotic locales. Sociologists are more likely to study the familiar. Sociologists, such as James Marsh (Japan), Anita Weiss (Pakistan), and Hans Dieter-Evers (Thailand), who do culture-specific work tend to be outliers in the field of sociology.

Major Challenges in the Field of Cultural Sociology

Despite the size and rapid growth of the Culture Section of the ASA, there are significant challenges facing this emerging field. In a major reference book on the field of sociology published in 2005, 22 fields of sociology are identified, but not a single one mentions culture. The two fields with the greatest cultural relevance are (1) race and ethnic studies and (2) sociology of religions. In the United States, there is only one major academic center, CCS at Yale, with a focus on this area. There are only two journals, one in its seventh year and the other just starting publication (sponsored by CCS). The first journal in the field, *Cultural Sociology*, in terms of impact ranks 97th among 138 sociology journals. As yet, there are few academic jobs in this field.

Lakshmi Bharadwaj examined the challenges facing cultural sociology in the 21st century. She sees the major one being the persisting task of reconnecting culture and social structure in both local and global contexts.

Sociologists' Contribution to Intercultural Competence and Its Development

Despite the problems mentioned above, sociologists have considerable potential to contribute to our understanding of intercultural competence and its development. First, sociologists could help us better understand cyber culture and its influences on the development of intercultural competence. Second, given their strong interest in popular culture, cultural sociologists could demonstrate ways in which it could be used creatively to enhance intercultural competence, especially among young people. Third, with the dramatic growth in new immigrant populations, rigorous studies of these groups could contribute to the intercultural understanding needed by educational and community leaders.

Gerald W. Fry

See also Culture, Definition of; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Anthropology; Global Organizational Cultures

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Divergence and Convergence

Divergence and convergence are two opposing views in a long-standing debate within the field of cross-cultural values and behaviors. The divergence and convergence debate deals with the degree to which cultural values are believed to become similar or different over time. Putting it simply, the *convergence view* argues that increased political, economic, and technological interdependencies motivate the development of shared cultural values worldwide. The *divergence view*, on the other hand, suggests that despite political, economic, and technological forces, individuals retain their culture's value system through time. More recently, a *crossvergence* perspective has emerged, arguing that a culture's original value system is combined with new ideologies imposed by external forces, precipitating the creation of a new and unique value system.

This entry describes the origin of the divergence or convergence debate, discusses in more detail each of the three competing perspectives, and examines the relevance of the debate to our understanding of cross-cultural relations.

Origins of the Debate

The divergence versus convergence debate originated decades ago as contrasting explanations for values formation and evolution. The emergence of a global economy, in which information, technology, money, and people flow between countries and cultures, has put increasing pressure on organizations to operate on a global scale to remain competitive. As organizations internationalize, they are faced with two opposing pressures. On the one hand, organizations face pressures from customers, employees, and local communities to adapt to the local cultural environment. On the other hand, organizations face cost and efficiency pressures to standardize business practices across multiple locations. In this scenario, it becomes critical to know whether work and consumer values change over time, the likelihood that these values will converge or remain divergent, and the degree to which organizations and policymakers can influence the direction of these changes. In other words, the central question in this debate is whether business and work practices are converging around the globe or national differences predominate.

There is relative agreement among participants in this debate on the importance of sociocultural, technological, economic, and political forces in influencing the formation and evolution of values. However, there is no consensus regarding which of those forces are dominant. In particular, there is still considerable debate regarding the relative influence of the cultural value system versus the business ideology on individual values. In the following sections, three different perspectives on this debate are discussed in more detail.

Convergence

The convergence point of view posits that over time cultures become more similar as they succumb to similar economic and technological forces that lead to common business practices and ways of organizing. This argument is based on the assumption that organizations imitate more successful organizations in a process that leads to standard practices over time. As societies develop economically, organizations in these societies tend to use the same technologies to accomplish work as other industrialized societies. As work structures are created around the technologies used, similar business and work practices are employed, and similar skills are required across nations. This process is likely to make organizations more alike over time regardless of their location. At the same time, these business practices dictate educational demands and business structures within societies, which in turn generate work values that are common across societies.

In addition, this perspective suggests that cultural values are converging because of increased levels of interaction among peoples from different cultures. With globalization, the popularization of international travel, and the high volumes of information exchange via information and communication technology, individuals are increasingly exposed to cultural values from other societies. This is especially true with regard to values originating in Western societies, as they are made accessible worldwide through media and technology. The argument here is that through exposure to other cultures, individuals adopt common values, which over time will result in decreased cultural differences across societies.

Divergence

The divergence point of view advocates for the predominance of sociocultural values over economic and technological forces. Originally proposed by R. A. Webber and further supported by Geert Hofstede, this perspective argues that despite globalization and technological, economic, and political changes, core cultural values remain stable over time. Proponents of this view argue that people retain their cultural values despite sharing common economic and social realities with other nations. Proponents of this view emphasize the significant cultural differences found across societies despite similar degrees of industrialization. Furthermore, some authors have argued that not only do cultural differences persist, but they may also intensify over time. The point of conflict is that with further exposure to other cultures through technology or tourism, individuals may feel even more attached to their own cultures.

A fundamental assumption of this perspective is that national cultures are stable and that values change through a very slow process that takes a long time. Unlike the convergence perspective, which focuses mostly on observable trends at the level of business practices, proponents of the divergence view tend to focus on individual values, attitudes, and relationships within organizations.

Crossvergence

More recently, the divergence or convergence debate has witnessed the appearance of a third perspective, proposing a middle-of-the-road view with increasing popularity. The crossvergence perspective was introduced by David A. Ralston and colleagues in 1993. Building on anthropological roots and the notion of acculturation, this view argues for a new, crossbred source of values.

The crossvergence view advocates that economic, political, and technological forces change much more rapidly than sociocultural influences and are closely related to the business activities of that society. For that reason, this view deals with these three forces as a combined business ideology. This perspective posits that the combination of sociocultural values with the business ideology gives rise to the formation of new and unique value systems. This perspective focuses on the crossvergence of values at the level of the individual. At the individual level, the value system may not be fully aligned with either the national culture or the business ideology, but rather it becomes a hybrid value system resulting from the dynamic interaction of cultural and business ideology influences.

State of the Field

The divergence or convergence debate is still ongoing and far from resolved. Part of the difficulties regarding the degree to which work values are becoming more similar across nations are the multiple domains of activity involved, the different levels of analysis, the different time frame considerations, and the focus on absolute versus relative changes.

Some scholars suggest that both convergence and divergence can be observed in different domains of activity. For example, while convergence may be noticeable in consumer values and lifestyles, such as the embracing of Western-produced fashion or media, significant divergence persists in other domains of activity dominated by more traditional values, such as family relations.

The continuing debate is further complicated by the fact that while some scholars focus on changes in individual cultural values, others focus on observable business practices. Some scholars argue that while convergence may be observed at the macrolevel in terms of economic orientation, managerial philosophy, and the adoption of common management practices, such as pay-per-performance, significant divergence can be found when observing the behavior of individuals and managers in implementing these common practices.

For this reason, some argue that divergence or convergence should not be an either-or debate, as it is possible that both happen at the same time as some values change while others may not. To further complicate things, there is a growing recognition that multiple cultures coexist within a society, and different groups within a culture may change while others may not.

Considering that cultures change through a process that takes some time (even if there is no agreement regarding how much time), the varying time frames employed by different scholars investigating cultural divergence and convergence may significantly confound the results. One cannot be certain if the observed values at a given point in time are final or transitional, thus evidence for either of the perspectives could be challenged as a temporary state rather than a final outcome.

Finally, there is some discussion regarding absolute and relative differences in cultural values. For example, while some may note that cultures may shift their value orientation in a particular dimension across time as evidence of convergence, others argue that even though the values may be changing within one culture, the relative differences between countries remain. In other words, even if a trend toward increased individualism were observed in traditionally collectivist societies, the divergent view would argue that these societies would still be less individualistic than traditionally individualistic societies.

In summary, the debate is still ongoing, and much work remains to be done to develop a shared understanding of the aspects of culture that are converging, diverging, or crossverging.

Significance of the Divergence/ Convergence Debate

The issue of whether work and consumer values are converging, diverging, or crossverging is critical for organizations, managers, and other professionals striving to operate globally. The fundamental dilemma facing individuals and organizations operating in multiple countries and cultures is the degree to which the adoption of common standards and practices across locations is viable and, if not, the degree to which business and professional practices need to be adapted to local realities.

Given that cultures evolve over time, even if slowly, and the lack of agreement within the field with regard to the degree of convergence or divergence to be expected, managers and professionals dealing with multiple cultures need to consider the specific activities in which they are involved to evaluate the degree to which expectations around those activities are likely to converge, diverge, or crossverge within the time frame in which these activities take place.

The evolution of work values is also relevant to educators tasked to prepare future professionals. More than ever, it is expected that future generations will be equipped to work in global organizations and operate across cultures and contexts. An understanding of the dynamics of culture in general and the process of culture change is thus critical to better prepare managers and professionals of the future.

Luciara Nardon and Daniel Gulanowski

See also Acculturation; Assumptions and Beliefs; Beliefs, Values, Norms, Customs (Definitions); Global Organizational Cultures; Human Resource Management; Multicultural Organization

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Diversity and Inclusion, Definitions of

As in many fields of study, there is no universal agreement on definitions in diversity and inclusion work. There is no one professional association considered the primary association in the field to establish agreed-on definitions. There is no single discipline to provide a primary home. For practical purposes, only one definition of diversity and one definition of inclusion will be described in this entry.

The following definitions come from *Global Diversity and Inclusion Benchmarks: Standards for Organizations Around the World* by Julie O'Mara, Alan Richter, and 80 expert panelists. The rationale for providing these definitions in this entry is that the expert panelists come from a variety of diversity dimensions, approaches to the work, regions of the world, and so forth. A consensus process was used to develop these definitions. That means that all the panelists agreed that they could *live with* these definitions.

Diversity refers to the variety of differences and similarities/dimensions among people, such as in gender, race/ethnicity, tribal/indigenous origins, age, culture, generation, religion, class/caste, language, education, geography, nationality, disability, sexual orientation, work style, work experience, job role and function, thinking style, and personality type.

Inclusion refers to how diversity is leveraged to create a fair, equitable, healthy, and high-performing organization or community where all individuals are respected and feel engaged and motivated, and where their contributions toward meeting organizational and societal goals are valued.

Conducting an Internet search of the words *diversity* and *inclusion* (often prefaced with *workplace*) will result in a significant variety of definitions. Most, however, contain similar key elements that include listing a variety of identities/cultures or reference to a variety and then a statement of positive outcome that is the result of an effort to foster the groups working well together to achieve goals.

This entry offers definitions of *diversity and inclusion*; approaches to diversity and inclusion, and the use of this term as the *umbrella* term; and a brief history and overview of evolving definitions, agreeing on definitions in organizations, future definitions, and the confusion and importance of definitions.

Approaches to *Diversity and Inclusion* and Its Use as the *Umbrella* Term

Many professionals engaged in this work see *diversity and inclusion* as the umbrella term covering the following five conceptual frameworks (from the Global Diversity and Inclusion Benchmarks) describing the subsets of diversity and inclusion.

1. Social Justice/Social Cohesion/Fairness and Equity/Overcoming Oppression
2. Cultural Competence/Multiculturalism/Interculturalism
3. Organization Development/Strategic Diversity Management
4. Legal and Compliance
5. Social Responsibility

For professionals focused primarily on one of the five approaches, using *diversity and inclusion* as the umbrella term is sometimes not satisfying and is the source of professional debate.

Brief History and Overview of Evolving Definitions

It is generally thought that use of the term *diversity* to describe this field of study gained popularity in the United States in the late 1980s, when several workforce diversity films were developed and distributed. Many people began using *diversity* to describe a variety of the work mentioned above in the conceptual frameworks. In the early years of the work, the emphasis seemed to be on race and gender, and somewhat on culture. Many practitioners and organizations began to add an outcome statement to the definition of diversity, which is similar to many definitions of inclusion. In the late 2000s, the term *diversity*, along with *affirmative action*, began to receive negative press, with people associating diversity with affirmative action and the belief that it was being forced on organizations. Thus, the term *inclusion* has come more into favor as it is viewed as a way to foster the positive outcome.

Agreeing on Definitions in Organizations

It has been the practice of many organizations to develop their own definition(s) of diversity, inclusion, and similar terms as part of a process of crafting an approach that meets the specific needs and culture of that organization. While it can be time-consuming, the process of reaching agreement on and customizing the definition(s) often serves as a means to gain the understanding and commitment of all levels of employees and organizational stakeholders.

Future Definitions

Many practitioners believe that the term *inclusion* will prevail as the preferred definition of this broad field. Not only have more and more organizations begun using the term *inclusion* in department names and job titles, but the press has been using the term *inclusion* as the desired outcome of conflicts among nations. Many global practitioners believe that the term *diversity* carries the baggage of the United States, and thus, they prefer to use *inclusion*.

Confusion and Importance of Definitions

Although practitioners are usually in conceptual alignment with the intention and key components of diversity and inclusion definitions, the general public today is somewhat confused as to the nature of diversity and inclusion and the need for it. Some individuals think of diversity as mostly about race and gender, and they believe that the process of inclusion is mostly the result of effective recruitment processes and the behavior of *getting along*. Thus, gaining clarity and understanding on the definitions of diversity and inclusion and the process of customizing the definitions for an organization can serve an educational purpose and help individuals and organizations become more committed to the work.

Julia M. O'Mara

See also Benchmarks in Diversity and Inclusion; Dimensions of Diversity; Diversity Audit; Diversity in Higher Education; Diversity Return on Investment; Global Diversity Management

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Diversity Audit

Diversity audit is not a program; it is a process of systemic organizational change. No change effort will go far without some form of organizational diagnosis. A formal measurement of the organization's current state is necessary, both as a guide for action planning and to set a baseline for assessing the diversity change initiative's progress. Diversity audits are a way of examining a diversity strategy, a culture, systems, and procedures against a strategic analysis framework to identify which aspects are working well and which need to be examined in more detail. They are the basis of specific, practical diversity action plans and strategies. They also provide a benchmark to track improvements over time, against which progress can be measured.

A diversity audit launches the initial steps in examining an organization's functioning to meet the cultural challenges of today's diverse world. They employ a wide variety of techniques to clarify critical diversity and related issues that must be addressed to produce a sustained diversity-friendly environment. Most people inside an organization will have their own definitions of diversity and what it means. They will possess some basic diversity awareness. However, diversity initiatives that are not based on an effective analysis that assesses the needs and culture of the organization will waste time and money. This can be counterproductive to an organization's goal to become a diverse workforce employer of choice.

This entry explains some of the types of data that are used in a diversity audit, such as interviews, focus groups, historical data, and surveys, and discusses ways to collect and analyze these various data in order to create a diversity audit.

Types of Data Collection in a Diversity Audit

Diversity audit processes are designed to assess an organization's current strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats through a combination of data collection methods such as targeted interviews, focus groups, online surveys, historical material reviews, and internal policies and procedure audits, to name a few. Interviews, for example, are an often used and very helpful data collection method, although they are not used as frequently as questionnaires. Diversity audit interviews are conducted by a variety of people, including the diversity staff, other department members, and outside third parties.

Interviews can secure data not available in performance records or data that are difficult to obtain through written responses or observations. Also, interviews can uncover personal stories that can be useful in communicating the details surrounding critical workforce issues. Interviews usually fall into two basic categories: (1) structured and (2) unstructured. A *structured interview* is much like a questionnaire. Specific questions are asked, with little room to deviate from the specified responses. The primary advantages of the structured interview over the questionnaire are that the interview process can ensure that the questionnaire is completely filled out and the interviewer understands the responses supplied by the participant. The *unstructured interview* allows probing for additional information. This type of interview uses a few general questions, which can lead to more detailed information as important data are uncovered.

Diversity audit focus groups are an extension of the interview process. They are particularly helpful when in-depth feedback is needed regarding the impact of diversity initiatives. Focus groups involve small-group discussions conducted by an experienced facilitator. They are designed to solicit qualitative judgments on a planned topic or issue. Group members are all required to provide their input, as individual input builds on group input.

When compared with questionnaires, surveys, tests, or interviews, a focus group strategy has several advantages. The basic premise for using focus groups is to acquire qualitative judgments about key workforce and other issues. When this is the focus, several individual judgments about the effectiveness of a diversity initiative are better than one. This group process, where participants often motivate one another, is a great method for gaining a broad understanding of the issues or for generating new ideas and hypotheses. It is inexpensive and can be quickly planned and conducted. Its flexibility makes it possible to explore a diversity initiative's unexpected outcomes or applications. Focus groups are particularly helpful when qualitative information is needed about the success of a diversity initiative. They provide the researcher with the anecdotal data to support the trends and other quantitative data that are generated. Focus groups are a mainstay when conducting diversity audits.

Another alternative for identifying key diversity audit measurement areas is reviewing historical data. Data are available in every organization to measure performance. Monitoring performance data allows the researcher to measure critical workforce areas and diversity results with existing databases and reports. In most organizations, performance data suitable for measuring improvements from a diversity initiative are available for study and to guide the diversity audit process. If not, additional record-keeping systems are usually developed for data collection, measurement, and analysis.

Developing psychometrically sound survey instruments is both a science and an art. Organizations often examine what diversity measurement instrumentation already exists that may be close to the objectives of their assessment. There are a variety of survey instruments on the market that may meet these diversity measurement needs. In other cases, organizations may choose to create their own diversity audit surveys. In these cases, it is important to perform tasks such as conducting a literature review, contacting others in the organization who conduct surveys, adapting some or all of the questions from existing surveys, or preparing a new instrument entirely. Once implemented, these surveys can be conducted across an entire employee population, for a sample of the employee population, in specific locations, or with employee groups, such as African Americans, Asians, Hispanics, Native Americans, European Americans, Pacific Islanders, persons with disabilities, lesbian/gay/bisexual/transgendered people, men, women, and other cultural groups.

Diversity Audit Results

The results of a diversity audit analysis enable the organization to look at itself through the eyes of its own employees and determine what in the organization structure/process contributes to their perceptions. The analysis of the diversity audit is typically conducted by an internal taskforce. An external consultant is often brought in to provide an alternate, objective view of the data. Overall, the entire team's role is to evaluate all of the data, looking for trends and their relationship to the groups being analyzed, and to research the data uncovered in the audit (from interviews, focus groups, observation, etc.).

The end result is a diversity audit report of the organization's current overall *health*. With this knowledge, executives, managers, and others can make quality decisions and take action on specially targeted initiatives that address the unique cultural and performance needs of the organization.

Edward E. Hubbard

See also Assessments of Intercultural Competence; History of Diversity and Inclusion; Interpretive Research Methods

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Diversity in Higher Education

This entry provides a brief overview of the historical development of diversity, outlines evolving notions, and discusses the implications of diversity in higher education for institutional change.

Diversity began as a drive to open up access to higher education for those who had been historically excluded from most institutions based on race or gender. The focus on access for historically underrepresented minorities (African Americans, Latinos, American Indians) and White women to certain fields was a compelling force for change in higher education, where historic policies of discrimination and embedded practices have made many institutions alien for diverse communities. Civil rights legislation, social movements, and legal challenges have been part of the push toward providing greater access to colleges and universities not only for students but in hiring as well. In the early 21st century, the pressure for diversifying higher education has increased in part because of the dramatic shift in the demographic profile of the U.S. population and predictions that by midcentury the United States will be a majority minority country, with African Americans, Latinos, American Indians, and Asians making up the majority. U.S. higher education certainly reflects progress with respect to increasing diversity. Even so, demographics vary considerably by institutional type, and within institutions, the diversity decreases as one moves to the demographic profile of the faculty and administration.

As the push for access has grown, two patterns in higher education have occurred. The first pattern has been the growth in identities related to inclusion in higher education. The second has been the growing recognition that focusing on access would not be sufficient and that in an effort to facilitate success, institutions would need to change.

A Move to Greater Inclusiveness: The Importance of Identity

The definition of diversity is a challenging one. The beginning of most institutional statements includes, appropriately, a list of salient identities that are relevant, including race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, class, gender, religion, and disability, among others. Each of these emerges as salient to diversity in part because of its political, social, and historical roots, in which inequity, discrimination, and lack of access have occurred. Attention to these identities has been increasing, and has been formalized in diversity efforts over the past 50 years, not only as a description of individuals and groups but also as a description of institutions. The culture and practices of institutions, having emerged from dominant identity groups, reflect identities even as the participation in the institution changes. Whether related to definitions of excellence, policies, architecture, values, or just routine practices, institutions have identities that are being challenged in the process of making them more inclusive.

The challenge of simply listing identities is that the unfinished business related to historically underrepresented groups can get lost. However, diversity can be understood to be both "inclusive and differentiated" (Smith, 2009). That is, rather than treating identities as if they are interchangeable, one can address the issues that emerge for each differentially. In this conceptualization, the access and success of historically underrepresented populations remain the legacy of diversity work and underscore that equity is critical to success. Thus, a central element of diversity initiatives will be to address the historic and largely unfinished efforts related to race, class, and gender in admissions and in hiring. At the same time, concerns related to disability, sexual orientation, gender identity, immigration, and religion, among others, can be differentiated and engaged. It is possible to move forward on multiple fronts.

Moreover, understanding the complexity of identity and the historic, social, and political significance of each identity continues to inform work on diversity. Increasingly, identities are being conceptualized as being relevant to institutions as well as individuals, to be understood as multiple and intersecting, and approached as dynamic qualities that will become more or less salient in particular contexts. Even for traditionally underrepresented racial and ethnic populations, gender and class as well as other identities are gaining in significance. In addition, in contrast to some intercultural work, competence in dealing with these identities requires familiarity with the differential power relationships in identity and the ways privilege and power are embedded in social structures in a society. Intercultural competence, then, is not just knowing about the values and traditions of "the other."

Institutional Change, Not Just Access

With the United States becoming a truly pluralistic society, diversity is increasingly a concern for institutions to attract, retain, and engage diverse populations of not only students but staff and faculty as well. One can begin to see a shift toward building institutions that are themselves more inclusive by design and in culture and practices and are motivated more by diversity's centrality to the institution than merely by the desire to accommodate new identities.

While today's student bodies are more diverse in terms of gender, race/ethnicity, class, and so forth, the actual success of institutions in educating diverse populations generally and especially in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and math, along with limited ability to attract and retain diversity at the faculty and administrative levels, has resulted in greater attention to institutional transformation.

While programs and projects focused on support and outreach have been an important part of making higher education more inclusive, there is a sense that the next generation of diversity in higher education will require fundamental changes necessary to confront the unfinished business of the past and to address diversity and inclusion more generally. It has become clear that a key lever for change is the degree to which diversity is understood to be an imperative for the institution—an imperative that goes beyond simply serving students or creating pipeline programs for diversity with an attendant focus on admissions criteria. More significant links are being made between the capacity of higher education to engage diversity deeply and the health and well-being of a democratic society in which pluralism is seen as an asset and as a reality.

Because institutional change requires a coherent systems orientation to the varied and complex domains of diversity, Daryl Smith has developed a visual representation that conceives of diversity's dynamics across four dimensions (see Figure 1). Each of these dimensions engages different aspects of the institution and addresses key domains related to the mission. Each dimension also clearly connects to the others. Together they frame a way to think about an operational approach to diversity that is both inclusive and differentiated.

The first dimension is really the historic root of diversity in higher education—*access and success of historically underrepresented students*. Here, one is looking not only at admissions (who has access) but also at who succeeds. Contemporary efforts address whether and how different groups are succeeding and thriving.

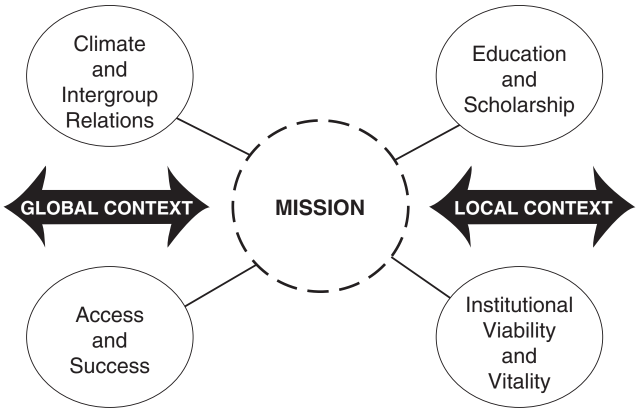

Figure 1 An Institutional Framework for Diversity and Inclusion

Source: Copyright © 2007 Daryl G. Smith. Used by permission.

The second dimension focuses on *climate and intergroup relations* on the campus for students, staff, and faculty. What is the climate, culture, and ultimate attractiveness of the institution or its departments, such as science? This dimension is often the focus of concern for groups who have experienced marginalization based on virtually any of the salient identities listed.

The third domain for diversity goes to the academic core—*education and scholarship*. This domain addresses the question of the knowledge that *all* students and professionals need to have in a pluralistic society and the capacity of faculty to provide the research and curricular base for that society. The competence required to function in a pluralistic society will require not only being familiar with different identity groups but also being able to engage the asymmetry of power in a social and historical context.

This dimension also includes a concern for intergroup relationships. How do groups engage across difference? What is the capacity of the leadership on campus to address difficult dialogues—whether about race, religion, or sexuality, or any of the contentious topics that emerge in a pluralistic society or interconnected world? While some institutions have begun to address, quite formally, intergroup relationships among students, there has been less facilitation of intergroup relationships among faculty and staff. Again, competence in this area is facilitated by the recognition of the asymmetry of privilege given any particular identity and the capacity to engage the multidimensionality and intersectionality of identities in an intergroup context.

The *institutional viability and vitality* domain, in particular, addresses institutional-level concerns about capacity, including a mission statement that engages diversity deeply and not superficially. It suggests that core indicators of excellence and priorities for strategic planning are directly linked to diversity and not parallel to diversity efforts. Interrupting parallel conversations between excellence and diversity and integrating them is an important step for institutional change that is sustainable. This domain also includes how the institution is viewed from the perspective of diverse communities and whether it has the leadership capacity with the requisite expertise to meet the demands of serving a pluralistic society. Finally, the domain includes the ability of the institution to hire and retain diverse faculty and staff.

Rationale for Leadership Diversity

Although virtually all change and diversity work emphasizes leadership, the rationale for diversity in leadership is much less developed. As such it deserves some elaboration here. What are the expertise and talent that will be needed for institutions to be credible, effective, and viable in a pluralistic society, and how is diversity related to that excellence?

First, diversity in leadership represents the institution's values concerning equity in both hiring and retention. A gap between espoused values and actual diversity opens up questions about commitment.

Second, diversity is a central component to the academy's ability to develop diverse forms of knowledge.

Third, leadership diversity fosters development of vital relationships with diverse communities.

Fourth, faculty and staff from diverse backgrounds are essential to the capacity of institutions and policy groups to make fully informed decisions at all levels—what has been called the "demography of decision making."

Fifth, faculty and staff diversity is also essential for creating an environment that will be attractive to persons from diverse backgrounds as a place to work and to develop.

Sixth, and perhaps the most overlooked rationale, is the issue of the relationship between the current demographics of faculty and staff and the future leadership pipeline. Since most academic administrators come from faculty ranks, a relatively homogeneous faculty clearly limits the future development of diversity in leadership—something that is cause for great concern and is emerging as a significant issue in a number of sectors in higher education.

Finally, the most frequently mentioned rationale is to provide role models for all. Seeing individuals from diverse backgrounds function in faculty and other leadership roles in all areas provides ways of envisioning oneself in that role or experiencing others in that role. Significantly, it is the *absence* of diversity in so many departments and fields that sends strong signals about what is possible and the degree to which talent from diverse groups is valued. The absence of diversity is significant because of what it says about the ways in which the current leadership can or cannot identify talent.

These reasons are both broad and deep in their implications for diversifying leadership. In many ways, they show why diversity in leadership must be a central strategy for building institutional excellence in a pluralistic society—one that will require that institutions "interrupt the usual" to identify talent and excellence in hiring.

Building Capacity

Making diversity central to institutional success requires a change in orientation. This requires a clear picture of the stakes for *institutions* concerning diversity and the alignment of key elements that can produce change in complex institutions. A useful parallel is the previous decade's imperative to build capacity for technology. As technological shifts began (and continue), campuses all across the country understood that their viability as institutions would rest on building capacity for technology.

In part, because of the growing movements for inclusion and the changing demographics in the United States, diversity, like technology, is or will be an imperative. Indeed, institutions will not be credible, attractive, or viable if diversity is not fundamental. Moreover, the role of higher education and education generally in successfully educating the population will directly affect the vitality and stability of the United States. The issue today is fundamentally about whether and how higher education is building its capacity to function in and serve a diverse society.

A growing consensus is emerging that the next generation of diversity efforts will take a more "systems approach" that focuses on building capacity in all sectors for identifying talent, building the knowledge and research base, and even engaging in the difficult dialogues that inevitably emerge. This will necessitate a deeper engagement of mission, one that considers diversity as core to excellence; an inclusive and differentiated understanding of what we mean by diversity institutionally; identifying diverse talent for leadership at all levels; alignment and intentionality with respect to key institutional elements; and finally, key metrics associated with success and a serious process to monitor progress.

Conclusion

Diversity in the context of U.S. higher education is becoming increasingly important in developing a pluralistic democracy that works. Significant progress has been made, and yet as the society becomes more diverse, the capacity of higher education to identify and create the talent necessary is becoming more important. These elements are driven by mission and concepts of excellence and do represent a paradigm shift for the next generation of diversity and inclusion in higher education.

Daryl G. Smith

See also Dimensions of Diversity; Diversity and Inclusion, Definitions of; Higher Education Intercultural Campus; History of Diversity and Inclusion; Intercultural or Multicultural Classroom; Multicultural Education

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Diversity Return on Investment

Return on investment, or ROI, is a calculation of the most tangible financial gains or benefits that can be expected from a project versus the costs for implementing the suggested intervention or solution. In short, it is the ratio of money gained or lost (realized or unrealized) on an investment relative to the amount of money invested.

This entry describes the differences between a *return on investment* and a *diversity return on investment* (DROI®). The entry then focuses on how a DROI is determined, including the ways organizations calculate and apply the DROI to determine the value and cost of a diversity initiative.

Return on Investment

ROI is a very popular metric within organizations because its versatility and simplicity are powerful aids to the decision-making process. By running an ROI projection, organizations can determine the likely outcomes from their investment. If there are other opportunities with a higher ROI, then it is probable that the lower ROI–yielding investment will not be undertaken or at least will become less of a priority. Estimating ROI for a proposed expenditure goes a long way in aiding management to make a go or no-go decision.

The term *ROI* in diversity is often misunderstood and misused. In some situations, a very broad definition for ROI includes any benefit from the program. In these situations, ROI is a vague concept in which even subjective data linked to the diversity effort are included in the concept of the return. The expression *ROI* originates in finance and accounting and usually refers to the pretax contribution measured against controllable assets. In formula form, it is expressed as follows:

$$\text{Average ROI} = \frac{\text{Pretax earnings}}{\text{Average investment}}.$$

It measures the anticipated profitability of an investment and is used as a standard measure of the performance of divisions or profit centers within a business. From the point of view of a diversity training initiative, for example, the investment portion of the formula would represent capital expenditures, such as a training facility for the diversity program or equipment plus initial development or production costs. The original investment figure or production costs can be used, or the present book value can be expressed as the average investment over a period of time. If the diversity program is a one-time offering, then the figure is the original investment. However, if the initial costs are spread over a period of time, then the average book value is usually more appropriate. This value is essentially half the initial costs since, through depreciation, a certain fixed part of the investment is written off each year over the life of the investment.

In many situations, a group of employees are to be trained in diversity at one time, so the investment figure is the total cost of analysis, development, delivery, and evaluation lumped together for the bottom part of the equation. The benefits are then calculated, assuming that all participants attend the program or have attended the program, depending on whether the return is a prediction or a reflection of what has happened. To keep calculations simple, it is recommended that the return be based on pretax conditions. This avoids the issue of investment tax credits, depreciation, tax shields, and other related items.

Sounds complicated? It can be, depending on the particular accounting methodology chosen. For the purposes of calculating DROI in the live laboratory of organizations, an effective, simple, straightforward accounting approach will be used.

In this case, DROI is more precise and is meant to represent an actual value developed by comparing the diversity initiative costs with the benefits. The two most common measures are the cost–benefit ratio and the DROI formula. Both are presented here along with other approaches that calculate a return.

For some time, diversity practitioners and researchers have tried to calculate the actual ROI in diversity. If diversity is considered an investment—not an expense—then it is appropriate to place the diversity investment in the same funding process as other investments, such as the investment in equipment and facilities. Although these other investments are quite different, management often views them in the same way. Thus, it is critical to the success of the diversity field to develop specific values that reflect DROI.

To illustrate this calculation, assume that a work life and family training program had initial costs of $50,000. The program will have a useful life of 3 years with negligible residual value at that time. During the 3-year period, the program produces a net savings of $30,000, or $10,000 per year ($30,000/3). The average investment is $25,000 ($50,000/2) since the average book value is essentially half the cost. The average return is as follows:

$$\text{Average ROI} = \frac{\text{Annual savings}}{\text{Average investment}} = \frac{\$10,000}{\$25,000} = 40\%.$$

DROI may be calculated prior to a diversity program to estimate the potential cost-effectiveness or after a program has been conducted to measure the results achieved. The methods of calculation are the same. However, the estimated return before a program is usually calculated for a proposal to implement the program. The data for its calculation are more subjective and usually less reliable than the data after the program is completed. Because of this factor, management may require a higher DROI for a diversity program in the proposal stage.

Benefits-to-Costs Ratio

One of the earliest methods for evaluating investments in diversity initiatives is the benefit–cost ratio, or BCR (read as the benefits-to-costs ratio). This method compares the benefits of the program with the costs in a ratio. In formula form, the ratio is as follows:

$$\text{BCR} = \frac{\text{Diversity initiative benefits}}{\text{Diversity initiative costs}}.$$

In simple terms, the BCR compares the annual economic benefit of the diversity initiative with the cost of the initiative. A diversity initiative with a BCR of 1 means that the benefits equal the costs. A BCR of 2, usually written as 2:1, indicates that for each dollar spent on the diversity initiative, $2 was returned as benefit.

The following example will illustrate the use of the BCR. A diversity leadership initiative designed for managers and supervisors was implemented at an electric and gas utility. In a follow-up evaluation, action planning and business performance monitoring were used to capture the benefits. The first-year payoff for the initiative was $1,077,750. The total fully loaded implementation cost was $215,500. Thus, the ratio was as follows:

$$\text{BCR} = \frac{\$1,077,750}{\$215,500} = 5:1.$$

For each dollar invested in the diversity initiative, $5 in benefits was returned.

The DROI Formula

Perhaps the most appropriate formula for evaluating an investment in a diversity initiative is the net initiative benefits divided by costs. The ratio is usually expressed as a percentage, where the fractional values are multiplied by 100. In formula form, the DROI formula is expressed as follows:

$$\text{DROI}(\%) = \frac{\text{Net diversity initiative benefits}}{\text{Diversity initiative costs}} \times 100.$$

Net benefits are diversity initiative benefits minus diversity initiative costs. The DROI value is related to the BCR by a factor of 1. For instance, a BCR of 2.45 is the same as a DROI value of 145%. This formula is essentially the same as for ROI in other types of investments.

For example, when a firm builds a new plant, the ROI is found by dividing the annual earnings by the investment. Annual earnings are comparable with net benefits (annual benefits minus the cost). The investment is comparable with the diversity initiative costs, which represent the investment in the initiative. A diversity return on an investment of 50% means that the costs are recovered and an additional 50% of the costs are reported as earnings. A diversity investment of 150% indicates that the costs have been recovered and an additional 1.5 multiplied by the costs is captured as earnings.

An example reported by Donald J. Ford illustrates the DROI calculation. Magnavox Electronics Systems Company conducted an 18-week literacy program for entry-level electrical and mechanical assemblers. The results of the program were impressive. Productivity and quality alone yielded an annual value of $321,600. The total fully loaded costs for the program were $38,233. Thus, the DROI becomes as follows:

$$\text{DROI}(\%) = \left(\frac{\$321{,}600 - \$38{,}233}{\$38{,}233}\right) \times 100 = 741\%.$$

For each dollar invested, Magnavox received $7.4 in return after the cost of the program had been recovered. Using the DROI formula essentially places diversity investments on a level playing field with other investments using the same formula and similar concepts. Key management and financial executives who regularly use ROI with other investments easily understand the DROI calculation.

Although there are no generally accepted standards, some organizations establish a minimum requirement or hurdle rate for an ROI in human resource–based programs such as training. An ROI minimum of 25% is set by some organizations. Eventually, the same percentage will probably be true for diversity initiatives. This target value in training is usually above the percentage required for other types of investments. The rationale is that the ROI process for training is still relatively new and often involves some subjective input, including estimations. Because of that, a higher standard is required or suggested, with 25% being the desired figure for these organizations.

Target Setting/Benchmarks

Organizations will set their own DROI targets and where possible will base these on industry benchmarks. In general, a higher investment risk, with greater potential investment returns, means a greater potential investment loss. Knowledge of this impact will often guide the selection of the most appropriate initiative to implement.

Profitability ratios such as DROI are used to estimate the amount of profitability the company will receive from a diversity initiative over time or to compare a group of initiatives to select those with the highest yield. DROI results can also be tracked by department to assess which department is the "best in class," and these results can be used to set and compare benchmarking targets.

Bringing Analysis Full Circle

Establishing the value brings the initiative full circle to the needs, problems, or opportunities it was originally intended to serve. The specific purpose of establishing value is to determine what value has been returned to the organization by diversity training, for example, and whether, considering the costs of training, that value was worth the expense. Because many organizations find it difficult to quantify the gains, comparing training gains with training costs can be challenging.

Harold D. Stolovitch and Erica J. Keeps offer insight into the question "What is the organization getting for the money invested?" Every enterprise, whether for profit or not, is faced with deciding how to allocate limited resources to achieve its goals. Internally, competition for funds can be as fierce as in the external marketplace. When times are tough and money and resources are limited, decision makers must make economically sound budgeting choices. When faced with multiple requests for budgets, they require, for each case, a clear answer to the question "What will the organization get for its money?" Another way of asking this question is "What will the ROI be?"

If only a few diversity practitioners can answer these questions readily and with confidence, it is a major problem for the future of the diversity discipline. Not being able to demonstrate worth and DROI for diversity training programs has extremely negative consequences. When the crunch comes, this places the diversity training initiatives at a disadvantage. Showing activity (e.g., how many people were/will be trained; how many courses were/will be developed) provides decision makers with only the cost information. Where is the benefit? What is the return to the organization in concrete, comprehensible terms?

Measurement is usually expressed in terms of years and months. For example, if the cost savings generated from a diversity initiative are constant each year, the payback period is determined by dividing the total original cash investment (development costs, outside program purchases, etc.) by the amount of the expected annual or actual savings. The savings represent the net savings after the diversity initiative's expenses are subtracted. To illustrate this calculation, assume that an initial diversity initiative cost is $100,000, with a 3-year useful life. The annual net savings from the diversity initiative are expected to be $40,000. Thus, the payback period becomes as follows:

$$\text{Payback period} = \frac{\text{Total investment}}{\text{Annual savings}} = \frac{\$100,000}{\$40,000} = 2.5 \text{ years.}$$

The diversity initiative will contribute a "payback" of the original investment in 2.5 years. The payback period is simple to use but has the limitation of ignoring the time value of money.

DROI Is a Critical Link for Success

Calculating DROI is a critical link for future success in diversity management and organizational performance. It has been said, "You can't manage what you don't measure," and managing and leveraging diversity is fast becoming a business imperative. If diversity initiatives are not approached in a systematic, logical, and planned way, DROI will not be possible and, consequently, diversity will not become integrated into the fabric of the organization.

Diversity practitioners see it as their job to ensure that the credibility of diversity efforts does not suffer. A strong business practice relies on using effective diversity measurement and management techniques such that diversity is seen as a key driver of value that enhances organizational performance and success.

Edward E. Hubbard

See also Corporate Social Responsibility; Corporations in a Globalizing World; Global Diversity Management

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Double-Swing Model

The double-swing model is a conceptualization of how individuals, cultures, and intercultural notions can interact in creative ways. This is an integrative dialogical process where two individuals co-create and co-evolve through the encounter. The model identifies and gives new meaning to the realm that exists "in between" individuals and cultures.

This entry describes the origin and development of the model, defines the model, describes its applications to various fields, and explains its significance within disciplines and professions.

Origin and Development of the Model

The model grew out of the author's own intercultural encounters in the early 1960s. Based on his experiences, he wrote his doctoral dissertation *The Dialogical Approach to Japanese-American Intercultural Encounter* (1980), which developed the concept of the dialogical mode of communication. The concept of dynamic "in-betweenness" as applied to the intercultural communication arena was conceived at the annual Summer Institute for Intercultural Communication in Portland, Oregon, in the early 1990s and was subsequently renamed the double-swing model.

The concept of the double-swing model was influenced by Martin Buber's concept of dialogical unity (relationship) and the Buddhist logic of *Soku*. Buber's dialogical unity is expressed in his concept of the "narrow ridge," which exists in the so-called sphere of between, an area that materializes through the meeting of individuals. But this meeting entails a certain risk. That is, to meet, one must traverse an insecure *narrow ridge*, as Buber phrases it, which exists in the "sphere of between." One must take an insecure walk along the narrow ridge, not just content oneself with the safety of "either-or." This is not a happy middle that ignores the likelihood of paradox or contradiction; in fact, this dialogical unity can be called a "paradoxical unity."

According to the Buddhist logic of *Soku*, we can view the world as "Not-One, Not-Two." That is, the world is neither monistic nor dualistic but rather a complementary interplay of the "One" and the "Two." This understanding involves a fundamental change in the way individuals relate to one another, whatever the nature of the encounter. Out of Buber's dialogical unity and the Buddhistic logic of *Soku*, the double-swing model was conceived.

The model is graphically presented below in the form of the Möbius strip, which is formed when a long narrow strip of paper is twisted 180 degrees and both ends of the strip are joined together (Figure 1). The A side (the left profile) and the B side (the right profile) are divided, but both sides are interconnected and may be viewed as one and the same. The Möbius strip is adapted as a visual representation of the paradoxical relationship that both Buber and the logic of *Soku* refer to.

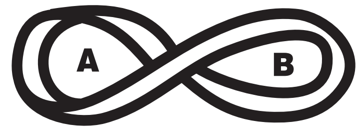

Figure 1 The Möbius Strip

Application

Let us assume that A in the above diagram represents Individual A in Culture A and Individual B is represented in Culture B. As the diagram shows, A and B appear divided and independent, yet they are simultaneously interdependent. The cultural integrity of A and B, including their differences and similarities, is mutually recognized and respected. Note that while the emphasis is on the dynamics of the meeting between A and B, they both maintain their own identities while legitimizing a new identity within the sphere of between—a meaningful alternative for those caught in between, or among, different cultures.

The model, which exists in a sphere of between, represents a third perspective, distinct in itself. This perspective was subsequently adapted as a concept of third-culture building by intercultural communication specialists, especially as it applies to the management of diversity within certain organizations and societies.

The double-swing model can apply as well at the national and international levels with respect to dialogical integration of "unity" (the One) and "diversity" (the Two). A traditional example of this would be the founding of the United States. The 13 independent yet divided colonies literally became the United States, the unity (One) denoted by "United" and diversity (Two) by "States." These two opposing forces, the unifying force and the diversifying force, were integral to the country's preliminary nation building and are still the primary social and cultural forces in the United States today. There are, of course, many more examples of this sometimes dynamic polarity worldwide.

The integrative double-swing model also has applications at the organizational level. Unifying a diversified labor force, for example, is a management issue faced by many countries worldwide. Japan, on the other hand, is confronted with the opposite challenge of *creating* diversity in unity in a society that is essentially homogeneous.

In either case, many institutions or organizations realize that to survive in today's global society the need to integrate the unifying and diversifying forces is an essential element of management policy.

As mentioned, the essence of the double-swing model is that one steps out from one's own ground to meet the other. The focus is neither on one side nor on the other but rather on the dynamic flow of dialogical interaction—a process we could call co-creation and coevolution. It is a place where one's own perspective(s) merges with the other's perspective(s) to achieve mutual, coevolving growth. This model is a powerful tool to facilitate creative dialogue between and among different individuals and countries. In a world that has become ever more polarized and diversified, the development of such an integrative approach is becoming critically important.

Significance of the Double-Swing Model

The double-swing model embodies the dialogical philosophy of encountering one another and has been applied to several other fields, such as education, business, health, and the environment. In fact, the model might have relevance to the whole spectrum of human existence, including humans' interaction with other humans, humans and society, humans and the corporation, and humanity's relationship with nature, to name a few categories. The model serves as well to integrate organically the polarities of human existence and experience and stimulates the growth of dynamic relationships in a divided, diversified, and multipolar world—a 21st-century world.

Muneo J. Yoshikawa

See also Co-Creation of Meaning; Constructivism; Cultural Contacts Theory; Empathy; Global Diversity Management

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E

EDUCATIONAL INTERCULTURAL LEADERSHIP

From an intercultural perspective, *educational leadership* refers to those in positions of influence at all levels of education, in an increasingly interconnected, multicultural, globalized world. Being an effective and capable educational leader in this context demands intercultural competence. The serious achievement gaps among different ethnic groups are a major concern in countries throughout the world. By the year 2042, the majority of the U.S. population will be cultural groups formerly known as the *minority groups*, and today, the majority of those born are from these groups. Thus, schools in the United States are growing dramatically in cultural diversity. As a result of both forced and voluntary migrations, even countries previously perceived to be ethnically homogeneous (e.g., Japan and Korea) are now becoming increasingly multicultural.

This entry first discusses the complex issue of defining leadership and continues with a description of the new intercultural context faced by educational leaders around the world and three core concepts in the field. The next section presents a brief discussion of the evolution of leadership studies and the research on culture and leadership. This is followed by a delineation of the intercultural competencies needed by educational leaders and training related to the development of such capabilities. The entry concludes with an examination of the future challenges facing educational leaders in an increasingly culturally interconnected world.

Defining Leadership

A prominent scholar of leadership, Peter Northouse, defines *leadership* simply as the process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal. This definition, however, is problematic in that the goal could be morally dubious or pernicious, such as a cigarette company targeting Cambodian youth as a potential growing market for sales. For this entry, *educational leadership* is defined as those responsible for influencing an educational institution and *all* its students to achieve their full human and intellectual potential.

The Globalized Intercultural Context for Educational Leaders

There are three key contextual phenomena related to the need for leaders to enhance their intercultural competence. First is the powerful force of globalization. Globalization is a reality reflected in growing economic, cultural, communicative, and educational interconnectedness. As an example, there are now more than 800 million members of Facebook, most of them outside the United States. Second, related to globalization, is the dramatic growth in cultural diasporas (diverse ethnic communities) in nearly all countries of the world. Both children and adults of such ethnic communities often face serious educational challenges. Educational leaders of the 21st century must be able to respond effectively to the needs of these diverse learners. Third, there is the persistent problem of educational inequalities reflected in the achievement gaps in ethnic communities as mentioned above. A major challenge facing educational leaders is how to reduce these achievement gaps.

Three Core Concepts Related to Intercultural Perspectives on Leadership

There are three key concepts that are important for understanding leadership from an intercultural perspective. The first is cultural democracy, a concept developed and articulated by the Latino scholars Manuel Ramírez and Alfredo Castañeda, which means that members of all cultures are treated respectfully and equitably. Such settings are culturally inclusive. A major reflection of the lack of cultural democracy is the *asymmetry* between the ethnic backgrounds of educational leaders/teachers and the students they serve. This is an issue that educational leaders must seriously address. The second concept is the Protean self, developed by the psychiatrist Robert J. Lifton. The concept was inspired by the Greek god Proteus, who could easily change forms. The Protean individual is one who can adapt easily and is optimally flexible. This concept relates to situational and contingent leadership. A Protean leader should be able to adapt and adjust to working with culturally diverse populations and would score high on the ethnorelative end of Milton Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity. The third concept is *cultural capital*, developed by the French sociologist Pierre Bordieu. It refers to a set of values, attitudes, and skills that enable individuals to be highly successful. Much of cultural capital derives from the home environment, contributing to educational success or to inequalities. Educational leaders must find ways for their schools to promote the development of cultural capital among *all* their students.

The Evolution of the Study of Leadership

Classical thinkers in both the East and the West, such as Confucius, Mencius, Sun Tzu, Plato, and Machiavelli, presented important ideas about leaders and leadership. Then in the 20th century, social scientists began to study leadership, trying to make it *scientific*. With Taylorism (named after the efficiency expert Frederick W. Taylor), the effort was to identify the factors that would contribute to workers' productivity. Initially, there was a strong emphasis on trait theory, attempting to identify physical and personality traits associated with leadership. Later, Douglas McGregor introduced the important distinction between Theory X and Theory Y leadership, which related to the extent followers are trusted and empowered (Theory Y). Then, other concepts of leadership were introduced, such as transformational (James Burns), servant (Robert Greenleaf), and authentic (Bob Terry). Peter Senge developed the important concept of the *learning organization*, which is highly relevant to intercultural leadership. Most of this literature did not consider cultural factors and issues. Also, much of the huge trade literature on leadership is neither empirically based nor scientifically rigorous.

After the impressive success of the Japanese economy in the 1980s, a serious interest in Japanese management techniques arose, with influence on the United States and its organizations. William Ouichi produced a popular book introducing an alternative Theory Z, based on Japanese practices, and W. Edwards Deming popularized the notion of *quality control* and quality control circles.

With respect to the important topic of the relationships among culture, organizations, and leadership, three prominent scholars emerged. First was the applied anthropologist Edward T. Hall, who focused on cross-cultural communication, with a strong emphasis on nonverbal communication. Hall introduced important concepts such as the *silent language* and the *hidden dimension*. Second, the most influential work in this area was done by the Dutch scholar Geert Hofstede, who in the 1980s introduced the concept of *software of the mind* and systematically studied differences in national cultures influencing organizational life and leadership. He developed key domains for comparing and contrasting cultures, such as power distance and uncertainty avoidance. A third scholar was Robert House, who led the extensive GLOBE Study, which focused on the relationships among cultures, organizations, and leadership.

Key Intercultural Competencies

Intercultural competence is complex and multidimensional. It is normally defined as being capable of working effectively and appropriately in diverse cultural settings. Various scholars have emphasized different dimensions. Probably the most prominent is the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity, mentioned above, which provided the foundation for a psychometrically sound instrument for assessing individuals' level of intercultural sensitivity. Another concept, developed by Christopher Earley and Soon Ang, is cultural intelligence, and there is a scale for measuring that as well. Bernard Rosen introduced the important competency of global literacy, related to one's knowledge of other countries and cultures. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, for example, had an extensive knowledge of world geography and history, which impressed the global leaders with whom he interacted.

Another key competency is the ability to be effective in terms of intercultural communication skills. It calls for extremely mindful and careful communication so as not to offend, exclude, or misrepresent *the other* and to be mindful of important nonverbal as well as verbal communication patterns. President John F. Kennedy illustrated this capability in his famous *Ich bin ein Berliner* speech in Berlin. Then there is the Protean flexibility discussed earlier. Gerald W. Fry and Kyoung-Ah Nam have developed a scale for assessing how international individuals are, which includes attitudinal, cognitive, and behavioral elements. Finally, there is what Kwame Anthony Appiah (originally from Ghana) has called the *cosmopolitan ethic*. This is perhaps more of a value than a competency per se, but it reflects the idea of working to serve *strangers*. One of two compelling examples is Krisna Kraisinth, a dean at Rangsit University in Thailand, who devoted much time and energy to making low-cost drugs available to AIDS/HIV and malaria victims in sub-Saharan Africa. The other example is Julius Coles, who as director of Africare raised more than $400 million in 7 years to support development assistance efforts in sub-Saharan Africa. This concept relates directly to the civic engagement, service learning, and *giving back* responsibility of education at all levels.

Training for Effective Intercultural Leadership

There is, of course, the perennial debate as to whether *leaders are born or can be trained*. The general consensus is that there is potential for leadership training, and hundreds of institutions across the globe are involved in preparing and training leaders. With respect to intercultural leadership, there are two distinct but important dimensions of training: culture general versus culture specific. Both are critically important, but many trainers privilege one or the other. The Intercultural Communication Institute in Portland, Oregon, includes both of these important domains in their training programs. Interestingly, in the United States, many business schools focus on hard-core analytical training and neglect the *soft* area of intercultural studies and training. Also, schools of education give inadequate attention to developing the cultural competencies of future educational leaders and teachers. Interestingly, the Carlson School of Management at the University of Minnesota is requiring all its students, both undergraduate and graduate, to study abroad in order to enable the students to enhance their intercultural competencies. This university is also reforming its teacher training to enhance intercultural components.

The Future: Key Skills Needed by Effective Intercultural Educational Leaders

Hofstede defines *software of the mind* as simply culture. It is important to expand the meaning of this powerful metaphor. Software of the mind is the part of the brain where knowledge and insights related to other languages and cultures are stored. It is critically important for educational leaders of the 21st century to develop the software of their minds and to be mindful of the different ways of learning and knowing of different cultural groups. They need to promote what James Banks calls *equity pedagogy* and to create culturally sensitive curricula and teaching, a point stressed by Clive Dimock and Alan Walker, leading scholars of a cultural approach to educational leadership. To the extent possible, educational leaders need to commit to learning other languages. Lee Kuan Yew, formerly the leader of Singapore, made a noble effort to learn Mandarin, and the national hero of the Philippines, Dr. José Rizal, was conversant in 22 languages. As mentioned earlier, leaders need communicative competence and must be mindful in their use of language and terminology, as well as being attentive to important nonverbal communication patterns. Finally, in an age where cyberculture and popular culture are particularly influential among young people, educational leaders need to think creatively about how to harness these tools to promote intercultural competency. Josef Mestenhauser, a leading scholar of international education, emphasizes that internationalization efforts are *leadership driven* and stresses the importance of developing a global mind-set and comparative, creative, and critical thinking. To conclude, Charlene Li, a Chinese American writer who has promoted the concept of *open leadership*, facilitated by new cutting-edge social technologies, calls for leaders to make people's lives more productive and enjoyable.

Gerald W. Fry

See also Assessments of Intercultural Competence; Global Leadership; Hall, E. T.; Intercultural Competence in Organizations; Learning Styles Across Cultures; Value Dimensions: GLOBE Study; Value Dimensions: Hofstede

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Educational Partnerships

The international and cross-cultural nature of higher education is not new, but it has changed dramatically. The mobility of scholars, students, and knowledge around the world has been happening for centuries. The fact that *universe* is the root concept of university is evidence of its internationality. But in the past three decades, there has been a powerful transformation in the international landscape of higher education. It is no longer just people who are moving across borders; education programs, providers, projects, and policies are doing so as well. New information and communication technologies, especially social media and networks, expand and deepen educational partnerships. As a result, the intercultural dimensions and challenges are more complex and layered, requiring intercultural competence as never before. But while the practice and provision of international education has diversified and the intercultural dimension has been recognized, there has been too little attention paid to this fundamental issue.

New forms of education partnerships include collaboration on the creation of twinning, franchise, and joint- or double-degree programs; the development of branch satellite campuses and binational and global universities; the growth in theme-based and regional networks; and the recent emergence of international education hubs, all of which create and exchange new knowledge. This diversification and expansion of international higher education bring new actors, rationales, networks, partnerships, regulations, and policies into play. They also introduce a set of benefits, risks, and potential unintended consequences that have not had the same relevance or importance before.

An analysis of collaborative international education and research partnerships raises myriad issues. But central to all education partnerships are the dimensions and realities associated with cultural issues and cross-cultural relationships. These play out at many levels—individual, institutional, bilateral, and multilateral. The following discussion identifies and analyzes two of the more complex and significant cultural and intercultural issues.

Cultural and Intercultural Issues

A hotly debated issue is whether education partnerships respect and build on the opportunities of cultural diversity or, alternatively, lead to cultural dominance. Some take a positive view of the new ways in which modern information and communication technologies and the movement of people, ideas, values, and culture across national boundaries allow for greater exposure and understanding of cultures. Others suggest that cultural fusion and hybridization are a result of educational partnerships, which in turn is seen to be positive by some and negative by others. Critics contend that internationalization of the curriculum, the teaching/learning process, and research results in national cultural identities being eroded and can lead to cultural homogenization, most often seen as a form of Westernization. Many of these concerns relate to the "cut and paste" approach or *importing of curriculum* through twinning, franchise, and branch campus–based programs. These are worrisome and well-founded concerns, but for all the negative instances of canned programs, there are as many positive examples of joint curriculum design and delivery that respect and build on the different perspectives, characteristics, and strengths of local and foreign contexts and cultures. The same applies to joint research projects. This depends, however, on the intercultural competence of education administrators, teachers, researchers, and of course, the students.

The Critical Role of Intercultural Competence for Academic Staff and Students

Key factors involved in the success and sustainability of international education and research partnerships are effective and respectful communication and shared decision making. While this may seem obvious, it is not always evident in the partnerships. Many reasons account for this. The motivations driving the collaboration are not always academic in nature, and second, the intercultural competence of academics may be limited. This is a particular challenge with senior professors and scholars who believe that knowledge of the discipline and research area is the number one priority and that "science" is an international language, thereby diminishing the importance of what is perceived to be the soft skill of intercultural competence. This is an ongoing risk and challenge in international education partnerships.

In terms of the design and delivery of collaborative education programs, the necessity of intercultural competence is even more critical and complex. The challenges involved in designing the appropriate curriculum have been noted, but a more fundamental factor is the intercultural dimension of teaching/learning in multicultural situations. Not only are the faculty members coming from different cultural, linguistic, and disciplinary backgrounds but the same is true for the students. To complicate matters further, the language of instruction is often not the native tongue of the instructors or the learners. Thus, the role of intercultural awareness and competence is as important in the teaching/learning process as the recognition of cultural norms and practices in the design of curriculum. While there is increasing awareness of the intercultural challenges in education partnerships, the importance attached to professional development for the staff to develop intercultural competence is unfortunately limited. In terms of both time and money, intensive intercultural training is rarely a priority. Recent research suggests that significant intercultural learning requires intercultural mentoring during education-abroad opportunities. In fact, many professionals suggest that this type of mentoring is preferable for many kinds of sojourners, whether global transferees, humanitarian aid workers, service learners, or others who cross borders. This, in turn, requires well-trained international educator/mentor coaches, who require further and immediate preparation for this role.

Finally, it is important to note that internationalization of higher education is not limited to academic mobility, international students, and education partnerships. A principal tenet and desirable outcome of higher education is the development of intercultural awareness and competence in students. Even if students never leave their community or country, it is incumbent on higher education institutions to help them become more knowledgeable and analytical about international and domestic issues, develop intercultural understanding and skills, and gain a deeper understanding of their own values, assumptions, and norms that affect their interactions both at home and with others around the world. This acknowledges that the world in which we live is more interdependent and interconnected and that developing intercultural understanding and competencies helps people to mediate and thrive in this more globalized environment. Higher education institutions around the world acknowledge this but are still in the process of making intercultural competence a foundation of education partnerships.

Jane Knight

See also Culture Learning in the Language Classroom; Global Citizenship; Intercultural Service Learning; International Education; Reentry

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EMPATHY

Empathy is a process that allows people to imaginatively enter the world of another person, see it from the other person's point of view, and feel the emotions the other person is experiencing. Through the empathic process, individuals are able to predict, with varying degrees of accuracy, what another human being is thinking and to vicariously experience, with some degree of approximation, what another person is feeling. Empathy helps individuals adapt to the other's behavior and coordinate interactions with that person, because it allows individuals to anticipate the behaviors and reactions of others. Empathy is one of the most important capacities of human beings. It is considered by many scholars to be one of several essential forms of intelligence, and it is a key component of intercultural competence.

Among its benefits, empathy can help build trust and respect, reduce tensions, encourage the surfacing of information, and create a safe environment that is conducive to collaborative problem solving. Of course, empathy is also useful in competitive situations; it is crucial for team sports, aggressive marketing, military battles, and other settings where it is important to predict the behavior of one's opponent. It can also be an instrument of malice, helping despots, thieves, terrorists, and others manipulate and harm their victims. Nevertheless, empathy is viewed by many as the moral glue that holds society together, and it is of such significance to both physical and social adaptation that a person's very survival depends on it. Without empathy, society as we know it would disintegrate.

This entry provides an overview of empathy and key aspects of the empathic process. First, a brief history of empathy will trace its origins and the various ways it has been conceptualized. This is followed by a description of the empathic process, examining how empathy functions in human interaction. The final section describes a relational approach to empathy, showing how empathy plays a key role in meeting the challenges of intercultural communication.

History of Empathy

The term *empathy* is derived from the ancient Greek word *empatheia*, a composite of the prefix *em* ("into," "within," or "inside") and *pathos* ("feeling," "emotion," or "passion"). In broad terms, *empatheia* implies getting inside another person's feeling and experience. This term was brought into Western culture in the mid-19th century by the German philosopher Robert Vischer, who coined the term *Einfühlung* (or "feeling into") in his development of a psychological theory of art appreciation. *Einfühlung* was viewed as a vehicle for understanding, feeling, or experiencing an aesthetic object such as a painting. By the end of the 19th century, *Einfühlung* was understood in German academic circles as an important concept in philosophical aesthetics.

At the beginning of the 20th century (in 1909), the psychologist Edward Titchener translated *Einfühlung* into English as *empathy*. He conceived of empathy as the psychological process of objectively perceiving another person's situation. Soon afterward, Theodor Lipps helped establish empathy as a central category in the social and human sciences. He viewed empathy as the primary basis for individuals to recognize one another as minded creatures. For Lipps, an inner process of psychological resonance occurs when one perceives another person's situation, triggering mental responses that are not very different from those that occur when engaging in various activities involving the movement of the body. This allows an individual to experience another person's condition as if the individual were in that person's situation. In Lipps's view, empathy was the primary epistemic means of grasping the content of others' minds, thus becoming closely associated with the concept of understanding.

By the mid-20th century, empathy had become an important and intensively studied topic of psychological research and clinical practice, grouped broadly under two general approaches. One approach centered on empathic accuracy, which conceives of empathy as the intellectual or imaginative understanding of another's condition or state of mind. Researchers were primarily interested in determining the reliability and accuracy of people's ability to recognize others' personality traits, attitudes and values, and mental states. They also investigated how empathic accuracy is influenced by factors such as age, gender, family and social background, intelligence, and emotional stability. The second primary research tradition gave emphasis to emotions, particularly how individuals react emotionally when they perceive that another is experiencing or is about to experience an emotion. Empathic connections into the world of the other are viewed as making possible emotional responses such as feeling envy, distress, pity, or joy for others.

As greater emphasis was given to the emotional aspect of empathy, it tended to become associated with almost all vicarious emotions that were other oriented, making it difficult to distinguish empathy from feelings such as pity, compassion, and tenderness. Because of the increasingly broad reach of empathy conceptualizations, some theorists proposed that emotions oriented toward reducing someone else's suffering should be referred to as sympathy rather than empathy. In contrast to the emotional aspect of empathy, sympathy is not an attempt to find congruency with the other's emotion or situation; rather, it is a feeling that one has for the circumstances of the other, usually because there is concern for that person. Sympathy leads to increased sensitivity to the emotions of the other person and intensifies both the representation and the internal reaction to the other person's predicament. Feelings of compassion and emotional identification often result. The pain (or other emotions) that one feels with the other arises from imagining how such a situation would be experienced by the self. The sympathizer looks to the past for similar experiences and thus draws from memory the emotions that are considered appropriate for the situation. Through sympathy, individuals might feel sorrow or pity for someone who is distressed or needy, and as they gain a heightened awareness of the person's suffering, they might try to find ways to alleviate it.

Carl Rogers, considered by many to be the most influential American psychotherapist, gave prominence to empathy in his clinical work. In his nondirective approach to therapy, empathy was one of the necessary and sufficient conditions for personality change. Rogers was instrumental in taking empathy outside the academic and therapeutic settings and bringing it into popular culture. He believed that the same principles necessary for effective therapy also promote healthy relationships in friendships, romantic partnerships, families, and the workplace. His search for ways to enhance personal growth and promote quality relationships helped make empathy a key component of the human potential movement in the 1960s and 1970s.

Popularized by the human potential movement, empathy became a part of self-help books, introductory textbooks in communication, training programs in intercultural relations, the rhetoric of politicians, sermons by religious leaders, songs by popular musicians, shows on television, character lines in movies, and how-to stories in self-improvement magazines. As a consequence, the concept of empathy is now more commonly integrated into everyday speech, with phrases such as "Put yourself in my place," "Think about it from her point of view," "How would you feel if you were in his shoes?" and "Remember that the world does not revolve around you."

Although *empathy* is a common vocabulary word, it is a complex notion and a difficult concept to grasp. Many theorists have noted the plethora of definitions and approaches to empathy, and it is often confused with concepts such as sympathy and compassion, and even the general process of perception. The following section examines the steps that are involved in the empathic process.

The Empathic Process

Although conceptualizations of empathy have changed over time, and there are a variety of definitions and approaches among contemporary scholars, the most common view is that the empathic process involves attempts to perceive the internal world of another person in order to understand his or her perspectives, feelings, emotions, and meanings. Through empathy, people strive to sense the pain or joy of another person and attempt to understand his or her view of the events and situations he or she faces. Empathy does not permit individuals to literally enter another person's mind, but it allows them to feel and think *as if* they were in the other's place, without losing the "as if" quality. Although people cannot abandon their own personal world and adopt the viewpoints of the other, empathy allows them to imagine the reality of another's life and experiences.

While there are no universal formulas or skill sets that can ensure empathy, various scholars have proposed steps that can be taken to enhance the possibility for empathy in a relationship. The first step in the empathic process is to acknowledge one's own subjectivity and to recognize that the other is likely to view the situation differently. If it is kept in mind that one's way of viewing events does not represent an objective reality or some ultimate truth, then it is possible to become open to new and different ways of seeing the world. Milton Bennett, an intercultural scholar whose early work in intercultural competence focused on empathy, warns against assuming similarity and suggests that individuals assume differences in their interactions with others.

The second step is to shift the perspective away from one's own constructs to an acknowledgment of the other person's different experience. Dean Barnlund, a pioneer in the study of intercultural communication, refers to this process as decentering, which is turning the focus away from one's self and toward the other. This allows one to undertake the third step of the empathic process, which is to discover constructs that are used by the other person in that particular situation. The philosopher and social psychologist George Herbert Mead called this engaging in role taking, in which there is an effort to try to assess and understand others and the reasons for their behavior by trying to imagine how others view their social worlds and how they will act out the roles of the social positions they occupy. In essence, individuals make their best guess about how the other views the situation by imaginatively placing themselves in the other's position.

When applying the above steps, sometimes one learns that the other person is using constructs with which one is already familiar, but at other times, it means that an individual must search for new constructs. This necessitates the fourth step of empathy, which is to make what the psychologist George Kelly describes as a series of successive approximations to the other's point of view during one's interaction with the other. As a construct is formulated, it is tested for its usefulness and is either maintained or reformulated. It is then retested time and again.

As these steps suggest, empathy should not be viewed as something that is achieved. Rather than a one-time event, empathy is a dynamic and provisional process that requires constant checking and revising. Kenneth Cissna, a communication expert who has studied extensively the work of Carl Rogers, describes empathy as an ongoing struggle to understand others. As such, it is critical to maintain commitment to the encounter, or else, a person is likely to abandon attempts to be empathic. Continuous revision is not easy or simple, but when learning new ways of seeing a particular situation, individuals simultaneously add to their own repertoire of constructs, thus expanding their own worldview. This requires openness to receive new information and a willingness to engage in an interactive process of discovery.

Although traditional approaches to empathy are primarily concerned with how a person gains an understanding of the inner world of another, there is increasing recognition that for empathy to be possible in an intercultural encounter, it must be viewed as an intersubjective process that happens between people. As described in more detail in the next section, intercultural empathy is both relational and dialogic.

A Relational Approach to Intercultural Empathy

Although empathy plays a central role in most of one's communication with others, it is particularly necessary, although more difficult, in interaction with those whose values, beliefs, and behaviors are different from one's own. However, many of the common conceptions of empathy are inadequate for cross-cultural contexts, where there is often a requirement to move between vastly different assumptive worlds. In such situations, approaches to empathy that are built around an individualistic model of interaction with a focus on accuracy are restricted in their applicability. Recognizing these limitations, scholars have advocated a relational and dialogic approach to empathy, which allows individuals and groups of diverse cultural backgrounds to build common understandings and construct a joint path forward.

In the 1980s, communication scholars such as Ron Arnett and John Stewart outlined a relational view of communication that overcomes many of the limitations associated with one-way notions of empathy. By emphasizing a productive rather than a reproductive approach to understanding, empathy can go beyond trying to determine where the other person is coming from; rather, it is possible to create what interculturalists call a third culture, which is characterized by unique values and norms that may not have existed prior to the relationship. Through relational empathy, communicators with different cultural backgrounds can create a more inclusive culture that allows them to interact with one another more effectively. As the intercultural communication scholar Fred Casmir describes it, a third culture is a product of the harmonization of composite parts into a coherent whole. The emergence of this third culture is the essence of relational empathy and is essential for successful intercultural communication.

Relational empathy promotes a synthesis of perspectives. Instead of giving up a position on issues, forging compromises in individual views, or finding common ground in disparate positions, the goal is to move from the separate positions of individual communicators to a synthesizing position that incorporates relevant aspects of each position. John Stewart calls this process a fusion of horizons, implying that individual perspectives expand to include the viewpoints of the other. Thus, in addition to helping each person develop a deeper understanding of the other, relational empathy also seeks the genesis of a unique understanding that reflects a merging of each individual's construction of the other and of the situation.

To engage in the process of relational empathy, a certain degree of playfulness is necessary. Instead of seeking certainty, closure, and control in a conversation, one must be tentative and experimental, displaying a sense of open-endedness. People can find themselves literally playing with ideas, which creates a dynamic over which they do not always have control, often leading to outcomes that can be a surprise to everyone involved. Consequently, relational empathy is not a result that is achieved; rather, it is an ongoing, corrective process that is dynamic and circular, allowing individuals in an intercultural encounter to move toward understandings that are provisional and open to change.

Approached from a relational perspective, empathy becomes a core component of intercultural competency. As individuals interact across cultural boundaries, relational empathy allows individuals to listen to one another respectfully, continually reflecting and seeking more information as part of a dialogic process. In this way, relational empathy allows people to attain what the philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer calls a *higher universality* that overcomes one's own particularity and also that of the other. Disjointed lifeworlds, particularly mental models that divide parties, can be stretched in such a way that a new world is created in which individuals and groups can coexist and work together on multiple levels.

Benjamin J. Broome

See also Conflict Management; Intercultural Intimate Relationships; Intergroup Dialogue; Mindfulness; Peacebuilding; Respect; Trust

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English as a Lingua Franca

A *lingua franca* is a linguistic code that is used for communication between speakers of different languages for the majority of whom the code is not a first language. There are many lingua francas around the world, some spoken intranationally and some internationally. Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*) is an example of a national lingua franca, which is used for communication among Indonesians who speak many different mother tongues. English is an international lingua franca par excellence. Other languages that serve as lingua francas include Arabic, Chinese, and Spanish. Instances of the use of lingua francas are by nature cases of intercultural communication, and therefore, an understanding of the nature and dynamics of lingua franca interactions is essential to conceptualize intercultural competence. This entry presents some background on the concept of English as a lingua franca (ELF) and elaborates on the relevance of this term to intercultural competence.

The increasing global spread of English that has accompanied globalization has considerably increased the contexts in which English is used as a lingua franca. In these contexts, the majority of speakers are non-native speakers of English. An example of a conversation involving a French speaker, an Italian speaker, a Turkish speaker, a Chinese speaker, and an Australian English speaker is not untypical. The unprecedented, widespread use of English as an international lingua franca has significantly influenced the way the English language is changing. For example, the norms of language use in the majority of international ELF communicative contexts are now negotiated between non-native speakers of the language.

The ELF Research Paradigm

In recent years, under the title of the ELF research paradigm, ELF interactions have been the subject of intense empirical research and academic study. Several ELF collections have been examined to analyze the dynamics of ELF interactions, particularly in terms of the linguistic innovations that ELF speakers produce. Examples of such collections include the Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English, English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings, and the Asian Corpus of English. There is now an academic journal, the *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca*, dedicated to studies of ELF.

Initial ELF research sought to explore any core linguistic features in ELF interactions. Results show, however, that ELF communication is largely marked by variation and innovation. This pattern is found across all levels of language, from phonology to grammar to speech acts. Phonological innovations from the Asian Corpus of English include the use of heavy end stress (e.g., *told him ALREADY*). Alessia Cogo and Martin Dewey have collected other examples, including the innovative use of prepositions (e.g., *discuss about*, *have implications on*) or the frequent use of *which* instead of *who*.

In terms of meaning making, ELF research suggests that speakers consciously build on their awareness that they are engaged in linguistic interactions involving people from diverse linguistic-cultural backgrounds. This understanding seems to facilitate collaborative engagement in intercultural meaning making and negotiation of linguistic-cultural norms. An example of the collaborative strategies that people frequently use in EFL communication is the use of *utterance completions*, that is, the supportive completion of an utterance of a speaker by another speaker. ELF research also suggests that when miscommunication occurs in ELF communicative encounters, the interlocutors generally make use of various communicative strategies, many of which appear to be specific to ELF communication, to reduce conflict toward a smooth continuation of the conversation.

While the intercultural nature of ELF communication is widely recognized in ELF research, most ELF researchers approach the relevance of culture to ELF interactions from a perspective that is different from that of orthodox intercultural communication research. Earlier research into intercultural communication was based on a theory of language transfer and interference and focused on examining communication, mainly miscommunication, between native speakers and non-native speakers of English. This research ascribed cases of miscommunication to culturally constructed patterns of language. In ELF communication, however, native speakers are either absent or in the minority, and a conversation may involve speakers from several cultural backgrounds. Thus, speakers do not assume that, through their command of English, they vicariously or actually share an Anglo cultural background that they can draw on as they speak the language. Although this is a new area of research, preliminary findings suggest that ELF communicators mainly focus on the direct negotiation of meaning without reliance on Anglo-cultural norms and with a developed awareness of the need to catch and repair inevitable instances of miscommunication.

ELF and Intercultural Competence

On the other hand, a large amount of ELF communication is unlikely to involve the heightened degree of miscommunication that can arise when native and non-native speakers communicate. This is partly because many ELF speakers come from the same general region and so often share regional cultural norms. For example, in contrast to some Anglo contexts, in many Asian cultures, there is a general tendency to consider it polite to decline an offer until pressed. Such culturally constructed shared norms of polite use of language may in fact serve as common ground for some ELF speakers to communicate pragmatic meanings. In general, findings from ELF research are beginning to shed significant light on the nature of intercultural competence that would be required for successful international/intercultural communication in English in the globalized world.

Farzad Sharifian

See also World Englishes

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Equality Versus Equity

This entry explores the meanings of the terms *equality* and *equity* as used in relationship to how individuals and groups are treated. It covers a range of approaches to making decisions in intercultural situations. First, related terms are defined. Then, the range of meanings from equality to equity is examined. The entry concludes with general observations, thoughts about measurement, and a path to personal insight into how the terms apply.

Related Terms

Equal opportunity means providing the same access for all who qualify for a given opportunity. Nothing special is done to assist applicants in obtaining the opportunity. It is grounded in the notion that if we are all equal, then we should have the same/equal chance. No one should be given any advantage or assistance unless inequality outside the control of applicants can be proven. Advantage is only given to a level that is sufficient to provide an equal opportunity. Lack of qualification attributable to the person or group legitimately excludes them. A *sporting chance* is provided to those interested in the opportunity, even when they may not meet all of the standards. This is one increment more proactive than equal opportunity and is a view sometimes seen in, for example, the United Kingdom.

A level playing field refers to helping applicants compete in ways that provide the same access. For example, a level playing field may be created by translating forms into multiple languages, providing text for the hearing impaired, sound for the visually impaired, clothes for the poorly dressed, assisted physical access for the mobility impaired, cultural coaching for outsiders, and so on.

Affirmative action, *employment equity*, and *positive discrimination* are phrases used in various languages around the world to refer to outcome-guided initiatives. Adjustments are made in processes, and sometimes standards, to produce outcomes like parity or fairness. *Parity* refers to seeking representation of particular groups inside organizations matching the level of representation in a benchmark (population, pool, available talent, etc.). Perceptions and judgments about *fairness* vary across individuals and cultures. These concepts are applied in various gradations. For instance, candidates from underrepresented groups may get the job ranging from situations where they are the most qualified, in a pool of highly qualified, to situations wherein they or just qualified. Those three conditions reflect different degrees or perceptions of equity.

Universalism refers to a value for applying the same rule in the same way to everyone without regard to variation in circumstances or individual characteristics. Words like impartiality, sameness, and objectivity are used to describe this approach. An example of a policy reflecting universalism is declaring December 25 an official holiday for all employees, regardless of individual differences in faiths or traditions. Individuals and cultures vary in the degree to which they prefer universalism versus particularism (the other end of this dimension, which is defined below). Universalism tends to correlate more with equality.

Particularism refers to applying rules in a fashion that reflects differences in situations, individuals, or groups. Words such as *equity*, *accommodation*, *adaptation*, *uniqueness*, and *customization* are used to describe particularism. An example of a particularistic policy is providing 10 days of leave to be taken as desired by each individual. Particularism tends to correlate more with equity.

The Continuum From Equality to Equity

The examples below show a rough scale going from equality to equity. It portrays a range with hypothetical examples that subjectively fall along a roughly interval scale. It proceeds from the "same" or equal treatment to what might be judged as "fair" or equitable treatment.

- Equal pay for the same work (e.g., male and female carpenters are paid the same)
- Equal pay for equivalent work (e.g., math and physics teachers are paid the same or musicians paid the same as dancers)
- Equal pay for equivalent outcomes (i.e., an ear of corn grown by a commercial farmer sells for the same price as one grown by a small farmer, or physicians are paid the same as nutritionists based on their producing comparable levels of health and wellness)
- Higher pay for female carpenters because they produce the same outcomes while creating a more pleasant environment for customers and fellow employees
- Math teachers paid more than physics teachers because math provides a deeper, more widely applicable scientific root than physics
- Dancers paid more than musicians because they cannot perform for as many years as musicians do

Observations

As we move along the line from equality to equity, a number of observations may be helpful. There is an increase in judgment subjectivity. Differences in values make agreement more difficult. Decision complexity increases, especially when more diversity is present and recognized. Such movement parallels going from universalism to particularism. It also parallels the political dimension running from conservatism to liberalism. Equality rests on more assumptions about sameness, while equity assumes more diversity. Assessing similarities and differences without prejudice and bias becomes more difficult.

Measuring Equality and Equity

In trying to measure these concepts, a system must be designed that takes into account the level of measurement (individual, group, organization, society) and the time frame (short, midrange, long). Additional variables that should be included are value dimensions (e.g., universalism to particularism), similarities, differences, and the mixture of similarities and differences. Measuring equality lends itself more readily to quantitative approaches. Measuring equity requires the addition of qualitative considerations like fairness, justice, and appropriateness.

Insight

One way to understand these terms on a very personal level is to imagine being the parent of twins. Even if you try to treat them identically, differences will emerge over time. Excellence is creating equality with respect to their similarities and equity with respect to their differences.

Robert Hayles

See also Dimensions of Diversity; Diversity and Inclusion, Definitions of; Intercultural Competence in Organizations

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Essential Principles for Intercultural Training

No doubt there are a thousand ways to conduct intercultural training (ICT), and many of them may in fact fulfill their objectives. Theoretically, trainers can train any way they want, as long as it works. However, there are a few principles that are much more likely to work, to lead to effective training. While these standards are rarely described, they are shared, taught, and practiced by interculturally competent trainers throughout the world.

This entry examines a few of the essential principles that trainers and educators should consider when preparing to teach intercultural competence. When fully practiced by a skilled trainer, these principles provide a much greater chance of producing a program that will achieve its goals. Initially, the entry will review the definitions of various forms of training that might be labeled *intercultural* and then suggest a series of variables that substantially affect the cultural responsiveness of training design and implementation. The entry does not suggest what *content* elements of culture must be taught but rather the *process* principles for intercultural instructional design, taking into account the unique risks that intercultural learning requires, the substantive identity issues that are confronted, the management of resistance, and the requirements for maintaining clear conceptual frameworks for teaching about and across cultures.

Definitions

ICT consists of the design, development, and delivery of programming that enhances the knowledge, skills, and attitudes of individuals interacting across cultures. Both the content and the process of the training are profoundly influenced by culture. ICT may be provided for Iraqi refugees in Austria, newly arrived international students in Vienna, global corporate transferees in Beijing, Central American Indians in conflict, managers in a diverse workforce, and United Nations peacekeepers in the Middle East—in short, wherever cultures meet and hope to achieve goals together.

Training may also be described as *culture specific* or *culture general* and as *training across cultures* or *training about cultures*.

Culture-specific training refers to training that is focused on cultural information about a particular culture. Based on specific ethnographies, culture-specific analysis is the intercultural equivalent of emic cultural analysis (e.g., preparing medical residents to go to Botswana).

Culture-general training refers to training that is focused on general frameworks for describing cultural contrasts that are applicable in many cultures. Based on abstract categories, culture-general frameworks are the intercultural equivalent of etic cultural analysis (e.g., frameworks for values analysis that one might use in trying to understand employees from many cultures).

In the 21st century, every trainer typically faces a group of learners that is culturally diverse, no matter what the subject of the training is. Called *training across cultures*, this circumstance refers to training about any topic with an audience that consists of participants who come from many different cultural perspectives. Training across cultures occurs in situations such as technology training in corporations, where the topic has nothing to do with culture but the audience represents different cultures.

Training about culture can be culture specific or culture general. In each case, the topic is culture, and the term refers to training an audience of any culture on intercultural material in general or on intercultural competence for interacting with a specific culture. The latter includes contexts such as culture-specific briefings for refugees or predeparture training for scholars studying abroad. Culture-general training prepares individuals with frameworks that can support their competence in any culture; thus training on culture also includes culture-general diversity training, training for international relief organizations, and a great variety of professional contexts, ranging from training intercultural clowns to training for the space station.

Instructional Design

Typical models for instructional design often include the following elements: needs assessment, course design, course development, course delivery, and evaluation. Adult learning theory frequently discusses the nature of the learner-centered classroom and the capacity to learn how to learn—in other words, the adult professional's need to engage in lifelong learning. In each step of these processes, culture plays a powerful role, influencing every aspect of the learning. In fact, the entire concept of training design is transformed by the principles of intercultural communication. Following are five of the many essential principles of ICT design and delivery.

ICT Requires a Developmental Design

The goal of intercultural education is growth, both individual development as well as social capacity building. Perhaps the primary principle is the requirement to think developmentally: to systematically, intentionally design curriculum that is conceptually grounded, increases cognitive complexity, and arouses curiosity. This involves a vigorous examination of the intercultural competence literature to determine the competencies appropriate for the intended audience, accompanied by a hearty recognition that the most sophisticated competencies cannot be achieved in a day, a semester, or perhaps ever. By starting where the audience resides, however, the trainer inspires less resistance and is more likely to move them to more complex thinking about culture. Many trainers and educators have used the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity, devised in 1986 by Milton Bennett, to provide a theoretically sound foundation for training design. The model proposes six stages of development as the learner responds to difference. In the ethnocentric stage, people move through mind-sets that deny differences, defend against differences, and minimize differences, all in the name of avoiding experiencing cultural others. Most attendees in training programs will arrive in the ethnocentric stage. The trainers' task is to address the developmental concerns relating to these mind-sets and to move individuals to a more ethnorelative position, or difference-seeking mind-set, where they will accept differences, adapt to differences, and, finally, integrate differences. For each stage of this development, there are activities, topics, and stage-specific competencies that take into account the readiness for learning about intercultural interactions. Once a trainer becomes familiar with intercultural instructional design, it is no longer enough to simply select a pleasing new exercise and plug it into the program; the activity must be developmentally appropriate for the learners' level of intercultural sensitivity. For instance, some trainers, knowing the importance of prejudice and bias issues, will begin a program with this challenging topic as a priority. Learners at the early stages of ethnocentrism may retreat into wary silence or become self-justifying, whereas they may be more receptive at later stages of the training.

In addition, successful training is also built on a significant grasp of ethnic identity development models that explain the likely stages individuals experience as they engage their own identity development. For example, individuals who have not yet reconciled their own cultural or racial identity may respond more comfortably to a trainer from their own culture group. A European American teaching about White privilege to other European Americans may face less resistance than a teacher from outside their own culture group. If the goal is to have the audience come to terms with White privilege, this may be a significant consideration.

ICT Design Requires Attention to Cognitive and Learning Styles

One of the greatest challenges educators face is the recognition of different cognitive (thinking) styles, both in their design and in the implementation of ICT. The deep-seated assumption that one's way of thinking is—or should be—shared by others is often so out of consciousness that it startles the facilitator and other participants. Once, during a role-play about an international student asking a librarian for a book, the group offered various observations about their interchange, from the student being too pushy to the librarian not listening enough. A quiet African participant protectively offered that the librarian should immediately flee the library since clearly by repeatedly asking for the book three times, the international student had obviously cast a hex on the librarian. This possibility had not crossed the minds of the Europeans in that group, presenting an intriguing teachable moment.

Richard Nisbett, in his engaging exploration of thinking styles, points out that what he calls Western, in contrast to Eastern, thinking has entirely different rules of formality, logic, structure, and dialectics. The Western cognitive style emphasizes critical thinking, Western linear logic, and the scientific method to determine conclusions, typically providing a hypothesis, methods, evidence, and an argument. It tends to be abstract, analytical, and objective. The Eastern cognitive style emphasizes holistic/global thinking, metaphorical thinking, subjective knowing, empathy, integrative thinking, and a focus on people rather than concepts. What this suggests to the educator is that varying cognitive styles in the implementation and design of intercultural learning is critical to mastery of the topic. Trainers can address the styles of Eastern thinkers by adding rich examples, frequent metaphors, and authentic cultural materials that demonstrate other cognitive styles, and especially by validating participants who illustrate alternative perspectives. To address the styles of Western thinkers, the trainer can add models, axioms, data, critical thinking, and analysis, as well as reinforcing alternative styles.

Addressing individual learning styles also supports interculturally responsive training. Kolb's Learning Styles Inventory, focusing on affective, reflective, cognitive, and behavioral styles, presents a particularly useful tool for educators. This is not to train a single learner in that learner's single appropriate style but rather so that they instruct on every topic of importance in all four of Kolb's styles. Used effectively in this way, learning styles research can support a design sequence that includes all learning styles, making sure that each significant module in a program addresses each learner's preference. When a study-abroad student asks, "Can I do service learning overseas?"; when a supervisor asks, "How can I avoid offending my Bhutanese employee?"; when a healthcare provider asks, "Can you give me something to read?"; and when a counselor asks, "Does this relate to how my Vietnamese client responds?" they may be revealing their preferences for how to learn about this mysterious thing called culture. A facilitator familiar with learning styles might answer with very different approaches to learning. The responses could be the following: to the active student, pointing out how to explore opportunities for such work; to the supervisors, explaining some examples; to the healthcare provider, giving a few citations; and to the counselor, building the connection between the Vietnamese client's experience and her or his understanding of other cultures. Finally, recognition of learning styles allows the educator to interpret evaluations of the program. It is not an accident that the feedback reflects the learning styles. One person may respond that the best thing about the course was the other participants; another will say that the facilitator did not give long enough breaks; yet another will value the recommended websites; and, finally, another will appreciate the applications provided.

ICT Design Requires Special Attention to Risk and Anxiety

A number of researchers have examined the role of anxiety in learning, some suggesting that a bit of stress is useful for achievement. However, the research about intercultural issues questions that proposition and suggests that, indeed, anxiety reduction is a prerequisite for intercultural learning. Thomas Pettigrew and Linda Tropp have focused on anxiety reduction with robust research that posits that reducing anxiety is the most powerful mediator of prejudice reduction, followed by empathy and, as a distant third, knowledge of other cultures. Nevitt Sanford's elegant concept of support and challenge reinforces this idea. If the learners are overly challenged, they will flee, at least psychologically. If the learners are overly supported, they will not become involved. It is therefore incumbent on trainers to balance challenge and support for their groups. Furthermore, the most challenging topics and activities are most educational when participants are developmentally ready to engage them, which is often after they have substantially arrived at the ethnorelative stages. For example, teaching about race when the group is in denial or defensive can produce more heat than light; waiting until the participants are more culturally self-aware in acceptance will likely increase effectiveness.

ICT Delivery Requires Adaptation to Communication Patterns

Throughout this encyclopedia, there are several entries referring to the process of adapting to communication styles, often referred to as *code switching*. This shifting of our habitual way of expressing our thoughts from direct to indirect, from storytelling to linear, is a basic intercultural competency for implementing training. However, for the person facilitating intercultural learning events, the process requires much more.

The educator will often be communicating to an audience of non-native speakers of the language in which the program is conducted. Seasoned educators have learned small adaptations that clarify their use of language without slowing down or raising their voices in a patronizing way. Clearly articulating the final letter of each word often maintains the cadence while allowing the listener to hear each word fully. Eliminating idioms, slang, and aphorisms is extremely difficult but essential for the transfer of meaning. The American does not understand it when the German says "I have tomatoes on my eyes," any more than the Chinese understands "Let's take the bull by the horns."

On a more subtle and nonverbal level, the facilitator must become fluidly familiar with cues sent across the cultural divide. Turn-taking patterns vary widely, some patterns involving interruption and others involving eye contact or lack of the same. The use of silence, the role of status, the appropriateness of conflict—each of these elements also involves crucial nonverbal cues.

ICT Delivery Requires Dexterity in Addressing Resistance

Forms of resistance to intercultural learning are quite varied, ranging from the highly experienced resistance of the sophisticated traveler to the totally inexperienced but fearful resistance of the naive participant. Naive resistance occurs when individuals either believe that their experience explains all intercultural experiences or adhere to a single principle without regard to the literature on culture learning. A participant in a course on understanding Japanese culture returned to the third session of the course, taught by a Japanese professor of considerable stature. It seems that the participant had visited a neighbor the night before, a friend who had just returned from her first 10-day tourist visit to Japan. Her neighbor had suggested that the professor was wrong about Japan, because the professor's teaching did not fit her observations during her visit. The newly minted expert believed that her experience in Japan explained all experience of Japan.

Other forms of naive resistance include the idea that if people are just themselves, everything intercultural will fall into place. This highly individualistic orientation that one's good intentions are the best contribution to success rarely succeeds, if at all. Some naive resisters uphold the principle that training prior to experience somehow ruins the spontaneity of learning on one's own and that experiential learning is the only learning that matters. Reassured that the new culture has much to offer, much more than can be offered in a predeparture program, they will often fail to see the benefit of preparation.

Dualistic resistance is seeing the world through the adversarial perspectives of right and wrong, frequently couched in polarized statements, for instance, "If we all identify with our cultures, that will just create interethnic conflict." Participants who have dualistic resistance will frequently cite another country, such as Yugoslavia, which they may suggest broke apart in the face of recognizing diversity. They may fear diversity simply because it seems as if a community cannot have both diversity and unity; it must be either-or.

Experienced intercultural professionals know how to develop inoculations against such resistance. Just as in the medical field, inoculations prevent disease, in a training group, the *dis-ease* may be caused by a virulent reaction to an idea or process, so the trainer introduces a controlled form of the objection early on in an attempt to reduce the reaction and avoid the dis-ease. An inoculation may be as simple as the trainer reassuring the group, "You might have heard that this kind of training is touchy-feely, but I promise you that there will be no role-plays or true confessions!" The inoculation not only covers likely objections but also provides an antidote that relieves anxiety. If the goal is to support receptivity and curiosity, inoculations that convey understanding to the audience can be helpful.

Of the many principles that could be applied to ICT, these five represent particularly central issues that deeply influence this work. They require interculturally competent design and facilitation and often produce interculturally competent trainees.

Janet M. Bennett

See also Anxiety and Uncertainty Management; Empathy; Ethnic Cultural Identity Model; Ingroup/Outgroup; Intercultural Sensitivity; Learning Styles Across Cultures

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ESSENTIALISM

Essentialism is the belief that things have "true" or "real" essences, which define and distinguish them. Objects, humans, and social groups are believed to have core characteristics or properties that are crucial and intrinsic. Assumptions about "essence" can structure the way people perceive, make meaning of, and use language to represent the world. Essence is often posited as the underlying cause and explanation for differences that are observable in human social life. For example, differences between women and men, from an essentialist perspective, are derived from characteristics inherent within the two social groups that both define and distinguish them. The source of "essences," as well as the degree to which core properties are viewed as unchanging and inalterable, varies across treatments.

This entry provides a brief overview of the historical development of essentialism; outlines critiques, debates, and contemporary usage of this concept; and discusses the implications for intercultural communication.

Essentialism: Historical Development

Plato (429–347 BCE) is considered one of the first essentialists, advancing the metaphysical notion that all objects and qualities in the physical world have "ideal types" or essences that are derived from transcendent and immutable "forms." For Plato, entities in the material world are mere facsimiles of eternal and absolute properties that make them what they are. Aristotle posited essence as both the cause of the existence of things and the set of properties that define them; yet essences reside in the material world. Rejecting ideas grounded in tradition and faith, the Enlightenment of the 17th and 18th centuries emphasized reason and empiricism, ushering in Western modernism.

Variations of essentialism underlie modern social theories that assume a knowable, stable, and coherent self and phenomena in the world. Social constructionist theories oppose essentialism, arguing that knowledge about the self and the world does not exist in things in the external world but is constructed and maintained through agreed-on conventions and norms, which in turn are contingent on social, historical, and political processes. Postmodern and poststructuralist theories challenge essentialist notions of the world by investigating how language and discourse are used to produce worldviews and beliefs that are accepted as "normal" and "natural." Postmodernism and poststructuralism emphasize multiplicity, fragmentation, and fluidity, embracing diverse and often paradoxical or contradictory positions.

Critiques, Debates, and Contemporary Usage

The use of essentialism in the analysis of social phenomena is highly debated. In the social sciences and humanities, essentialism is critiqued for oversimplifying the complexity of human experience, advancing innate causes for differences in social groups, and claiming unchanging essences. Social constructionists argue that essentialism reduces race, gender, and sexuality, as well as other social identities, to essential categories, which assumes that characteristics of group members exist outside social, historical, cultural, and political influences. Essentialist claims are viewed as a means to naturalize and thus justify inequitable social, economic, and political relations of power. Essentialism has been particularly salient in debates in feminist theory, critical race theory, queer theory, and other theories that address identity politics. While essentialism is used in a variety of ways, three common usages are outlined here.

One usage of essentialism is when biological, physiological, or genetic characteristics are used to define and explain human behavior with little or no regard for the impact of psychological, cultural, sociological, or historical factors. Examples of essentialism would be attributing levels of intelligence or likeliness to succeed to "essential" inherent and unchanging aspects. Although debunked by science, the myth of biological racial difference is used to rationalize essentialist assumptions. Essentialism based on claims of biological or innate essence is commonly dismissed by feminist and queer theorists; yet recent narratives from some transsexual individuals rely on essentialist assumptions, for instance, to assert the need to change their biological sex to match their gender identity.

The term *essentialism* is also applied when social groups are assumed to share universal and homogeneous characteristics without consideration for variation across cultures, within groups, or over time. To posit that women are essentially caretakers and men are breadwinners is an example of essentialist thinking. Approaches to culture focusing broadly on national culture are criticized as essentialist for their tendency to define an intrinsic and fixed "essence" in being French or Indian, for example. The critique of essentialism highlights underlying assumptions about culture as a stable, fixed entity and of the nation as a monolithic unit with an essential character. Assumptions that cultures are determinate, bounded, and homogeneous manifest essentialist thinking.

A third conventional approach to essentialism arises when unifying concepts of social categories are employed. Essentialism is inherent to language use as categories are created to group certain sets of things together and to distinguish them from others. Thus, to talk about "women" or "men" or "Third World women" or "Americans" is itself a type of essentializing, even when differences within the categories are acknowledged. Such unifying concepts are necessary to communicate, to conceptualize objects of inquiry, and to mobilize for political change. In debates between essentialists and social constructionists, a salient question, particularly for feminists, is how to mobilize "women" for political purposes without essentializing. The feminist theorist Gayatri Spivak proposes strategic essentialism, which entails a conscious use of essential categories such as "women" for political ends.

Implications for Intercultural Communication

Given its central focus on "culture" and the interaction among different cultures, the field of intercultural communication is vulnerable to critiques of essentialism. Culture conceptualized and operationalized as a stable, bounded, and discrete entity can rely on essentialist views. Such treatments of culture reduce the complexity of differences within groups, often privilege the majority characteristics of a cultural group, and minimize the ways groups change over time. Conceptualizing culture as fluid, mobile, hybrid, and contested departs from essentialist notions of culture by recognizing the social and discursive construction of cultural groups, whether national, racial, ethnic, religious, or other cultural groups addressed in intercultural communication. The dilemma for interculturalists is that of finding ways to discuss, investigate, and engage with the primary phenomenon—culture—without reifying the differences among cultures and without minimizing the differences within cultural groups.

Kathryn S. Sorrells

See also Constructivism; Positivist Research Paradigm; Postmodernism and Reflexive Anthropology

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Ethical and Moral Reasoning

Ethical and moral reasoning is a form of decision making in general. The larger question becomes "Is ethical decision making universal, culturally determined, or culturally influenced?" And the question behind that question is "Is ethics *hardwired* and genetic, or is it something simply learned?" This is the classic nature–nurture debate that philosophers have discussed for millennia. However, nowadays many psychologists believe that morality is at least partly innate. This entry begins with a discussion of the development and practice of ethical reasoning and goes on to explain Lawrence Kohlberg's six stages of moral development. Intercultural concepts such as individualism versus collectivism and high versus low power distance (HPD vs. LPD) are explained within the context of moral and ethical reasoning.

Some evidence points to the fact that some cultures may prefer a particular style of reasoning or decision making to others, so, for example, some cultures are more inductive in how they approach problems, basing their reasoning on particular experiences, while others are more deductive, based more on theory and principles. In a related manner, some cultures may be more linear and sequential in attacking problems, while others may be more holistic or systemic. Of course, these are broad cultural patterns or generalizations with wide distributions across any population. None of these tendencies are predictive of individual behavior but provide insight into a culture as a whole. So, for example, not all Americans are inductive and linear, and not all Indians are deductive and systemic.

When the focus is specifically on ethical or moral reasoning, a number of questions arise that deal with cultural relativity or cultural absolutism. The first question relates to the *development* of ethical reasoning and the second to the *practice* of ethical reasoning. Starting with development, Kohlberg's stages of moral development suggest some universal human process, regardless of culture. Kohlberg's six stages of moral development are grouped into three progressive categories, from preconventional to conventional (which can be conceived of as culturally defined) to postconventional stages of moral development. The postconventional stages are at Stage 5, the social contract, and Stage 6, universal ethical principles, suggesting that the most mature stage (Stage 6) goes beyond culture to universal or shared ethical principles reflecting what might be called global values. Stage 6 is aspirational and is reflected in documents such as the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in international treaties and declarations that have resulted in the creation of organizations such as the International Court of Justice, the International Criminal Court, and the Organization for the Prevention of Chemical Weapons.

However, when it comes to the *practice* of ethical reasoning or decision making, it appears that many of the classic dimensions of culture apply to and influence the outcomes of such reasoning. Hence, despite the presence of global values, it is precisely the clash of these values, most often in the form of ethical dilemmas and how they are resolved, that best illustrates cultural influence. The resolution of ethical dilemmas at a societal level clearly reflects the prioritization of these global values by that society. For example, take the classic issue of *whistleblowing*, referring to the effort to alert authorities to an injustice or an illegal activity in an organization. In individualistic cultures, where freedom is typically prioritized over family, community, or loyalty, support for the whistleblower is relatively strong, and many people in individualistic cultures would praise the whistleblower in appropriate situations (e.g., where it appears justified to reveal or uncover major injustice). However, in collectivistic or group cultures, where community or loyalty would typically be prioritized over personal freedom, support for a whistleblower might be relatively weaker than in individualistic cultures. Of course, this would very much depend on the situation, who was whistleblowing, what was revealed, and for what reason. This raises another cultural dimension, namely, universalism versus particularism, whereby conformity to rules competes with particular relationships and the situation that is encountered. So if the rule is *blow the whistle* and report misconduct, then in universalist or rule-bound cultures, there is more likelihood of that behavior being followed. Similarly, if the rule is to stay loyal, then in particularist cultures there is more likelihood that people will stay quiet rather than harm a specific relationship with others.

Reverting to the individualist–collectivist dimension, another typical example of relativity in moral reasoning revolves around dilemmas between making career-changing decisions. For example, if a person is offered a big increase in salary at another company, does the individual change jobs to increase income or stay at the same company despite potential economic loss, in support of commitment to the group or team? Of course, much depends on the kind of commitment made when joining the organization, the terms of the new offer, and the current level of job satisfaction. There is little doubt that in more individualistic cultures the ethics of the case will be seen more in terms of personal freedom, and so switching jobs will be morally more acceptable than in collectivist cultures, where the ethics of the case may be more likely judged in terms of disloyalty, or letting down the organization or community for selfish (therefore seen to be unethical) reasons.

Another dimension of culture that is likely to affect moral reasoning is the HPD versus LPD dimension, also sometimes referred to as *hierarchy versus egalitarianism*. Similar to the issue of whistleblowing in individualist versus collectivist cultures, the notion of speaking up, or challenging authority, when ethically or morally motivated suggests that people working in LPD cultures may find this easier to do than those in HPD cultures. Thus, what might be regarded as ethical in cases of challenging authority will likely have different thresholds in LPD versus HPD cultures. Therefore, what constitutes moral courage may vary considerably from LPD to HPD cultures.

A fourth example is the cultural dimension related to the extent of control one sees oneself as having in making decisions, as well as one's propensity to take risks, or willingness to deal with uncertainty or avoid uncertainty. Control can be contrasted with constraint or fate, with cultures falling along the continuum from existentialist, a belief that one is in total control of one's decisions, to fatalist, a belief that one has no control at all, it's all in the hands of the gods or fate. So in cases of deciding to take an ethical stand on a matter and acting on that decision, one is more likely to be supported in a control culture than in a constraint culture. Taking a look at risk or uncertainty avoidance, when it comes to ethical risks, it would seem obvious that cultures with high uncertainty avoidance would be less likely to engage in ethically risky ventures than cultures that are low in uncertainty avoidance, that is, cultures more likely to be flexible than orderly.

Attitudes toward risk, which vary by culture, may also affect the time frame with which cultures regard the future. This summons the fifth, and concluding, example of a cultural dimension, one revolving around the concept of time, which is called the short-term orientation versus long-term orientation, reflecting the extent to which an organization or culture is more tactical (short-term) versus more strategic (long-term) in its operations. Since ethics is about having and maintaining a solid reputation, it appears to be long-term focused. A Chinese proverb captures this: "It can take a hundred years to build up one's reputation, but one can lose it in a day." In the short term, a person or organization can get away with misconduct or fraud, but not in the long run. This brings to mind Mohandas K. (Mahatma) Gandhi's famous quote: "When I despair, I remember that all through history the ways of truth and love have always won. There have been tyrants, and murderers, and for a time they can seem invincible, but in the end they always fall." This is the ultimate argument for having an ethical culture in one's organization. It is about long-term survival and is the only sustainable strategy. This fact applies more forcefully to organizational culture than to country cultures.

Alan Richter

See also Assumptions and Beliefs; Constructivism; Individualism and Collectivism; Intellectual and Ethical Development

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Ethical Universalism

Ethics was long presumed to be universal within the Western tradition, even though Aristotle wrote of differences in cultural values as the bases for persuasion. The shift to modernity at the end of the European Middle Ages meant moving several institutions (church, monarchy, the landed aristocracy) off their pedestals while elevating others (science, rationality, progress, and the individual). Through the Enlightenment and much of the 19th century, universalism was not really questioned in certain respects. However, the shaking of institutional foundations gave rise to questioning of the all-encompassing, presumably rational or natural standards for morality. This societal development has been quite uneven, of course, and does not represent a single ethical path or narrative. The importance of narrative in positioning values and ethics was demonstrated profoundly in the work of Friedrich Nietzsche at the end of the 19th century, although it was not fully appreciated at the time.

In several ways, we did not see a fully developed debate on culture and ethics until the latter half of the 20th century, especially through critiques of power within feminism/gender studies, postcolonialism, and postmodernism, as well as in the progressive undermining of the model of human rationality in the disciplines of philosophy, psychology, and economics.

In the late 20th century, Alasdair MacIntyre examined the difficulties underlying the pursuit of a common narrative for ethical positions and practices; still, he advocated a rescue operation for virtue ethics within the contemporary multivocal, multicultural scene. At the same time, John Rawls's thought experiments called attention to efforts at universality and how from a single effort at conceiving a just society, different policy implications may be inferred.

It might be said that a reflexive modernist position sees consensus building about ethical standards and the realization of such standards for everyone as a way to be inclusive. This position also acknowledges the cultural biases that undergird the determining actors' efforts (e.g., leaders, nations, and movements).

So, with respect to recent attempts at inclusive and culture-sensitive ethical universalism, where are cultures now? Certainly, the very notions of ethics and moral behavior differ so greatly across cultures that sometimes even the terms for discussion are difficult to establish. For instance, from many cultural perspectives, to speak of ethics as some kind of analytically separate domain, existing in part out of the stream of life, makes little sense. What does this mean for the reality of incommensurability and common ethical pursuits? This question is addressed in the next section.

Reframing Universalism(s)

Ethical decision making in intercultural settings involves negotiating understandings of ethics as either culture bound or culture neutral. Feminist, postcolonial, and postmodern scholars have critiqued the assumption that Enlightenment-based conceptions of ethics are sufficient for prescribing ethics across time, cultures, and situations.

Feminism

Feminist ethics may be traced to the 18th-century writings of Mary Wollstonecraft, who spoke of extending the rights and privileges of men to women but gave primacy to the universal principles of reason and rationality. It was not until 200 years later that Carol Gilligan articulated a more nuanced conception. Challenging the primacy of a *masculinist ethic of justice* based on supposedly universal forms of moral reasoning, Gilligan articulated *an ethic of care* based on feminist priorities of relationships, interconnections, and emotions.

Postcolonialism and Postmodernism

Like feminist ethics, postcolonial conceptions of ethics reject absolute universalism by drawing attention to the culture-bound nature of Eurocentric ideas. Scholars do this by paying greater attention to alternative histories, accounting for the continuing global inequities, or exposing the links between universal ideologies and the colonization of peoples, for example.

In some ways, Judith Butler fuses feminist ethics with postcolonial ethics by drawing a parallel between patriarchy and the cultural imperialism that can sometimes reside within universal ideals. Disputed notions of ethics and morality, often manifested in tussles over what constitutes human rights, are played out even in contemporary wars and in debates in the United Nations. The complication of universalism is also evident in postmodern approaches to ethics. Jean-François Lyotard, for example, defines postmodernity as an attitude of incredulity toward metanarratives and speaks of communities being guided by different *little narratives* of their own.

What emerges out of an analysis of these resistances is the need for a clearer distinction between Universal ethics with a capital *U* and those versions with a lowercase *u*. If the former is more absolutist and relies on the basic universal principles of, for example, Kantian ethics, the latter draws on several diverse strands of culture, language, and politics. Arguing that ethics must be globalized, Will Kymlicka offers a contingent universalism: one set of principles that may be agreed on by all and another set that may be culturally and contextually diverse.

Cosmopolitanism

One approach that seems to pluralize universalism is cosmopolitanism. Kwame Anthony Appiah posits cosmopolitanism as *universality plus difference*—an idea of humanity as sharing a common moral compass but composed of individuals with different cultural, political, or religious beliefs forging relationships with one another. For the philosopher Martha Nussbaum, cosmopolitanism is in fact the only way to contend with ethnocentrism. However, Rosi Braidotti dismisses Nussbaum's cosmopolitanism as provincial universalism, instead arguing for *nomadic ethics* that are profoundly contextual. She and postcolonialists like Homi Bhabha question the universal commonality assumed by cosmopolitanists, emphasizing instead the issues confronting many disempowered groups.

In sum, the challenge for ethical universalism is to build a common understanding of human rights and global justice that confronts not only the shifting realities of the contemporary age but also the spurious neutrality of political and economic powers in the interests of justice.

Applying Ethical Universalism

Three contemporary issues to which ethical universalism(s) can be applied are (1) economics, trade, and class; (2) migration and mobility; and (3) global climate and environmental movements.

Economy and Ethics

There is a rich history of applying universal ethics in the analysis of economic relations. Max Weber identified a kind of ethical universalism in the bureaucratic rationalization of major institutions. Marxist thought, on the other hand, appeals to justice in terms of ownership and control over the means of production and labor and to various forms of alienation from fundamental human nature and relationships.

In the global (distributive) justice movement, writers rely on Rawls's theory of justice. Critics of the role of corporations in contemporary globalization draw on Jürgen Habermas's analysis of the relations between *the system* and *the life world* in their discussions of the inherent conflict between the global market and the lived economy. These critiques directly address discourses that *universalize* capitalism and market logics, highlighting how they come in conflict with principles associated with equality, justice, and localism. Poststructuralist scholars like J. K. Gibson-Graham complicate and expand traditional notions of economic community/polity by emphasizing difference and diversity.

In the market context, fair-trade discourses sometimes characterize products as embodiments of the tenets of ethical universalism. The United Nations Global Compact is perhaps the highest profile effort to enlist the private sector in the promotion of universal ethical principles that cover the domains of human rights, labor, environmental responsibility, and anticorruption. By contrast, the World Social Forum, a diverse and democratic meeting of civic organizations and individuals, is designed as a values-focused alternative to the annual World Economic Forum. Finally, #Occupy of 2011–2012 emerged as a worldwide social movement protesting economic inequality, antidemocratic policy, and insecurity.

Migration and Mobility

Unprecedented movements of people raise important questions about the ethics of human affiliation, migration, and status. Edward Said famously dissected discourses of the Other in nationalism and imperial projects. Extending this, Seyla Benhabib, perhaps the most noted ethicist of human mobility, examines *deterritorialization* and diverse populations complicating the idea of home and citizenship. Homi Bhabha and Arjun Appadurai have challenged monolithic or essentialist tendencies in universal ethics by calling attention to mobility's place in the cultural processes of hybridization, rupture, and imagination.

Organizations and movements that address migration and mobility frequently invoke the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights to provide common aspirations, a historical context, and a legal framework for rights inherent to all persons. A leading third-sector organization that operates under such principles is Amnesty International, which campaigns and conducts research, produces media and events, petitions governments, and provides legal services. The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees is a multilateral institution particularly active in the lives of displaced and traveling people.

Climate and Environment

Environmental problems like global warming and climate change and radioactive pollution radically expand our ethical reflection because they affect people and nonhumans worldwide while also highlighting our obligations to generations far into the future. The applied ethicist Peter Singer identifies global warming and climate disruption as a paramount universal ethical concern of this century. Giving voice to the particular vulnerabilities of agrarian cultures and women, the physicist Vandana Shiva makes universalist critiques of capitalist production's environmental effects. The U.S. activists Paul Hawken and Bill McKibben have emphasized both global interdependence and local organizing in response to environmental risks.

The 1987 Bruntland Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development, often called the origin of the sustainable development concept, developed a series of universalist ethical principles. Frameworks for the UN's 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro and later multinational conferences draw heavily on these principles. Recently, meetings of the UN Climate Change Conference have generated significant news coverage on and public activism about anthropogenic climate change and societies' responses. An early accord, the 1997 Kyoto Protocol—which obliges signatories to greenhouse gas emission reductions—was heralded as a major achievement in concerted global action on climate change. The activist organizations Climate Action Network International and 350.org are using a *networked particulars* strategy in the promotion of applied universal ethics.

Conclusion

There are several complexities with respect to universalism and universalizing tendencies in ethical thought and practice. First, universalism and absolutism need to be distinguished. Some efforts at universalism are pursued for minority groups and with a desire to open up possibilities for expression and representation (or voice). In other words, there can be an impulse within or version of universalism that is not authoritarian yet still has objectivist leanings.

Second, individuals should consider *totalizing* discourses in any domain, from psychology to political economy. Totalizing efforts need not take the form of structural explanations—à la Freud's psyche or Marx's class structure, to name just two examples; in this regard, many efforts at foundationalism or essentialism can be seen for their totalizing tendencies. This is precisely why Habermas, for instance, qualifies his claims about the communicative basis of rationality and ethics with the term *quasi-transcendental* in reference to knowledge-constitutive cognitive interests. Still, even that formulation may be somewhat oblivious to certain power differentials between persons within and across cultures.

Third, values or principles that are simultaneously announced to be natural and in need of bolstering are especially suspect. A good example is the way neoliberalism is often treated as both ethical and inevitable yet in need of constant support against charges that it functions amorally in practice. There is an inherent contradiction in holding, on the one hand, that a certain feature of society (including a moral position) is natural and inevitable and insisting, on the other, that it also needs constant support and advocacy.

Fourth, with all of the ways the edifice of universalism has been eroded, the question of how to avoid a lapse into relativism remains vexing. This is singularly important with respect to dealing with multiple cultures in both theoretical and practical terms.

Fifth and finally, casuistic ethical reasoning and its contemporary relationship to the *networking of particulars* offers one way to develop a contingent, self-reflexive, and current form of ethical universalism. In other words, a more process-sensitive approach to universalism incorporates constant movement between local interests/experience and global standards. Such a perspective, of course, necessitates dialogue in all instances where it is possible.

George Cheney, Brenden E. Kendall, and Debashish Munshi

See also Cosmopolitanism; Cultural Relativism; Essentialism; Ethical and Moral Reasoning

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Ethnic Cultural Identity Model

Researchers have been determined to understand the reasons behind the persistence of ethnicity in a country whose diverse population includes many individuals who maintain strong ethnic identities across boundaries. Historically, in the United States, ethnicity has been viewed as a broad category that includes, but is not limited to, national origin, political economy, and cultural construction through the process and adaptive nature of group bonding and negotiated through situational contexts. Thus, ethnicity has been linked interchangeably to labels such as ethnic identity/ethnic identification, cultural identity/cultural identification, racial identity, and ethnolinguistic identity. These labels and categories are perceived as both broad and narrow and are contextually studied across disciplines. To explore ethnic and cultural identity models and measures implies understanding the theoretical development of ethnic and racial socialization and the historic nature of ethnicity.

The term *identity* refers to the reflective self-concept or image that each person obtains from family, gender, cultural, ethnic, and individual socialization processes, at both the social identity and the personal identity level. Each person has primary personal identities that include unique attributes that are associated with a sense of self in comparison with those of others. Groups play a significant role in the development of self, and as individuals support their social identities by acquiring group memberships, the salience and formation of racial, ethnic, and cultural identities are integral.

Ethnic identity refers to the subjective sense of belonging with an ethnic group. By identifying with an ethnic group, an individual may create this identity based on past history or collective group experiences. Individuals perceive themselves and one another as belonging to the same ingroup by shared ancestral, historical, and emotional ties. Ethnic identity can be sustained by shared objective characteristics, such as a shared language or religion. *Cultural identity* is defined as the emotional significance and sense of belonging that individuals attach to the larger culture.

Over the past 30 years, numerous models of ethnic and cultural identity development have been introduced across the social sciences. These models can be viewed under three general approaches to ethnic and cultural identity. First, ethnic identity is viewed in the larger context of group membership based on shared political and economic conditions. Scholars who maintain this view hold that positive group interaction is an essential component of an ethnic identity. This idea incorporates sociological and psychological perspectives, including theories of assimilation, acculturation, and social identity. Second, ethnic identity has been addressed as a developmental model. In this perspective, identity transformation occurs throughout the life span of an individual and is based on experiences of ethnic discovery. Ethnic-specific measures are used by scholars to track stages within a specific ethnic group. Finally, ethnic identity as a process has been linked with ethnic identity research as an outcome of adapting to the dominant group and through the process of identity negotiation within the individual and among the ethnic group members. Let us review each of these contributions in turn.

Group Membership

The earliest research interest in ethnic and cultural identity stemmed from sociological studies of assimilation concerned with the circumstances or social conditions associated with ethnicity. Assimilation is defined as the process by which an individual of a minority group takes on the characteristics of the majority group. The most frequently cited researcher who employed the assimilationist perspective was Milton Gordon. According to Gordon, the progression toward assimilation is measured by an individual's ability to adapt to and fit in with the dominant group, both politically and economically. Complete assimilation occurs when economic and sentimental ties with the traditional culture disappear.

Acculturation

To understand how ethnic individuals see themselves in relation to both their ethnic group (traditional ethnic group) and the society at large (dominant group), John Berry and associates developed a theoretical model based in large part on the assimilation process. Berry's research explores the psychological aspects of acculturation within the cultural context. Specifically, the studies relate to the consequences that occurred when two dominant cultural groups came into contact with each other in pluralistic societies. The two consequences are the psychological behaviors associated with an individual of an ethnic minority group avoiding or interacting with the dominant group.

From this perspective, the acculturation model demonstrates how individuals have strong or weak ethnic identities. Using four strategies or outcomes, individuals are assessed according to their answers to two yes/no issues/questions: (1) Is it of value to retain one's cultural identity and (2) is it of value to have positive relations with the larger (dominant) society? The answers to these two questions led to four specific identity types that were labeled separation, marginalization, assimilation, and integration.

The *separated* identity refers to individuals who emphasize the value of retaining their ethnic culture and avoiding interacting with the dominant group. Separation implies a higher degree of acculturative stress that occurs with interaction with the dominant group. The *marginal* identity refers to individuals who feel torn between the dominant group and the ethnic group and have loyalty to neither. Marginality can be described as the coexistence of two strong cultural traditions and the lack of interest in cultural maintenance. An *integrated* identity refers to individuals who feel secure in their own ethnic culture and accept differences within the larger society, which is a condition for multicultural acceptance. Integration implies a form of bicultural identity. Bicultural individuals weave two strong cultures by integrating past experiences with present conditions and find a balance to accommodate the two cultures at the same time.

The last identity in the acculturation model is the *assimilated* identity type. The assimilation type differs from the integration type in three respects. First, there is complete identification with the dominant group, whereas integrated individuals do not attempt to change their ethnic identity to identify with the larger society. Second, assimilated individuals have similar subprocesses to the dominant group with reference to values, behaviors, and attitudes. Finally, assimilated individuals do not stress mutual contributions and adjustments with the dominant society.

Ethnic Identity Developmental Perspective

Racial/cultural identity development models examine psychological development from the level of racial similarity. The concern, in general, is to what degree individuals identify with the racial/ethnic group with which they share a common ethnic heritage. The process of ethnic identification includes the psychological implications of racial group membership, as well as the beliefs that have evolved from perceived racial group membership. These models suggest that ethnic individuals share similar experiences and struggles with their identity.

Some of the most prolific and well-cited research in racial identity among African Americans has been the work of W. E. Cross and J. Helms, offering a clear theoretical model of how ethnic individuals develop their identity. Cross developed a model of nigrescence, where *nigrescence* refers to the psychology of becoming Black. Revisions of the theory have indicated the transformation of an identity across an individual's life span through a four-stage process: (1) pre-encounter, (2) encounter, (3) immersion–emersion, and (4) internalization. In the pre-encounter stage, individuals are more inclined to view their world as being against their ethnic group and in favor of the dominant group. The encounter stage represents a period of confusion and transition. Individuals experience an awakening that propels them to become aware of what it means to be a member of their ethnic group. They may (or may not) start to validate and identify themselves in terms of their ethnic identity in this stage. As individuals struggle to discover their ethnic identity, they move into the immersion–emersion stage. Individuals reject the dominant cultural values and immerse themselves in their own ethnic culture. Internalization occurs when individuals develop a self-confident and secure ethnic identity and, at the same time, are comfortable expressing interest in dominant group values. The Cross model has been used widely to investigate racial identity in the area of counseling and psychotherapy and has been amended by J. Helms and associates. The Black Racial Identity Attitude Scale (RIAS-B), created by Thomas A. Parham and Helms (1985), measures four of the five general stages of racial identity (pre-encounter, encounter, emersion–immersion, and internalization).

Although these identity development models pertain specifically to African Americans, other scholars have been influenced by both Cross and Helms and have proposed similar developmental theories. Jean S. Phinney proposed a three-stage adolescent ethnic identity development model. The first stage describes those who have not examined their ethnic identity. These include early adolescents and perhaps adults who have not been exposed to ethnic identity issues. The preference for the dominant culture is not a characteristic of individuals in this stage. The second stage includes those who have explored their ethnic identity. This stage often involves an intense process of immersion in one's own cultural group through active ethnic participation (e.g., reading, talking with people, and attending cultural events) or rejecting the values of the dominant culture. The final stage refers to individuals who have achieved or internalized their ethnic identity. These individuals have developed a deep understanding and appreciation of their ethnic identity. The culmination of the three-stage process requires a resolution of or coming to terms with the cultural differences between their own ethnic group and the dominant group.

Donald R. Atkinson, George Morten, and Derald Wing Sue developed the five-stage Minority Identity Development Model (MIDM), which has been refined and elaborated as the Racial/Cultural Identity Development Model (R/CID). This developmental model defines the five stages that ethnic members experience as they struggle to understand themselves in terms of their own culture, the dominant culture, and the intersected relationship between the two cultures. In the conformity stage, individuals prefer the dominant culture over their own ethnic group culture. Their identification with the Euro-American group is quite strong, while the characteristics of their own ethnic group (lifestyle, cultural/physical attributes, value systems) are viewed with disdain or are repressed. Individuals in the dissonance stage are in conflict over the disparate pieces of information or experiences that challenge their current self-concept. Individuals in the resistance and immersion stage completely endorse their own ethnic group views and reject the dominant values of the society. These individuals react strongly against the Euro-American social, cultural, and institutional standards.

There are several factors that move individuals into the introspection stage. First, individuals recognize that the intense level of feelings toward European Americans is too draining and that such anger does not promote better cultural awareness about themselves or their ethnic group. Second, ethnic group views may now be seen as in conflict with individual ones. Individuals experience feelings of discontent and discomfort with ethnic group views. On reaching the integrative awareness stage, there is an inner sense of security for ethnic individuals, who can appreciate both cultures at the same time. The conflicts and discomfort they experienced in the previous stage are resolved.

Process of Ethnic Identification

Intercultural Identity

By combining the psychological (affective, behavioral, and cognitive), social (interpersonal and mass communication), and environmental explanations, Y. Y. Kim explains ethnic and cultural identity as the stress–adaptation–growth process of an individual. The social and psychological dimensions of adaptation are conceived as different but interrelated facets of cross-cultural adaptation. The degree of intercultural development influences an individual's capacity to function in a multicultural society by undergoing the struggle to manage the stress, successfully adapt, and maintain ethnic identity distinctiveness. The result is an *intercultural identity*, defined as an increase in the individual's capacity to integrate conflicting cultural demands into a single identity. In essence, an individual who expands identity boundaries by incorporating new cultural elements should not be perceived as a disloyal ethnic group member. Rather, the merging of ethnic boundaries is perceived as a matter of personal necessity and value for the individual.

Identity Negotiation

Stella Ting-Toomey has contributed the *identity negotiation theory*, which stems from the belief that humans have universal needs for security and inclusion. Ethnic identity represents a contradictory state between a sense of group belonging and a sense of wanting to become separate from the group. Thus, the ultimate challenge for an individual is to find the balance between both opposing states. An instrument was developed to assess the degree of ethnic identity salience, resulting in four ethnic identity dimensions: (1) belonging—where individuals have feelings of ethnic belonging and feel comfortable identifying with both ethnic group membership and the dominant culture; (2) fringe—where individuals have feelings of unsettlement because they do not identify with either the ethnic group or the dominant culture; (3) interaction—where individuals seek either separation from the dominant group or interaction with them; and (4) assimilation—where individuals hold attitudes associated with the desire to blend into the dominant group. Identity negotiation clearly intersects communication, identity, and group membership.

The ethnic and cultural identity models provide insight into the formation, development, negotiation, complexity, and process of individuals' understanding of the implications of their identities. Cultural identity is part of the process of group membership and explains behavior with reference to an individual's group membership, not exclusively in terms of the individual characteristics of identity development. In being aware of one's own multifaceted self-concept, it is important that a deeper awareness is gained of the complex, multifaceted identities of culturally different others.

Leeva Chung

See also Biracial Identity; Culture-Specific Identity Development Models; Double-Swing Model; Identity and Intergroup Communication; Identity Management Theory; Identity Negotiation Theory

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ETHNICITY

Ethnicity refers to a collective sense of belonging with people who share a common history of experiences, beliefs, language, and culture that includes identification with a homeland, or place of origin of ancestral roots, manifesting itself as a strong, unifying relationship among group members. A common history of experiences includes the formulation of experiences from one generation to the next that have become common practice and accepted among the ethnic group's interpretation of their reality.

The ethnic group may identify with the history of dominance over other ethnic groups based on issues such as race, skin color, economics, language, and education. An ethnic group may also identify with a history of discrimination and prejudice from experiences such as slavery, unjust laws that favor the dominant ethnic group, lack of citizenship status, lack of voting rights, the use of one dominant language, and the historical social politics of skin color. Such examples would include the ethnic group having migrated to a new country or environment in search of better opportunities to prosper; fleeing from an abusive, oppressive country; and experiences of dealing with documented, as well as undocumented, legal status in the new country. Or the ethnic group may have already existed in an environment that was conquered by other ethnic groups, who then relegated it to a minority versus dominant status in that society.

The collective sense of this ethnic status can exist from generation to generation. The interpretation of this ethnic status, along with a history of personal experiences and societal events, reinforces the ethnic group's perceptions of their existence in that society. The combination of a perceived ethnic status in society coupled with shared participation in religious practices, a shared language, common foods, traditional cultural beliefs (e.g., that elders should be venerated), and traditional folk remedies for different ailments, among many other things common to the ethnic group, create the framework for defining membership in the group. The combination of all of these experiences, traditions, and culture is what creates an insider's view of a knowledge base and an emotional connection to the most meaningful components that define ethnicity for a member of the ethnic group. The insider's view is what creates the differentiation of one ethnic group from another and solidifies a person's membership within the ethnic group of origin, while at the same time describing members without this view as outsiders. For instance, in the United States, ethnic cultures are co-cultures or minority cultures within the dominant, nationally recognized majority culture (i.e., "being an American").

The next section presents an explanation of acculturation and the choices ethnic group members face as they develop a sense of their own ethnicity. Next, the differences between ethnicity and race are explained. The entry concludes with a discussion of the impact of multiple social, historical, and political issues on ethnicity.

Acculturation

The continuous contact between the minority ethnic culture of origin and the majority culture results in what is recognized as the process of acculturation.

Acculturation is a process where two or more cultures come into constant contact, creating changes in one or the other culture. In general, the process of acculturation refers to the adjustment experiences of ethnic minority groups and immigrants to describe the experiences of incorporating their minority ethnic culture of origin within the majority culture or of their adding the skills and knowledge of the dominant culture to their existing culture in various ways. Models of acculturation are used as a way to explain the adjustments of ethnic minority cultural traits and experiences in the minority and dominant majority cultures that minority ethnic individuals throughout the world make during their lives.

Models of acculturation are usually conceptualized from three different perspectives: (1) single continuum, (2) two-culture matrix, and (3) multidimensional. In the *single-continuum* model, ethnic minority members personally consider exchanging an ethnic cultural trait of origin for an American cultural trait. In the *two-culture matrix* model, there are two cultures at separate continuums. Ethnic minority persons consider whether or not to adopt different cultural traits from each ethnic culture totally, accept only one trait belonging to the ethnic cultures (minority or majority), or not accept traits from either ethnic culture. The *multidimensional* acculturation model takes into consideration each cultural trait on a single basis. Ethnic minority persons may decide to attain a new cultural trait but can still retain many of the ethnic minority cultural traits. This results in a process of developing proficiency in the majority American cultural traits and maintaining the ethnic minority cultural traits of origin. Some models also suggest a rejection of both cultural identities.

Throughout all three acculturation models, it is evident that the exchange of cultural traits is crucial for maintenance and adaptation within the minority and majority cultures. In the first two models, it is assumed that there is an exchange of cultural traits between the ethnic cultures, with an all-or-nothing result. The third model speaks to a more natural process of dealing with ethnic cultural traits from either the minority or the majority ethnic culture. In this model, the ethnic minority cultural traits or the acquired ethnic majority cultural traits are not diminished or exchanged for a new cultural trait. Instead, ethnic minority persons can acquire new ethnic cultural traits at varying levels of proficiency or improve on the proficiency of existing ethnic cultural traits. In this model, ethnic minority persons engage in the process of integrating the cultural traits that they have learned from their family of origin or chosen culture of origin, while also continuing their journey of making personal choices concerning which cultural traits to adopt, expand on, or use less with personal interactions in different cultural contexts. The result is a collection of individualized ethnic cultural traits, at varying levels of proficiency, that become rooted within the ethnic minority person, continue to be maintained throughout life, and are passed on to each succeeding generation.

Ethnicity is often confused with the concept of race because of the social political history that has given race meaning through practices of discrimination and prejudice. Race in and of itself has no biological meaning without this socially constructed meaning and its history. This makes the issue of race an important subset of ethnicity that plays a salient role in the development of a person's ethnic and racial development.

Race and Ethnicity

Race is a social, historical, and politically developed construct based on how ethnic minority groups have been depicted through things such as physical features and skin color, which have been used to justify differential discriminatory treatments in society, leading to a minority or dominant status of existence. Race is considered a subset of ethnicity because in various ethnic groups, individuals can range from very dark to very light complexions and have differing facial features and yet still be from the same ethnic group. This creates another layer of complexity when superimposed on the concept of ethnicity. The interchanging nature of the construct of race and the concept of ethnicity have led to models of ethnic and racial development based on the social, political, and historically developed constructs of discrimination and prejudice. The ethnic/racial identity models depict the process of change in development through a range from three to six levels (stages, or phases, of consciousness) that describe differences in people's ethnic self-awareness. A developmental process is imposed throughout the models beginning with lack of self-awareness and leading to self-actualization.

The models begin with a level of development depicting lack of awareness and being oblivious to the context that a person lives in, proceeding to the level of negotiating experiences of critical discriminatory incidents that create an experience of reflection, leading to an experience of immersion with one's ethnic/racial group. This process inspires a person to understand his or her identity development as an individual from an ethnic minority culture, as opposed to a majority culture. During this immersion phase, people attempt to learn and experience everything from their culture of birth or the culture they grew up in. During the immersion experience, the person develops a stronger awareness of discrimination and racism, while engaging and negotiating a process to acquire more knowledge about the minority culture of origin.

Initially, this process creates challenges for the person to confront historically learned beliefs related to gender roles, hierarchy, collectivism, interpersonal relationships, gradations of the impact of skin complexion, and physical features in society. These experiences lead the ethnic minority person to search for answers to these issues in hopes of reaching a more integrated understanding of his or her own ethnic/racial identity. The success of this process would lead the individual to become more self-actualized, developing critical thinking skills related to the culture of origin and discriminatory prejudicial incidents and events. The self-actualizing process for ethnic minority people is aspirational in nature. It is a progression into the developmental journey to a healthy well-being in relation to one's ethnic/racial identity. Apparent across the ethnic/racial identity models is the assumption that the development of an ethnic/racial identity begins with an understanding of and negotiation with the dominant culture and propels the self-defining process of understanding ethnic/racial identity. It is a developmental process, coupled with critical incidents of discrimination or prejudices that advance a person to a higher level of consciousness about his or her ethnicity; the process of awareness begins with the experience of a critical incident that projects the ethnic minority person to reevaluate his or her current beliefs about his or her ethnic/racial identity. Resolving this level of consciousness leads the ethnic minority person to pursue a collectivistic understanding of ethnic/racial identity. The thorough understanding of the collectivistic experience and self-negotiation of one's history of ethnic experiences inspires the person to internally pursue a process leading to an integrated individualistic and collectivistic, self-actualized ethnic/racial minority person.

The ethnic/racial models were first developed with little consideration of the experiences regarding the impact of gender within the development of ethnic and racial identity. In addition, these models do not address the intersection of the multiple identities of ethnic/racial minority women and men. A criticism of the ethnic/racial models is that ethnicity and race are much more salient than issues of socioeconomic class, language, and differentiation of skin tone among ethnic/racial minorities. The acknowledgment of the impact of these multiple issues creates numerous complexities in the development of ethnicity.

Impact of Multiple Social, Historical, and Political Issues on Ethnicity

A person's ethnic/racial identity and acculturation process is dynamic; socially, historically, and politically constructed; negotiated through discourse; and influenced by socioeconomic class, language, and the person's perception of physical features and skin tone complexion through various interpersonal cultural contexts. For instance, in the United States, many ethnic groups of European descent who spoke English and had light skin tones and fine physical features were granted the highest levels of acceptance, privileges, and dominance as the unified preferred ethnic group described as "American." Officially developed laws on voting rights, education, and language, along with socially constructed perceptions and stereotypes of ethnic persons, succeeded historically in maintaining such differential statuses among ethnic groups. Many who met the preferred ethnic group criteria soon realized the privileges thus provided. They adapted quickly at the expense of eliminating much of their ancestral history and ties to their ethnicity in becoming Americans. Other ethnic groups who met the idealized criteria privately separated from their ancestral roots and presented a public persona of being American. However, ethnic groups who did not meet the idealized criteria became known as ethnic minorities, identified as "hyphenated ethnic" persons. These ethnic minorities came to be self-identified as Mexican Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans, in keeping with the social political history of the United States. These statuses often served to maintain language, ancestral history, and traditions among minority ethnic groups and allowed the dominant ethnic groups to maintain discriminatory practices toward them. It is evident from this discussion that an in-depth understanding of how a person authenticates his or her ethnicity—either through birthright or by lived experiences, combined with ancestral history, status in society, and belonging to an ethnic minority or dominant majority group—directly affects the experience of identifying with that ethnic/racial identity.

Luis A. Vazquez

See also Acculturation; Ethnic Cultural Identity Model; Language and Identity; Racial Identity Development Models

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Ethnographic Research

Within the broad field of intercultural communication, *ethnographic research* focuses on the study of human communication as the culture-specific, patterned, subjective, deeply felt, and socially consequential expression of shared beliefs, values, attitudes, longings, and intentions—or culture—of a particular group of people. It is important to note that although nationality, race, and ethnicity may have influence, it is as meaning-making systems that culture is studied.

This entry provides a description of the nature of ethnography, cultural communication research, and intercultural communication research.

The Nature of Ethnography

With its origins in anthropology, ethnography pertains to three aspects for conducting the study of a particular people's culture or meaning-making systems. Ethnography refers to three interrelated features: (1) a qualitative research method for studying culture, (2) a theoretical lens for viewing and explaining culture, and (3) the document or writing that results from the particular cultural case study. Since its beginnings in the 18th century, ethnography has been used primarily in anthropology, but it is increasingly used across disciplines as diverse as advertising, communication studies, criminology, cultural studies, economics, education, ethnomusicology, geography, history, linguistics, medicine, performance studies, political science, psychology, social work, sociology, and usability. Methodologically, ethnographic work is characterized by emic, in situ, inductive, and microlevel perspectives.

Although purely objective work is impossible to achieve, ethnographers attempt to minimize apprehending the world from their own vantage point and try, instead, to look from an emic, or insider's, perspective. That is, participant-investigators immerse themselves in a particular community to observe and describe the way of life of the particular people from the point of view of the subjects. Studying culture in situated, observable contexts is also known as naturalistic or in situ inquiry. Ethnographers conduct in situ research from an emic perspective and then proceed inductively, moving from specific interactions to broader inferences. They remain aware of the specific circumstances surrounding a situation or context within which an interaction occurs and is given meaning, while observing real-time, microlevel interactions in people's everyday social lives. From there, ethnographers move to make modest generalizations about the communal life they have observed, being careful not to overgeneralize to an entire population.

Besides participant observation and the attendant activity of taking methodical and systematic field notes as data collection strategies, ethnographers also use interviewing, focus group conversations, archival materials, physically present artifacts (e.g., dress, art, and signage), technologically mediated communication, and any other available means for understanding what is going on in the social lives of the people they are studying. In today's technology-oriented world, video and web-based resources serve not only as adjunct tools for ethnographic research but also as the site for study.

Ethnographic Research and Cultural Communication

In communication studies, ethnographic research has been used across subdisciplines, including cultural and intercultural communication. Cultural and intercultural viewpoints have been brought to bear in a variety of contexts, among them family life, environmental scenes, healthcare, education, organizations, religious practices, and political life. In cultural communication, a specific community or society is studied on its own terms to abstract the intricate webs of meaning that inform their way of life.

The ethnography of cultural communication, which is a field of study that originated in linguistic anthropology, has made many contributions to the study of human communication. The ethnography of communication treats communication as a cultural activity. It explicitly focuses on the systematic investigation of the linkages between culture and communication phenomena (e.g., terms of address and terms of reference, silence, gendered ways of speaking, identity markers, speech acts, metaphors, political terms, environmental vocabularies, narratives and storytelling, rituals, and mass public encounters). Practitioners of the ethnography of communication have studied at least nine languages in more than a dozen parts of the world. Ethnographies following this tradition include work on American, American Indian, Chinese, Colombian, Finnish, German, Hungarian, Israeli, Japanese, and Mexican ways of communicating. This body of research deals with communication scenes in churches, construction sites, museums, national parks, sports venues, social support agencies, and universities. It also includes technology-mediated sites such as virtual platforms, newspapers, radio, and television.

Ethnographic Research and Intercultural Communication

Whereas cultural communication focuses on abstracting individual meaning systems, intercultural communication approaches bring two or more such systems into contact with one another. It is in intercultural junctures that the distinctiveness of meaning systems comes into sharp focus. Moreover, it is at this nexus that the potential for human misunderstanding or convergence can be isolated. In stepping back from ethnocentric views to understand the world through the cultural lenses others use, ethnographic scholarship has offered a qualitatively rich, albeit quantitatively limited, yield. Ethnographic work includes studies about silence, speaking styles, speaking practices, and other communication phenomena (e.g., core cultural terms, personal address, identity markers, and speech acts).

A communication phenomenon that has proven to be especially fruitful for ethnographic cultural and intercultural inquiry is communicative silence. Ethnographic work has shown that there are marked differences between Western and non-Western practices. For example, American Indian communication often used silence to create particular cultural identities, to perpetuate those cultural identities, and to protect cultural knowledge and traditions. Specifically, American Indians used silence to distinguish themselves from what they described as their White counterparts. They used silence strategically to preserve and continue a communicative practice that distinguished them from other peoples and to discourage outsiders from encroaching on and appropriating sacred knowledge. Other ethnographic work argued that American Indian interactants used silence to negotiate uncertainty when they were unclear about the nature of the relationships among people in particular situations.

Research with other populations revealed that Japanese use of silence conflicted with Australian approaches. Through a combination of macro- and micro-ethnographic analyses, this work showed that the extensive use of face-saving silence by Japanese students was misunderstood by their Australian instructors and resulted in negative evaluations of the Japanese students. Another inquiry explored situations where Finnish use of silence collided with mainstream American practices. In both cases, the Japanese and Finnish enactments of silence were shown to contrast with Australian and American cultural notions about politeness and rudeness.

As with silence, spoken practices also have served as productive communication phenomena for intercultural exploration. Ethnographic research has found that variance in speaking styles, speech acts, and terms of address produce generative as well as unintended social outcomes. For example, *dugri* speech, which is used by Israeli Sabra, has been contrasted with *musayara*, which is used by many Arabs. *Dugri* is characterized by a way of speaking that is straightforward, blunt, and spontaneous, while *musayara* is more indirect, elaborate, and planned. Research shows that when speakers of different styles come together, even if their initial intentions are positive, cultural expectations about what is considered appropriate communication can result in conflict and frustration.

Compliment interactions also have been studied for their contribution to understanding intercultural meaning making. For example, ethnographers have contrasted the way Chinese individuals respond to compliments compared with their U.S. counterparts. Research showed that Chinese communicators offered significantly fewer messages of praise than U.S. speakers. This difference was explained as linked to the difference between individualistic and collectivistic belief and value orientations. Members of individualistic cultures used compliments more frequently, about more topics, and with more exaggerated descriptors to negotiate solidarity, express encouragement, and build self-esteem. Conversely, members of group-oriented cultures tended to use compliments to express admiration. For instance, Chinese communicators preferred more restrained compliments that helped motivate others to do better, and to maintain the cultural emphasis on humility and modesty.

The terms that people use to address or refer to one another also have proven to be fertile entry points for accessing culture. Ethnographic inquiries into the use of titles, honorifics, and pronominal forms include studies with American English, Mexican Spanish, Colombian Spanish, German, and Russian, among others. Seen as systems of meaning rather than as indicating nationality, ethnicity, or race, intercultural communication can occur in interactions involving people who are from the same geographic region and use the same language but who are proceeding from very different, even oppositional worldviews. For example, ethnographic work on Mexican pronominal usage (ways of addressing others as *you*) showed how construction workers across hierarchical ranks used *tú* (informal "you") and *usted* (formal "you") to construct interpersonal relationships that, in turn, translated into networks of workplace cooperation. The construction workers revealed themselves to be artful negotiators of the contrasting meaning systems implicated in the uses of *tú* and *usted*, using them to (a) create shared understandings, (b) accomplish their jobs more productively, or even (c) disrupt interpersonal relationships. By using these systems across a variety of contexts, they were able to express a range of emotions from extreme affection to extreme anger. Furthermore, they showed how manipulating pronouns could help avert interpersonal misunderstandings as well as conflict.

Ethnographic work on Hungarian ways of speaking also demonstrates the differences that can exist even within a shared nationality and language. This body of research delves into the ways Hungarians from different communities with contrasting worldviews can disagree about whether *hate speech* is defined by its hateful tone or its discriminatory or racist content. Each group of debaters proceeds from a different worldview about what does and does not constitute human dignity and, thus, whether hate speech should or should not be sanctioned. Traditional perspectives on intercultural communication do not account for the fact that hate speech debates are often about taking sides, about particular group membership, and about discrediting the opposing community. In these intercultural moments, outcomes are not based on cultural misunderstanding as much as they are on using one's own ethnic interactional style to make identity claims.

The Value of Ethnographic Research

Although it is, indeed, difficult to define intercultural communication, ethnographic research has proven to be a useful tool for accessing culturally informed human systems of meaning making that can work in harmony with one another. It has illuminated ways for understanding how people reflect and constitute their beliefs, values, attitudes, longings, and intentions about living their lives. Moreover, ethnographic inquiry has shown that cultures are dynamic and in a state of constant flux and that communication is a lively process involving real people during real-time, everyday interactions and, therefore, must be studied within contextual boundaries. Ethnography, then, fundamentally focuses on the study of the particular situation, of a particular people at a particular historical moment, and from that vantage point creates a particular meaning. It goes beyond enhancing our understandings about people who are similar to or different from us. Ethnographic research ultimately serves as a means for using these understandings to honor the integrity of people—as individuals and as members of groups—and to promote more competent intercultural interactions.

Patricia O. Covarrubias

See also Intercultural Competence Development; Speech Acts

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Expatriates

Intercultural competence among expatriates who successfully adjust to the culture of their county of assignment consists of a set of attitudes, attributes, and behavioral styles. These competencies are learned and become indicators of individual character as a natural part of the psychological development and acculturation process in one's home country, but they must be refined to help one adapt to the ways people think, feel, and act in another country.

It is important to differentiate between intercultural competence on the one hand, and behavioral manifestations of this competence, on the other, as a person successfully adjusts while living and working in the new culture. Competence in this sense is considered predictive of intercultural adjustment, which in turn is considered the desired outcome of this competence (see Figure 1).

This entry describes selected competencies that predict adjustment outcomes over time. Measured by multi-item scales and verified by the behavioral interview technique, these competencies have produced good reliability and significant predictive

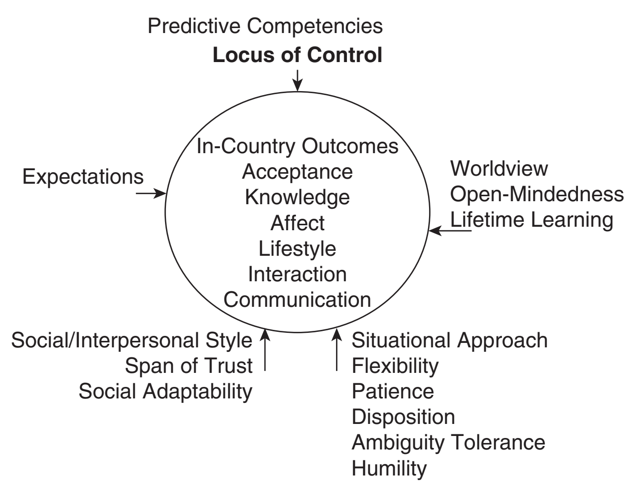

Figure 1 Intercultural Competence Among Successful Expatriates and In-Country Adjustment Outcomes

validity. The entry focuses on corporate expatriates and the specific competencies that research suggests facilitate their adjustment to both personal and professional cultural contexts.

Predictive Intercultural Competencies

Expectations

Positive expectations and feelings are important when preparing for an international assignment, living and working in another country, and possibly learning another language. The power of this competency can be seen from the *expectancy theory* of Victor H. Vroom, which suggests that those with positive expectations regarding an international assignment place high value on successful outcomes and therefore have a strong motivational force to engage in behaviors that lead to achievement of those outcomes.

Internal Locus of Control

This refers to the belief in being able to control, shape, and direct the course of life through one's own efforts and being accountable instead of being controlled by fate, luck, or circumstance. This construct comes from the original work of J. B. Rotter and has been shown to lead to successful intercultural adjustment as well as many other aspects of healthy human functioning. *Internals* display initiative in taking charge of new and challenging situations and take the lead in accomplishing tasks. This is shown in the expatriate work environment as well as in daily life. Taking care of everyday responsibilities in a new country can often be more complicated than one would expect. Expatriates often comment that tasks such as arranging for household repairs and services or dealing with banking, government offices, and other bureaucracies can be frustrating and require a high degree of initiative.

Worldview: Open-Mindedness

Open-mindedness refers to being receptive and nonjudgmental about the different ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving in other cultures, without feeling challenged or threatened. This includes other spiritual and political beliefs. It is the opposite of ethnocentrism, which is judging another culture by the values and standards of one's own culture.

Every culture has customs, practices, and beliefs that make it unique, and these characteristics need to be accepted and respected as being valid for the people of that culture. Open-minded individuals can accept lifestyles and beliefs that differ from their own, and they do not feel that their country's ways of doing things are inherently superior to the ways of others. An accepting point of view does not allow for overt unfavorable comparisons with the home country but fosters interaction with the local people on a meaningful level, increases knowledge of the new country and customs, and promotes mutual acceptance.

Worldview: Lifetime Learning

Successful expatriates have a commitment to lifelong learning, consistently access a variety of information sources, and engage in discussions regarding a wide spectrum of subject matter, particularly current global events.

An expatriate has much to assimilate regarding the host culture, its history, values, norms, business practices, and current events. Expatriates who are able to do this come to feel comfortable in their new country, and they are more readily accepted by local nationals. This commitment to learning about a new culture is a characteristic of those who have established a pattern of learning over their lifetimes.

Social/Interpersonal Style: Span of Trust

Valuing trust in interpersonal relationships, having the ability to build and maintain trust in others, and being trusting without being naive lead to building new connections with a trusting, nonsuspicious attitude. Stephen M. R. Covey has shown that a narrow span of trust or an attitude of mistrust slows down every aspect of interactions, including every decision, every communication, and the ultimate development of every relationship. On the other hand, high trust saves time, with less effort spent worrying about or checking up on what others are doing.

The ability to have and maintain an attitude of trust in other people is important to forming meaningful relationships with members of a different culture. If individuals expect others to let them down, they may convey an attitude of suspicion and distrust. This could create an environment that slows or prevents interaction with the local people and acquisition of knowledge about the new country and culture.

Social/Interpersonal Style: Social Adaptability

Social adaptability is the ability to be comfortable, at ease, and conversant in new and unfamiliar social settings, being energized by interacting with others, and preferring to work and spend free time with others instead of being alone. This competency includes showing interest in others by remembering information about them in ongoing conversations.

Successful expatriates get to know and understand the local people, interact with them, and establish friendships. They do not avoid differences but rather enjoy them. Individuals who are socially comfortable have more interactions on all levels with the local people, have greater knowledge about the culture and country, and have reported more satisfying lifestyles than those who are not socially comfortable.

Situational Approach: Flexibility

Flexibility is defined as the willingness and ability to consider and accept different viewpoints, ideas, and plans without unduly defending and promoting one's own. Flexibility is also characterized by valuing and seeking input from others and seeking out new challenges instead of relying on the familiar.

Accepting new ideas and seeing more than one valid way of solving a problem can facilitate getting things done in a new culture and can also make it easier to work with people whose ideas are different from one's own. Life in a new country involves getting to know new people, accepting new ways of doing things, and adjusting to new locales. Successful expatriates are able to step outside their comfort zone and take chances, even when outcomes are uncertain.

Situational Approach: Patience

Patience is required to deal successfully with people who take a longer time to do things than one would like, as well as for managing unanticipated delays and frustrating situations. This competency is especially useful when expectations are high and these expectations are not met.

Some cultures tend to quantify and measure time and depend heavily on clocks and calendars. Others have a more fluid and relaxed attitude toward time and do not subscribe to the axiom that time is money. When cultures differ in their notions of time and timeliness, successful expatriates come to understand and adapt to these differences as they are expressed in daily life.

Situational Approach: Even Disposition

Taking things in stride and coping with difficult, tense, or confusing situations while remaining calm can be described as possessing an even disposition. Using appropriate humor to manage stressful situations is a common coping strategy, along with not taking things too seriously and avoiding excessive self-criticism when one makes mistakes. Successful expatriates show an even disposition and reduce stress by taking their mistakes in stride, learning from them, and not taking them too much to heart.

Situational Approach: Tolerance of Ambiguity

A tolerance for ambiguity means dealing well with situations involving uncertainty or unexpected outcomes, managing situations where there are no clear rules or guidelines, and being able to work through gray areas to a successful outcome.

When entering a new country and culture, a person confronts much that is unfamiliar. There seem to be no rules or understandable patterns, even for the normal routine of daily living; in short, there is a great deal of ambiguity that requires a great deal of tolerance.

Situational Approach: Cultural Humility

Cultural humility is demonstrated by taking a low-key approach so that one is not seen as egotistical or arrogant. Recognizing that there is more than one way to view the world and that one's own way is not necessarily the best way is a critical aspect of cultural humility. Furthermore, not drawing attention to oneself and being willing to share credit for accomplishments are also key to cultural humility. Successful expatriates engage in social and professional adjustment with a sense of humility.

Additional Areas of Importance for Expatriates

There are three areas of importance for expatriate success in addition to the competencies described above. Motivations for seeking or accepting an international assignment should be driven by job and career needs as well as personal needs for the challenges and experience of living and working in another country. The second area of additional importance is the ability to function well in living conditions that are very different from what one is used to. This is true whether one is moving from a rural area to an urban one or vice versa. It involves being able to adjust to different climates, water, food, and living spaces and getting used to congestion, pollution, and so on. The third area is important when an expatriate is married or is being accompanied by a partner. It is essential that a good relationship exists prior to the international assignment because great stress is placed on that relationship during the intercultural adjustment process.

Michael F. Tucker

See also Acculturation; Anxiety and Uncertainty Management; Assimilation; Cultural Humility; Cultural Self-Awareness; Curiosity; Intercultural Competence Development; Intercultural Sensitivity; Locus of Control

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Expectancy Violations Theory

Expectancy violations theory (EVT) is a communication theory that originated as an account of the role of proxemics in interpersonal interactions and was called a theory of personal space violations. *Proxemics* refers to the use, arrangement, and interpretation of interpersonal spacing and distancing. Edward T. Hall's description of proxemics as a nonverbal means of communicating within a culture variously referred to proxemics as a *hidden dimension* or *silent language* of culture. EVT initially cataloged the various expectations surrounding the use of personal space and distancing in interpersonal interactions, and it predicted the effects of violating those expectations. Soon the theory was expanded to include other forms of violations beyond proxemics; hence, the name change to EVT, and today its principles are considered relevant to verbal as well as nonverbal phenomena. Although early explications of the theory drew most heavily on distancing norms and expectations in Western cultures, the theory's constructs and principles are conceived as universal and therefore relevant to intercultural and cross-cultural comparisons.

The following section defines EVT and offers three factors that govern norms and expectations. Next, reward valence, the dual interpretation–evaluation appraisal process, and violations and confirmations of expectations in interactions are discussed. The testing and support of EVT are explained, and the entry concludes with ways in which EVT applies to intercultural interactions.

Norms and Expectations

EVT begins with the premise that people develop expectations for the communicative behavior of others. These expectations are based on (a) the social norms for a given setting, situation, or culture and (b) any individuating knowledge that the interacting people have of one another's idiosyncratic (nonconforming) behavior. For example, although the norm in cultures designated as *noncontact* is to avoid touching others in public, the expectation for an individual who frequently hugs others will be for frequent interpersonal touch.

The factors that govern norms and expectations fall into three categories: (1) actor, (2) relationship, and (3) context variables. *Actor variables* are ones that pertain to the characteristics of each individual in an encounter. Demographics such as age and gender, sociological factors such as education and income, personality factors such as introversion–extroversion and Machiavellianism, and cultural factors such as nationality and first language, all combine to produce an expectancy profile for each individual. *Relationship variables* such as the degree of familiarity, affection, trust, and power differential also influence what is expected. Others who are familiar, well liked, trusted, and of equal status and power are expected to interact at closer distances than those who are strangers, disliked, distrusted, or more powerful. *Context variables* are norms and expectations associated with the setting, physical locale, formality, privacy, and task orientation of the communication situation. These factors, too, influence the net expectations that are held by the persons interacting.

Expectancies are not single points; they are ranges. The expected distance range for social conversation might be 4–6 feet in Culture A and 6–8 feet in Culture B. *Violations* occur when a person's behavior falls outside the normative or expected range, surpassing a perceptual threshold by which the behavior is perceived as different from the expected behavior. Violations are arousing and draw attention toward the person committing the violation and the appraisal of the violation act.

Reward Valence

Interacting persons have a valence associated with them, which is to say, they can be placed on a positive-to-negative continuum based on factors such as how attractive, well liked, knowledgeable, trustworthy, and so forth they are. In communication research, these social evaluations typically are addressed under the rubric of attraction and credibility. In EVT, the amalgamated social judgments produce a net assessment of how well regarded the person is. This is the reward continuum. People with high positive values are rewarding to interact with, whereas those with low regard values are nonrewarding. The rewardingness of the actor determines whether a violation is a positive or a negative one.

Dual Interpretation–Evaluation Appraisal Process

Also influencing whether a violation is regarded as positive or negative are the meanings assigned to the violation and its evaluation. This is the dual interpretation–evaluation appraisal process. Proxemics and other nonverbal acts have social meanings associated with them. A move closer to an individual could mean variously that the perpetrator of the act is attracted to the other, likes the person, wants to ingratiate himself or herself with the other person, wants to dominate or persuade the other, or can't hear well. The interpretation that is selected depends on the reward value of the perpetrator. Generally speaking, more socially desirable interpretations are selected when the person has higher reward value.

The second part of the appraisal process is the evaluation assigned to the act. Independent of the meaning of an act is whether it is welcomed by the person or not. Both the interpretation and evaluation are moderated by the reward valence of the person. A move closer to the other may be interpreted as a sign of liking or attempted domination, depending on the reward valence of the perpetrator. A more charitable and positive interpretation will be selected if the individual is positively regarded. The evaluation can also range from positive to negative. A nonverbal message of liking may be welcome from a high-reward person but unwelcome from a low-reward individual. The combination of the interpretation and evaluation of an act, as moderated by the person's reward valence, determines whether an act ultimately qualifies as a positive or negative violation.

Effects of Violations and Confirmations

The final prediction of EVT is that all else being equal, positive violations of expectancies produce more favorable outcomes than positive confirmations, and negative violations produce less favorable outcomes than negative confirmations. Positive confirmations are acts that are expected and have positive interpretations and/or evaluations associated with them, such as displaying moderately high engagement during a face-to-face conversation. Negative confirmations are acts that are expected but carry unpleasant connotations or are unwanted. An intimate touch by an admirer would qualify. Outcomes can be any kind of social interaction outcome, from comprehension of a message to credibility attributions to smooth, synchronized interaction to attraction or persuasion.

This novel and counterintuitive prediction calls attention to the potential for violations to be more beneficial than conforming to norms and expectations. It runs contrary to theories positing that violations are inevitably negative. It also acknowledges that acts that conform to expectations also have valences associated with them and that the true test of the benefit of committing a violation is in comparing it with a nonviolation act with the same valence, such as when comparing a negative violation with a negative confirmation and a positive violation with a positive confirmation.

Empirical Testing and Support

The proposed relationships in EVT are spelled out in the form of propositions, general statements of empirically testable relationships, from which specific hypotheses are generated and tested. For example, Proposition 6 states that *violations are more tolerated and preferred by rewarding communicators than by nonrewarding ones*. This can be tested by hypothesizing that different types of nonverbal violations (e.g., personal space invasions, intimate touch, gaze avoidance) are rated more positively when committed by a highly rewarding (e.g., physically attractive, task knowledgeable, communicatively skilled) individual than by a nonrewarding or negatively rewarding (e.g., hypercritical) partner.

To date, research has tested and confirmed many of the predictions of the theory. Violations have been found to increase arousal and create an orientation response, to have meanings associated with them, to have different meanings assigned depending on whether the violation is committed by a rewarding or a nonrewarding communicator, and to produce more favorable results when the act was a positive violation than when it was a positive confirmation. One set of findings that has been more mixed concerns negative violations, which have sometimes been preferable to negative confirmations. A tentative explanation is that a negative violation leaves open the question of whether it was an intentional act or not, and if viewed as unintentional, it could be dismissed as a fluke. Comparatively, a negative confirmation is a behavior that has occurred previously and is regarded negatively, so that the repeated occurrence reinforces the certainty of the act.

Application of EVT to Cross-Cultural and Intercultural Interactions

A recurring question is whether EVT is only applicable to mainstream Western cultures. The theory's author, Judee Burgoon, believes that although the content of the expectations and the consequences of violations may vary across groups and cultures, the existence of expectations, the valencing of interacting individuals along a reward continuum, the dual interpretation–evaluation appraisal process, the arousal associated with violations, the reaction to violations, and the potential for positive violations should be universal.

All cultures have norms and expectations associated with social relationships. Communication should be no different. Thus, two people entering an encounter should bring with them the norms and expectations of their home culture and, if the encounter is a mixed-culture one, the expectations they hold for the other culture. Although the concept of having expectations to guide behavior may be cross-cultural, there may be important nuanced differences in how expectations function. Compared with well-defined expectations within a homogeneous culture, the expectancy range for a different culture may be broader, with a larger standard deviation, making it less likely that a given behavior will constitute a violation. Or the range for other-culture expectations may be hazy. Also, the complexity of merging one's own cultural expectations with less certain expectations for another culture may result in less definitive expectations. A violation under such circumstances may be dismissed or discounted. Most important, the specific contents of the expectations will be culture specific. For example, noncontact cultures will have many circumstances where contact with someone from a different culture is unexpected and undesirable, whereas in contact cultures, frequent touch during greetings, departures, and interactions will be expected and desired.

The concept of reward valence, like expectations, should be universal. That is, all cultures should implicitly array others on a continuum ranging from positively to negatively regarded. However, the specifics contributing to the communicator valence should be culture specific. Cultures that value industriousness and loquaciousness may judge highly active, extroverted individuals favorably, whereas a more contemplative, introspective culture may prefer a still, quiet demeanor. Making predictions on how reward valence moderates violation valence, thus, requires knowing a given culture's values and mores. What is prized as a sign of leadership in one culture may be viewed as pushiness and lack of finesse in another.

Interpretations and evaluations should likewise be culture specific, but the existence of these appraisal processes should be universal. According to EVT, both processes should influence how a violation is valenced. But the manner in which these judgments are formed and combined is an empirical question that is outside the purview of EVT.

The arousal and attentional redirection piqued by violations should be present in all cultures and may be even more intense when the interaction is between dissimilar cultures because of the uncertainty associated with mixed-culture interaction routines. However, if expectations are only loosely held in some cultures, violations may have a weaker impact and may be more readily discounted. It may also take repeated presentations of a violation before it is recognized as a violation.

Finally, the centrally important prediction that positive violations are more beneficial than positive confirmations and that negative violations are more detrimental than negative confirmations in principle should function in the same fashion for mixed-culture and same-culture interactions. But the fact that negative violations do not function in a consistent manner suggests that the pattern in mixed-culture interactions may be more complex than was originally believed.

Ultimately, the value of EVT in culturally heterogeneous encounters will depend on whether the key constructs and principles better account for communication outcomes than other theories of intercultural or cross-cultural communication, and psychology. Much more rigorous research is needed before firm conclusions can be drawn.

Judee K. Burgoon

See also Eye Contact (Oculesics); Facial Expressions/Universal; Hall, E. T.; Intercultural Verbal Communication Styles; Perceptions

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Eye Contact (Oculesics)

Oculesics is the study of nonverbal communication behavior involving the eyes. The eyes are tools not only for sending communication messages but for receiving them as well. They are, as is frequently said, "the windows to our souls," portals for gaining knowledge about the world around us and its inhabitants, and also for sharing something of ourselves with those inhabitants. This entry will look at the eyes as communication message receivers as well as senders, reviewing the cultural implications of different patterns of eye contact.

Seeing the World Around Us

Since the time when our ancient simian ancestors stopped living primarily on the ground and started jumping from tree to tree—and hence had to visually measure the distance, say, between a limb and a branch—sight has become a crucial means of gathering information about the physical and social environment. Nonverbal communication messages from nature taken in through the eyes, such as the changing colors of the seasons, the movements of clouds in the skies, or the tracks of animals, have been essential for the development of human culture. Eyes take in communication messages not only from the actual physical or social environment but also from the virtual worlds of books, televisions, or electronic screens.

People can "look" at those around them and take in information so that they can, for example, sidestep someone in their path who is running, avoid standing or sitting in their personal space, or run away from them if they are dangerously brandishing a knife. Individuals can also "gaze" at people—showing interest in their appearance or behavior—or even "stare" at them, continuing to gaze even if their behavior suggests that they do not wish to be gazed at. It is usually when two people make eye contact, however, that interpersonal engagement, the first step toward interpersonal communication, shows us the possibility of relationship building, particularly in Western cultures. A jogger might make eye contact with a fellow jogger to acknowledge their sharing of a similar experience. If the second jogger returns a smile, the two joggers might stop and converse for a short time. Initial eye contact can be seen as the first step to further interaction. People in big cities, however, often avoid making eye contact with strangers for fear that it might lead to an irrational response of outright hostility or even violent behavior. People in low-status positions, such as janitors, as well as many homeless people report that passersby seem to avoid making eye contact with them.

Eye Contact

Initial eye contact can lead to mutual gazing, with the interactants using direct, sustained eye contact as one component of the nonverbal communication messages that accompany verbal interaction. The duration and intensity of eye contact in formal or informal interactions between people who are not intimately acquainted may be different depending on the culture. This is one reason why intercultural contexts require mindfulness. For example, most U.S. Americans of European ancestry, particularly women, maintain almost constant eye contact when conversing with someone of the same cultural background. Native Americans or Asian Americans, however, may have grown up learning that too much direct eye contact, especially with people who are older or in positions of authority, indicates disrespect. This can be a real problem in an American classroom when a European American teacher evaluates a Native American child as inattentive or uninterested because the child does not meet the teacher's eyes as the lesson is being conducted. In some Middle Eastern cultures, people often engage in more prolonged same-sex eye contact than do North Americans, but there are cultural constraints on strangers of the opposite sex making eye contact. People in most Asian and African countries learn to avoid prolonged eye contact when either speaking or listening. In some cultures, the intensity of eye contact may be perceived by visitors as a sexual invitation when the length of the contact is seen as excessive. In intercultural situations, it is important to remember that in some cultures eye contact from a listener could be perceived as a message of interest or respect, yet in others, it might be perceived, conversely, as a signal of disrespect or threat.

Eye contact is essential in intimate relationships, as is illustrated by the oft-heard phrase "love at first sight." Indeed, there can be significant emotional impact when two people exchange intimate glances. Dating couples who engage in direct eye contact for extended periods are perceived to be in serious relationships. Married couples or other couples in long-term relationships, however, may exhibit less eye contact, perhaps because they no longer need the reassurance of commitment that eye contact provided when they were first dating. Blind people often report that it is easier for them to make deep friendships with sighted people online than in person. Some have reported that the warmth that they feel from the words of the online interactant disappears when they meet face-to-face. One of the main reasons for this change may be the blind person's inability to make eye contact. As they are also unable to perceive slight changes in facial expression, and therefore cannot mimic those expressions, their faces may appear "flat"—lacking in affect—to sighted people not experienced in interacting with the blind.

Oculesics is an important component of nonverbal communication. Eyes help educate people about the world around them, but at the same time eyes also transmit messages to others about a person's internal emotional or physical state or even the person's level of attentiveness. Eye contact, or mutual eye gaze, can help build bridges between people, but individuals must be open to the possibility that another person's cultural or personal norms concerning eye contact may be subtly or markedly different from their own.

Jeff Berglund

See also Body Language (Haptics); Disability as Culture; Facial Expressions/Universal; Intercultural Nonverbal Communication; Mindfulness; Space (Proxemics)

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F

Facework/Facework Negotiation Theory

The meaning of *face* is generally framed as how we want others to see us and treat us and how we actually treat others in association with their self-concept and expectations. In everyday interactions, individuals are constantly making conscious or unconscious choices concerning face-saving and face-honoring issues across interpersonal, workplace, and international contexts. While *face* is about a claimed sense of interactional identity in a particular situation, *facework* is about verbal and nonverbal communication behaviors that protect/save the self, other, or mutual face.

Learning to manage antagonistic intercultural facework competently can bring about multiple perspectives in a conflicting relationship. Intercultural facework competence is a necessary facet of general intercultural communication competence. This entry describes the development of the conflict facework negotiation theory (FNT) and its core assumptions and conditions, outlines the key concepts and the accompanying research evidence, and ends with a discussion of intercultural facework competence and its relevance to the broader topic of intercultural competence.

Conflict Facework Negotiation Theory: Core Assumptions and Conditions

The researching of face and facework can be found in a wide range of disciplines such as anthropology, psychology, sociology, linguistics, management, international diplomacy, and human communication studies, among others. The concept of face has been used to explain linguistic politeness rituals, apology acts, embarrassment situations, requesting behaviors, and conflict interactions.

The conflict FNT, developed by the author in 1988 and updated recently in 2014, explains the culture-based, individual-based, and situation-based factors that shape communicators' tendencies in approaching conflicts. The formal version of the theory, with five core assumptions and 12 theoretical propositions, stating the relationship between individualism/collectivism and different facework/conflict communication styles, became available in 1988. A second rendition of the conflict FNT, with seven assumptions and 32 propositions, was published in 1998, with an extension on the importance of investigating conflict facework competence. Based on the results of several large cross-cultural conflict data sets, a third version of the FNT appeared in 2005, which contained 24 updated propositions.

The seven core assumptions of the FNT are as follows:

1. People in all cultures try to maintain and negotiate face in all communication situations.
2. The concept of face is especially problematic in emotionally threatening or identity-vulnerable situations when the situated identities of the communicators are called into question.

3. The cultural value spectrums of individualism–collectivism and small–large power distance shape facework concerns and styles.
4. Individualism and collectivism value patterns shape members' preferences for self-oriented face concern versus other-oriented or mutual-oriented concern.
5. Small and large power distance value patterns shape members' preferences for horizontal-based facework versus vertical-based facework.
6. The value dimensions, in conjunction with individual, relational, and situational factors, influence the use of particular facework behaviors in particular cultural scenes.
7. Intercultural facework competence refers to the optimal integration of knowledge, mindfulness, and communication skills in managing vulnerable identity-based conflict situations appropriately, effectively, and adaptively.

It seems that when an individual's face image is being threatened in a conflict situation, the response is likely to be identity-based frustration, emotional vulnerability, anger, hurt, and even vengeance. The threats to face can be on a group membership level or an individual level. In the 2005 FNT version, the following conditions were posited concerning the valence direction of an intercultural *face-threatening process* (FTP). First, the more the culturally appropriate facework rule is violated, the more severe the perceived threat. Second, the larger the cultural distance between the conflict parties, the more is the mistrust or misunderstandings that occur in the process. Third, the more important the perceived conflict topic or the greater the imposition of the conflict demand, as interpreted from distinctive cultural angles, the more severe is the perceived FTP. Fourth, the more power the conflict initiator has over the conflict recipient, the more severe the perceived threat by the recipient. Fifth, the more harm or hurt the FTP produces, the more the time and effort needed to repair the FTP. Self-face concern becomes incrementally more salient if several of these conditions are present in a face-threatening process. For example, individuals are likely to move toward self-face-saving and ingroup-face-saving emphasis as they perceive the escalation of the various face-threatening conditions directed at them or their salient ingroups. Cultural worldview perspectives, individual personality tendencies, and situational pressures frame the underlying interpretations of what counts as a severe intercultural "face-threatening" interaction episode.

Face Concerns, Cultural Membership, and Personality Tendencies

Self-face concern is the protective concern for one's own identity image when one's own face is threatened in the conflict episode. *Other-face concern* is the concern for accommodating the other conflict party's identity image in the conflict situation. *Mutual-face concern* is the concern for both parties' images and the image of the relationship. Whether individuals choose to engage in self-face protection or mutual-face protection often depends on ingrained cultural socialization processes, individual trait tendencies, and embedded situational factors.

More specifically, in a direct empirical test of the theory by John Oetzel and Stella Ting-Toomey in 2003, the research program tested the underlying assumption of the conflict FNT that face is an explanatory mechanism for cultural membership's influence on conflict behavior. A questionnaire was administered to 768 participants from four national cultures—China, Germany, Japan, and the United States—in their respective languages, asking them to recall and describe a recent interpersonal conflict. The major results of the study are as follows. First, cultural individualism/collectivism had direct effects on conflict styles, as well as mediated effects through self-construal and face concerns. Second, *self-face concern* was associated positively with a dominating style, and *other-face concern* was associated positively with avoiding and integrating styles. Third, the German respondents reported the frequent use of direct-confrontational facework strategies; the Japanese reported the use of different pretending and accommodating strategies and minimized the severity of the conflict situation; the Chinese engaged in a variety of avoiding, accommodating, passive, aggressive, and third-party appeal tactics; and the U.S. Americans reported using up-front expression of feelings and remaining calm as conflict facework tactics. Within the pluralistic U.S. sample, multiethnic research by the author and her team in 2000 has also uncovered distinctive conflict interaction styles in relationship to particular ethnic identity salience issues.

The manner in which individuals conceive of their self-images, as independent or interdependent, also has a profound influence on the expectancies of what constitute appropriate and effective responses in diverse facework situations. Both dimensions of self exist within each individual, regardless of cultural membership identity. In 2003, John Oetzel and Stella Ting-Toomey found that independent self-construal is associated positively with self-face concern and the use of dominating/competing conflict strategies. Interdependent self-construal, on the other hand, is associated positively with other-face concern and the use of avoiding and integrating conflict tactics. It would appear that independent self-construal fosters the use of up-front and low-context-demanding interaction responses, while interdependent self-construal emphasizes circumspective and high-context-yielding interaction patterns.

Situational Appraisal Factors

Two other possible factors that moderate the activation of an independent versus an interdependent self are situational role appraisal and ingroup/outgroup distance factors. Situational role appraisal factors can include the role relationship between the conflict participants and the perceived goals of the facework negotiation process. To illustrate, Rebecca Merkin has integrated the small–large power distance value dimension to the individualism–collectivism value dimension in explaining face-threatening response messages and conflict styles in multiple cultures. She found that high-status individuals from large power distance cultures tend to use both direct and indirect facework strategies to deal with face-threatening situations, depending on whether they were delivering positive or negative messages. Thus, an accurate assessment of the culture-based role relationship, such as workplace status role and gender role issues, can be critical in promoting competent outcomes.

Furthermore, many relational distance factors are important in competent facework negotiation. For example, the broad-based "ingroup" category in the Japanese language can be further refined into "inner-intimate ingroup circle" and "familiar ingroup circle." Likewise, the broad-based "outgroup" category can be further fine-tuned into "familiar outgroup circle" and "peripheral outgroup circle." In the archetypical form, proper facework rituals can be suspended in the "inner-intimate" category or the "peripheral outgroup" category. Instead, authentic heart-to-heart talks can exist in the "inner-intimate" category, and indifferent/patronizing facework tactics can permeate the "peripheral outgroup" category. Finally, the updated 2014 version of FNT connects the understanding of intercultural facework to these four social contexts.

Facework Communication Competence

Competent facework negotiators would need to increase their awareness of their own and other's cultural and individual facework-conditioning process. An optimal degree of facework competence emphasizes the integration of culture-sensitive knowledge, mindfulness, and adaptive communication skills. C*ulture-sensitive knowledge* is considered the most important component underscoring the other components of facework competence. Without culture-sensitive knowledge, conflict parties cannot learn to uncover the implicit "ethnocentric lenses" they use to evaluate behaviors in an intercultural conflict situation. Without knowledge, negotiators cannot reframe their interpretation of a conflict situation accurately from the other's cultural frame of reference.

The *mindfulness* competence component means attending to one's internal assumptions, cognitions, and emotions and, at the same time, becoming attuned to the other's conflict assumptions, cognitions, and emotions. To be mindful of intercultural differences, individuals have to learn to see the unfamiliar behavior from a multiple-layered, 360-degree differentiating angle. Mindfulness can be practiced through a deep state of mindful listening with an uncluttered mind.

To cultivate competent facework practice, the intentional practice of *communication skills* such as decentering, face validation, empathetic resonance, artful reframing, productive power balancing, adaptive code switching, dialogue bridging, and common ground seeking would be useful. Adaptive communication skills involve the criteria of perceived appropriateness and effectiveness. "Appropriateness" refers to the degree to which the exchanged behaviors are regarded as proper and match the expectations generated by the insiders of the culture. "Effectiveness" refers to the degree to which communicators achieve mutually shared meaning and integrative goal-related outcomes. Culturally intelligent communicators can use adaptive communication skills to manage the conflict process appropriately and to integrate divergent interaction goals effectively.

In the applied context of intercultural conflict mediation, for example, an intercultural mediator has acted appropriately when both cultural disputants agree that the mediator has communicated skillfully and when both conflict parties feel included in the mediation session. Concurrently, an effective mediator should have moved the conflict parties forward and helped them reach an attainable, mutual-interest outcome. To behave appropriately in a mediation session, competent mediators must have the relevant value knowledge patterns of the larger cultures of both conflict parties. They also should be able to apply culture-sensitive situational norms in understanding the holistic conflict story. Effective intercultural mediators need to have the linguistic, verbal, and nonverbal elastic skills to confront, to conjure, and to move the intercultural dialogue process forward. More important, appropriateness and effectiveness criteria are positively interdependent. When the mediator uses a culture-sensitive approach in the mediation session, the "good faith" respectful behaviors can induce a cooperative and effective outcome.

In mediating conflicts with Asian cultural members, for example, mediators may want to heed the following guidelines:

1. Asian disputants may emphasize a strong, benevolent conflict facework approach in entering a mediation session.
2. They may expect the mediator to serve as a benevolent, authoritative figure who is there to give them the solution to a conflict problem.
3. Asian disputants are often face sensitive in disclosing private information; they may not feel comfortable engaging in direct conflict storytelling and self-disclosure unless some emotional ties or trust has been established.
4. They may not see the distinct separation between substantive conflict issues and relational conflict issues; they may tend to see both data sets as an integrative whole.
5. They may not feel comfortable with freewheeling, brainstorming techniques, especially under time pressure.
6. They may need to claim "face victory" in front of their own ingroups.

To address these issues, culturally responsive mediators must learn to "*give face*" or "honor and uplift" the face images of Asian disputants via the following strategies. First, they need to spend more time in the "introduction" stage of the mediation in order to clearly define the meaning of the mediation and the mediator's role and to emphasize the confidentiality of the process. Second, they need to use more patience in discussing the ground rules that govern the mediation process. They need to tolerate silence and hesitations and engage in more high-context probing questions and clarification questions. They may want to engage in more metaphorical and analogical probes in inviting Asian disputants to open up their deeply guarded emotions. Third, they need to encourage Western disputants to learn to listen without interrupting. They need to use a stronger coaching and facilitation technique in order to explain what "brainstorming" means in the mediation context and give some concrete examples. They need to emphasize that there is no right or wrong answer in the initial brainstorming stage and that, regardless of rank or age, all disputants should feel free to bring forth their creative ideas without evaluative judgments. They need to emphasize both instrumental/task harmony motivation and value/belief harmony motivation. They can persuade Asian disputants via the conjoint harmony motivation approach. Culturally responsive mediators, for example, can emphasize that after a successful mediation session, when the mediation agreement is signed, the Asian disputants and their families can finally enjoy some peaceful, tranquil moments and that the conflict instrumental/task resolution may result in an improved neighborly relationship in the long run.

On the other hand, competent intercultural mediators must also learn to *validate the face* or social self-images of Western disputants by using the following strategies. First, they need to spend more time in the "introduction" stage to educate the Western disputants about the importance of displaying cultural sensitivity to all conflict parties in the mediation session. They can also address the possibility that different individuals in the room may have different facework approaches and conflict style preferences. They can also emphasize that their role is neutral, impartial, and objective so that they can match the expectancies of disputants who subscribe to a strong "impartial" or "status achievement" conflict approach. Second, mediators should make sure to serve as well-balanced traffic conductors in balancing the talk times between the Western individualists and reticent Asian collectivists. They should also make sure that the Western disputants understand why some Asian disputants, once they start talking, spend so much time in "contexting" their conflict story and do not get to the point head-on because of their high-context communication tendencies. Third, mediators need to role model adaptive communication styles so that both Asian and Western disputants can observe firsthand how to engage in appropriate and respectful culture-sensitive dialogue. They may want to team up with other intercultural experts and conduct co-mediation sessions when there are strong linguistic and deep-rooted cultural animosities existing among the cultural group members.

Intercultural facework competence is one of the key facets of intercultural communication competence. While general intercultural competence focuses on the development of open-minded attitudes, culture-sensitive knowledge, and appropriate and effective interaction skills, intercultural facework competence takes into account the key emotional and identity threats that affect the well-being of the two intercultural conflict parties or membership systems. Facework competence emphasizes the mindful capacity of the conflict negotiators in managing emotional frustrations nonreactively and in transforming ingrained conflict habits flexibly. A respectful, mutual-face-sensitive lens would likely cultivate productive conflict openings, entries, passages, and closures. When both conflict parties from divergent cultures are committed to work hard in developing a "third ear" to listen mindfully and empathetically in the conflict situation, they are more likely to move toward a transformational facework path and a mutual-attuning face-saving and face-honoring satisfying outcome.

Stella Ting-Toomey

See also Conflict Management; High-Context and Low-Context Communication; Intercultural Competence Development; Intercultural Conflict Styles; Intercultural Conflict Transformation; Intergroup Dialogue; International Negotiation

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Facial Expressions/Universal

The face is one of the most complex signal systems humans use to communicate. Of all the channels of nonverbal communication, the face is the most intricate. It is the channel of nonverbal behavior most studied by scientists. It is a conduit that can produce both involuntary reactions and voluntary gestures. And arguably, it is the seat of the greatest amount of information that is conveyed nonverbally. That's why we have *face-to-face* interactions. Sometimes we need to *get in people's faces*. When we have meetings with others, this is *face time*, and sometimes we need to *face off*. When talking with others, we need to *face the facts* or *face the consequences*. People *show face* and *save face*; and there is even the notion of *facework* (discussed in another entry in this volume).

After a brief introduction to facial signals and functions, this entry summarizes the significant research establishing the universality of facial expressions and the robust body of research that has linked emotions and facial expressions in a wide variety of contexts.

Universal Facial Expressions of Emotions

Our faces produce many signals that are used for many functions, including signaling our emotional states, illustrating or animating speech, regulating conversation, expressing symbolic verbal messages, signaling thinking and concentration, talking, eating, controlling expressive behavior, and aiding in physical exertion. All of these signals and functions of facial expressions are universal, although there are many cultural differences in exactly how these expressions are performed and managed. Of these various signals and functions, the one that has been studied the most concerns facial expressions of emotion and their universality.

The 19th-century naturalist Charles Darwin originally suggested that emotions and their expressions had evolved across species and were evolutionarily adaptive, biologically innate, and universal across humans and even nonhuman primates. According to Darwin, all humans regardless of race or culture possessed the ability to express emotions in exactly the same ways, primarily through their faces and to a lesser extent through the voice. But despite the fact that Darwin's claims about emotions and their expressions were a centerpiece of his theory of evolution, it was not until 100 years later that the first systematic scientific evidence for the universality of facial expressions was produced.

Sources of Evidence for Universal Facial Expressions

There were four sources of such initial evidence. The first came from studies demonstrating high cross-cultural agreement in judgments of facial expressions of emotion by people from very different cultures. The second and third sources of initial evidence came from two studies involving two preliterate tribes—the Fore and the Dani—in the highlands of New Guinea. In the first study, the tribal people were shown pictures of facial expressions of emotion portrayed by Westerners and were asked to match the face to a corresponding story about an emotion; they were able to do so. In the next study, films of the tribal people expressing emotions were shown to Americans who had never seen New Guineans before, and the Americans were able to recognize the emotions portrayed by the New Guineans. The fourth source of initial evidence for universality came from a cross-cultural study in which the American and Japanese participants viewed emotionally neutral films and highly stressful films while their facial behaviors were recorded. Coding of the facial behaviors that occurred when viewing the films demonstrated that the viewers showed the same facial expressions.

Since the first studies described above, there have been many studies examining judgments of facial expressions that have replicated the finding of universal recognition of emotion in the face, demonstrating that facial expressions of emotion are universally recognized. And there have been many studies that have demonstrated that individuals all around the world produce these very same facial expressions when emotions are elicited spontaneously. These findings are impressive, given that they have been produced by different researchers around the world, in different laboratories using different methodologies, with participants from many different cultures, but all converging on the same pattern of results. The latest studies on this topic have also shown that people from different cultures spontaneously produce the universal facial expressions of emotion in naturalistic, real-life settings and that even people blind from birth produce the same facial expressions of emotion, as do nonhuman primates when they are placed in emotionally evocative situations.

The documentation of the universality of facial expressions of emotion was exceedingly important to the natural and social sciences because it addressed an age-old debate about the nature of emotion and emotional expression. The findings opened the door to many studies and fields of research, including the area known as affective sciences in psychology today. The documentation of a universal set of facial expressions also led to the creation of facial measurement systems that provided researchers with an objective, unobtrusive way to measure emotions when they occur, which has benefited many researchers in many fields studying the face. The universality studies are some of the most widely cited studies in the entire field of psychology.

Today, there is strong evidence for the universal facial expression, and recognition of the facial expressions, of seven emotions—anger, contempt, disgust, fear, joy, sadness, and surprise (Figure 1). This does not mean, however, that other emotions do not exist and are not universal. Emotions such as pride, shame, guilt, and embarrassment do exist and are universal. But there is no evidence to date for their universal expression in the face.

Being able to read others' facial expressions of emotions can provide insights not only into their emotional states but also into their intentions, motivations, personalities, trustworthiness, and credibility. These are important evaluations that can help any intercultural interaction go more smoothly. And because facial expressions of emotion are universal, the ability to read them does not depend on

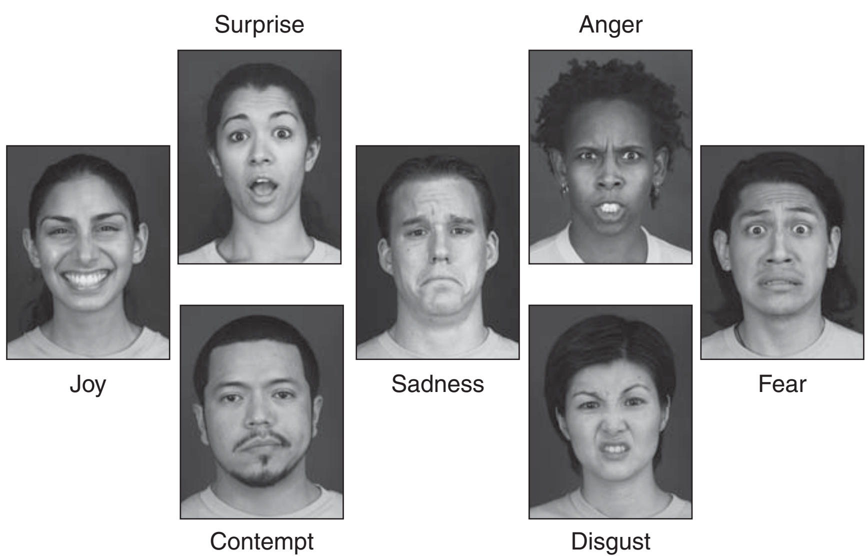

Figure 1 The Seven Basic Emotions and Their Universal Expressions

Source: © 2008 David Matsumoto.

culture or language. The universality of facial expressions is important to intercultural communication and competence as they are the closest communication method we have to a universal language.

David Matsumoto and Hyisung C. Hwang

See also Facework/Facework Negotiation Theory; Intercultural Nonverbal Communication

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Feminist Research Paradigm

Feminist research approaches are used by those seeking greater understandings of women's, men's, and transgender people's lives, including the diversity in how people of all genders experience the world. Feminist research paradigms are relevant to the goals of intercultural competence in that those goals are grounded in global understanding and inclusivity across culture and identity. Further, feminist research allows scholars and their collaborators an avenue for understanding how gender is constructed and challenged both in individual settings and across multiple contexts. These understandings inform potential communication and action across cultures.

This entry discusses the basic principles of feminist research paradigms, how feminist research inquiry can be useful in building intercultural understanding, and how the use of feminist research can support both organizational and social change as well as the growth of intercultural competence.

Feminist research is an approach to inquiry that is guided by feminist beliefs and understandings about the construction and uses of knowledge in the broader society. These beliefs assert that gender remains a significant organizing factor in societies throughout the world. Moreover, they assert that women have made significant contributions to every facet of human development and every type of social organization. However, women and their contributions have been marginalized across sociocultural contexts. For example, in many parts of the world throughout history, women's educational opportunities have been limited to particular subjects deemed appropriate for *women's place* in society. This reality has narrowed the development of women's abilities to contribute to the world.

Feminist research is also guided by the acknowledgment that all people's gender identities are shaped by their other identities, such as race, class, national origin, ability status, and sexual orientation. As a result, *women* or *men* cannot be understood as unidimensional categories in which all members share an essence or similar experience. While gender matters, *how* it matters varies depending on individuals' other identities and the organizations and circumstances with which they are interacting. Put simply, women's experiences cannot be understood as uniform. As such, feminist research seeks to develop and use knowledge about diverse women's experiences in order to disrupt existing gender inequities.

Feminism and Feminist Movements Across Cultures

Feminism is a social movement and a way of being that asserts that gender and other identities matter in social and material interactions. While feminism in the United States is often characterized in terms of waves (with the first wave related to women's suffrage in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the second wave related to women's rights in the 1970s and 1980s, and the third wave emerging in the 1990s and early 2000s), it is the case that women worldwide have questioned and expanded their roles across contexts and time periods.

In Egypt, for example, early documentation of feminism and the feminist movement often includes the work of Huda Shaírawi, who founded the Egyptian Feminist Union in 1923. The Egyptian Feminist Union called for improved political rights and personal status for Egyptian women and equal opportunities in education and professional development. Following World War II, a more radical Egyptian feminist movement began to materialize.

This period was foregrounded with the formation of the Egyptian Feminist Party in 1942 and was later influenced by the efforts of Doria Shafik, who created the Bint El-Nil (Daughter of the Nile) organization in 1948. During this era, much of the work of the Egyptian Feminist Party and Bint El-Nil called for improving healthcare, literacy rates, and the socioeconomic status of women and the poor. This more radical era was followed by a long period of government- and state-controlled policies and reforms regarding the rights and personal status of women, first under the rule of Gamal Abdel Nasser, then under Anwar Sadat, and finally under Hosni Mubarak. Today, contemporary Egyptian women continue to battle for changes to personal status laws, which have inhibited women's ability to fully realize their goals of gender equality and status within Egyptian society.

In contrast to women's rights in the United States and Egypt, Finnish women have held longstanding rights in terms of personal status and gender equality across education, political processes, and professional opportunities. One of the early markers of equality for Finnish women came in 1906, when Finnish women gained both the right to vote and the ability to stand for election in parliament. Feminism and women's movements have long been active in Finland, although the movements have been smaller in comparison to those in countries where women suffer markedly more from gender inequalities. Despite differentiation among feminist movements, global feminism and gender equality efforts have greatly benefited from feminist research inquiry that helped understand the challenges and opportunities associated with women's lives.

Feminist Research

Feminist research emerged from women's efforts to understand and change their social circumstances and the policies and power relations that governed them. Feminist research methods often are used to address omissions and misrepresentations in portrayals of women across different cultural contexts. They seek to bring to light stories of women that have not traditionally been understood as valid and valuable knowledge. Additionally, feminist research paradigms hold that research relationships should be as nonexploitative as possible. Instead, they should be characterized by partnerships between participants and researchers whenever possible and by reflexivity among participants on how their identities inform the research process. These strategies suggest an intention to use research in order to better understand and improve gendered experiences in both small and systemic ways.

Feminist research suggests that research should ask questions whose answers have potential meaning for participants in the study and the broader community. Questions posed could be based on a problem identified by a particular community (e.g., domestic violence resources for immigrants of color) or by a researcher's investigation of a widespread social issue that might take place uniquely in a given community (e.g., how gender intersects with sexual orientation to affect college students' experiences). Research might also address how the construction of policy affects the lived experiences of participants in the institutions or communities governed by those policies (e.g., how gender policy shapes women's, men's, and transgender people's participation in scientific research careers). In each of these cases, the research focuses on gender and other identities to investigate experiences or problems that could be improved by better understanding of those involved.

Importantly, feminist research urges an examination of the power relations between the knowers and the known, emphasizing a co-constructive process of knowledge development. Specifically, feminist research suggests that the positionality of both researchers and participants is important to understand what has been created in the knowledge construction process. That positionality, which is informed by gender, nationality, race, class, and other identities, deeply influences what is knowable and, therefore, becomes a part of the knowledge creation process itself. The identities of all participants in the research (including the researchers) are part of the fabric of the research, rather than something to be bracketed, minimized, or objectified.

Even though these guiding principles tend to characterize feminist research, it is important to understand that there is no singular *feminist method*. Instead, these principles guide decisions about which questions to ask, what knowledge to consider as important and trustworthy, and the roles of researchers and participants in informing and using the research. Each of these decisions forms the foundation of a feminist research paradigm and complements and enriches intercultural understandings of social phenomena.

The Relevance of Feminist Research in Intercultural Settings

Feminism contends that gender and other identities matter in both social and material interactions. These interactions are complicated and enriched by culture. In global as well as local inquiries, feminist research principles are helpful in conducting studies that allow interactions across the complexity of culture to emerge. Interculturalists are well served by feminist research that seeks to generate meaningful understandings that are both inclusive across identities and informed by the effects of culture, power, and identity in shaping knowledge and practice.

Feminist research values knowledge from those who might not be typically seen as *experts* in a given area. Additionally, it relies on knowledge that is constructed by those involved with a given phenomenon. For example, it asks not "Who are the important thinkers?" but rather "What were women and others doing during a particular time/settings?" Significantly, feminist research asks not only who led or was influential in a given area but also where the silences are in global collective knowledge. Since systems of privilege and oppression have both similarities as well as differences in how they take shape across different cultural contexts, feminist research focuses on how those systems have shaped both actions and inactions, and knowledge and ignorance across societies and organizations. In this way, intercultural and feminist research advances knowledge about both specific settings and systems of oppression, power, and difference.

Advancing Intercultural Understandings Through Feminist Research

Using a feminist research paradigm as a strategy to promote intercultural competence and global cultural understanding offers interculturalists a strategy for approaching issues of power relations and inclusivity, especially with regard to knowledge creation. It reminds those participating in the research to attend to issues of power and difference, including how they relate to participants' identities. It foregrounds the ways in which multiple identities intersect with one another to create unique experiences within systems of power that may be experienced differently by differently positioned individuals. It also urges that the research process itself resist replicating the structures of power that establish some people as *experts* and others as reliant on experts to understand their own experiences.

Historically speaking, feminist movements have recognized their own internal limitations and biases in terms of inclusivity of all women. Feminists and the feminist movement continue to experience criticism from within the global feminist community for their limited notions of what feminism is and which voices are and should be represented in the construction of feminist knowledge. Recent examples include a critique of Western feminists imposing culturally imperialistic values onto those from non-Western cultures in the name of *empowering women*. For example, Western feminists have been criticized for their attempts to *free* Muslim women from the *hijab*. Additionally, in the United States, an ongoing, internal feminist critique suggests that Black feminist (and other non-White feminist) voices remain devalued within the U.S. mainstream feminist discourse. Islamic feminism, critical race feminism, and other types of feminisms have strengthened how feminist thinking can provide understandings of gendered lives across cultures. Feminist research balances the desire to understand and create choices for people of all genders with the desire to respect the cultural spheres within which those people exist. This kind of ongoing reflexivity is a key component of the core beliefs and methods associated with feminist research. This approach serves to both mirror and inform the work of interculturalists as they remain committed to broad conceptualizations of intercultural knowledge creation, especially intercultural knowledge that is inclusive of women and non-dominant voices within the intercultural field.

In conclusion, feminist researchers and interculturalists acknowledge that power is a multifaceted, productive, and repressive force that shapes social interaction in meaningful ways. Feminist research paradigms maintain that identities always need to be taken into account in order to ensure that researchers do not use inquiry to replicate and reinforce unequal power relations or other forms of dominance. As the work of interculturalists emerges, feminist research paradigms' focus on identity, power, inclusivity, complexity, and the co-construction of knowledge and cultural values will serve well those committed to developing globally minded and sustainable intercultural people and organizations.

Rebecca Ropers-Huilman and Nancy O'Brien

See also Critical Research Methods; Gender as Culture; Gender Theory

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G

Gender as Culture

The *gender-as-culture* (or *two cultures*) hypothesis was developed in the early 1980s to explain the observed communication differences between men and women speakers, usually in English-speaking contexts. The theory is based on work in anthropology and sociolinguistics, examining ethnic and national cultural differences in communication, as well as in psychology, looking at mid-childhood same-sex socialization patterns. The hypothesis posits that women and men from the same cultural background are socialized in mid-childhood into differing linguistic subcultures that then form the basis for a lifetime of both same-sex and cross-sex communication. The hypothesis was initially developed as a reaction against the earlier *deficit* hypothesis for explaining gendered communication differences, which posited that women's dominant communication styles and channels were inferior to those of men. Subsequent critiques of the gender-as-culture hypothesis argue that it fails to recognize the inherent power and status differences between genders.

This entry describes the gender-as-culture hypothesis, including its basic tenets, the history of its emergence, and some key supporting texts, as well as the primary criticism of the hypothesis.

Gender as Culture: Core Elements

The foundation of the gender-as-culture hypothesis as formulated by Daniel Maltz and Ruth Borker is that cross-sex communication entails many of the same challenges as cross-ethnic communication. In analyzing the studies of U.S. American women's and men's spoken English, Maltz and Borker identify five key features for each of the genders that differentiate it from the other. In the studies they analyzed, women tend more than men to

- ask questions,
- do the work to facilitate conversation,
- use positive minimal responses such as *uh huh* or *mm hmm*,
- use silent protest in the face of interruptions, and
- use pronouns such as *we* or *you* to include listeners and others in their line of thinking.

Conversely, men are more likely than women to

- interrupt other speakers,
- challenge or disagree with others,
- ignore comments made by others,
- control the topic of conversation, and
- use direct language when stating opinions or facts.

Maltz and Borker reject earlier hypotheses that these observed differences are either the result of women speaking a weaker or deficit version of the language or solely a product of male dominance. Instead, they posit that U.S. American women and men live in different sociolinguistic subcultures and that the miscommunication that can occur between them is similar to that which can occur between individuals from different ethnic backgrounds. The sources of these subcultures, they argue, are the rules for friendly conversation that children learn from their peers in early to middle childhood (ages 5–15 years). Maltz and Borker cite numerous studies from both linguistics and psychology that indicate that early to middle childhood is a period in life when peer groups are often of the same sex and that children of both sexes at this age tend to exaggerate and stereotype adult gendered behavior, including language use, as a way of differentiating themselves from the other sex. The result is that when peer groups become more heterogeneous in late adolescence and adulthood, girls and boys, women and men, have very different social norms for appropriate friendly communication, norms that both groups continue to adhere to because of the positive social value they hold in their home culture or gender. Adherence to these different codes means that women and men occupy different linguistic cultures for the remainder of their lives and that friendly communication between them is hampered by occasional cultural misunderstandings.

The History of an Idea

Maltz and Borker developed their theory of gender as culture largely in response to earlier work in linguistics that posited that women's forms of communication (in American English) are weaker than men's forms and therefore reflect their weaker position in the social hierarchy. The history of this investigation begins with Robin Lakoff, in her book *Language and Women's Place*. Lakoff was the first linguist to explore women's language, and while her hypothesis has often been criticized, she is more often praised for having created a watershed moment in the fields of gender and linguistics. According to Lakoff, women's language is inherently weak due to the use of hedges, empty adjectives, and exaggerated intonation. Subsequent work in gender and linguistics built on Lakoff's ideas but focused more on the fact of male dominance. The resulting *dominance hypothesis* continued to view women's language as weaker than men's but also allowed for the exploration of the specific links between women's and men's place in the social hierarchy, their language use, and how those factors affect communication. Most of the work drawing on the dominance hypothesis is concerned with illustrating the ways men's social dominance is enacted in their language use.

In addition to this at the time brief history of gender as a topic in linguistics, Maltz and Borker also drew on work in other disciplines, particularly anthropology and psychology. Since the 17th century and the social theorizing of the first armchair anthropologists (who relied on the reports of explorers, missionaries, colonial administrators, and others, rather than their own fieldwork), the differences between women's and men's language use outside the West have been a notable area of study in the fields of both sociocultural and linguistic anthropology. While this work did not generally lead to hypotheses of separate gendered cultures or subcultures, some later ethnographic studies that drew on these earlier works did generate this notion. A number of anthropologists who did research in southern Europe, the Middle East, parts of West Africa, and the Pacific saw in the extreme gendered segregation of some of these societies a situation in which each gender had its own material and symbolic patterns, including language use, quite distinct from the other. As a result of these ethnographic experiences with extreme gender differences, many of these anthropologists argued that the societies they studied exhibited separate gendered cultures.

Anthropologists largely confined their use of the separate gendered cultures model to specific societies, mostly traditional or peasant societies outside the urban centers. They saw the cause of this gendered segregation as largely based on these societies' gendered divisions of labor. In the 1970s, psychologists working in the United States and in urbanized European societies began to employ a similar model when working on the topic of gender development in childhood. They noted that primary school–age children spend the vast majority of their playtime in same-sex peer groups. This observation led a number of psychologists to hypothesize about distinct gendered cultures or subcultures.

Feminists in a variety of academic disciplines have expanded on the work of these anthropologists and psychologists to explore the cultural value differences between women and men, often in the United States, which would indicate the cultural or subcultural differences between them. For example, following Carol Gilligan, a number of authors have noted that in the United States, women tend to have more collectivistic and relational values than men, who have more individualist and task-oriented values. However, it is important to keep in mind that this gender difference is only notable when looking within groups bounded by class and ethnicity. In general, women in the United States are more individualistic and task oriented than either the women or the men in societies with more collectivistic and relational values, such as Thailand or Japan.

Supporting the Hypothesis

Following the publication of Maltz and Borker's groundbreaking 1982 article, considerable work across a number of academic fields has continued to support the gender-as-culture hypothesis. For example, in social linguistics, Deborah Tannen's work, including her best-selling book *You Just Don't Understand*, draws on both personal experience and literature reviews to conclude that women and men fail to understand each other due to cultural assumptions about the use of various communication styles and channels.

In the field of intercultural communication, Anthony Mulac and his coauthors tested the Maltz and Borker hypothesis using a model of intercultural communication proposed by William Gudykunst and Stella Ting-Toomey. They found, through both literature review and empirical research, that among the four communication-style contrasts proposed by Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey—(1) direct/indirect, (2) succinct/elaborate, (3) personal/contextual, and (4) instrumental/affective—there are demonstrable gendered culture differences in standard American English in all but one, personal/contextual. Mulac and colleagues concluded, by affirming the Maltz and Borker hypothesis, that women's and men's language differences are consistent with cultural differences.

The gender-as-culture hypothesis is also evident in some work in the cultural training field. For example, Thomas Kochman and Jean Mavrelis's corporate training work in the United States clearly employs the gender-as-culture hypothesis as it explores the differences between White corporate men and White corporate women in their reactions to each other and to other forms of diversity in the workplace.

Critiquing the Hypothesis

Much as the gender-as-culture hypothesis was largely a reaction to the deficit and dominance theories of gendered communication differences, gender as culture likewise prompted critical reactions. The most significant critique is that the hypothesis, and the studies that employ it, largely fails to acknowledge the power and status differences between genders in all societies. By referring to gendered differences as cultural rather than structural or political, it fails to address male dominance in any significant way. Neither men's language with women nor men's language about women, both of which are described by critics of the gender-as-culture hypothesis as dominating and belittling of women, receives much attention. Other criticisms of the hypothesis are that it fails to address the fact that women and men from the same ethnolinguistic backgrounds are actually far more alike than they are different and that they spend far more time, even in early to middle childhood, in mixed-sex family, school, and other groups than in single-sex ones.

While the gender-as-culture hypothesis has not disappeared from our intellectual landscape, many people interested in the subject of gender and communication have turned away from what is perceived as its essentializing of gender categories and have moved toward models that lead them to explore the social construction of gender through language and other forms of communication. Rather than simply assuming that women and men, feminine and masculine, exist as bounded cultural categories, constructivists look at the way in which gender is created or performed. Their research observes the ways in which language use and other behaviors actually *create* gender, and all of the power and privilege associated with different gendered performances, rather than reflect preestablished gendered categories.

Significance

The gender-as-culture hypothesis continues to inform work in linguistics, intercultural communication, cultural and linguistic anthropology, psychology, and other social sciences because it provides a useful tool for exploring empirically evident gender differences. It also provides scope for gender activism, since it posits that the differences between women and men are learned as part of culture, rather than innate or biological, and thus are changeable. Even some critics of the theory have come to see that the focus on culture does not preclude an exploration of power differences, thus opening the path for the continued utility over time of the idea of gender as culture.

Barbara A. West

See also Culture, Definition of; Feminist Research Paradigm; Gender Theory; Measuring Values

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Gender Theory

Gender theory is a methodological approach to the study of human sex differences, which emerged in the 1970s among feminists working in various social and behavioral sciences and the humanities. The approach posits that the social aspects of sex differences, such as sex roles, hierarchies, imagery, and identities, are culturally constructed rather than provided by nature. In other words, biology is not destiny when it comes to gender.

This entry describes the key elements of gender theory, the origins of its emergence, and some of the major developments since that time. It also looks at the significance of gender theory in socially engaged scholarship, as well as a number of criticisms that the methodology has garnered.

Gender Theory: Core Element

The key element of all studies that look at gender as an analytic category is the rejection of biological determinism, or biological-essentialist explanations for the social aspects of human sex differences. Instead, gender is taken to be a cultural construction of the meanings, traits, and attributes of women and men, femininity and masculinity. In addition, gender theory also posits the relational nature of normative definitions of each gender category. For example, in the West, femininity is understood only in relation to masculinity, and vice versa.

The cultural construction of gender means that the categorizations available on each culture's gender spectrum are much wider than our largely binary sex categories (female and male), which are determined by genes, chromosomes, and secondary sex characteristics. In the West, the dominant gender system of meanings, traits, and attributes is just as binary as the sex system and is largely mapped one-to-one: *Woman* and *feminine* are attributed to the female sex and *man* and *masculine* to the male sex. This is not to say that femininity and masculinity look or feel the same in all Western cultures—far from it—but rather that all Western cultures believe that their own gender system is the "natural" result of biological sex differences. Nonetheless, as a cultural construct, gender does not have to be binary, and it does not have to mirror biological sex. In a large number of non-Western societies, there are more than two genders, including the Hijras in India, Twospirits among some Native American peoples, and Fa'afafine in Samoa. Indeed, even in the West, once one raises the lid on the normative heterosexual gender system (sometimes called *heterogender*), a large number of alternative gender categories become visible, from "Diesel Dykes" (fairly masculine females) to

"Twinks" (fairly feminine gay males), among others. In addition, even the binary nature of Western sex categories is not at all reflective of human sex differences and leaves out the wide variety of intersex peoples.

Gender as a Cultural Construction

Since the 1970s, those who have taken this methodological stand have explored gender as a cultural construction through a wide variety of analytic lenses, including structural, symbolic, Marxist, and many more. They have also explored many aspects of gender, from individual identity construction to society's use of gendered categories as an organizing system far beyond our individual identities, such as in the realms of politics and the economy. One of the most long-standing issues addressed by gender theorists from a multitude of disciplines is the question of change. Since gender is culturally constructed rather than given by nature, there is the possibility for change, for transformation or even elimination of the deeply entrenched hierarchies in all gendered systems to create a more just and equal world. Another important topic addressed by gender theorists is the gendered socialization process. Psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists have been particularly interested in exploring the ways individuals learn to participate in their own societies' gendered systems and what happens to those who deviate from their societies' dominant gendered norms.

History of an Idea

Prior to its adoption by feminists, the term *gender* in English referred solely to the grammatical designation of nouns in some languages as feminine, masculine, or neuter. In the 1950s and 1960s, psychologists working with transsexual individuals began using the term *gender* to distinguish people's feelings and self-presentations from their biological sex. The term was later adopted by American feminists, following Kate Millett's use of the term in her 1969 text, *Sexual Politics*, to refer to the nonbiological aspects of sex.

By the mid-1970s, this usage became commonplace among feminists writing in English, more generally, as people from different academic disciplines, including anthropology, sociology, history, and political science, grappled with the differentiation between biological and cultural differences.

Even prior to this second-wave feminist project of trying to understand gender hierarchy, the cultural construction of gender difference had been explored as early as the 1930s by the anthropologist Margaret Mead. In the absence of the term *gender*, she referred to the sexual temperament, sex roles, and behavior differences expected of individuals from different sexes. Nonetheless, her ethnographic cases of New Guinean societies illustrated that the normative gendered meanings, traits, and attributes of women and men, femininity and masculinity in these societies were very different from those in the West. They set the stage for later feminist generations to begin exploring the cultural construction of gender in their own societies.

A third intellectual tradition that contributed to the development of gender theory in the 1970s was the insistence of political feminists from the 1960s onward that half the world's stories were not being told in traditional academic studies. This method is commonly referred to as "add women and stir" and coincided with the development of women's studies as a separate field of study. At the same time, feminists who continued to work within their disciplinary fields in the humanities and social and behavioral sciences pursued a similar goal: to make visible the lives of women who had been largely invisible in traditional scholarship.

Whereas some feminists were content with adding women to the story of humanity, others found that simply writing about women was as one-sided as more traditional, patriarchal scholarship. Many also feared that the atheoretical nature of these descriptive studies meant that they garnered less respect in their academic fields than traditional scholarship. In reaction, these scholars sought to explore the relationship between women and men, and femininity and masculinity, rather than the story of either one.

It was in this vein, too, that the exploration of the character and source of gender hierarchies began to take center stage in much of the gender literature, drawing from a range of theoretical positions. Marxists, such as Karen Sacks, looked at the division of labor as the reason behind women's universal subordination to men, while symbolists, such as Sherry Ortner, explored language use and other representations of and by women and men to explain this phenomenon. Scholars working in the psychoanalytic tradition, like Nancy Chodorow, looked at socialization, childbirth, and child-rearing practices as keys to understanding gender hierarchies.

By the late 1980s, many gender theorists had grown tired of the seemingly unanswerable questions concerning the origins of gender hierarchies. They were equally frustrated with the way this search for origins had failed to contribute significantly to social and cultural change in women's subordination. As a result, they turned their gaze from origins to experiences and began to think more seriously about the concept of gender itself. At this stage in its development, gender theory became less concerned with gender as a category that people, ideas, and symbols inhabit and more with gender as performance. According to this tradition, stemming largely from the works of Judith Butler, Candace West, and Don Zimmerman, gendered categories like women and men are not a priori, or preexisting, categories but are continuously created through human action: Gender is something we do. Although gender theory had always been about the cultural construction of roles, traits, hierarchy, and so forth, this turn toward performance provided a theory for how gender itself is constructed and also provided greater insight into the possibility of gender change by pointing to its deconstructability.

Coinciding with this move toward "doing gender" was an increased focus on gay, lesbian, and queer gender performance. This was not the case in all disciplines; for example, it is somewhat rare to find these topics in management literature even today. But in history, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and political science, and throughout the humanities, queer theory has emerged alongside gender theory as a dominant canonical approach to studying the social aspects of human sex and sexuality.

Significance and Critique

The emergence of gender theory in the 1970s was significant for the way it has facilitated the understanding, and even the deconstruction, of a whole range of hierarchies and patterns in human life that are mapped onto our largely invisible and taken-for-granted gender system. For example, gender theory in development literature has highlighted a serious error of so many 20th-century economic development projects initiated by Western agencies and nongovernmental organizations in non-Western societies. Because in their own societies agriculture was largely a masculine domain, these agencies assumed that to increase agricultural output they needed to work exclusively with local men to provide them with knowledge and resources. These projects failed over and over again, and only when gender theorists began to look at why they were unsuccessful did anybody realize that agriculture in many of these receiving societies was an entirely feminine domain, engaged in solely by women.

In Western societies as well, gender theory has provided a way of exploring the reasons behind (and trying to do something about) the "glass ceiling," the feminization of poverty, and other aspects of women's inequality, without resorting to the dead-end explanation of biological determinism. In addition, looking at masculinity through a gendered lens provides a new way of understanding and dealing with male violence, whether against women or against other men. It also makes visible the ways men's nurturance is both different from women's in any given society and vital to the health and well-being of individuals, the family, and society.

Although gender theory has initiated a large number of positive changes for women and men globally, it is not without its critics. Since its emergence in the 1970s, feminists who work largely in the women's studies domain have argued that by exploring men and masculinity alongside women and femininity, gender theory has diluted the important project of making women's lives visible. They also claim that viewing women only in relation to men has reinforced patriarchal power rather than deconstructed it. More recently, queer theorists have had their own criticisms of gender theory, largely for the ways people who think and write in this tradition often ignore the nondominant gender performances of gay, lesbian, bisexual, queer, and transgendered individuals, and thus reinscribe the normative, dominant genders of their own society.

Despite these criticisms, gender theory remains for many an important methodological approach to the study of human social life across a multitude of academic disciplines interested in both describing and transforming inequality.

Barbara A. West

See also Constructivism; Feminist Research Paradigm; Gender as Culture; Sexism

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Generational Cultures

Unless a person is one of the rare individuals who associates only with the same age-group, the transformation of contemporary society has become evident, as generational cohort groups clash and cooperate in the workplace, the educational system, and communities across the world. Although each ethnic culture manifests age culture in slightly different ways, definite patterns have emerged, and educators, managers, and leaders ignore the differences at their own peril.

The term *cohort* is used to describe a group of people who have shared characteristics, usually during a similar time period; for instance, it is often used to describe a particular group in a medical study, ensuring that the experiment treats people with a similar medical condition in a similar way to study outcomes. However, it is also used to describe *generational cohorts*, referring to groups of people who were born in a particular time period and who therefore have experienced similar life events, whether it be World War II, the assassination of President Kennedy, Woodstock, the attack on the World Trade Center, or the epic tsunami of 2011.

Various authors divide up the generations in different ways. Some use a clear delineation by date; others use a mind-set orientation, suggesting that certain attitudes prevail beyond rigid decade distributions. The latter assume what could be identified as a cultural sense of generational cohorts, defining the groups as based on the shared values, beliefs, and behaviors of a group of people interacting in that time frame. Some authors examine cultural heroes; others emphasize events the cohort experienced or even memorabilia collected during that time. From one generation to the next, the significant events may be unknown. For instance, there is the college student who asked her professor in 1975, "What's napalm?"; or, more recently, someone asked, "Why did women fight for women's rights in the 1970s—we already *have* rights!" And there is the hapless grandparent who asks, "What's a face book?" While claiming such events as part of the generational cohort, having those events recognized is part of the identity of the generation; having them ignored can be alienating.

Why Generational Cultures Are Important

Since individuals belong to multiple cultures, age culture can be affected by other cultural memberships such as nationality, gender, class, sexual orientation, and so on. Nonetheless, like any other culture, generational culture can create misperceptions and conflicts across age differences. Furthermore, it calls for the same level of intercultural competence as any other culture group might.

This entry reviews some of the conclusions that current research has drawn about four generations currently in the workplace, briefly describing their patterns of values, beliefs, and behaviors while noting the limitations of such generalizations worldwide.

The ability to communicate across generational differences is important because of the following reasons:

- People are living longer than ever, so families and communities are multigenerational.
- People are employed to later ages, resulting in four generations in the workplace.
- People are remaining active longer, creating multigenerational volunteer organizations, recreational facilities, and political environments.

Historically, younger people entered organizations assuming that they would make changes when they had earned the right to be in charge. Today's generations often expect to do things their own way and to move into leadership more quickly. At the same time, the data suggest that older generations are not retiring as early, thereby not generating the opportunities that younger people expect, creating potential cross-generational tension.

While the birth years and titles given to each generation are sometimes different, researchers have examined the core values, social behaviors, and communication styles of each generation and derived a set of generalizations for each age-group. Some authors debate the option of splitting a well-recognized group such as the Veterans or the baby boomers into two sections, reflecting the impact of being born at one end of the generation or the other. As with other cultural patterns, there will be a broad spectrum of individual differences, so applying this information to specific people is not appropriate. The ideas below are generalizations that do not necessarily apply to any individual case. However, they do reflect patterns that researchers suggest prevail in certain groups. It is also important to note that, with the exception of the Millennials, generational research has been conducted almost exclusively in the United States. Generations in other countries often relate their generational differences to major political events, such as the fall of communism, the departure of a colonial power, freedom from a dictatorial regime, and so on. For instance, those who grew up under Mao Zedong's leadership in China are part of a cohort group that holds a different social perspective from what is sometimes called the Little Emperors' cohort (post-Mao), where the policy of one child per family prevailed.

The Silent Generation

The Silent Generation was born roughly between 1925 and 1942 and includes about 35 million people; the members constitute 3% of the workforce; they are also called Veterans or Traditionalists.

This small group still holds a large number of leadership positions in the workforce and 75% of the financial assets in the United States. The group that Tom Brokaw called "the Greatest Generation" in his book by the same title is perceived to value discipline, conformity, authority, and rules. As he suggested, they fought in World War II because it was the right thing to do. Many grew up in what are often called traditional families; they remember the Depression and husband their resources accordingly. These individuals tend to be loyal to employers, with an average of 1.5 jobs in their work life, mastering information and skills that cannot easily be replaced. Transferring their wisdom to others is an important survival strategy for organizations, even explicitly asking them about what happened when a particular strategy was tried before. One young engineer in an organization searched for 3 days for an essential piece of information he needed for a project. All of his colleagues were clueless until he asked one of the older engineers in the group, who told him, "Bill knows where it is, but he retired." After ferreting out Bill, he got the information he needed in an instant. Organizations ignore the implicit and tacit knowledge of Veterans at their own peril.

The Greatest Generation often prefer to communicate one-on-one and face-to-face, and they communicate effectively in writing. They are fairly formal in communication style and consider the use of titles a sign of respect, embracing a higher power distance than younger generations. Hierarchy may very well be perceived as a good thing. Knowing they have done a good job and being told they are valued and appreciated can motivate them. Asking them to mentor or share their life skills is often a successful way to engage them.

Baby Boomers

The boomer generation was born roughly between 1943 and 1960 and includes about 80 million people; the members constitute 36% of the U.S. workforce. Boomers constitute 18% of the world population. Those born between 1943 and 1946 are sometimes called the Sandwich Generation.

In terms of values, Ron Zemke, Claire Raines, and Bob Filipczak describe boomers as typically optimistic; they were raised in a period of space exploration and Adventureland, where personal fulfillment was a life goal. The researchers suggest that First Halfers, those born in between the early 1940s and the mid- to late 1950s, tend to be more idealistic, be high achievers, and value involvement.

They work hard and play hard. Boomers are likely to work longer and be healthier than any former group. They may also need to work longer because they are not savers—they are a credit card generation with the largest credit card debt of any group. Second Halfers have suggested that they don't fit the early boomer characteristics, which is why some writers separate these two groups, noting that Second Halfers are less influenced by the 1950s and the seminal cultural impact of the 1960s that the early boomers experienced.

Boomers are highly individualistic—they value status, want to do things their own way, and want to be acknowledged for their individual contributions and creativity. They will change jobs an average of four times and are often credited with initiating the entrepreneurial era. Informality and first names are quite acceptable, and they are not necessarily eager for feedback.

Generation X

The cohort known as Generation X was born between 1961 and 1980, approximately, and includes about 45 million people; the members constitute 45% of the workforce. Gen X constitutes 21% of the world population. Some have suggested that Gen X turned the spotlight brightly on generational differences.

Members of this cohort were raised with both parents working, wars failing, and political scandals, including the resignation of a president in the United States. It is not surprising that many of them have a face-saving, survivor mentality, both economically and psychologically. Zemke and colleagues note that if tabloids were to run a story on this cohort, it would be titled "Generation X: Raised by Wolves," characterizing their autonomy and self-sufficiency. They grew up with soaring divorce rates, at a time when the United States was failing or at least faltering militarily (Vietnam), politically (Nixon), diplomatically (oil embargo), and economically (outsourcing). Not surprisingly, when asked to name public role models, they (often cynically) tend not to have any. They are the first generation that will not achieve the same level of economic success as their parents despite their technological savvy. In the workplace, they may be casual about authority, when they work, and how they work, sometimes preferring to get their work done in ways the boomers find puzzling. As they look to the workplace for fulfillment and rapid advancement, they appreciate opportunities for development and a minimum of rules. Managers have reported the effectiveness of giving quarterly performance reviews to Gen Xers, providing positive reinforcement more frequently than most managers would expect.

Communication with Generation X may be most successful if conducted informally. They demand work–life balance, so they tend not to be available for work requests at all times, like the boomers have been; requests should be received at work.

Millennials

The Millennial Generation, born between 1980 and 2000, includes about 75 million people; the members constitute 16% of the workforce. Millennials constitute 25% of the world population. Millennials are also referred to as Gen Y, the Me Generation, Echo Boomers, the Global Generation, Generation 9/11, or Nexters in various reports, as researchers seek to find a term that is descriptive of this important group.

Millennials are often conservative, clean-cut, obedient, well mannered, optimistic about their chances of success, and hyper-organized; they may also be narcissistic, overconfident, self-involved, materialistic, and technology addicted—and these descriptors often hold globally. They genuinely like and admire the older generations, including their parents and grandparents, with whom they consult routinely. Because of globalization, social media, and the speed of change, Millennials are often said to share more in common with others their age around the globe than with older people in their own country. They are the "mash up" generation, moving across and integrating cultural differences in music, movies, art, and so forth. This group easily communicates around the clock and worldwide using the Internet, camera phones, e-mail, and social networking sites. They are motivated by approval and working with other bright, creative people.

Millennials typically want jobs with a good salary and benefits and expect promotions every 2 years, sometimes regardless of performance. They are on track to have 25 to 29 jobs in their working life, becoming "surface dwellers"—knowing a little bit about a lot but being experts in little. They have inherited enormous global problems and are anxious about the economy. At the same time, they have shown little passion for solving big issues, and some observers have noted lower levels of civic engagement and political involvement than for any previous generation. Although Millennials can seem rudderless to older groups, the results are not in yet, and it remains to be seen how they will ultimately affect the world.

The potential for clashes among the generational cohorts seems great but so also is the potential for synergy. The differences suggest a carefully constructed team, with a strong emphasis on building on one another's strengths and compensating for one another's limitations.

Donna M. Stringer

See also Cultural Patterns; Motivation and Culture

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Global Citizenship

The concept and experience of global citizenship is universally relevant as the vast majority of the population of the world today engages with both globalization and citizenship in some form. However, the form it takes varies, and this entry traces its development and variations. The reach of global citizenship, together with the ambiguity of the term, allows for a global discursive space in which associated concepts and perspectives can be created and negotiated in accordance with a wide range of theoretical, disciplinary, geographical, political, and cultural concerns. However, the global discourse of global citizenship is not globally representative. This is not an issue unique to global citizenship education but reflects what Michel Foucault refers to as the "regime of truth," which favors Western humanism and its assumptions. It is essential to recognize this in any discussion of global citizenship, since the major academic dialogues on globalization and citizenship have been dominated by researchers and other knowledge producers of the Global North. This entry describes the dominance of Western thinking on globalization, the current conceptualization of citizenship and global citizenship, and approaches to educating global citizens, as well as directions for research.

Globalization

Globalization as a term began to gain popularity in the 1980s, although the phenomenon has a much longer history, possibly from around 1000 BCE. Emerging initially in the theories and practices of economics, the debate over globalization quickly spread to other academic fields, such as politics, cultural studies, and geography, as the reality of globalization started to affect people's lives. The initial debate centered on the conceptualization of globalization and its dynamics, developing concepts such as time–space compression and interdependence. Since the late 1990s, research has branched in many directions, from how to make globalization work economically, through globalization and migration, to global careers. An increasing number of publications are presenting alternative geographical and occasionally theoretical perspectives to the dominant discourse on globalization, but it is notable that even many of these are authored by researchers affiliated with universities in the United States, Europe, or Australia. While globalization affects everyone, the impacts on certain people, institutions, and nations are much better documented than the impacts on others.

Citizenship

A parallel story can be told for citizenship. Concepts of citizenship can be traced back thousands of years in many parts of the world, but there has been a resurgence of interest in the topic, both academically and politically, in the past 30 years. After an initial wave of conceptualizing and justifying the relevance of the field, research started to expand into areas such as cultural citizenship, multicultural citizenship, and digital citizenship. A renewed interest in national citizenship was accompanied by new developments in transnational citizenship and intercultural citizenship.

In many regions and countries, education for citizenship has become a major concern of governments, as globalization throws into question the traditional role of national education systems in developing national citizens. This political concern has been reflected in academic research on citizenship education.

Global Citizenship

The recent focus on global citizenship has emerged from the resurgence of interest in citizenship in the new context of globalization. Again, although the level of debate and interest is different, the concept of global citizenship itself stretches back before the ancient Greeks and Romans, through other major world philosophical traditions such as Confucianism and Hinduism.

In the new wave of interest in global citizenship, there has been considerable debate over the term itself, with alternatives offered such as *world citizenship*, *cosmopolitan citizenship*, or *globally oriented citizenship*. While there are nuances of meaning in these different terms, the term *global citizenship* seems to be preferred in public, institutional, and political circles, and it is widely used in academic discourse to encompass the range of meanings of these alternative terms. While some of the terminology debate tries to distinguish “good” global citizens (commonly portrayed as those actively engaged in movements for global social justice) from “bad” global citizens (commonly portrayed as globe-trotting business executives), the distinction seems untenable, not only because of the inaccuracy of black-and-white labeling but also because any consideration of global citizenship has to incorporate both positive and negative aspects.

Going beyond terminology, the first decade of the 21st century saw the publication of a number of comprehensive overviews of global citizenship from different disciplinary perspectives, and these set the stage for what is now a burgeoning volume of research on the topic. Much of this research focuses on the development of young people as global citizens, on corporate global citizenship, or on education for global citizenship.

Education for Global Citizenship: Policy and Practice

Given the ambiguity in the concepts and their realizations, as indicated above, it is not surprising that there is little consensus on the characteristics of education for global citizenship. Nonetheless, an increasing number of national governments, educational institutions, and local, national, and transnational organizations are publishing definitions and frameworks of global citizenship education to guide activities in their respective domains. One of the earliest examples is the Oxfam definition, originally formulated in 1997, which focuses on responsibilities for action, awareness of the wider world, respect for diversity, a sense of social justice, and participation in different levels of community, from the local to the global, with the aim of making the world a more equitable and sustainable place. Oxfam has since produced comprehensive material for schools based on this definition.

At the national level, many governments have incorporated global citizenship into policy and curriculum and initiated the implementation of these policies. An early example is Australia, where representatives of the Curriculum Corporation, the Global Education Project, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, professional teacher associations, the Asia Education Foundation, international nongovernmental organizations, and universities developed a framework with the goal of having students take responsibility for their actions, respect diversity, and contribute to a more peaceful, just, and sustainable world. Here, too, there is an emphasis on the values of respect and responsibility, and the importance of agency and action. Such visions can be found in statements by national ministries of education or curriculum bodies in many other countries.

Similar ideas are also found in international statements such as the Maastricht Global Education Declaration of 2002, which laid the groundwork for European initiatives. Another example would be the *Global Education Guidelines* published by the Council of Europe. The guidelines emphasize the responsibility of active members of a global community to work in the cause of social and economic justice and the preservation of the earth's ecosystems. The document advocates transformative learning and provides a list of the necessary knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes as well as an in-depth discussion of teaching methodology.

As can be seen from these examples, while researchers are still debating terminology and developing theory, teachers and students are fast engaging in the practice of becoming global citizens.

Research

In addition to its concern with terminology, research related to global citizenship education takes a number of different directions, including focusing on

- education policy and the ways in which national governments and transnational organizations shape education policy;
- education curricula, and the ways in which a "global dimension" can be effectively introduced to school and university curricula to develop awareness, knowledge, and skills relevant to global citizenship;
- defining knowledge, skills, and attitudes, or competences such as intercultural communicative competence, critical literacy, and empathy;
- global competitiveness and the role of world-class education in developing global citizens;
- global mobility and its impact on staff and students as global citizens; and
- critical analysis of the existing paradigm and research on global citizenship education.

This final area of research has begun to identify some of the gaps in the current body of knowledge. For instance, there is often a lack of teacher and student perspectives. This is particularly significant because empirical research suggests that students may not see the world in the same national/global binary terms as their parents' generation. If this is indeed the case, and more empirical work is needed on this, the basic premises and conceptual frameworks being used by researchers, policymakers, and educators will need to be reexamined.

Furthermore, the dominance of Global North researchers tends to skew the perspective. For example, there is very little research on the role of the English language in global citizenship education, although this is identified by many students who are learning English as a second language as a major factor in global citizenship.

Many rich but less well-known philosophies from around the world are underrepresented due to the predominance of Western rationality and Western norms of academic discourse in the literature. Research on global citizenship education may be enriched enormously by concepts such as the African idea of *Ubuntu* or the notion of *humanbeingness*. Finally, there is as yet very little work on the actual impact of global citizenship education on students. This is not surprising, because it is a newly developing arena, but it will be an important area of research in the future and a significant part of intercultural competence.

Michael Byram and Lynne Parmenter

See also Civil Rights; Diversity and Inclusion, Definitions of; Global Leadership; Intercultural Relations and Globalization; International Education; Migration Studies; Universal Human Rights

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Global Diversity Management

While it is almost a cliché to state that organizations are increasingly working in a global environment, it is nevertheless a daily reality that they must respond to global issues. In 1999, it was predicted that within 30 years, 80% of the world's output would be in global markets, and a survey of 10,000 senior executives found that leaders believed handling diversity would soon be the most significant factor for corporate success in Europe and North America.

This entry explores how cultural values, behaviors, communication styles, and nonverbal behaviors are affecting the effectiveness of managers working in global settings. The cause of such behavioral differences may be misunderstood and may lead to confusing responses, especially when such differences occur between people with visible (e.g., gender or skin color) or known (e.g., nationality, immigrant status, religion) differences. Furthermore, it will be suggested that before global assignments are implemented, a predeparture briefing should detail the cultural patterns in both the country to which a manager is being assigned and the corporate setting the manager will be entering. Resources for such country-specific training are identified.

In current management literature, researchers and practitioners alike tend to focus on the challenges of international finance and legal differences when companies and transferees cross borders. Concerns about the changing demographics and cultural differences in managing employees in international settings play a decidedly secondary role.

In spite of growth in the global population, the working-age population is declining in many countries, while older workers are retiring in large numbers, leaving a wide gap in the available labor force. At the same time, populations in many other countries are growing rapidly, but those populations are not yet of working age. One third of India's population, for example, is under the age of 15. Furthermore, in many countries, educational systems are not sufficiently preparing future employees with the skills they will need in new marketplaces. The result is that a majority of employers worldwide are finding it difficult to hire individuals with the required skills.

One source of talent is migrant populations. According to the World Economic Forum, cross-border migration has grown 42% in the past decade, from 150 million to 214 million. At the same time, as many economies recover from the recent recession, many highly skilled workers are returning to their home countries.

At the same time, there is another obvious source of talent: the women in many countries, who are surpassing men in their graduation rates and are prepared to enter the labor market. These women represent a huge boon to address the labor shortage. In countries that have traditionally excluded or underutilized women in the workforce, this is especially true and challenging.

As a result of these trends, many organizations will resort to hiring a wider diversity of employees, including immigrants, guest workers, older workers not yet ready to retire, and women. Cultural differences in national cultures, gender cultures, and age cultures will be a major challenge to managers in the global environment. Zhang Kehui, chief financial officer of China Shenhua Energy Company, noted that

> there is the challenge of developing more effective leadership talent in the overseas locations. If you simply move executives . . . they may have excellent reputations domestically but, in fact, might have little overseas experience. They need to be trained before they can be truly effective. (http://www.accenture.com, April 2013)

Such training will require examining cultural value systems, communication styles, and nonverbal behaviors.

Cultural Value Systems

Two individuals may have similar values but will demonstrate those values with very different behaviors; likewise, similar behaviors can signal very different values. Capable global managers will understand how to decode behaviors in order to understand the underlying values and send appropriate signals to motivate the workforce. Recognizing that there are many individual differences within every national and organizational culture, it is still useful to have a solid understanding of one's own cultural values and behaviors, and the cultural values of the host country and its work culture. The value systems discussed below are critical for resolving misunderstandings or conflicts.

While every individual exhibits both *task* and *relationship* behaviors, it is also common to favor one over the other based on underlying cultural values. For example, the manager who is primarily task oriented may enter a culture that is more relationship oriented. The manager believes that understanding the job and creating work plans, goals, and accountability will get the job done, while the subordinates are not motivated to do their best work for someone who does not care about them. This is a critical value to attend to. Many Western culture managers have failed in global settings because they did not first attend to developing relationships with their subordinates.

A second value system that affects the success or failure of global managers is the ability to recognize values regarding power distance, or formality versus informality. Managers who value informality, equity, or equality might expect employees to address them by their given name, to participate in decision making, and to offer feedback. These behaviors are likely to confuse or even offend subordinates who expect to use formal titles, who anticipate that managers are responsible for making decisions, and who find it inappropriate and even dangerous for employees to give feedback to management. It can feel as alien for a manager to support a distance between management and employees as it is for employees to feel comfortable engaging informally with a manager. And the reverse is also true, of course: If a manager is more formal and expects some distance between management and employees and subordinates keep addressing the manager by his or her first name and offering suggestions, the manager may perceive the employees' behavior as inappropriate and respond in ways that demotivate the employees.

Contrasting personal values and behaviors with those of the culture into which they are moving will allow global managers to avoid some (but probably not all!) of these major *culture bumps* and to be more effective in their roles.

Cultural Communication Styles

One of the first impressions global managers make when they assume a new position is about how they communicate. Individuals learn how to communicate in a manner that supports their cultural values. Therefore, communication styles are a primary source of perception when meeting someone new. Competent global managers will understand these styles and be able to use, and accurately interpret, all of them in context.

Direct and Indirect Communicators

Direct communicators will say very clearly what they want, need, and think. The value that underlies this style is one of time and task, for example, wanting to get a job done in a timely manner, so information will be given as clearly and directly as possible. Such managers rely on the clarity of directness and assume that it contributes to greater efficiency. *Indirect* communicators may ask questions or go through a third party. The value underlying this style is one of relationship harmony, for instance, wanting to get the job done but not at the risk of damaging the relationship, so the individual may be less direct and avoid any possible embarrassment, insults, loss of face, or conflicts. A direct communicator is likely to be seen as rude, superficial, or aggressive by an indirect communicator, while an indirect communicator is often seen as shy, manipulative, or indecisive by a direct communicator.

High and Low Context

These communication differences create some of the greatest cross-cultural challenges. *Low-context* communication relies on words for meaning, so communication is explicit, specific, and direct. *High-context* communication, on the other hand, relies on general, implicit, and indirect approaches where the meaning is more in the context than in the words (e.g., who is in the room, where people are sitting, slight nonverbal moves or facial expressions).

Detached and Attached

Communicators also frequently misunderstand one another. *Detached* communication is conducted in a calm and impersonal manner. This is equated with objectivity, which is valued. *Attached* communication is carried out with feeling and emotion. Issues are discussed with passion and commitment. Communication is very expressive. Sharing one's values and feelings about the issues is highly valued. The detached communicator can be seen as not caring or not engaged, while the attached communicator can be seen as too emotional or out of control. These misunderstandings can create a barrier to productive global management.

Tone and Pacing

Tone and pacing are also important. Western and Eastern ears often find each other's tones difficult to understand. In many languages, the same word has multiple meanings depending on the tonality with which it is spoken and the context of the sentence in which it is used. Putting the emphasis on different words in a sentence can create entirely different meanings. Pacing differences can also leave people feeling like they cannot keep up if the speech is too rapid or can leave people perceiving others as slow or stupid if the pacing is slower than one is accustomed to using.

Nonverbal Behaviors

A final category of importance for those managing global workforces is to understand their own nonverbal behaviors versus the nonverbal behaviors of those they might be managing.

Eye Contact

Eye contact is a classic example of cross-cultural misunderstanding. Do people use direct or indirect eye contact or avoid eye contact? For how long do individuals maintain eye contact? Does the speaker or the listener control the duration of eye contact? While many people understand that eye contact is important, few can maintain the conscious intentionality required to accurately shift eye contact to match a range of cultural settings.

Physical Space and Touch

These are things that are learned and exhibited unconsciously and refer to how close or far away individuals stand from each other when conversing. The global manager will be skilled in observing these issues and behaving in ways that feel respectful in a range of settings.

Characteristics of Culture Competence

Achieving global success requires establishing common values and goals across cultures, being flexible in how to meet those goals in different settings, sharing best practices, having both centralized and decentralized structures and support systems, and having a diverse global management team.

While there are many ideas about what characteristics and skills a culturally competent manager should have, the research studies on global competencies for leaders converge on the following characteristics as key to successful global management:

- *Self-awareness:* understanding one's own cultural programming and how it affects perceptions and behaviors; cultural humility and commitment to continuous learning
- *Flexibility:* the ability to see many ways of doing things and to experience change with confidence and grace
- *Curiosity:* an enthusiastic interest in understanding different perspectives
- *Openness and authenticity:* genuinely sharing one's self with others
- *Empathy and respect:* the ability to deeply internalize and respect another person's perspective

Preparation for Global Management

Individuals who receive cultural training before leaving to go abroad are much more successful than those who receive no such training. Robert Rosen and his colleagues state that it is the global leader's responsibility to be literate in four areas: (1) understanding oneself, (2) understanding how to engage others effectively, (3) understanding business values, and (4) understanding the country's culture. These four literacies (personal, social, business, and cultural) will allow managers to see challenges and opportunities differently, to think globally, to act globally, and to mobilize and motivate global employees.

It is the responsibility of both the individual manager and the organization to fully prepare for global management. This requires undertaking a development plan that includes identifying one's current values and any potential gap in understanding or behaviors. There are a number of tools on the market for doing this.

David Matsumoto and Hyisung C. Hwang reviewed a number of assessments that allow the individual to identify development opportunities. Other tools allow for measuring one's own values and contrasting them to the values of countries in which the global manager will be working. A resource list of such assessment tools is available on the website of the Intercultural Communication Institute.

Understanding cultural values and behaviors is not sufficient, however. Understanding the historical context of national and religious differences is critical to making sense of certain national or organizational behaviors. It is difficult, for example, to understand why African Americans or Blacks in South Africa may feel frustrated or angry if one does not understand the long history of slavery in the United States or apartheid in South Africa. Likewise, not understanding the history of the Partition in India and Pakistan would make it more difficult to understand some of the attitudes or behaviors encountered in a business organization in the subcontinent.

Global management is rapidly becoming standard for business; competence in this new reality will take conscious planning and preparation by both individuals and organizations.

Donna M. Stringer

See also Culture Distance; Value Orientations; High-Context and Low-Context Communication; Intercultural Communication, Definition of; Intercultural Nonverbal Communication; Intercultural Verbal Communication Styles; Leading Global Teams

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Global Leadership

Global leadership is a growing field of study triggered by globalization and the increased complexity confronting leaders who work across multiple national boundaries. Since the late 1990s, surveys have repeatedly documented the critical importance of global leadership and the scarcity of global leaders in the private, public, and not-for-profit sectors. Intercultural competence is viewed by scholars both as one of the multidisciplinary roots of global leadership and also as a key category of competencies related to this arena.

As is common with new fields, consensus has not yet been reached on a universally accepted construct definition of global leadership. A *construct definition* is a clear statement explaining a concept, a mental abstraction used in research. Without consensus on a construct definition, it is difficult to advance the field because indiscriminate samples and research evidence prevent us from drawing firm conclusions. An early, concise definition of global leadership is as follows: the process of influencing the thinking, attitudes, and behaviors of a global community to work together synergistically toward a common vision and common goals. This entry uses a more complex definition that includes recent thinking: *Global leadership is the process of influencing followers from multiple cultures to adopt a shared vision through structures and methods that facilitate positive change in a* *context characterized by significant levels of global complexity and connectivity.* This entry describes the global context that prompted the need for global leadership, defines global leaders and global leadership, and summarizes the history of the field, and global leadership competencies and their measurement.

The Global Context as a Crucible

People often ask whether global leaders are born or made—a nature-versus-nurture question. Several scholars have concluded that global leaders are *born*, *then made*. Some people naturally possess the competencies associated with global leadership effectiveness (born/nature), but many global leaders are either shaped or further developed by their exposure to the unique demands of a global environment, global organizations, and global jobs (made/nurture). Thus, a treatise on global leadership usually begins with an understanding of the global context.

Global leaders work in a volatile environment across a series of boundaries that span geographies, cultures, sociopolitical systems, and economies. The pressures and dynamics of global competition compound this complexity. In a 2010 IBM study, 1,500 chief executive officers (CEOs) in 33 diverse industries from 60 different countries reported that complexity was the most challenging aspect of their jobs.

Complexity in the global context is composed of these dimensions: variety, interdependence, and flux; ambiguity is the potential outcome of the complexity resulting from these dimensions. *Variety* refers to the increased number and type of issues and differences as well as the diversity of models and inter- and intra-organizational practices that global leaders face. Both the quantity and the range of different environmental conditions place distinctive demands on global leaders. *Interdependence* among a host of stakeholders and sociocultural, political, economic, and environmental systems indicates that global leaders have to scan and manage multiplex systems of human and technological interaction. *Flux* describes the degree of destabilizing environmental change. Global leaders are exposed to frequent, intense, and unpredictable changes on various fronts. The resultant complexity from these three dimensions may cause ambiguity. *Ambiguity* grows out of insufficient and unclear information, multiple interpretations of information, and confusion over cause–effect relationships. For example, cross-cultural differences in the global context add an element of ambiguity when global leaders are not certain how to interpret cues and signals or how to identify appropriate actions and feasible goals.

The global context serves as a crucible experience that has the potential to transform people into global leaders. Thus, global leadership is leadership under conditions of extreme complexity, which, at a minimum, typically requires adaptation in the form of greater cognitive complexity, social flexibility, and tolerance of ambiguity. Exposure to the global context, however, is not sufficient to become a global leader.

Global Leadership Defined

When new fields of study grapple with construct definition, it is important to clarify what does and does not fit the definition's boundaries. To the layperson, global leaders are often well-known political, diplomatic, military, and spiritual leaders, such as Mohandas K. (Mahatma) Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., Mother Teresa, Nelson Mandela, and Alexander the Great. For example, Carlos Ghosn—chairman, president, and CEO of Nissan and Renault—is a famous, award-winning global leader in the field of business. All these famous people have, as stated in the definition, influenced "followers from multiple cultures to adopt a shared vision." In some cases, they were simply thought leaders who inspired others to follow their example. However, scholars concerned with a more precise construct definition use the term *global leader* both more broadly and more narrowly. For them, the term can also apply to people who work at lower levels in global hierarchies on multicultural teams or on virtual global teams or to people who have subordinates from different cultural backgrounds or jobs with a global scope; it can also apply to people who work across organizational boundaries in other countries and/or merge together global organizations. The nature of their work can determine whether they are global leaders, if they work specifically in a context typified by "significant levels of global complexity and connectivity," as given in the definition. But job position or title, or even a foreign address, does not automatically confer the designation of a global leader. For example, neither presidents nor CEOs are automatically global leaders unless they influence the thinking, attitudes, and behaviors of people beyond the borders of their own country. Nor are high-level people automatically viewed as global leaders unless they are change agents, according to some scholars. The key distinction between domestic managers and leaders has been identified as the leader's role as a change agent; this stipulation can also be used to distinguish between global managers and global leaders.

Some scholars refer to comparative leadership as global leadership. *Comparative leadership* is the identification and comparison of national leadership styles. This is useful knowledge for global leaders, but the two fields are not interchangeable. Global leadership is a metalevel competency and construct because global leaders have followers from multiple cultures. It is not uncommon for a global leader to work directly with subordinates and stakeholders from 30 to 40 countries. Thus, they do not have the luxury of learning each follower's indigenous leadership style or culture as expatriate leaders do. Generally speaking, global leaders are more concerned with culture-general than with culture-specific knowledge. Similarly, they often have a general understanding about how indigenous leadership styles can vary, without mastering the specific details of every national leadership style they confront.

The final definitional distinction is the difference between domestic and global leadership. There are shared similarities as well as differences of degree and kind between domestic and global leadership. Some basics of leadership remain the same. Given the global context, however, environmental scanning, boundary spanning, and conscious managerial code switching are more critical for global leaders than for domestic leaders. As a research field, global leadership has different disciplinary roots than leadership.

In summary, global leadership is not simply domestic leadership with the addition of intercultural competence. Nor is it simply expatriate leadership, comparative leadership, or global management. These fields, however, have been identified as the multidisciplinary roots of global leadership. With a few exceptions, the literature on domestic leadership has had limited impact on the global leadership field to date.

History of Global Leadership

Although global leaders exist in all fields, international management scholars in the business sector have done most of the research on this topic. Given their background, they focused primarily on its global aspects. Rather than adapt or globalize domestic leadership, they approached global leadership as a new phenomenon that required a fresh view.

The majority of the first publications in the 1990s were conceptual in nature; a few made extrapolations from the domestic leadership literature, but most resulted from interviews, focus groups, or observations from the authors' consulting or training experiences. In 1995, the first empirical work appeared on competencies in global corporations. Ever since, other scholars focused primarily on identifying global leadership competencies (knowledge, skills, abilities, and behaviors) in an effort to map the content domain of global leadership. To a lesser degree, researchers also focused on global leadership development. The field grew slowly for many years; the publication rate of empirical studies almost doubled in 2012–2013, but it is still a relatively small literature base of fewer than 50 empirical articles. More researchers are branching out into studies of global leadership and related fields, such as global mindset, cultural intelligence, multicultural teams, and so forth. While significant progress has been made in foundational research, global leadership is still an emerging field of study in a relatively early stage of development.

To date, four different approaches to studying global leadership can be identified: (1) the content approach, (2) the clinical approach, (3) job analysis, and (4) expert cognition. The goal of the content approach is to describe what global leadership is and identify competencies, research that has been carried out using surveys and interviews. Since this is the most common approach, the outcomes will be described in the following section. The clinical approach relies on extensive case studies of well-known, successful CEOs and an analysis of their life histories and leadership actions. The result is a holistic list of dimensions that includes both leadership actions and work–life balance. The job analysis approach uses a global focus group to identify 10 specific tasks that global leaders perform. Finally, the expert cognition approach uses cognitive task analysis, a research method used to distinguish between experts and novices, to gain greater insight into the thinking and behavior of skilled global leaders. Each of these approaches has contributed valuable findings, but more research is needed to fully develop the field. There are global leadership models, but many have not been tested empirically. To date, there are no global leadership theories.

Global Leadership Competencies

Scholars have identified about 160 global leadership competencies. Several efforts have been made to categorize these competencies. In 2002, researchers concluded that global leadership was a multidimensional construct that consists of two overarching competencies. The first, *intercultural competencies*, consists of relationship skills, personality traits, and cognitive orientation. These competencies concern interactions and relationships at the interpersonal and small-group levels. The second overarching competency, *global business competencies*, comprises global business expertise, global organizing expertise, and visioning. Its macro focus relates to global business knowledge and skills. The most recent publication on the content domain of global leadership resulted in three categories: *Business and Organizational Acumen*, *Managing People and Relationships*, and *Managing Self*. The Pyramid Model of Global Competencies organizes knowledge, cognition, and behavior skills into five scaffolded levels—(1) global knowledge, (2) threshold characteristics, (3) attitudes and orientations, (4) interpersonal skills, and (5) system skills—that incorporate lower level competencies.

Some competencies appear repeatedly in competency studies: cognitive complexity, behavioral flexibility, intercultural competence, learning ability, and integrity. It is also clear that global leadership is a multidimensional construct with both micro and macro elements and that intercultural competence is one of the micro dimensions. The content domain for the intercultural competence dimension has been identified as perception management, relationship management, and self-management.

Measurement

Intercultural competency is the dimension of global leadership that boasts the largest number of assessment measures. There are four instruments related more closely to global leadership. In alphabetical order, they are the (1) Global Competency Inventory, (2) Global Executive Leadership Inventory, (3) Global Leadership Online, and (4) Global Mindset Inventory. Most of these are used for both research and training purposes. Because this is a research field, more measures are needed to round out our knowledge on global leadership effectiveness and performance.

Joyce S. Osland

See also Assessments of Intercultural Competence; Coaching for Intercultural Competence; Culture Specific/Culture General; Expatriates; Global Leadership Development; Intercultural Code Switching; Leading Global Teams; Virtual Teams; Women in Global Leadership

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Global Leadership Development

Developing global leaders is a growing priority for both global organizations and educational institutions. The need to develop global leadership competencies was prompted by the complexity resulting from globalization and the realization that today's global problems and organizations represent new challenges for leaders. Therefore, a different and more global form of leadership is required for individuals and organizations. Beginning in the 1990s and continuing today, surveys have documented both the crucial importance of global leadership and the inadequate number of global leaders. The World Economic Forum's *Global Agenda Outlook* identified the global leadership vacuum as the greatest challenge for 2013 and thereafter. The scarcity of global leaders is found in all sectors, including government, business, and not-for-profit.

The business sector took the lead in creating training programs to develop global leaders, but the lack of well-trained individuals still prevents global businesses from successfully implementing their strategies. International management scholars were the first to research what global leadership is and how it can be developed. This relatively young field is currently receiving more attention from scholars of various disciplines. While no commonly accepted definition of global leadership development exists, it can be described as a transformational process resulting in heightened levels of self-awareness and awareness of others, and the emergence of global leadership competencies. This entry discusses knowledge based on research, process models of global leadership development, competency models that guide development programs, and assessment instruments used in training and concludes with a review of the various training methodologies in use.

Global Leadership Development Knowledge

The degree to which people can develop global leadership competencies, the exact nature of the conditions necessary for that development, and the most effective pedagogical and training design components for different audiences are issues that have yet to be fully addressed by scholars. Nevertheless, a fair amount of helpful knowledge, detailed below, already exists on global leadership development. The first question that often arises is whether global leaders can be developed: In other words, are global leaders born or made? The answer is yes, they can be developed, but only when people are willing and able to work hard at personal development and are developmentally ready to do so. Another important caveat is that some people are better equipped, given individual personal characteristics, than others to develop global leadership competencies. Thus, they can *move the needle* or improve more than others as a result of their efforts. For instance, personality characteristics (extraversion, openness, and emotional stability), motivation, language skills, and prior experience were found to have accelerated intercultural competence gains that resulted from international experience. Furthermore, cognitive ability, prior knowledge, and personality traits were shown to have accelerated the knowledge gained via cross-cultural training. Returning to the *born-or-made*, nature-versus-nurture question, some are born with more potential, but everyone can develop global leadership competencies to some degree if they are highly motivated. Thus, some say that global leaders are born, then made.

The global leadership development process involves personal transformation, triggered by experiences, that occurs over time. It is an unpredictable nonlinear process because people develop at different rates or even learn the wrong lessons from experiences. In addition to learning and expanding competencies and mind-sets, they also have to *unlearn* lessons, behaviors, and perspectives that, while successful in their own culture, are ineffective or irrelevant in other cultures. This process comprises cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects.

There is consensus that the most effective way to develop global leadership is through expatriate or international assignments. However, this is not necessarily the most efficient way, due to the costs and time involved. Expatriation has the most potential as a crucible experience due to the range and intensity of developmental demands it entails. Compared with domestic jobs, for instance, expatriate jobs have higher demands for social skills, perceptual skills, and reasoning ability, and such assignments prompt people to reconsider their identity. Mentors, especially those from a different culture, have proven to be especially useful for both expatriate effectiveness and global leadership development. Expatriation and global leadership share some similarities in their pattern of development and required competencies.

Being an expatriate is not the only route to global leadership. Nonwork intercultural experiences, international service learning, short-term global business travel, multicultural team experience, global leadership assessment centers, and intercultural training can also increase global leadership competencies and expertise. The nature of the cross-cultural experience, with the inherent high levels of challenge and of contact with cultural difference (an important task to accomplish), is the most important factor. Even learning to bridge significant differences within one's own culture can trigger global leadership development. Willingness to learn, curiosity, openness, tolerance of ambiguity, and interpersonal initiation and relationship skills enable people to benefit from developmental experiences.

Experts suggest that effective global leadership training is best accomplished via experiential learning, reflection, multimethod designs, assessment, action learning, and international service learning. Methods that have a high degree of experiential rigor (i.e., close to real-life experience) and a large number of valuable feedback sources are most likely to result in personal transformation. High-potential methods are global leadership assessment centers, high-contact/high-challenge international assignments, intercultural experiences or study-abroad programs, international service learning programs, and realistic complex simulations. Low-potential methods are films, books, lectures, self-study, and briefings. Traditional classroom methods are less likely to spur the transformation required for global leadership development.

Process Models of Global Leadership Development

Five process models of global leadership development help guide development programs. All are derived from or supported by research, but none has been tested empirically. The models focus on transformation emerging from personal experience and are based on the assumption that the demands of global leadership in a complex, ambiguous setting require flexibility, adaptability, and the ability to learn.

Two models build on Mezirow's theory of transformative learning (perspective transformation resulting from a process triggered by a disorienting dilemma). The Global Explorers Model and the Kozai Learning Model consist of three stages: (1) contrast—exposure to a disorienting dilemma; (2) confrontation—engaging in self-examination and exploration of options to make sense of the dilemma and solve it; and (3) remapping or replacement—cognitive, affective, and behavioral integration of the insights gained during confrontation. The Kozai Learning Model also describes the cognitive and emotional subprocesses that occur during the *contrast* and *confrontation* phases, particularly with respect to buffering. Buffering, a natural, internal protective mechanism humans use to lower the sense of threat, is present in many intercultural encounters. *Exaggerated buffering* reflects an internal, cognitive-emotional process that aborts learning by resorting to defensive or dismissive behavior. In contrast, *normal buffering* is a reflective reaction that is more conducive to continual learning and presents more potential for accurate cultural sense making to understand the contrast phase.

The McCall and Hollenbeck model, based on interviews with effective global executives, focuses primarily but not exclusively on the role of the expatriate experience. It reflects a linear, organizational approach in which company strategy determines the qualities required of leaders and talented people are then hired or promoted and given appropriate developmental experiences. Talent management is also supported by organizational mechanisms (e.g., selection, succession, and development) and catalysts (information and incentives for development).

The Chattanooga model was developed by a team of international management scholars and consultants. The Global Leadership Expertise Development Model extends the Chattanooga model, based on expert cognition in global leadership research. Both models comprise antecedent conditions (individual characteristics or experiences) and transformational experiences and outcomes. The higher the degree of complexity, affect, intensity, and relevance in the experiences, the higher is the probability that they will function as transformational *crucible experiences*. The Global

Leadership Expertise Development Model's outcomes are categories of global leadership expertise: cognitive processes used in expert decision making, global knowledge acquisition, intercultural competence, and global organizing expertise.

Elements of Global Leadership Development Programs

To create an effective global leadership development program, designers have to choose the right competencies, the right assessment instruments, and the appropriate methodologies. Each element, described below, should be carefully aligned with the others.

The Role of Global Leadership Competency Models

Competencies are a set of behaviors encompassing skills, knowledge, abilities, and personal attributes that, taken together, are critical to successful work accomplishment. The first step in a global leadership development program often involves researchers or human resources staff and consultants identifying competencies that lead to global leadership effectiveness in specific organizations. The resulting competency models then determine which training modules, methods, and experiences are utilized.

Because numerous (50+) competencies have been identified, researchers categorized them, which is called *mapping the construct domain of global leadership*. The first of the two overarching competencies, *intercultural competencies,* consists of *relationship skills*, *personal traits*, and *cognitive orientation*. It focuses on interactions and relationships at the interpersonal and small-group levels. The second overarching competency, *global business competencies*, consists of *global business expertise*, *global organizing expertise*, and *visioning*. These competencies have a macro focus and relate to global business knowledge and skills.

Assessment Measures

Assessment measures perform a variety of functions in global leadership development. They are used to select employees with the greatest potential to benefit from development programs or perform well in global leadership positions. They are frequently used to trigger self-awareness and personal growth within training and development programs. Three-hundred-sixty-degree feedback measures are generally preferable to self-report data. Finally, they are used as pre- and postmeasures for program evaluation and assessment purposes. Among the most commonly used assessment measures in business and educational institutions are the following, in alphabetical order: the Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory, Cultural Intelligence, Global Competencies Aptitude Assessment, Global Competencies Inventory, Global Mindset Inventory, Intercultural Effectiveness Scale, Intercultural Readiness Check, and Multicultural Personality Questionnaire.

Training Methodologies

Personal Development Plans

To promote self-reflection and capitalize on the self-awareness that assessment results can engender, trainees and students create individualized personal development plans. These target and describe specific areas for growth and often include tactics, a time frame, and an accountability process requiring them to report their progress on a regular basis. Based on the principles of cognitive-behavioral therapy, the personal development plan approach to goal-oriented self-improvement has been successful in global leadership development programs in both industry and academe.

Executive Coaching

High-potential employees being groomed for global leadership positions or actual global leaders may have access to executive coaching. Coaches listen, provide insight, and help their clients set realistic developmental goals so they can be more successful.

Action Learning Projects

Companies often select a multicultural cadre of high-potential employees who meet in different locations once or twice a year to receive training, build a network, and engage in action learning projects. Such projects typically involve multicultural teams who work on a global issue or problem facing the company and present their findings to senior management. They are asked to reflect on what they learned from the experience and often evaluate team members' global leadership skills. The real-life nature of the projects and the opportunity to practice and receive feedback on their skills can be very helpful.

Assessment Centers

The opportunity to observe trainees can be even greater in global leadership assessment centers. Such centers employ individual assessment instruments as well as a series of simulations that closely replicate global leadership tasks. Trained observers watch them perform and provide feedback. They may also provide coaching.

International Service Learning

International Service Learning Programs, likened to the corporate Peace Corps, have recently received a good deal of attention from companies and scholars. Companies send teams of high-potential executives to developing countries for several weeks or months to work with local people on social projects or small businesses. Some form of predeparture training and posttrip debriefing, accompanied by self-reflection, is usually part of the program. The results include increased global leadership competencies and positive evaluations by participants.

Conclusion

Global leadership development programs may use a combination of these approaches, in addition to the strategic job assignments that are part of their global talent management. One of the most important objectives in global leadership development is to ensure that the organization's strategic goals, talent management strategy, competency model, assessments, and methodologies are well aligned and carefully evaluated. The final consideration is whether the organization as a whole is truly global and designed to support and take advantage of the global leaders it trains. If not, global leadership development sometimes requires organizational changes to fully succeed.

Joyce S. Osland

See also Assessment Centers; Assessments of Intercultural Competence; Coaching for Intercultural Competence; Expatriates; Global Leadership; Intercultural Code Switching; Intercultural Competence Development; Leading Global Teams; Simulations and Games; Virtual Teams; Women in Global Leadership

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Global Learning

Global learning refers to the contemporary expansion, beyond national borders, of the scope, nature, and role of educational systems as a result of globalization. It is a term, among others, such as *global education* and *global literacy*, that has recently been introduced in education. It is, in relation to the concepts mentioned above, more focused on the educational practice and the values, attitudes, and skills that intersect with the curriculum. Global learning is a pedagogy encompassing a widening horizon for educational goals, a global perspective for curricular content, and a response to the wider geographical scope of the individual in society. However, its philosophical and sociological meaning, and the corresponding implications for educational practice, is not straightforward, unequivocal, or immediately comprehensible. Its interpretation and implementation depend on the understanding of each of the two words composing this expression, *global* and *learning*, which determine how it can altogether affect the perception of what educational practice may entail. This entry begins with a definition of global learning and discusses the ways the concept is used in various contexts and disciplines. Next, global learning is combined with global education to explain how they inform and influence each other.

The whole meaning of the expression *global learning* depends on the epistemological, ideological, and sociological significance of globalization to education and to the purpose and methodology of educational practices. On the one hand, it may produce a transnational workforce prepared to include an existing system of production meant to maintain hegemonic globalization. This does not necessarily discard the objective of also preparing *good citizens* who are able to fit into the mainstream and dominating layers of global societies. This type of globalization needs schools that supply these citizens who can display a command of predetermined skills. That is, the priority is that students reach the predetermined standards, display knowledge of different dominant languages, and so on. However, the promise of a good job is still kept for only a few. On the other hand, it may aim to initiate a lifelong task of developing thoughtful citizens who are prepared to make a difference and take responsibility in the direction and implementation of a sustainable process of globalization. Such a process counts on local differences, capacities, and deliberations to counter the imposition of unilateral global powers and models. While the former type of global learning leads individuals to passively adapt to the current state of affairs, the second kind of global learning requires an educational system that provides for the fulfillment of flexible, knowledgeable, creative, and critical individuals capable of adopting an active, dialogical, and committed stance.

Sousa Santos distinguishes four modes of globalization that can aid in understanding its mechanisms and clarify possible strategies to behave responsibly. The first is *globalized localism*, which refers to some local production that becomes global, for example, the English language, Hollywood culture, some foods, and so on. *Localized globalism* refers to the impact of globalization on local situations and how they respond to it. *Cosmopolitanism* entails the transnational networking of different associations, organizations, and even nation-states to fight for the protection of their particular interests through the benefit that global systems may offer. And the *common heritage of humankind* points to local wealth conditions with a global impact. The first mode of production unveils the fact that globalization does not equate to universality; on the contrary, it has its origins in a locality that is made global through power relations forged throughout history. Therefore, the notion of *lingua franca* can be a good illustration of how misleading some perceptions of the concept *global* can be, such as the suggestion that a linguistic/cultural body can be unloaded of its cultural, historical, and sociological heritage to make communication flow without restraints. This apparent neutrality and transcendence in whatever is understood as global can sound very appealing. However, the identification of this first mode of producing globalization helps to limit the scope of the perception of *globalism* and therefore to identify the knots that global learning needs to untie. That is, global learning, when started at any level of schooling or stage of life, may help people understand the limits to globalization in order to minimize its abuses. Finally, the other three modes of production point to the possibilities for counterhegemonic globalization that can make global learning enabling, instead of disabling, with regard to what concerns the development of global citizenship.

Examples of Proposed Models

There have been several attempts worldwide to define and implement the idea of global education since the 1970s by focusing on transnational issues, such as peace studies, human rights, environmental issues, and so on. The North-South Centre of the Council of Europe, a European Centre for Global Interdependence and Solidarity, has been very active and has promoted a reference document, the *1997 Global Education Charter*. It states that global learning implies a concern with the future of this planet and aims to promote awareness of the interdependent nature of the contemporary world. The North-South Centre of the Council of Europe also struggles for the recognition of the rights of destitute peoples around the world. This perspective on global learning boldly proposes an active model that answers back, instead of accommodating to globalization, through a critical approach to global learning. In accordance with the foregoing, Vanessa Andreotti and Lynn M. T. M. de Souza addressed a critical approach to global learning by proposing four pedagogical tools for global educators, namely, to (1) consider different perspectives, (2) discuss the implications of mainstream discourse and emergent radical proposals, (3) engage in critical dialogue, and (4) be open to challenging oneself. This position puts forward a critical and radical notion of global learning not only as aiming the development and transformation of individuals and societies but also as a concept evolving from a global perspective itself. This position combines perspectives from the Global South and the Global North, through the unfolding of Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy.

In addition, the Association of American Colleges and Universities has affirmed how important it is to provide students with global learning, which entails learning about the world, different peoples, and their difficulty in having their knowledge and cultures recognized and viewed as legitimate like scientific knowledge. Global learning does not appear to target different goals from the ones pointed out above. Also in the United States, the Global Perspective Institute produced the Global Perspective Inventory, which aims to assess global competencies resulting from global learning and, therefore, to be implemented in higher education institutions. This tool determines whether students see themselves as global citizens and whether they are able to answer specific questions concerning their global perspective. Therefore, global learning focuses on human development, how individuals view their potential and role within a broader social context, and also whether they see their micro context as borderless.

The aforementioned options between different perspectives of global learning are also evident through the various ladders of schooling and all stages of life, from the primary to the university level. A study on global learning in primary schools in England, carried out by the Development Education Research Centre at the University of London, indicates there are a variety of perceptions of what global learning entails. In addition, this study's report also concludes that as far as global learning is concerned, it is as important to consider *what* is taught as *how* it is taught. First, the study gives space to educators to explore the concept further while, at the same time, providing them with direction. Furthermore, its conclusions result from broad-based research in primary schools that showed that a critical approach to global learning is less frequent at that level. The study's report shows that age is nevertheless a factor that determines the approach, although the perspective may remain the same.

Discordant and Confirming Voices

However, there have been some voices against adding a global dimension to the school curriculum because this may cause some distraction from the core knowledge on which teachers and students must concentrate. One of them, also coming from the University of London, blames global learning for being a *false promise*. Although these claims against global learning cannot be ignored, they can contribute to redirecting the theory and practice of global learning and can help it not go astray. It is also difficult to accommodate the idea of remaining hidden in one's cocoon while the doors and windows of the world are becoming wide open and bright rays of light are shining through them.

Finkbeiner makes an interesting point when she adopts the idea of a *human global positioning system* (GPS), which requires that individuals locate themselves to know where they are heading. The normal GPS device works only if it receives information from at least three satellites positioned at different locations. Likewise, the human GPS also needs to be fed from different perspectives. The metaphor of the GPS meets Santos's concept of *diatopical hermeneutics*, which calls for a philosophical standing based on differing inputs—that is, different cultural sources supplying data interpretation from different perspectives (satellites), which supplement any singular viewpoint. According to him, diatopical hermeneutics is based on the idea that each culture is incomplete and needs other cultures to provide complementary viewpoints.

These interpretations of global learning lead to the notion of *intercultural responsibility*, enlarging the concept of intercultural competence by emphasizing a social, relational, civic, and ethical component. Intercultural responsibility is understood here as a conscious and respectful relationship among communicators who are aware of the particularities of collaborating with their cocitizens. It also entails a recognition that their identities may have been socially and culturally constructed based on different ethnic elements and historical burdens. Furthermore, intercultural responsibility implies that every member is responsible not only for identifying and recognizing the cultural idiosyncrasies of every other member-in-interaction but also for developing committed and reciprocally demanding civic relationships with them. The notion of intercultural responsibility adds a moral, although cosmopolitan, element to the role of global ethics within the context of global learning. UNESCO has recognized this notion as one of its key concepts in the discussion of intercultural competences and has included it in *The Intercultural Competences Tree*, which provides a visual figure of the various elements composing the idea of intercultural competence. UNESCO has also been sensitive to the idea of global learning and promoted the Global Learning City project. Global learning has therefore been widely recognized as a resourceful pedagogy asset that may not only feed formal global citizenship education programs but also provide for pedagogical orientation across the curriculum as well as for community services and projects.

Manuela Guilherme

See also Cosmopolitanism; Critical Pedagogy; Global Citizenship; Language, Culture, and Intercultural Communication; Linguaculture; Power

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Global Organizational Cultures

Chief executives of organizations have long sought to foster homogeneous cultures that exemplify their vision of company goals and facilitate overall effectiveness. This is no small task, given the competing perspectives and priorities of the different functions that are represented within the contemporary business organization. The internationalization of business has further complicated this task. In many multinational businesses, employees who hold the same nationality as that of the location in which the company headquarters are located are a numerical minority, quite often only a small percentage of the total workforce. To what extent can the divergent perspectives of such multinational workforces be melded into a unitary global culture?

Initial indications underlined the magnitude of the task. In the 1960s, the IBM company was among those pioneering the use of surveys to tap the concerns of their global workforce, and it was also known for its investment in creating a coherent and uniform organizational culture. It was from this company that the extensive set of data was drawn that provided the basis for Geert Hofstede's landmark study of cultural differences. Across nations, IBM employees showed marked divergences in work motivations, attitudes toward hierarchy, and tolerance of uncertainty. These variations do not by themselves deny the possibility of creating a global organizational culture within a company, but they indicate that any attempt to do so will need to include ways of accommodating diversity. Thus, it is unlikely that a global organizational culture could be based on homogeneity. The dimensions of cultural variation that Hofstede extracted from the IBM study provided a starting point for cross-cultural psychology research and an agenda for practitioners wishing to enact a global culture within their company.

This entry offers definitions of what is meant by the term *global organizational culture*. Next is a discussion of the research findings of various other studies that focused on the levels to which national and international organizations are open to diversity, and the effects on global organizational culture.

What Is a Global Culture?

These preliminary observations underline the need for a clear definition of a global culture. How would such an entity best be identified where it is present? In 2008, Miriam Erez and her colleague Efrat Shokef defined global culture in the global work context as an agreement on the visible rules, regulations, and behaviors, with a sharing of deeper values and ethics. Organizations would have greater difficulty in achieving some parts of this definition than others. A shared understanding of company rules would not always equate with a sharing of deeper values and ethics. Even within the domain of explicit statements of company vision and the types of more specific rules that are formulated and disseminated from headquarters, there is evidence that their acceptance and implementation are frequently partial. Acceptance of rules specified by North American multinationals has been found to be much stronger in German subsidiaries than in French ones. Measures of organization culture in a U.S. multinational have also been found to vary between subsidiaries in the United Kingdom, Hong Kong, and the United States.

In earlier work, Shokef and Erez offered a more readily attainable criterion for multicultural teams in the global context of multinational organizations—an individual's sense of belonging and identification with the team. Here, the attainment of a global culture is equated with attachment to one multicultural element within the overall organization rather than to the organization as a whole.

A third perspective sees an effective global culture as one in which key actors in the organization have a global mind-set. Martha Maznevski and Harry Lane define a global mind-set as the ability to develop and analyze criteria for one's performance separate from a national, cultural, or contextual setting and to translate those criteria competently to another country, culture, and context.

Formulations that focus on individuals' skills or on attachments to teams do not by themselves encompass an organization's culture. An organization can only be considered to have a global culture if substantial numbers of relevant employees are found to be exemplifying these types of skills and attachments. In a recent large-scale study, 250 executives from within 10 multinational enterprises whose headquarters were in five different nations were interviewed. It was found that few of these companies had accomplished a strong or unified global culture. More frequently, the researchers discovered one pattern where the headquarters struggled to influence their subsidiaries and another pattern where some sections of an organization had internalized a global mind-set while other sections had not. Even within those organizations that the researchers perceived as having a global culture, they noted that this culture was built around a set of shared values and an acceptance that these values should be interpreted in differing ways according to local circumstances.

It can be argued that not all multinational enterprises require a global culture: Some types of organization can be effective globally if subsidiaries are given autonomy, while others may require operations that are highly integrated. Erez and Shokef have taken a stronger perspective, proposing that the globalized economy provides a competitive context within which multinational enterprises with a particular type of organizational culture will be the only ones to survive and prosper. The characteristics of such a culture are said to be values endorsing freedom of choice, free markets, individualism, innovation and tolerance of change, tolerance of diversity, and interdependence. They predicted that national cultures characterized as having high individualism, low power distance, and low uncertainty avoidance would be those in which a global organizational culture would most readily be accepted. The majority of multinational enterprises are indeed headquartered within nations with such a profile. The challenge for them is to find ways to build a culture that also engages employees from more diverse settings.

Erez and Shokef made a preliminary test of their perspective by studying the values of employees within a multinational enterprise with sites in Israel, Italy, Singapore, and Korea. They found high levels of agreement between employees in the four locations on the importance of customer orientation, competitive performance orientation, and openness to cultural diversity. There was a moderate consensus on the value of innovation, the importance of interdependence and trust, and the need for organizational social responsibility. There was the least consensus on the importance of prioritizing quality standards and the need for personal development. These results may be distinctive to the specific organization and locations that were studied, but they indicate the limitations of categorizing global organization cultures simply as *strong* or *weak*. Some aspects of organizational culture can more readily become global than others.

Openness to Diversity as an Aspect of Organization Culture

Among the aspects of global organizational culture identified by Erez and Shokef, openness to diversity is distinctively relevant to this entry. Several differing policies favoring diversity management are possible among multinational enterprises. A *universal* approach would involve headquarters seeking to implement their preferred practices globally. A *localized* approach would involve the organization delegating decision making to best optimize local diversity in national subsidiaries. A *transversal* approach would involve local subsidiaries in designing a global policy that would then be implemented globally. The last of these approaches appears best adapted to the emergence of a global organizational culture, since it is distinctively able to address the question of career mobility within the organization as a whole.

Support for this view comes from the previously mentioned study of 10 multinational enterprises. More than 1,500 employees in these enterprises located in 12 different nations were sampled, each of whom had at least a college degree. It was found that employee organizational commitment was significantly predicted by the presence of organization cultures characterized by perceived adaptability and high-performance work practices, as might also be found in a single-nation enterprise. However, in this sample, these effects were partially explained by employees' perceptions that *geocentric* career mobility policies and a *global mind-set* in their top management team were in place. These concepts refer to an emphasis on utilizing organizational talent without discrimination based on nationality. Thus, among the more senior employees of the sampled enterprises, there was evidence of a globalized culture in which diversity was valued and diversity policies were enacted.

At the less macroscopic level of daily work behaviors, openness to diversity is most typically tested practically within virtual and face-to-face teamwork. There has been much controversy as to the effects of diversity on group process and task performance within intranational and cross-national work teams. Summarizing more than 100 different studies, it has been found that diversity significantly enhances creativity and satisfaction but engenders more conflict and reduced team cohesion. These effects are found equally for cross-national and intranational team diversity. This suggests that in this particular respect, the challenge of creating a global organizational culture is no greater than that faced by an organization with a diverse workforce within a single nation. However, this is unlikely to be true in relation to all facets of cross-national variability. The 61-nation comparison of organizational cultures and national cultures, completed by the GLOBE group of researchers headed by Robert House, found nine times as much variability in culture between nations as there was between three different market sectors within nations.

It is apparent that the concept of global organizational culture has often been employed without detailed scrutiny of its relevant components. Greater attention will be required in discerning which aspects of the culture of particular multinational enterprises can validly be judged to be global and which are more likely to remain culturally distinctive.

Peter B. Smith

See also Corporations in a Globalizing World; Global Diversity Management; Global Leadership; Multicultural Organization; Value Dimensions: Hofstede

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Global Transferees

Much has changed for international transferees in recent years. Trends in the global business environment as well as the approaches that companies are taking to manage moves abroad have affected (a) the types of transfer assignments, (b) the employees who are sent abroad and their assignment objectives, and (c) the forms of support for assignees and families. This entry covers each of these major trends.

There is considerable evidence that global mobility is becoming both more critical to corporate strategy and more complex. Nearly 80% of the companies surveyed indicate that mobility will become more important to them over the next 3 to 5 years.

A number of factors have contributed to the greater significance of mobility:

- Companies increasingly see emerging geographical markets as key to their future growth.
- The overall number of assignees has gone up by 25% in the past decade, with another substantial increase predicted for the next 10 years.
- Global organizations are also sending transferees to more places, with the average number of assignment locations for major firms estimated to have more than doubled, from 13 in 1998 to more than 33 in 2020.
- Experience outside the employee's home market is regarded as a key means for developing a pipeline of effective leaders.

Types of Assignments

There has long been considerable variation in the nature of assignments abroad, depending on an organization's purpose and goals. Going back even to prior centuries, assignees were sent to establish a new country operation, to lead an established subsidiary, to transfer knowledge, and/or to complete a particular technical project. Executive-level roles in the past couple of decades have typically involved a multiyear assignment term, substantial additional compensation and benefits, and often support for a trailing spouse and children. Such assignees were most frequently dispatched from companies headquartered in Western Europe, North America, or Japan to established markets in other regions.

There is currently a rough parity between the numbers of assignees in strategic business leadership roles (34%) and assignees who are seasoned technical experts (39%), with other categories such as emerging high potential talent (17%) and career-building volunteers (10%). The latter two categories are likely to increase as firms seek to accelerate the development of future leaders from fast-growth markets into regional and global executive roles, and ambitious younger employees see experience in global markets as a key step up the corporate ladder.

Globalization trends also shape the nature of assignments abroad for most organizations as new markets open up and competition from other countries stiffens. Successive stages of globalization—*domestic*, *international*, *multinational*, and *mature global enterprise*—can be defined in part according to the shift in revenue sources from the home market to other countries. Each stage requires different tasks of assignees.

Stages of Globalization and Revenue Sources

In a company that is still primarily domestic, with 90% or more of revenue coming from its home market, a presence abroad is "nice to have" but primarily an "add-on" that does not fundamentally alter the core business. Assignments abroad are often exploratory by design and tend to focus on ways to extend the core business model already established in the home market. Common expatriate roles include sales and marketing of existing products with minimal alteration or qualifying and managing new suppliers to drive more cost efficiency. Employees selected for assignments at this stage are not necessarily those under consideration for future top leadership roles, and some may even be individuals who are seen as less capable or not a good fit with the headquarters culture.

At the other end of the spectrum, for a mature global company with two thirds or more of its revenue being earned outside its headquarters location, expatriate assignments are likely to be a vital competence that is central to the organization's future growth strategy. Assignee roles could involve any function, including those normally regarded as core engines of growth, such as product development and manufacturing, or staff functions such as human resources. Transferees must understand the similarities and differences in the business environments of various global markets while striking an effective balance between global consistency and adaptation to local customer requirements. Assignees selected for leadership roles in key markets are usually a fast-track elite, and successful performance in such a role is a prerequisite for advancement to top executive status.

Assignees and Their Objectives

The rise of developing countries to greater economic prominence, growth prospects in newer markets, and demographic changes have transformed the profiles of assignees and often their objectives as well. It is now common to encounter the following:

- Transferees from locations such as China, India, Brazil, or the Middle East who are sponsored by companies that are headquartered there
- Assignees tasked with establishing or growing operations in other fast-growth markets (Africa, South and Central Asia)
- Laborers or professional workers who are transferred as sources of skilled yet inexpensive talent (e.g., some estimates suggest that there are now more than 1 million Chinese workers in Africa)
- Third-country assignments from one subsidiary location to another rather than assignments to and from headquarters
- Larger numbers of women assignees and dual-career assignments
- Shorter term project or frequent-traveler assignments for individuals who cannot live abroad for personal reasons (dual-career

marriage, care of elderly parents, children not at the right age for travel, etc.)

The net impact of such changes is that today's transferees are more diverse than ever in terms of their country of origin, gender, and assignment location. Assumptions about the nature of assignments or effective forms of assignment support that were valid in a prior era may no longer apply.

Support for Assignees

The stakes are rising for the success of each assignment as globalization weaves enterprises ever more closely together through extended supply chains, cross-border mergers and acquisitions, customer demand from new markets, requirements for integrated product development, and employee populations that are becoming more diverse each day. Yet companies seeking to upgrade their support for transferees face numerous challenges.

According to a recent survey, the most critical assignment management obstacles include finding suitable candidates, pressures for cost containment, controlling policy exceptions, career management, and retention of repatriating employees. Mobility managers are continually being asked to accomplish more while limiting or reducing resource expenditures. For transferees on assignment, spousal dissatisfaction and other family concerns have traditionally been cited as the most frequent cause for expatriate failure. However, more recent data suggest that at least for some companies, the challenge of dealing with family issues is now being surpassed by employee turnover while on assignment—expatriates are looking for and finding employment elsewhere, which is not surprising given the critical importance of certain kinds of market expertise and assignment destinations.

Organizations that have entered a strategic era with their primary revenue growth coming from newer markets are often still saddled with outmoded processes and systems from a time when their business was focused on more traditional locations. Some global mobility departments that manage the moves of hundreds of transferees every year are locked into a "one size fits all" support arrangement, with little differentiation according to the rank of the executive or the location and strategic value of the assignment. Indeed, complaints from key stakeholders often claim the following:

- Mobility departments are underperforming and overly administrative rather than strategic.
- Mobility needs to partner more closely with business leaders.
- Mobility should integrate its work more effectively with global talent management and leadership development.

There are several possible antidotes to these complaints. Web-based technologies make it possible to have multiple tracks or options available to help transferees prepare, depending on the type of assignment—personalized and high touch; virtual with interactive components, such as consultation and learning via webcam; or a linear and entirely virtual learning path. Relatively inexpensive web-based destination services for assignees, such as InterNations.org, can also provide local community information, practical tips, and social connections. These kinds of options help to both contain costs and offer tailored support, and each should be linked to a comprehensive view of the assignment cycle, from candidate selection all the way through repatriation.

Global Assignment Cycle

In cases where a more high-touch approach is warranted, intensive coaching coupled with active self-reflection on the part of the assignee can accelerate the pace of leadership development. Instead of handing off transferees to a set of "check the box" administrative processes, more intensive forms of support could include

- assessment of an individual's developmental needs relative to corporate leadership competencies;
- advance contact with key host country nationals and previous expatriates;
- country-specific and role-specific acquisition of knowledge and skills either predeparture or postarrival;
- a host country sponsor or mentor to help the assignee better comprehend the needs of local employees and customers;

- personalized adjustment assistance and language-learning options for the expatriate and his or her spouse and children;
- facilitated team-building and assimilation sessions with new-country teams to build relationships and calibrate expectations;
- 180-degree or 360-degree feedback after 3 to 6 months, and again at annual intervals, incorporating input from local team members and linked to leadership competencies;
- coaching in change management and conflict resolution practices that fit local circumstances;
- preparation for repatriation, including a debriefing to ensure knowledge transfer to new assignees and to others; and
- a new role that leverages the learning and capabilities acquired while on assignment, thereby fostering both employee retention and organizational transformation, such as corporate culture change, awareness of global markets, and widening executive perspectives.

Global assignments come in many forms. It is crucial that as the nature of such expatriate roles and their objectives change, both transferees and those who seek to support them grasp their strategic impact and respond accordingly. For the assignee, this may mean tackling unfamiliar challenges in a fast-growth market. For the global mobility function, there will likely be a need to provide differentiated, flexible levels of service that are both comprehensive and cost-effective. The value of each successful assignment has never been higher.

Ernest Gundling and Sonya Kaleel

See also Coaching for Intercultural Competence; Global Leadership Development

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GLOBALIZED E-LEARNING

Globalized e-learning (or eLearning) is online learning, or distance learning, offered to learners in other parts of the world. However, globalization means understanding what learners in other cultures expect and desire and then incorporating those attributes into products or services. It also means removing any influence of the designing culture that could interfere with learning in other cultures. Marketing companies globalize products and services all the time. For example, a U.S. donut company that wanted to enter the Asian market discovered, via research and analysis, that Asians typically prefer savory pastries to sweet ones. Instead of forcing the sweet U.S. donut onto unwilling or unaccepting consumers, the donut company created savory versions that had Asian flavors like bean paste and seaweed. The company's entry into that Asian market was highly successful. In the same manner, eLearning needs to be adapted, or *globalized*, if learning is the expected outcome.

eLearning is a *cultural artifact*, a product embedded with cultural values, preferences, characteristics, and nuances, which inherently create challenges for people from other cultures. For example, a U.S. course on leadership typically espouses risk taking and empowering supervisees to act independently. However, in more hierarchical cultures, leaders are frequently expected to act cautiously and in a manner that promotes group harmony. Supervisees would not necessarily act independently. In many contexts, the U.S.-designed eLearning course could be irrelevant to learners from more collective cultures. In addition, these learners would be less likely to implement a U.S. model of leadership into their culturally different work environment.

The ramifications of failing to globalize eLearning courses are extensive. For example, if cultural differences in eLearning result in poorly trained learners, especially on topics related to safety, legal, health, or regulatory issues, an organization incurs unnecessary risk. If cultural differences prevent learners from applying the desired skills, the organization has wasted its training resources (time, effort, and expertise). If the eLearning content accidentally offends learners in other cultures, an organization risks alienating its people or even being expelled from another country. If the content confuses learners, the organization risks inconsistent implementation of learning.

What Is eLearning?

eLearning is any learning opportunity or event that is made available in an electronic format. For example, a course on "Spanish 101" delivered on a self-paced CD is an *on-demand* eLearning course (also called *self-paced*). When the director of human resources presents a live overview of company regulations via a webinar to employees in another location, it is called *synchronous* eLearning, learning that takes place at the same time. Many universities offer online courses in which instructors provide materials (textbooks, web resources, etc.) at the beginning of the week and then facilitate discussions with students throughout the week via electronic discussion boards. This is *asynchronous* eLearning because everyone participates at different times. However, if an eLearning course is developed in one culture, before it is used in another country/culture, the content, instructional approaches, and media (images and audio) should align with the preferences and learning styles of the targeted culture. Otherwise, learners in the recipient culture may be prevented from learning the content or from learning it with the same amount of effort and time as learners in the designing culture.

Globalizing Content

Content needs to be relevant to the learners. An eLearning course that teaches U.S. learners about American privacy policies would likely be irrelevant to learners outside the United States. However, context is important to consider as well. If non-U.S. learners need to understand such policies for their jobs, then even if American laws were not applicable in their country, the content would be appropriate. However, an instructor or instructional designer would want to present the content in a context that is familiar and understandable to learners. For example, many Western companies discourage what they consider unethical practices: nepotism, bribery, and favoritism in business. However, learners in some parts of the world may perceive those practices as acceptable ways of doing business. Therefore, the instructional designer needs to scaffold the content for the learners by explaining why the policies are important to the company, acknowledging that the policies are not practiced in their country but asserting that the company expects them to comply with these rules, at least within the company.

Different types of content require more globalization than others. For example, a course on how to use a computer program typically includes systematic instructions, screenshots, and so on. Such systematic courses contain very few cultural nuances, so there is little need to adapt the course for learners in another culture. However, think back to the leadership example. The concept of leadership varies so greatly across cultures that a U.S.-designed course may not be applicable in an Asian culture.

Another content consideration is language. Course content, including instructions, navigation, and so on, needs to be written in a way that is easily comprehended by non-native English speakers. Non-native speakers rely on simple sentence structure; language devoid of jargon, idioms, and colloquialisms; grammatically correct writing; and good punctuation. Correct use of these techniques allows learners to absorb content more readily. In addition, if the course is ever translated into other languages, the simplification will decrease the costs of translation.

Globalizing Instructional Approach

Learners across cultures have grown up in a wide variety of educational systems. For example, many cultures rely on lecture-based learning, where teachers are the experts and students are expected to accept, and often memorize verbatim, what the teacher says. In contrast, other countries promote problem-solving approaches to learning, where memorizing details and facts is less important than knowing how to find answers to problems. In addition, in some countries, students are invited to challenge the instructor, whereas in other countries, this would be culturally unacceptable.

Instructional supports tend to vary as well. In countries where students are expected to memorize facts, they are very reliant on textbooks. In countries that focus on problem solving, the textbook is just one resource for discovering answers or solutions.

Assessments of learning also vary across cultures, including even when or why they are used. In the United States, quizzes and periodic exams are common and used as a way for learners and instructors to measure progress. In other cultures, only one final exam may be given, and the goal is to pass it because there is only one chance and to pass it with high scores because of family pressure for success. However, this latter system can also create a situation where students will collaborate and help each other pass the final exam. In the United States, such collaboration would be labeled as cheating. This situation also reflects different cultural dimensions. In the United States, there is an emphasis on individualism, whereby people are expected to succeed on their own. In group-oriented cultures, people are expected to support their ingroup, and collaboration is essential to success. The research on cultural dimensions explains how and why people across cultures approach life's functions in different ways, not just with communication, allocating power, and assigning roles in society but also in how they learn, teach, and expect to be taught.

Globalizing Media and Technology

eLearning usually contains many types of media, from images to video. Images should reflect the learners' context, not the context of the eLearning course designers. For example, in some countries, female executives are common in the workplace. However, in other countries, women are not often seen in such roles. Thus, the designers of a course destined for international audiences may want to consider using an image that reflects the norm in other countries.

Icons vary greatly across cultures and sometimes have very different meanings. Even colors have different connotations; for example, writing someone's name in red may indicate in some cultures that the person is dead.

The goal is to use media that makes learners feel that the course was designed for their culture and context. Audio can be challenging as well. For example, some accents are more difficult to understand than others. Sometimes, actors in videos try to imitate accents, although most native speakers will immediately recognize an imposter.

While the differences in technologies across the globe are decreasing, it is still important to ensure that learners have the bandwidth, technological tools, and technological literacy needed to use all the various types of eLearning courses.

How Much Globalization?

The idea of globalizing an entire course for every cultural group is understandably overwhelming.

However, the goal of globalized eLearning is to ensure that learners achieve equitable learning outcomes. The phrase *equitable learning outcomes* implies that all learners taking the course expend the same amount of time and effort to achieve the same results. If non-native English speakers spend three times longer reading content than do native speakers, the course design is not equitable, and the situation suggests that the content needs editing. If an assessment technique, such as analyzing a case study, is misunderstood by members of other cultures, then the technique needs to be modified in the course, or learners must be given opportunities to practice using such techniques.

The degree of globalization required also varies across eLearning modalities. For example, in a self-paced course, there is no instructor. This means that the instructional designer must anticipate what cultural differences might exist and design the course to be usable by most cultures. In contrast, in synchronous and asynchronous courses, instructors may detect evidence of cultural differences (hesitancy to participate, failure to take quizzes, etc.), but they often have the time to investigate and adapt their courses. However, it is advisable to understand the cultural differences ahead of time and to design courses that accommodate learners across many cultures.

The Cultural Adaptation Process

The challenge with adapting to cultural differences—globalizing—is not knowing what you don't know. For example, those who have never experienced the challenges of learning a second language are probably unfamiliar with how to write content so that non-native English speakers can easily comprehend it. The cultural adaptation process model (Figure 1) is a tool used by instructional designers to identify learners' characteristics, course characteristics, obstacles to learning, and adaptation techniques. Instructional designers and instructors do not need to be experts on culture; instead, they simply need to acknowledge the importance of cultural differences in the learning environment and be willing to make critical adaptations.

Adaptations

A course, or parts of a course, may be globalized in several ways. If the content is simple and the language is clear, translation into the targeted learners' language can suffice. If there are some cultural components, such as images, that would need to be changed, then localization is an option (e.g., replacing an image of foam coffee cups in

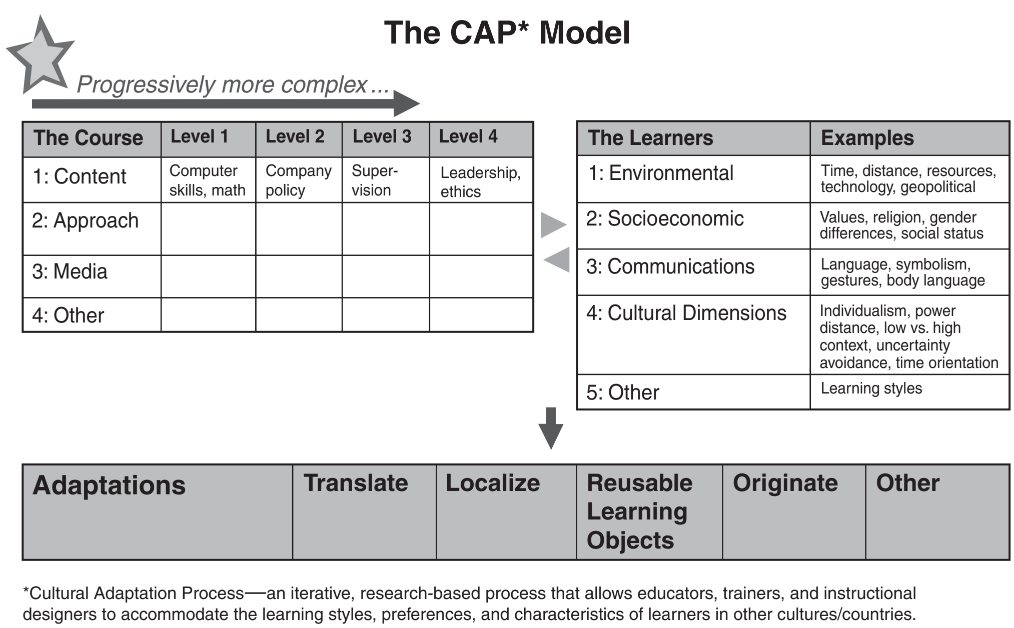

Figure 1 The Cultural Adaptation Process Model

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the United States with china cups for the European version of a course). When instructional approaches need to be changed or content needs to be replaced, then *reusable learning objects* present a flexible adaptation technique. Basically, a course is created as a template with placeholders for different content or instructional approaches based on the targeted learners. In some cases, globalization may mean creating the course from scratch (origination), as with the example of the leadership course. However, it is important to remember that simple, supplemental techniques can be appropriate as well, such as supplying a glossary of terms, linking to deeper explanations, providing practice with new techniques, or even using strategies that reduce risk, such as saying, "None of the practice exercises count toward your final score in this course. You may take quizzes as often as you like. Only the score on the final exam will determine whether you pass or fail."

Conclusion

When eLearning is correctly globalized, cultural barriers to learning are diminished or removed. The goal of globalization is to ensure equitable learning outcomes. The cultural adaptation process model is a tool that can be used by instructors or instructional designers to globalize or culturally adapt their eLearning courses for learners in other countries or cultures. Complete globalization of a course is usually unnecessary; however, to ensure that learning is optimized for learners and resource use is optimized within organizations, varying levels of globalization are essential.

Andrea Edmundson

See also Culturally Appropriate Instructional Design; Global Learning; Learning Styles Across Cultures; Online Global Communication; Teaching and Training Online

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H

Hall, E. T.

Edward Twitchell Hall is widely credited with launching the field of intercultural communication, principally through his first and most widely read book, *The Silent Language*, published in 1959, a book he never imagined would become the seminal work for a new field of study. Hall is also credited with being the first to use the term *intercultural communication*. *The Silent Language*, which Hall wrote as an elaboration of an article he had published in *The Scientific American* in 1955, remains in print after more than half a century. Including translations, it is estimated that *The Silent Language* has reached more than 5 million people. In that book, Hall put forth themes that he would continue to investigate and expand on for the next four decades in a series of books that became central to the field of intercultural communication. The perspectives and themes posited by Hall included the following: (a) the inseparability of culture and communication (*culture is communication*), a view also articulated by his mentor at Columbia University, Franz Boas, an émigré from Germany who helped shape the field of anthropology in the United States; (b) that individuals are largely unaware of how they experience events, and act and react in part because of their internalized cultural assumptions and expectations (*tacit culture*); (c) that what people learned as second nature is taken to be human nature; and (d) that individuals need others to know who they are—in this way, Hall's work on intercultural communication was centered on the *inter.*

The following section of this entry presents a historical overview of Hall's life during his early years, including his academic and publishing history. Next, Hall's writings are examined, and his impact on the field of communication is discussed. The entry concludes with a discussion of Hall's major contributions to the theories, language, and concepts of intercultural communication and how his legacy continues in departments of communication and anthropology.

Grounding of Hall's Research and Writing

Less noted by intercultural communication specialists today, though prominent in much of Hall's writing, is his perspective on culture and communication that was informed by *ethology*, the study of animal behavior. Hall presented studies of the interactive behavior of animals not as analogous to human behavior but as a reminder of the deepest origin of much of human behavior, evolved and continually evolving. Indeed, Hall regarded culture as a part of the process of evolution. Attentive to our evolutionary history and its residual influence in our everyday behavior, Hall found in the *triune brain model* presented by Paul D. MacLean an affirmation of his earlier insights that much of what people do and respond to arises from a neurobiological basis that often precedes human consciousness. Hall believed that there was much to learn about human communication from the interaction of other animals and the evolutionary antecedents that affect our perceptive and expressive behavior, a theoretical grounding that is rarely noted by interculturalists who cite Hall.

Hall referenced a Darwinian perspective when he discussed the survival value of culture. His view was that culture is a way of reducing information overload, learning what we need to attend to, such as the sounds of our mother tongue, and what to ignore, as human survival depends not on instinct but rather on the ability to learn to behave in accordance with the community or communities into which we are born.

Hall's most influential books appeared at a time when some humanities fields and also some of the social sciences were being challenged, a phenomenon that often appears in postwar years. What would later become departments of communication had been centered on the spoken word, especially rhetoric, the art of persuasion. This brought new attention to the ordinary, everyday behavior that would broaden the field from rhetoric to communication, drawing from methods and goals more prominent in the social sciences at the time, including applications for social change. Hall's effect on the emergence of departments of communication was significant, and his work influenced the creation of new specializations, now conventional, including interpersonal communication, nonverbal communication, and intercultural communication. Among anthropologists, Hall's work has been especially valued in the fields of applied anthropology and visual anthropology.

Early Years

Hall was born in Webster Groves, Missouri, but at age 4 his mother moved to Santa Fe, then a village within the Territory of New Mexico, the place he would come to know as his home. Ned Hall was 9 years old when New Mexico was granted statehood. As a child of a minority population, albeit a privileged minority, Hall's neighbors were Spanish (in the regional vernacular of that time) and from the nearby Pueblo Indian communities. This personal history from his teenage years shaped an outlook on life that was reflected in all of his work, in his choice of profession, and even in his attention to the natural and built environments. Though his references and anecdotes that intercultural communication practitioners cite are more likely to be international, his discovery and appreciation of the intercultural were very much homegrown.

When he was 12, at the time of the divorce of his parents, his father sent Hall to the progressive, and very expensive, Los Alamos Ranch School, west of Santa Fe, located in a remote site in the Jemez Mountains. Though he was to be there for only 1 year, the experience had a profound effect on him. It was there that he learned to ride horses, a practical skill he would depend on during work among the Hopi and Navajo (Diné), as recounted in his *West of the Thirties: Discoveries Among the Navajo and Hopi* in 1995. A greater appreciation of the natural environment and The Los Alamos Ranch School was a major influence on many young men who would later distinguish themselves in a variety of fields (one of his classmates was the writer William S. Burroughs). Years later, at the suggestion of the physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer, who had once visited the school while hiking in the area, the U.S. government abruptly closed The Los Alamos Ranch School and converted its land and buildings into the secret site for the Manhattan Project, where the first atomic bombs were developed.

Education and Early Professional Work

Hall majored in anthropology throughout his formal education and graduated from Denver University in 1936; he completed his MA in 1938 at the University of Arizona, where his papers are archived, and his PhD at Columbia University in 1942. It is perhaps ironic that his mentor Boas and other European anthropologists had emigrated to the United States in part to study the very indigenous communities in which Hall grew up.

From 1933 to 1937, Hall worked for the Indian Emergency Conservation Work (IECW) program, a government agency established to provide work for Native Americans during the Depression years. Hall worked on the Hopi and Navajo (Diné) reservations, which were geographically adjacent but whose cultures—historically, linguistically, and in other aspects—were dissimilar. In his 1992 autobiography, *An Anthropology of Everyday Life*, Hall says that he was one of the "very few white people who thought that if they were going to work with Native Americans they ought to learn something about them." This was in stark contrast to the Eurocentric deficit view of culture that was prevalent at the time.

When the United States entered World War II, Hall joined the army motivated not only by patriotism but also because he wanted to learn more about the culture of bureaucracy, an institutional culture he had encountered in his years of working with the IECW. He was also curious about how a massive organization can train young people from diverse regional, class, and educational backgrounds to quickly become proficient in skills that could mean life or death. Throughout his work, Hall showed keen interest in cultural approaches to teaching and learning, though this has received less attention than the other topics he addressed.

In the army, Hall asked to be assigned to an African American unit (the military was racially segregated until 1948) that saw action in Europe, including the Normandy invasion, and later in the Philippines. Hall says that his military experience totally changed him and credits that experience for his insight that behavior precedes perception. Hall also credits his war experience with teaching him about the tensions between the informal and technical aspects of culture.

After the war, he joined the faculty at the University of Denver. There he was asked to join the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations, the lone anthropologist on a committee largely composed of representatives from civic and local political organizations. In the process of his investigation, he discovered the difference between what Clyde Kluckhohn and Ralph Linton called *manifest culture* as contrasted with *latent culture*, the latter being what Hall felt was the *real* culture. He came to understand how people prefer to believe opinion surveys and formal statements by officials rather than actual behavior that is observable if one knows where and how to look for it. His students became his best researchers, and it was during this period that Hall changed his way of teaching to a student-centered, collaborative learning approach. The committee's very critical 400-page report on interracial, interethnic relations had one immediate impact: Hall's contract was not renewed, and the following year he joined the faculty at Bennington College.

With nations in Europe and Asia attempting to recover from the war, a new wave of demands for independence in Western colonies was quickly moving across the globe. Emerging from the war without the devastation experienced elsewhere, with a cultural value system that encouraged change, and with a secularized missionary spirit to spread the good news of democracy and material development, the United States was energized for a new international role, but its domestic agenda regarding civil rights would take longer to accomplish. The two decades following the end of the war were a heady time for those who were committed to social and political causes across the globe, and Hall was very much a part of that era. He became engaged in the U.S. government programs administered in Micronesia, and, now based in Washington, D.C., he joined the newly created Foreign Service Institute (FSI), an agency charged with preparing U.S. diplomats for overseas posts and indirectly also to reach educators, social workers, and technicians who would be sent abroad. Hall was made the director of the Point Four Program. Among his colleagues at the FSI was the anthropologist Ray L. Birdwhistell, whose pioneering work in kinesics helped establish nonverbal communication as a field of study. Hall worked closely with the director of linguistic research at the FSI, George Trager, to integrate the cultural and language training programs. Their design, as Hall says, was intercultural, not intracultural, and was based on the assumption that culture and communication cannot be treated separately.

During his years in Washington, D.C. (1950–1963), Hall's office was in the same building as the Washington School of Psychiatry, where he was invited to join the faculty. His interest in psychology—encouraged in part by his collaboration with Erich Fromm while at Bennington College and his increasing realization of how much of human behavior arises outside one's conscious awareness—increased at this time and would later become more apparent in his books on space (*The Hidden Dimension*) and time (*The Dance of Life*).

For Hall, the cultural significance expressed in the treatment of space and time made them the central coordinates for any cultural community.

Major Publications

The publication of *The Silent Language* put Hall at odds with many of his fellow anthropologists, in part because of its popularity with the general public but especially, Hall felt, because it went against the canons of the discipline at that time.

The American Anthropological Association (AAA) sponsored a panel at their annual convention to critique the book. Hall said, "I knew what they had in mind when I came into the room. I could see how the chairs were lined up." Decades later, Hall was welcomed back into the good graces of the AAA by another, more appreciative panel. This time, the chairs were arranged differently.

In *The Hidden Dimension*, Hall brought together insights from a variety of formally separate academic disciplines: geography, physics, biology, psychology, architecture, design, and more. Hall saw academic disciplines as a model of how one's cultures are confusing by dividing a common experience, creating different vocabularies, and often totally ignoring human feelings, behavior, and reactions to what is encountered. Hall directed attention to the reactions (meanings) given to interpersonal space, intrusions, and distancing and how individuals organize their homes and communities. As the resident anthropologist on the faculty of the Illinois Institute of Technology, in Chicago, while doing much of the underlying research and writing the book, Hall's work on interpersonal space included creating a shorthand method for recording the spatial aspects of interaction: not just the distance but also the posture, the physical orientation, the personal relationship, the topic, what is sensed at different distances, the volume of speech, and more. He coined the term *proxemics*, modeled on the study of language, *linguistics*; and in the newly emerging field of nonverbal communication, another radical anthropologist and linguist (linguistics was then still a specialization within anthropology in the United States), Ray L. Birdwhistell, coined the term *kinesics* as the nonverbal complement to *linguistics*, the study of the spoken language. Only a small, but important, part of this work has been brought into intercultural communication, but the book ensured Hall a place as a foundational figure in the emerging field of nonverbal communication studies. In the principal journal of the AAA, Hall presented his findings and methods and then also published, through the AAA, a handbook to guide others to continue and extend the study. The book has had important implications, which Hall appreciated, for city planning, housing developments, and more. As with many of his insights, the significance of his work is often presented in a single dimension, physical distance, though that is just one factor in the multisensory experience of human interaction, which also includes physical orientation of the interactants toward each other within a space, the subject of the conversation, the loudness required by the immediate situation, and the cultural norms for everything from telling a secret to giving a public speech. In Hall's obituary published in the *The New York Times*, it was his work on *space* that was most acknowledged, crediting his influence on nonverbal communication studies to it.

Beyond Culture, written in 1976, is a bridge between Hall's first two books and his major work on *time* that would appear 8 years later. More impassioned than *The Silent Language*, and less granular than *The Hidden Dimension*, the theme from this book that attracted the most attention is his presentation on *context* and communication. Many of Hall's theories or models, as they are received and presented, may be better regarded as metaphors.

Hall's work on time, timing, rhythm, and synchrony is *The Dance of Life: The Other Dimension of Time* (1984), a book that in many ways is the temporal counterpart of *The Hidden Dimension*, which was centered on the individual's use of space in the process of communication. He identifies nine kinds of time as culture and relates some concepts introduced in earlier books, such as his treatment of context, to the overarching theme of time. As in his other work, Hall's references to contrasting cultural groups within and across national boundaries are used to illustrate broader themes about the human uses of time in communication. The book gives a detailed presentation on William Condon's decades-long work on entrainment and its significance for self- and interactional synchrony, a theme Hall first introduced in *Beyond Culture*. Hall gives special attention to the Nuer, Tiv, and Quiche, as well as the German, U.S. American, and especially Japanese treatments of time. Hall had a special appreciation of Japanese culture and communication, about which he and his colleague and wife, Mildred Reed Hall, wrote in their book *Hidden Differences: Doing Business With the Japanese* (1990).

In their later work, Hall and his wife conducted extensive interviews with managers and office workers in several countries, resulting in *Understanding Cultural Differences: German, French and American*.

This work mirrored the increased attention to intercultural communication due to the rapid globalization of business and its consequent influence, as a context for both research and application, on the intercultural communication field itself. *Understanding Cultural Differences* is the study of intercultural communication among German, French, and U.S. American businesspeople. What is particularly notable, and a source of some pride for the authors, was that they wrote (in English) three different versions of the book, one for readers in the United States and separate versions for German and French readers, the latter two books to be translated into German and French. This treatment of material appears to be unique, as well as consistent with Hall's outlook on intercultural communication.

Hall's Impact on Intercultural Communication

Among the greatest contributions of Hall's work is his introduction of new terms—many of which have been mentioned in this entry—that have become part of the vocabulary of those who write or speak of intercultural communication, including many who have never heard of E. T. Hall. Just as few people know the name William Graham Sumner but readily use his coinages, including *ingroup*, *outgroup*, and *ethnocentrism*, Hall's vocabulary and the concepts represented in those terms may endure longer and be diffused more widely than any of his many publications.

Hall was a prolific writer, and his writings included specialized work within the field of anthropology meant primarily for his fellow anthropologists. In *The Hidden Dimension*, he initiated an empirical study that he imagined might be pursued through continued close examination of proxemic behavior that could follow the systemic model of linguistics, an approach he did not pursue in his other work. In all of his writing, and teaching, he sought to share his insights not only with academic specialists but also with the general public. This is reflected in his writing style, in the choice of words, including his original lexicon, and sometimes in the use of abbreviations (e.g., *m-time* for *monochronic*). His sources, too, are broad, far beyond the confines of a single academic discipline, as he viewed such distinctions as cultural constructions and not as mirrors of reality. In many respects, Hall modeled what would come to be called *intercultural communication competence*.

John Condon

See also Body Language (Haptics); Eye Contact (Oculesics); Facial Expressions/Universal; High-Context and Low-Context Communication; Intercultural Nonverbal Communication; Intercultural Verbal Communication Styles; Space (Proxemics); Time (Chronemics)

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High-Context and Low-Context Communication

The ways individuals communicate with one another reflect their own cultural background and context. In some cultures, people tend to convey messages explicitly and directly; verbal and written words are the primary way to deliver a message. In these cultures, it is the speaker's responsibility to deliver a clear message to the listener. In other cultures, including many in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East, messages are delivered through more indirect and nonverbal means. Key information is conveyed via context. It is the listener's responsibility to understand the meaning by reading between the lines.

The terms *low-context communication* (LCC) and *high-context communication* (HCC) come from the anthropologist E. T. Hall, who used them to describe the way in which human communication styles differ. According to Hall, in LCC, meaning is expressed through explicit verbal messages, both written and oral. In HCC, on the other hand, intention or meaning can best be conveyed through implicit contexts, including gestures, social customs, silence, nuance, or tone of voice. In low-context cultures, *what* (content) is said is of primary importance, whereas in high-context cultures, *how* the message is delivered often matters more.

This entry provides an introduction to LCC versus HCC styles and how they affect the interactions and understanding between people.

Core Elements

How would an individual approach a friend to get the friend's help in moving house? The two conversations below demonstrate how people from low-context and high-context cultures communicate differently.

Low-Context Example

Klaus: Hey, I'm finally moving to my new apartment. I need to start packing.

Bob: Wonderful! When are you moving?

Klaus: This Sunday. I have so many things to move. Could you come and help?

Bob: Sure! My church service ends around noon, so I would be happy to help afterward.

Klaus: Thanks!

High-Context Example

Eujin: Well, I am finally moving to my new apartment. You will be invited to the housewarming party!

Suo: How wonderful! When are you moving?

Eujin: This Sunday. I need to start packing. [I hope Suo can help me.]

Suo: Do you need help? I would be happy to help! [I know Eujin needs help, but she will not ask me unless I offer.]

Eujin: Really? I hate to trouble you. . . . You have church on Sunday. . . . [I am so glad Suo is offering to help.]

Suo: No worries. It ends at noon, so I can come afterward.

Eujin: Oh . . . are you sure? If you insist. . . . Thanks so much!

Suo: My pleasure!

If Klaus and Bob's direct and get-to-the point communication style is preferred, one would most likely feel more comfortable with LCC. In contrast, people who normally practice HCC feel more comfortable with Eujin and Suo's indirect communication style. In HCC, people communicate meaning in a more circular manner so as not to sound overly demanding and expect the listener to understand the message that is being communicated so they don't have to be specific. If Eujin (from the second example above) were communicating with Bob (from the first example), Bob might not necessarily catch the hidden request from Eujin. Instead, Bob would expect a straightforward request from her if she needed help. In HCC, Eujin's preferred communication style, the request or refusal is implied through context. If Bob did not recognize Eujin's intention and therefore did not offer help, Eujin would likely ask someone else rather than overtly state her request. Her intention would be to preserve a harmonious interaction and to save Bob's face in case he is not available to help.

Patterns of direct verbal assertiveness, linear logic, straightforwardness, and transparent messages are characteristic of LCC. Often generated from individualistic cultures, in which shared assumptions are not taken for granted, LCC values saying what you mean and meaning what you say.

HCC, more common in collectivistic cultures, relies on communication patterns of indirect nonverbal cues, spiral logic, a self-humbling tone, and silence. HCC emphasizes the cultural norm "Don't say anything that may result in losing face or hurting the other's feelings." The speaker's intentions, wants, and needs are expressed in a diplomatic and softer tone to maintain harmony in the relationship. Very little is explicit in the transmitted part of the message; instead, the receiver is expected to read between the lines and infer meaning from the nonverbal subtleties accompanying the verbal message.

Nonverbal communication involves the use of nonlinguistic cues (eye contact, smiles, touch, silence) and paralinguistic cues (tone of voice, pitch, volume) expressed through communication channels such as facial expressions, body movements, hand gestures, and spatial relationships. "Hear one and understand ten" is a common proverb in Japan and Korea, reflecting the high-context cultural values in those societies. A specific word that refers to a form of HCC even exists in the Korean language: **눈치** (*Nunchi*). *Nunchi*, the ability to read someone's mind or read between the lines, is one of the most important competencies to communicate effectively in Korean society, because you are expected to understand others' unspoken agendas and real intentions through nonverbal cues.

Key Characteristics

Table 1 illustrates the key characteristics of LCC and HCC.

When discussing high- and low-context cultures, it is important not to oversimplify and to keep the relative nature of cultural context in

Table 1 Low-Context/High-Context Communication

Low-Context Communication	*High-Context Communication*
Most of the information is in the verbal message (spoken words, written notes, memos, legal documents, etc.) and less in the context	Less information is in the verbal message and more in the context; nonverbal communication (eye contact, facial expressions, gestures, tone of voice, color of the envelope, etc.) matters more
Direct message: "Get to the point" "I mean what I say, and I say what I mean" "Don't beat around the bush" "Cut to the chase" "Give me the bottom line"	Important to read between the lines and consider the rank, age, gender, and class of the communicator "Hear one and understand ten" "Silence is golden"
What (content) is said is more important; *how* is secondary	How the message is delivered is more important; what (content) is secondary
"Yes" means *yes*; "no" means *no*	"Yes" could mean yes, maybe, or no; words can mean different things depending on the context
It is okay to say "No"	Saying "No" is often avoided to preserve harmony and save face; instead, apologetic expressions or an indirect signal are given: "It will be difficult" (meaning "no") "We will get back to you" "Let me think about it" Silence
Linear writing style; topic sentence and key message often come at the beginning of the paragraph	Circular writing style; topic sentence and key message often come at the end of the paragraph
Task oriented	Building relationships is primary
Conflicts can be resolved relatively quickly	Conflict avoidance; frequent use of third parties to resolve problems; therefore, conflict resolution takes more time

mind. There are considerable variations within low*er*- and high*er* context cultures. One could use a direct, LCC style when discussing one matter (e.g., business) but prefer an indirect, HCC style when discussing other matters (e.g., social relationships). Furthermore, individual differences and contextual situations should be considered. For example, while northern European cultures are usually considered lower context than Arab or Latin American cultures, it does not mean that every person in that culture adheres to that norm. For instance, one cannot assume that a Swedish person will necessarily use a lower context communication style than a Mexican person.

LCC and HCC in Day-to-Day Practice

Business Agreements

LCC and HCC play a key role in cross-cultural business relationships. While written contracts and signed agreements are considered essential in LCC, less legal paperwork is conducted in traditional HCC because people are expected to honor verbal agreements. Requesting a written contract with a signature could even be perceived as a sign of disrespect in HCC and, therefore, may damage the relationship.

Yes and No

One of the most challenging and confusing experiences for individuals from LCC cultures when working with HCC counterparts is understanding the meaning of *yes* and the various ways of saying *no*. For example, when a person's Japanese counterpart keeps nodding and saying "Yes" in response to a statement, it may not be a sign of agreement but a sign of acknowledgment. In this context, *yes* means "Yes, I am listening," not "Yes, I agree."

An even greater challenge is in understanding the subtle ways of saying *no*. While it is okay to say *no* in LCC, direct confrontation is avoided in HCC. *Loss of face* in HCC means disrupting group harmony and bringing shame. It is a serious infraction. Therefore, an indirect refusal is used, such as saying "We will think about it," "It might be a little difficult," or "We will do our best," or simply responding with silence.

Use of Silence

Whereas silence is an important communication device in many high-context cultures, people from low-context cultures often feel uncomfortable with silence. In HCC, knowing when *not* to talk in a particular cultural situation can be even more important than knowing when to talk. Silence is sometimes used as a way of indicating *no*, sometimes as a signal of listening attentively and showing respect, and sometimes as a way of expressing agreement.

In a recent joint venture, the U.S. American meeting coordinator was frustrated because he did not hear back from any of his Korean team members confirming their attendance for a conference call. He thought they weren't available to attend and informed his U.S. team that the meeting would be rescheduled. The next day, all the Korean team members attended and were surprised that none of the U.S. team was present. When the U.S. coordinator asked them what had happened, they replied, "We would have responded if we couldn't attend. We didn't say anything because we, of course, were planning to attend the meeting." This kind of e-mail silence often causes misunderstandings between people accustomed to LCC and those used to HCC.

Writing-Style Differences Between LCC and HCC

Even written communication can be different between individuals using LCC and those using HCC. When students from high(er)-context cultures study abroad in low(er)-context cultures, they are often perplexed by the feedback they receive about their writing. For example, they are often told, "You need to move the last sentence of the paragraph to the beginning." This makes little sense to students from high-context cultures, who think, "How could I dare to put the topic sentence first and state my point without providing detailed background beforehand?"

In high-context cultures, good writing starts with an extensive background on the subject matter, often using storytelling or metaphor. It is the reader's job to connect all the circular and subtle signals from this background to the topic sentence, which often comes at the end of the last paragraph. In low-context cultures, however, the topic sentence generally comes first in the paragraph, followed by supporting arguments in linear order. This logic also applies to the structure of presentations and the way people write e-mail messages.

When people rely on their own internalized cultural scripts and fail to take contextual differences into account, miscommunication is inevitable. Understanding the differences between LCC and HCC and being able to flexibly shift between them are fundamental building blocks in the development of intercultural competence.

Kyoung-Ah Nam

See also Hall, E. T.; Intercultural Nonverbal Communication; Intercultural Verbal Communication Styles

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Higher Education Intercultural Campus

The intercultural campus is a setting where people from diverse backgrounds are encouraged to learn, teach, and serve so as to create an environment in which all can live, work, and grow to their highest potential. The overall concept seems deceptively simple, but in practice it is complex. In the sections that follow, this entry describes an intercultural campus in terms of five key structural elements.

The Center: The Mission and the Vision

At the center of the campus are its vision (also referred to as its mission or goal) and overall learning objectives (campuswide as well as programmatic). In this increasingly interconnected world, people are more interdependent than ever before, while simultaneously engaging across difference more frequently and in deeper, more complex ways. These forces cause people to share resources for a common good while respectfully engaging difference in order to be effective. This global transformation requires that campuses create a new, more inclusive learning space. In response, campuses across the United States have adopted mission statements stating that their graduates are *global ready* or *global citizens*. With these types of visions and goals in place, campus leaders are called to cultivate the intercultural campus and initiate the process of integrating its culture throughout the campus experience. The mission statement is often issued before the campus has fully launched and integrated a plan for an intercultural campus. The launch of such an initiative could start in many divisions of the campus, and the following section elaborates on how higher education professionals can locate or cultivate the intercultural campus in their institution.

Focusing on the campus vision and mission statements, diversity professionals have learned that their work can become marginalized if it is deemed to be an add-on or something to be addressed only after the central work of the organization has been accomplished. By ensuring that addressing culture is seen as essential to the overall vision and mission of the campus, the foundation of a truly intercultural campus is laid. The overall concept is often referred to as *from the margins to the middle*, and it brings the intercultural vision to the center of the educational enterprise.

Access and Success

A focus on access and success helps to ensure that all participants can engage fully in the campus's educational endeavors. Sometimes, a campus prefers to focus on the perspective of either the students or the faculty. Most campuses, however, recognize that it is essential to include all constituencies in the community, including not only faculty and students but also administrators, staff, and the board of trustees.

The Learners

The learners often are the impetus of the intercultural campus. Campuses have several competing agendas, but the education of students is usually central. Whether it is the demographics of the students coming to college or the desire to prepare graduates for global careers, the need to maintain an inclusive learning environment and to cultivate engagement across difference is crucial, and providing a robust and diverse curriculum is essential.

Many researchers in higher education focus on the pathways of access and success for all learners, investigating both barriers and gateways for diverse learners and frequently paying close attention to underrepresented minorities. Research has identified key indicators that can point to the propensity to drop out of school well before reaching college, as well as indicators of success toward high school graduation and entry into college. Scholars have considered issues around recruitment, admissions, and retention through to college graduation and beyond for all students. The research by Patricia Gurin, Reic Day, Sylvia Hurtado, Gerald Gurin, Nel Noddings, and Ominota Ukpokodu on inclusive or intercultural curricular pedagogies that are found to engage diverse learners has also found them to be effective for *all* learners. Similar results can be found in the research of Larry Braskamp, Kelly Ward, Lois Trautvetter, Patricia King, and Marcia Baxter Magolda in the cocurricular arena. Campuses that commit to diligent study of who comes to college and succeeds are able to leverage this knowledge to foster and maintain a diverse student body.

Faculty, Administrators, and Staff

The faculty, administrators, and staff of colleges and universities are responsible for the curricular learning outcomes and cocurricular learning environment. In essence, they hold the frame to the inclusive learning environment that is essential for an intercultural campus.

Faculty, administrators, and staff all face the same challenges and opportunities that students face in today's hyperconnected and diverse world. Like their students, there are issues of access and success for all members of the campus community. Researchers have studied pathways for recruitment, training, promotion, retention, and eventual success in many of the key roles on a campus. But unlike their students, the faculty, administrators, and staff are less likely to be seen as cultural beings who need to be prepared for intercultural engagement.

It is not possible to find a single best recipe or protocol for creating the intercultural campus. Rather, it is the process of constantly reviewing the cultural underpinnings of the educative endeavor and adapting the curriculum and services to be responsive to the needs of all participants. These endeavors make a sustained effort of studying who is coming to the campus, who is succeeding on the campus, and why. Campuses that learn to engage and adapt to cultural differences are more apt to cultivate an intercultural campus.

Education and Scholarship

Focusing on the education and scholarship aspect of the intercultural campus for learners is multifaceted; campuses that address culture as a central theme across their work of providing education for all participants are the most prepared to be successful across difference. This is accomplished by understanding the array of cultural values that stimulate the motivation to learn, teach, and research; identifying the variety of ways in which people are made to feel welcome and fully engaged in the learning environment; recognizing the multiple ways people learn, teach, and conduct research; and ensuring that diverse perspectives are embedded in the curriculum, engaged in the classroom, and valued in research. The intercultural campus addresses who is learning, teaching, and researching; what is being learned, taught, and researched; and, simultaneously, how learning, teaching, and research are happening.

The curriculum of an intercultural campus is generally considered the primary building block of the educational endeavor. It ensures that students comprehend the experience of both privileged peoples and marginalized peoples. It builds global citizens with expansive mind-sets. Academic leaders pay attention to both the pedagogy as well as the learning outcomes of the educational experience, particularly the evaluation of learning. By providing multiple ways to demonstrate competence, the curriculum reflects cultural responsiveness.

Intercultural competence is both a learning outcome and a practice for full engagement that requires coordination between the curricular and cocurricular offerings. Well-facilitated, intense experiential learning opportunities are used to build intercultural competence. Through careful use of assessment and intentional instructional design, all participants can develop intercultural competence.

Such practices require campuses to reframe the educational environment, to value and encourage interdisciplinary teaching and learning, and to embrace active and experiential teaching and learning, as well as traditional text-based learning. There is a need to cultivate and support teaching, research, and even tenure and promotion, through an intercultural approach that stretches traditional disciplinary and departmental boundaries.

Climate and Intergroup Relations

A hallmark of the interculturally skilled campus community is the ability of its members to engage difference appropriately and effectively. This requires a commitment to recognize the complexity of differences present in all aspects of campus life and to strive to cultivate respectful and civil discourse across even the most divisive cultural differences. All constituencies need to develop intercultural competence in order to maintain a culturally responsive institution.

The campus environment is often seen as the purview of the cocurricular staff and administration. The richness of the campus living and learning experience is cited as one avenue for cultivating respectful perspective taking on cultural difference, moving from implicit and incomplete to explicit and valued.

But the work of creating and maintaining an intercultural campus is more encompassing than simply looking into the campus clubs or class discussions. It includes the policies and procedures promulgated and maintained by higher education leaders and administrators that affect the overall educative process. These policies and procedures can range from the vision or mission of a campus to the choosing of dormitory roommates, to faculty tenure status, to the responsibilities of teaching and administrative staff. It takes committed leaders in higher education to steer a campus toward an intercultural path, leaders who can align their vision to encourage departmental managers (curricular, cocurricular, and administrative) to examine and implement their work through the filter of global and domestic diversity competence.

Institutional Viability and Vitality

Under this rubric, the institution is studied in terms of the viability and vitality of its intercultural engagement. This can come in many forms but most assuredly in the form of accreditation review. Accreditation agencies, especially those in professional arenas, frequently have standards for the demonstration of intercultural competence. These are broad standards that may address a global or inclusive mind-set, as well as respectful engagement of differing perspectives and peoples. A campus commitment and follow-through with naming and tracking of such outcomes speak volumes toward establishing an intercultural campus.

Chris Taylor Cartwright

See also Assessments of Intercultural Competence; Culturally Appropriate Instructional Design; Developmentally Appropriate Pedagogy; Diversity in Higher Education; Intercultural Service Learning; International Education; Multicultural Education; Teacher Education

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History of Diversity and Inclusion

This entry follows the streams, originating about half a century ago, that flowed into the river currently known as diversity and inclusion. Although those streams undoubtedly started with melting snow sometime before the 1950s, the events of that decade make it a suitable place to begin. The major streams described include the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights, legislated fairness (civil rights and social justice), international exploration, intercultural communication, diversity, valuing differences and valuing diversity, managing diversity, and intercultural competence.

The general historical pattern has been that of first seeking to eliminate social discrimination on the basis of one or a few areas, such as race or national origin. Subsequently, efforts are made to pursue equality in those same areas. Initially, such efforts in the United States were mild and based on equality of opportunity. Later, stronger actions were taken to provide equality of outcomes. In this more proactive and interventionist stage, there was much contention. During this phase, the number of issues was expanded beyond race to include gender and/or other identities. As diversity was built on this foundation, it followed the same pattern. It began with race and was ultimately expanded to include virtually everyone. At first, the goal was having diversity, next respecting and appreciating it, and ultimately gaining value through it.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

On December 10, 1948, the United Nations approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which has directly and indirectly guided much that has positively affected human rights around the globe. The declaration had 30 articles, with the first two setting the stage for greater specificity in the remaining 28. Article 1 states the following: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." Article 2 goes on to say the following:

> Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

The remaining 28 articles specify the rights to which every human is entitled. The list is too long to duplicate here but is readily available online. Some of the rights included are the rights to life, liberty, security, freedom from slavery, freedom from torture, asylum, nationality, education, care for children, equality under law, the presumption of innocence until proved guilty in court, freedom of movement within a state, freedom of speech and religion, to vote, to rest, fair compensation for work, and more. Practically every issue of legislated fairness around the globe that has occurred since 1948 was presaged in this declaration. Unfortunately, it is rarely cited or acknowledged for the foundational contribution it has made.

If this declaration were to be updated, it would likely add protection for sexual minorities, post-conflict support for military participants, and greater privacy from electronic surveillance.

Legislated History of Fairness

Many nations have a history of legislated fairness. Most legislation focused on prohibiting discrimination based on very specific criteria, otherwise known as compliance. The goal was not to correct past wrongs but simply to stop discrimination or at best to provide equal, defined as *the same*, treatment. In 1941, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802, which banned discrimination in the defense industry based on race, creed, color, or national origin. This was motivated by the need to use all available workers to support participation in World War II. It was modified in 1948 by U.S. president Harry S. Truman in Executive Order 9981, which abolished racial discrimination in the U.S. Armed Forces. It was later supplemented by directives for military commanders to use their resources to address the discrimination faced by military personnel attempting to obtain housing, goods, and services from nonmilitary sources.

Affirmative action, defined in Executive Order 10925 as promoting actions that will achieve nondiscrimination with regard to race, creed, color, or national origin, started in 1961, when U.S. president John F. Kennedy signed that order. In 1964, U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson signed the 1964 Civil Rights Act into law. It outlawed discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The following year, Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 into law, prohibiting discrimination against racial or language minorities in voting. He also modified President Kennedy's Executive Order 1095 by signing his own Executive Order 11246, requiring proactive affirmative action in hiring without regard to race, religion, or national origin. Setting the appropriate level of proactivity for affirmative action was and continues to be the subject of both legal and public debate. Some think that affirmative action should be limited to bringing a qualified set of diverse candidates forward for consideration, followed by selecting the best candidate. Others require selection of a disadvantaged individual when such a candidate is at least equal in qualifications. (Of course, it is difficult to define *equal* in this context.) Some think that once a diverse slate of candidates has been identified, candidates from disadvantaged groups should be given preference if they are in the qualified pool. A few think that candidates from disadvantaged groups should be selected as long as they are at least minimally qualified. All of these options come out of compliance or social justice debates. There was yet to be a discussion of any value added to the organization by selecting disadvantaged candidates regardless of their qualifications. In 1965, the United Kingdom also started passing legislation to prevent racial discrimination.

Continued protests and advocacy under President Johnson led to the Civil Rights Act of 1968, addressing discrimination in housing based on race, color, religion, or national origin. There has been a continuing stream of civil rights legislation at the national and state levels since the 1940s; indeed, several U.S. laws to ensure civil rights were passed in the latter half of the 19th century (in 1866, 1871, and 1875). Over time, these orders and laws have been modified to expand or narrow their coverage. Expansions have typically been in the areas of age, sexual minorities, veterans, and people with disabilities. Contraction has been in areas like voting rights and protection for groups that have been perceived as more successful than "average Americans." An example of the latter is the removal of Asian Americans from affirmative action coverage in some states. Until the 1990s, most legislative fairness focused on race, color, creed, religion, sex, and national origin. In 1967, protection regarding age discrimination was added by the Age Discrimination Act of 1967. Sex was also added as a legal category for affirmative action in 1967. When the 1970s-era veterans visibly suffered discrimination, the

Vietnam Era Veterans' Readjustment Act of 1974 was passed. This same pattern occurred in other countries, as Canada started passing human rights legislation in the 1970s, Australia in the early 1990s, and South Africa in the late 1990s.

On July 26, 1990, President George H. W. Bush signed the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 into law. It prohibited discrimination in employment, public transportation, public accommodations, and telecommunications. Australia did likewise in 1992. By the end of the 20th century, many countries had some form of legislated requirements along the lines of affirmative action. That included *employment equity* in Canada, *reservation* in India, and *positive action* or *positive discrimination* in the United Kingdom. South Africa used the term *affirmative action*, adjusted to its political and population requirements. Israel, Malaysia, Germany, Brazil, and others also passed legislation in this arena before the turn of the 21st century. By the late 1990s, most countries had also expanded the focus beyond race to include sex, gender, and disabilities.

In the present century, legislated fairness began to progress for the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community. The year 2003 witnessed legalization of sexual activity between same-sex adults. The United Kingdom also added sexual orientation to its antidiscrimination legislation in 2003, along with religion. In 2009, protection against hate crimes was expanded to include LGBT individuals, and in 2011 and 2012, protection under existing civil rights legislation was extended to include LGBT people.

This pattern observed in the legislated history of fairness is similar to how diversity and inclusion expanded the groups and issues that it addressed over time. The significant difference between compliance-based initiatives and the next phase of history is the possibility that participation for formerly underrepresented groups would not only reduce litigation, deter protests, prevent riots, avoid boycotts, and perhaps avoid marketplace blunders but also might actually leave organizational performance undamaged. It remained for future development to recognize diversity as a contributor to performance.

International Exploration

In this stream, participants saw value or advantage to learning about different cultures. Such knowledge could mean fewer cultural blunders, safer travel, and possibly even growing business opportunities in other lands. In the mid-20th century, international travel began to increase dramatically. As travel and trade accelerated and the business climate became more competitive, the need grew for information about the Other (i.e., different countries and cultures). Brigham Young University started producing *CultureGrams* in the mid 1970s, which briefly described the land, climate, history, people, customs, courtesies, eating, lifestyle, and society of individual nations. Their publication was later taken up by ProQuest, which currently offers *CultureGrams* on nearly 200 countries. Being culturally literate improved the quality of travel and business experiences in different lands. This began a movement to do more than simply avoid mistakes. Getting it right could have many beneficial outcomes.

In 1983, a videotape series titled *Going International* appeared. It was one of the first user-friendly, realistic, professional-quality video resources for travelers to and from the United States. It covered taboos, cultural misunderstandings, the shock of going to a different culture, and advice about possible dangers. Film as a medium was able to capture more of the subtleties of intercultural interactions than prose accounts of such interactions, lists of taboos and customs, and so on.

Use of indirect educational methods started growing in the 1980s. They included novels about different cultures, popular movies set in different parts of the world, games and simulations about cultural differences, and more. Many other published and online sources are available today. Just as the range of identities covered by legislated fairness expanded, so did the database desired and used by international travelers and businesspersons. The thirst for knowledge about other cultures grew dramatically and provided a model that later contributed to knowing how Americans might learn about hyphenated Americans and their respective cultures. This learning was more difficult because the differences coexisted within the same country and issues of power and privilege impeded interest and learning. Just as the world is more of a mosaic where differences are accommodated or even integrated/incorporated, countries like the United States found that the melting pot, marmalade, or assimilation model was neither effective nor appropriate. Emotional, financial, and other conflicts were evident between aboriginal populations, those who immigrated first, and those who immigrated later. Differences in how individuals came into each country also made teaching and learning about intranational differences more difficult. Some had been in a place for centuries; some came as conquerors or to escape, some as servants and slaves, and some for adventure. Training videos, literature, films, movies, games, and simulations similar to what was used in *Going International* became useful in the domain of diversity and inclusion.

Intercultural Communication

While cross-cultural studies (primarily in anthropology, geography, psychology, and sociology) compared and contrasted cultures around the world, the flow of intercultural communication grew from a few very strong tributaries in the 1950s and 1960s (e.g., the works of Dean Barnlund, Edward Hall, Florence Kluckhohn, Edward Stewart, Fred Strodtbeck, Benjamin Whorf, etc.) to a broad stream of knowledge, models, tools, and theories in the 1970s and later. While the initial focus was on international cultural differences and how individuals from different cultures could communicate effectively with each other (two-way), small crosscurrents or channels connected with diversity. One was through professional organizations with an initial international agenda, like the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research. In the 1980s, the society explicitly reached out to individuals interested in domestic diversity issues like race and gender to share approaches. This effort found some limited success. Another was through a publishing house called the Intercultural Press, which by the 1980s was perhaps the most prolific contributor to the literature on intercultural matters. Over time, it expanded to include games, simulations, videos, and other education and training materials. At the same time, individual scholars and practitioners used techniques from cultural anthropology and intercultural communication to study specific groups in order to facilitate improved interactions between them within the U.S. domestic context. For example, individuals such as Thomas Kochman developed materials to help Blacks and Whites understand each other and communicate more effectively. And over the past 15 years, individual scholars have begun to speak and write about the synergies possible between intercultural and diversity practitioners. Janet Bennett and Sandy Fowler have been notable contributors to this development. This union holds great promise for the advancement of intercultural, diversity, and inclusion work.

Diversity

During the 1970s, the term *diversity* started to appear more frequently. By the end of the decade, media tools under the *Going International* and intercultural banners were applied to diversity. A training film titled *A Tale of O*, written and narrated by Rosabeth Moss Kanter, used a cartoon format to explore the concept of being different in the workplace. Being an *O* was used as shorthand to describe the generic experience of not being like the majority.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, definitions of diversity flourished. They ranged from the simple one crafted by Robert Hayles in 1974 (all the ways in which we differ) or tag lines and mottos used in organizations (e.g., Deluxe Corporation's "The Power of Many, the Spirit of One") to lengthy lists of differences categorized by inherent, acquired, primary, secondary, fixed, immutable, visible, and invisible qualities. They were organized by metaphors including texts, houselike stacks of blocks, icebergs, umbrellas, trees with branches, wheels with spokes and hubs, and so on. Lists of differences usually started with the identities that were covered as protected classes in laws and policies directed against discrimination. Then, other characteristics were added. The focus was consistently on differences and being different. Little or no mention was made of similarities. By the 1990s, most definitions included some comment about the value of or added by those individual characteristics. Virtually all definitions of diversity made it clear that diversity went beyond compliance and legislated fairness. While the majority tried to separate compliance from diversity, a few suggested a beneficial relationship between them. In the 1980s, a few scholars suggested that diversity might contribute to organizational performance in a positive way, not simply be a necessary obstacle that must be overcome to maintain current levels of performance. The first formal business cases for diversity appeared during the late 1980s. Although sometimes simplistic, they showed that performance could and sometimes did increase when diversity was present. The demonstrated relationship was more one of correlation than proof of causation. At a minimum, the presence of diverse people around the table might lead to avoiding mistakes or coming up with innovative ideas and solutions to problems.

Valuing Differences

The expression *valuing differences* was originated during the early 1980s at the Digital Equipment Corporation, headquartered in Stow, Massachusetts. At its peak, it was a worldwide corporation with more than 120,000 employees in 64 countries, with 50,000 employees in countries other than the United States. *Valuing differences* was considered leading edge during the 1980s as it wove equal opportunity, affirmative action, and valuing diversity together, with valuing diversity as the connector. The individual credited with creating Digital's philosophy and guiding the initial work was Barbara Walker. The philosophy focused on differences and encouraged employees to learn about one another's differences, get more comfortable with them, and capitalize on them as assets. The goal was to explicitly convert a mosaic of differences into higher levels of productivity and profitability. What was unique at the time was the fact that the differences to be addressed expressly included and went far beyond those covered by legislation. Differences of interest were characteristics like race, gender, age, disabilities, religion, culture, and sexual orientation, as well as job function, region, style, and more. Digital addressed the groups targeted by compliance legislation as well as other groups experiencing discrimination directly and with great vigor. Much of the work on valuing differences was very personal and explored stereotypes, assumptions about others, building authentic relationships, raising personal empowerment, and group-based differences. Digital was ahead of the times with this work and for a brief period in history was very successful as a business. It remains an excellent model of how to orchestrate some aspects of diversity work. Many of the best practitioners in the field today obtained or enhanced their diversity and inclusion skills by working in the Digital Equipment Corporation during the 1980s and 1990s as employees or consultants.

Valuing Diversity

In 1987, a company called Griggs Productions produced a video series titled *Valuing Diversity*. It was viewed by many diversity practitioners as a portrayal of the state of the art in what successful diversity work could be and could do. It also began to leverage a few concepts from the intercultural realm for use in the domestic diversity arena. The series explored stereotyping, cultural (domestic) differences, communication style, conflict across differences, race, gender, sexual orientation, and a business case for diversity. It is mentioned here for its early foray into blending diversity with intercultural work and positioning diversity leaders appropriately at the executive level in corporations, universities, and other organizations. From the 1980s to the early 21st century, diversity leadership role titles evolved from specialists, managers, and directors to executive levels as vice presidents, senior vice presidents, and chief diversity officers.

Managing Diversity

While this term is found in many places, the prime source is the work of Dr. Roosevelt Thomas. He believed that equal opportunity, affirmative action, and valuing diversity were insufficient. Diversity must be managed to produce the best outcomes. In addition to the emphasis on managing diversity, Thomas led a revision in how diversity was defined. Prior to 1990, most definitions of diversity focused on differences. Some definitions even listed the differences, often beginning with primary or inherent characteristics (e.g., national origin, sex, physical features, sexual orientation) and then expanding to secondary or acquired qualities (e.g., education, religion, profession). A few even included differences like identity, culture, and personality. The definition proposed by Thomas in the early 1990s described diversity as a mixture of similarities and differences. The tensions created by that mixture had to be managed. The conceptual view of diversity as a mixture composed of similarities and differences has endured for at least two decades. His philosophy posited that similarities provide a common ground for unity and building healthy relationships, whereas differences make everyone unique while hopefully not dividing individuals.

It was also during the 1990s that scholars such as Michael Wheeler and professional organizations such as the American Society for Training and Development and the American Psychological Association, to name a few, launched studies and published reports to specify the competencies to *manage* or otherwise address diversity. By the year 2000, many major professional associations and journals that addressed diversity had published a list of the competencies required to lead this work. This period was best summarized in a comprehensive dissertation by Terrence Earl Maltbia titled *The Journey of Becoming a Diversity Practitioner: The Connection Between Experience, Learning, and Competence* (2001).

Intercultural Competence

In the 21st century, both diversity and intercultural practitioners started addressing intercultural competence, intercultural communication, and working effectively with others using cognitive (head), behavioral (hand), and affective (heart) knowledge, skills, and attitudes. Early practitioners in this domain often described it as *cultural competence*, which on the surface lacked the two-way aspects of *inter*cultural competence. Some governments, professions, and agencies require the development of cultural competencies within their sphere of control. The state of Oregon requires cultural competency in healthcare; the American Psychological Association requires that educational institutions teach cultural competencies before granting graduate degrees. A shift from cultural to intercultural competence is required for this stream to become healthier.

Diversity and Inclusion

As of 2015, there is a consensus among leaders in the fields of diversity, inclusion, and intercultural competence that

- diversity is a mixture of similarities and differences;
- diversity includes inherent and acquired characteristics;
- diversity is built on equal opportunity, affirmative action, employment equity, positive discrimination, compliance, and legislated fairness;
- diversity makes enhanced performance possible but does not guarantee it;
- inclusion builds on diversity and makes enhanced performance more likely;
- inclusion is built on social justice and the feelings that accompany it; and
- both diversity and inclusion can be measured, with diversity being more like a count of different entities and inclusion being how those entities are made to count.

Robert Hayles

See also Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Intercultural Communication; Diversity and Inclusion, Definitions of; Diversity Return on Investment; Equality Versus Equity; Global Diversity Management

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HOMOPHOBIA

The complex varieties of human sexual expression as currently recognized have been matched by equally complex stigmas, prejudice, discrimination, and bias. Beginning with definitions of homophobia, this entry presents a brief history of the concept, an exploration of several alternative terms, and a closing commentary on the causes and consequences of bias related to sexual desire.

Definition(s) of Homophobia

Homophobia is a widely used and accepted umbrella term broadly describing the social stigma associated with same-sex desire or discrimination against people identified as or presumed to be same-sex desiring. Definitions vary on what specifically constitutes homophobia, including but not limited to negative attitudes, beliefs, and stereotypes about same-sex desire; discriminatory behavior such as verbal or physical assault or body language communicating discomfort with or fear of same-sex-desiring people; negative portrayals of same-sex sexuality in popular culture; and discriminatory policies and laws targeting or otherwise affecting same-sex-desiring people in areas such as healthcare, employment, immigration, assembly, and communication.

Homophobia: A Brief History

Understanding the remarkable salience of the concept of homophobia necessarily requires first understanding the context in which it was introduced. Human same-sex desire is ubiquitous across eras, cultures, and geography. However, how societies have interpreted and explained same-sex desire, as well as the valuations of such desire within and across those societies, has varied. In the mid- to late 20th century, predominantly English-speaking countries like the United States alternately criminalized and pathologized same-sex (primarily male) desire. In psychiatry, individuals experiencing same-sex desire were clinically and reductively labeled *homosexuals*, while *homosexuality* was classified as a form of mental illness.

The term *homophobia* began appearing in U.S.-based professional mental health literature in the late 1960s. *Homophobia*, as the term suggests, was initially defined by the psychologist George Weinberg as a clinical phobia evidenced by heterosexually identified individuals who dreaded being near homosexuals. Yet this simple concept represented a radical shift in thinking among a growing number of clinicians and scholars: It was hostility toward same-sex-desiring people, rather than same-sex desire itself, that posed a threat to mental health. Homophobia was soon after expanded to include *internalized homophobia*, originally defined as self-loathing or self-hate felt by homosexual persons. In psychoanalytic terms, internalized homophobia represented an ego-defensive mode of relating to others through repression of latent same-sex sexual desire.

After an extensive review and a fierce debate, the American Psychiatric Association removed *homosexuality* from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (*DSM*) in 1973. This event presaged a larger, rapid shift toward depathologization of same-sex desire across professional disciplines and world regions in the following decades. Research during this period uncovered the associations between internalized homophobia and a variety of negative health outcomes, including lowered self-regard, increased HIV-risk behavior, alcohol abuse and dependency, and decreased quality of intimate relationships and same-sex friendships. These associations are widely interpreted as reflecting the physical and mental toll of homophobia experienced by same-sex-desiring people.

Beyond Homophobia: Contemporary Concepts

Homophobia as a concept has been subjected to numerous criticisms. First, many scholars assert that homophobia is a misleading term as it conflates negative, prejudicial feelings and behavior, internalized or otherwise, with a mental illness (specifically, a phobia) that to date has not been supported by clinical evidence. Second, a focus on individual psychological development neglects the broader sociocultural, historical, and political implications of prejudice. Finally, a focus on homophobia has historically centered on the experiences of same-sex-desiring men, while rendering same-sex-desiring women invisible. Distinct alternatives to *homophobia* have been introduced in the past few decades in the domains of psychiatric, psychological, feminist, queer, and sociological theory. However, in practice, there is no general agreement on the distinct meaning and use of these concepts described below.

Homonegativity

Proposed as a broader and more accurate alternative to *homophobia*, *homonegativity* assumes intentional and specific attitudes rather than a neurotic psychological process. Initially described as an irrational fear of same-sex-desiring people or fear of those presumed to be same-sex desiring, homonegativity was later expanded to include a range of irrational feelings, such as disgust, anger, discomfort, or hatred. Homonegativity is also invoked to describe cognitions (beliefs and stereotypes) and behaviors such as aversion, avoidance, or aggression toward same-sex-desiring people. Scholarly consensus has been building for this term, although it is often used interchangeably with *homophobia* in practice.

Sexual Prejudice

Sexual prejudice describes negative attitudes held by a person or a small group toward an individual because of that individual's presumed sexuality. Intended as a more expansive concept, *sexual prejudice* avoids value judgments about specific negative attitudes by avoiding assumptions about the motivations underlying those attitudes. This term emerged as an attempt to locate the study of attitudes concerning sexualities within the broader context of social psychological research on prejudice. Sexual prejudice has been conceptually linked to homonegativity as a form of irrational prejudice, while other scholars use it interchangeably with homophobia.

Heterosexism

Closely paralleling concepts like racism and sexism, *heterosexism* describes individual, social, and institutionalized sets of beliefs and practices that assume, favor, or mandate heterosexuality as the only legitimate form of sexuality. Heterosexism often entails unintentional or unthinking acts through which other forms of sexuality are ignored, invalidated, or derogated; it is this lack of intentionality that distinguishes heterosexism from other variations on homophobia. Gregory M. Herek and colleagues have more recently attempted to link both sexual prejudice and heterosexism to the individual and structural manifestations, respectively, of a single construct, *sexual stigma*.

Causes and Consequences of Homophobia

How homophobia and its variants are defined has consequences for approaches to theory, research, policy, and advocacy. Homophobia has been attributed to the internal psychological repression of same-sex desire that all heterosexually identified people enact. Conversely, homophobia and heterosexism are also linked to a sex-obsessed culture that polices the boundaries of sex, gender, and sexuality to maintain current social structures and hierarchies. Heterosexism may also be more instrumental, serving ideological, religious, scientific, medical, legal, political, and economic systems and organizations that benefit the most from heterosexual institutions such as the nuclear family. From the perspective of *intersectionality*, each of these approaches constitutes one aspect of the historically overlapping and interacting systems of domination related to race, class, gender, and sexuality that differentially affect individual lives. Understanding the causes and addressing the consequences of homophobia and its conceptual variants are increasingly a priority concern in the areas of public and mental health, global economics, international politics, and human rights advocacy.

Brian R. Davis

See also Prejudice, Bias, Discrimination; Sexual Orientation; Sexual Orientation Identity Development

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HONOR, SHAME, AND GUILT

The anthropologist Ruth Benedict's 1946 work *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* injected into public consciousness the notion of shame cultures and guilt cultures. Shame is a human emotion that many understand as related to guilt. Honor might seem oddly paired with shame and guilt, but numerous learned discussions of the nature of honor link it with shame, to the point where some scholars refer to honor and shame as having a reciprocal relationship. In this entry, the concepts of honor, shame, and guilt are defined and discussed from both a historical and a cultural perspective, and the relationships among honor, shame, and guilt are explained.

The Meaning of Honor Inherited From Medieval Europe

A straightforward way to understand honor is to accept that, rather than being a lofty but indistinct feeling, it is a means by which ingroups ensure behavioral conformity among their members. But across cultures, the meanings and manifestations of honor differ. Consider the following examples, beginning with the meaning that emerged from medieval Europe.

During medieval times, and in reference only to members of the aristocracy, *honor* had several overlapping meanings. It referred to an aristocrat's esteem in the eyes of others, the result of noteworthy deeds or generally admirable behavior in public; synonyms are *renown*, *fame*, and *glory*. It also referred to one's exalted rank vis-à-vis others, whether ascribed by noble birth or achieved by selection for high public office; this usage is perpetuated today by addressing a judge as *Your Honor*. A third meaning referred to an aristocrat's outstanding qualities of character as judged by his peers, and by himself, because he conformed to whatever high ideals of comportment were then circulating among the local aristocracy regarding one's decency, magnanimity, nobleness of mind, integrity, credibility, and respect for self and for others. These meanings can be summed up by the phrase *excellent reputation*.

During medieval times, *honor* also referred concretely to the manors or fiefs held by an aristocrat. If he held several manors, the administrative center for them all was called *caput honoris*. An aristocrat's real estate holdings conferred on him high status and dignity: *honor*. When an aristocrat used the phrase *on my honor*, he was affirming the truth of what he was saying by citing both his good reputation and his elevated dignity as a holder of vast tracts of land. This phrase is still in use (e.g., in the oath Scouts take in many cultures).

What united both meanings of honor is that each one's referent (public behavior and real estate holdings) was visible to anyone who cared to look. This feature of honor, *public awareness and recognition* by members of one's community, remains a key feature of its 21st-century meaning. Some scholars refer to *PCR*, the public court of recognition.

But recognition by the entire populace was not important to a medieval aristocrat; what mattered was recognition by his peers and superiors. This feature survived into more recent centuries: Upper-class individuals and families cared about their reputation solely in the eyes of their social equals. What shifted over time was what *honor* referred to. Real estate holdings gradually dropped out of the definition; what remained was a sense of self-worth bolstered by a reputation among one's peers for moral uprightness, credibility, and conformity to their shared ideals of behavior. *Honest* derives from the same root as *honor*.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, it became increasingly important that one's reputation for possessing honorable qualities not be questioned or belittled. Any suggestion to the contrary, *if* it came from a social equal, was deeply insulting regardless of whether it was accurate or not. Swift retribution was called for, usually by the insulted party challenging the offender to a duel with pistols. Carrying out a duel restored the insulted party's honor.

Dueling rarely occurs today. Some scholars credit the reduction of private retribution for perceived insults to the rise of the rule of law and establishment of an effective system of justice. In most modern Western societies, an aggrieved middle-class person can take his case to court, arguing that he was libeled or slandered. Any society's transition from a culture of honor to a culture of law may be difficult because it requires an insulted individual to back down and not retaliate, which others might interpret as weakness.

The meaning of honor received from medieval Europe has evolved, but its connotation continues to be that one comports oneself, *at least in public*, in a manner that conforms to the norms and values of one's social reference group. Straying from those behavioral ideals dishonors one; an accusation (whether accurate or not) that one has strayed equally dishonors one. Even within relatively individualistic cultures, one's personal identity is heavily derived from one's rank and station within a peer group. To be thought by one's peers as no longer worthy of their shared identity is rejecting, isolating, a loss of one's position in society, a loss of *face*.

Parallel Meanings of Honor

When looking beyond the meaning of honor that emerged from medieval Europe, scholars focused much more on collectivist cultures and, within them, on the expectations of conformity to traditional behavior that a *nuclear* or *extended family* places on its members, especially on its patriarch and all its female members. Another scholarly focus has been on traditional societies in which the wealth of a family unit is easily stolen.

Honor becomes newsworthy when a female family member is murdered by a close male relative. *Honor killings* are disturbing to most people in individualist cultures. Just as in individualist European cultures during the past, so too in collectivist cultures today, anything calling into question one's honorable qualities, one's reputation, is met with retribution. But in collectivist cultures, the insult is felt by the entire family or clan as a coherent unit. In these cultures, the *self*, which originally meant "the same," is not a property of individuals but of family units. A family member does not distinguish himself or herself from the other family members in any significant way; all members think, feel, believe, behave, and love as expected by one person, usually a senior male or the patriarch. Whatever undermines the *unit's* reputation must be dealt with.

Collectivist cultures tend to be not only more male dominated but also more agrarian. Scholars contend that within this context, a female member of a family unit is often viewed by the males not merely as property but as though she were a field to be sown by her husband, the yield of which brings honor to him and to his family unit. But her yield brings honor only if the baby is his; the slightest ambiguity on issues of paternity brings disgrace on the entire family unit in the eyes of others in its reference group. So any suspicion that a woman has not remained, or potentially will not remain, exclusively available to her husband, including if she were raped, must be rectified. It is not about determining the accuracy of the allegation or about wondering whether the transgression was against her will or with her consent. Such questions are irrelevant. The suspicion itself disgraces the family; its good standing must be unquestioningly restored. It can be restored only by excising that female from the family unit. The killer is always a male relative; all relatives view his act as reclaiming the family's honor.

Scholars also use the honor concept in discussing traditional societies in which a family's entire wealth is carried with them, as is the wealth of nomads and herders of animals. Such wealth is easily stolen. Traditional societies of this type usually are characterized by weak governmental protections such as police forces and court systems. So to deter thieves, the patriarch typically develops a reputation for using disproportionate violence to punish anyone who threatens his family's economic survival. The greater his reputation for cunning, fierceness, and hair-trigger readiness to commit mayhem, the greater the honor with which the patriarch is regarded by everyone (i.e., not merely by his social peers).

This notion of honor (e.g., an emphasis less on a positive reputation among peers and more on a fearsome reputation for punishing the person causing the loss of one's face or possessions) is applicable to subcultures in which people either lack access to government protection or have reasons not to use it. Examples of such subcultures include criminal organizations and street gangs, military and police forces, sports teams, recent immigrants, inner-city slum residents, and frontiersmen. A variant occurs in subcultures where one's loss of reputation or credibility among peers leads to violence not toward others but toward oneself. Samurai warriors of feudal Japan observed a code of self-sacrificing duty, obedience, and morality; a samurai's loss of honor required his ritual suicide.

Another variant of the ways in which collectivist ingroups ensure conformity is not by means of violence but through total ostracism of the offending individual. For example, the Amish in the United States collectively shun members who do not conform to their key principles.

The Various Meanings of *Shame*

Reduced to essentials, honor refers to an individual's or a family's reputation for conformity to group norms. A straightforward meaning of *shame* is that it refers to one's reputation for failing to conform to group norms. *Sham*, *fraud*, *fake*, and *counterfeit* share the same root.

The meaning handed down from medieval Europe includes the notion that the shamed one avoids his or her reference group's gaze. This is accomplished by averting the eyes, lowering or turning the face, covering the head, or completely withdrawing, in effect confirming the others' judgment that he or she no longer belongs. Asians' *loss of face* concept comes to mind. In some traditional cultures, this withdrawal feature of shame causes it to be associated with the behavior routinely expected of adult women and all children, the underlying value being that they ought not to publicly reveal any inner emotions, thoughts, or needs out of line with their reference group's expectations. A child demonstrating lack of age-appropriate self-control might be admonished, "Aren't you ashamed?" Adult women should be self-controlled, reserved, and reticent and should not reveal themselves physically or in any other way that draws attention away from their menfolk. They should keep their opinions to themselves, remain at home, and remain sexually exclusive. In some cultures, the expectation that a woman not reveal herself extends to her appearing in public only when concealed from head to toe. In these usages, *shame* derives from norms that, if observed, bring honor to a woman and her family.

Furthermore, shame can have positive connotations. In Confucian cultures, sameness is a property of ingroups; individuals may not conceive of themselves as unique. Again in this case, shame is about self-control and the suppression of one's desire to try something new so that one can wholeheartedly perform group-conferred duties, including that of bringing one's behavior into alignment with ingroup norms. Criticism from other ingroup members, including shaming, is experienced as motivating, for it enables the individual to attain shared ideals.

In Japan, shame refers to one's awareness of being surrounded by others who are, or are assumed to be, watching and judging every act. Whether or not a person's behavior is consistent with shared norms, he or she is exposed to an audience and recognizes the potential for *haji*, meaning shame or embarrassment. *Haji* is intensely felt whenever the audience's watchfulness and judgment become overt. This is the reason why most Japanese register embarrassment in response to public praise as well as public censure; their unease is caused by others' focused attention. Their culture's modesty code requires one to be inconspicuous, to not project uniqueness. One result of *haji* is that, when a person foresees that he or she will soon become conspicuous, such as by giving a public presentation, he or she is likely to relentlessly prepare in order to ensure a flawless performance. An example is the tea ceremony, a ritual for which many Japanese undergo formal instruction.

The Meanings of Guilt

A common use of guilt is in reference to a finding by a formal judicial body of an individual's wrongdoing. Of interest here, however, is understanding the social meaning of guilt, and distinguishing it from shame. Both are associated with one's being encouraged to maintain a group's norms of thought or behavior. Here's the difference: *Shame* is about judgments, actual or anticipated, by others within one's group. *Guilt* is about one's self-judgment.

Some scholars advance a more nuanced view: If one attributes a failure to one's essential qualities as a social being, shame results ("I'm a bad person!") and one is motivated to hide from others (at least to hide one's face). If one attributes a failure to a temporary anomaly of mind or body, guilt results ("I'm a person who did a bad thing!") and one is motivated to apologize to those harmed. Thus, shame often is more emotionally devastating than guilt.

Shame is especially active in collectivist cultures, those in which people feel a pervasive interdependence with members of their ingroup. Guilt is especially active in individualist cultures, in which individuals are encouraged to become independent of others. In fact, in strongly collectivist cultures, a distinction between shame and guilt might be meaningless. After all, in those cultures individuals are encouraged *not* to develop an internal perspective that differs in any way from that of their ingroup. In the absence of internalized values and norms with which the individual uniquely identifies, guilt cannot take root.

Cornelius N. Grove

See also Beliefs, Values, Norms, Customs (Definitions); Cultural Relativism; Ethical and Moral Reasoning; Facework/Facework Negotiation Theory; Ingroup/Outgroup; Motivation and Culture; Personality and Culture

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Human Resource Management

As corporations open offices throughout the world, and as each corporation welcomes the world to its sites, the normal functions of the organization undergo a substantive transformation: Each function must be seen through the complex filter of culture, through the regulations, laws, and processes of the new context.

This entry explores the importance and relevance of culture and cultural diversity in the conduct of the major functions of human resource departments in organizations around the world. Following a brief background section, the rest of the entry is organized using a typical people pipeline in a global context composed of the major processes or functions managed by human resource professionals. The sections of the pipeline addressed here include pre-entry, entry, treatment within, movement within, exit, and post-exit.

Background

A century ago, the personnel function dealt primarily with employees working within a country who were also from that country. While there was global labor movement, accommodation for cultural diversity was not a high priority. As international relocation increased and employees were being hired from different countries and cultures, the requirements for the personnel function increased. Also, domestic diversity in many organizations around the world increased. Sometime in the mid-20th century, the label shifted from *personnel* to *human resources*. While that label has been very durable, variants like *people* and *human capital* have also been introduced.

As businesses, educational institutions, and nonprofit and nongovernmental organizations developed near the end of the 20th century, the human resource function in those entities had to more explicitly provide processes, programs, and policies for individuals from around the globe. While the 1970s and 1980s saw a dramatic growth in the knowledge base for doing business across cultures and in language learning, the internal human resource functions did not accelerate their adaptation until the 1980s. That occurred when the volume of expatriate, cross-national, and global assignments demanded better management of the unique issues associated with national and cultural differences.

From that time forward, human resource professionals around the globe needed both general and specific knowledge about the markets and cultures where they find talent and interact. In parallel with the above changes, increased attention was demanded to be focused on issues of fairness and equity and diversity and inclusion. In the midst of all of this integration, periodically some organizations attempted to standardize human resource practices at every location around the world. As recently as 2014, large global companies have initiated efforts to establish common human resource standards at all locations. The potency and durability of cultural and national differences, however, have made this effort somewhere between extremely difficult and impossible. Some of the examples in the following sections illustrate this point and reinforce the necessity of at least some adaptation. Decades of research by Geert Hofstede demonstrated the significance and clarity of such diversity at least with respect to national differences in values.

Although forcing homogeneity rarely has positive outcomes, successfully managing diversity frequently does. It can lead to outcomes beneficial to both individuals and organizations. When the culturally based human resource challenges outlined below are well managed, value is added and synergies are more likely to occur.

Pre-Entry

To find, prepare, and attract external people to achieve their missions, organizations must project images and content that cause outsiders to want to join. This also includes being socially responsible in the eyes of the communities where hiring or the provision of goods and services is intended. Where there are inadequate numbers of local people and a desire to bring in people from diverse cultures, intercultural competence is also required. Without the ability to communicate in ways that attract rather than repel, and to interview in ways that reveal the full talents of each candidate, failure is virtually certain. For example, if advertising ignores or inadvertently insults particular groups, or uses the language of intended recruits inappropriately, again failure is predicted. If the organization has no leaders from particular cultural groups, recruiting from those groups will be impeded. When there is a negative history (e.g., abusive, neglectful, discriminatory) between an institution and a cultural group, interculturally competent initiatives to correct the situation are required prior to successful recruitment.

Also relevant at the pre-entry stage are issues of relocation. When bringing individuals to a region where they are different from the majority of residents in that area, there are many cultural issues (including culture shock) that need to be addressed to make such relocation more palatable; for example, places of worship, desirable food, suitable clothing, and so on matter to potential recruits. If direct and extended family members are also relocating, appropriate support must be provided for them as well. When family needs are not met, tenure is often shortened. This includes care and schooling for children, jobs for spouses, senior care for elders, and housing designed for family living. All of the above must be at least acceptable to the relocating family. Mutual adaptation may be required to make this work.

Entry

Organizations must address questions of assimilation versus accommodation and of mutual adaptation and synergy when people enter. In other words, must new arrivals behave like the majority already present, or will they find that the organization flexes and adapts to their differences? Is there a possibility for a mutually adaptive process that seeks ways of being and doing that work for everyone? Healthy organizations have moved up the continuum going from squashing to tolerating, to respecting, to valuing differences. Specific areas pertinent here include things like language, dress, timeliness, status, and more. How all of these issues get handled will affect turnover, tenure, and performance. Initial orientation is the most common tool for smoothing the entry process. Some also provide guides, coaches, mentors, sponsors, or networks of similar people to facilitate successful entry and reduce the impact of entering a different culture.

Treatment Within

Education, Training, and Learning

For success (high performance and cost-effective tenure), preparation that goes beyond standard skills and technical training is required. When cultural diversity is present that involves crossing national borders, several additional components are required. Training prior to going from one country to another (predeparture), assistance in adapting to the new culture, language training, and preparation for returning home (reentry) may all be necessary. Furthermore, in the conduct of all educational processes, explicit consideration is needed regarding the role of the teacher, communication styles, and rules of conduct for learners and educators. For example, variation exists across cultures regarding who can ask questions, how questions are presented, and how they should be answered.

Even in the traditional supervisory, managerial, and leadership curriculum, content should be included on how to function in culturally diverse contexts. Such content needs to address both individual and group diversity.

Harassment and Mistreatment

When diversity is present in an organization, there is increased potential for possible mistreatment of those who are members of numerical, social, or oppressed minorities, typically on the basis of gender and sexual orientation, ethnicity, age, disability, or religion. The best organizations have policies that prohibit such mistreatment and enforce them with disciplinary consequences. While harassment is an issue that must be addressed in most organizations, cultural diversity increases the range of harassment issues that must be considered. For instance, the very nature of what constitutes unwanted attention may be drastically different in cultures where men work separately from women.

Compliance and Legislated Fairness

When there is a history of discrimination or lack of opportunity for particular groups of people either within a country or newly immigrated, government and organizational policies or rules are required to guide corrective action. Cultural diversity makes this process more complex. The categories used here include affirmative action, antidiscrimination, employment equity, equal opportunity, nepotism (anti or pro), positive discrimination, seniority protection, and union rights.

Compensation and Pay

Because there is great variation in values regarding how compensation should be determined, compensating a culturally diverse population is an art. It is simpler in places where values are relatively homogeneous. For example, where there is a high value for either individualism or collectivism, pay is based on the contribution of each individual or equally provided to each member of the group (by level, age, and even family status), respectively. In one case, fairness means paying individuals what each personally merits. In the other, fairness is paying peers exactly the same. When there is a mixture, human resource compensation specialists must be creative. The other major variation is in the difference between entry-level and executive-level compensation. In some countries, the national practice is to limit the value of executive pay compared with entry-level pay. In others, there are very high limits or virtually none at all. Perceptions of unfairness abound when executives move across borders with different philosophies from those of local cultures. Participants in organizations also respond to culturally influenced perceptions of compensation for leaders.

Benefits and Rights

Organizations trying to standardize benefits and rights will have difficulties when cultural diversity is present. Managing benefits such as sick leave, family leave, vacation, sabbaticals, personal time off, holidays, or bereavement leave is challenging because cultural standards vary regarding what is appropriate and expected. Rights regarding freedom of religion, days and times for worship and prayer, gender segregation, age-based privileges, unionization, and standards for termination also vary across cultures. Flexibility and creativity are necessary.

Privacy is also an important variable in the administration of benefits. Cultures vary on what should be public or private. This is especially pertinent when it comes to information about health, pregnancy, sexual orientation, disabilities, and substance abuse.

Another issue with respect to benefits is the question of to whom they should be extended. Cultural norms vary regarding which relatives should receive benefits and whether or not extended family members and non–blood relatives should be included, since of course the definition of what constitutes *family* varies from place to place.

Diversity and Inclusion

This topic is well covered by other entries in this encyclopedia. It is mentioned here because it is currently a very significant aspect of human resource management. While it does go beyond the human resource function (e.g., supplier management, marketing, and sales), it is also a critical element within it.

Bribery and Gifts

In some cultures, people say that "one hand cannot wash itself," meaning that it is acceptable for me to use one of my hands to wash yours and reciprocation is expected. In other cultures, gifts may not be given in such a way as to convey the expectation of something in return. Giving a supervisor gifts with an expectation of promotion is perceived differently around the world. Giving a gift to enhance the probability of doing a business transaction is commonplace in many places but illegal in others. Managing this complex issue across borders and across diversities within an organization requires ingenuity.

Movement Within

Performance Management

The key to successful performance management is culturally appropriate communication regarding what is being done well and what needs improvement. This is complicated by cultural differences. In individualistic cultures, credit and blame or praise and criticism are often welcomed by the individual. In collectivistic cultures, the focus must be on the group, without singling out any individual. In that context, the group manages the individual. Speaking directly with an individual about poor performance would be considered rude, insensitive, and ill-advised, creating a loss of face that might become a permanent barrier. In some cultures (e.g., Germany, the United States) or groups (e.g., among men), direct communication and confrontation are acceptable. Anything less explicit is considered weak and cowardly. Indirect communication, nonconfrontation, and even face-saving are more effective in other cultures or groups (e.g., among women, in parts of Asia). In the United Kingdom, giving a raise with no feedback is considered normal and healthy. In the United States, the absence of feedback often causes distress. The consequences of taking an inappropriate approach can be severe (dissatisfaction, poor performance, voluntary resignation, or even violence and suicide). Therefore, paying attention to cultural diversity in performance management is critical.

Promotion and Advancement

Expectations for promotion vary across cultures, as does the locus of responsibility for making promotions happen. Many cultures see promotion as a result of age, tenure, and group performance. Others see it as a function of individual performance regardless of age or tenure. The responsibility for making a promotion occur rests solely with the supervisor in many places (paternalistic and fatalistic cultures) and primarily with the person wanting the promotion in others (egalitarian and self-deterministic cultures). Getting married and having children are legitimate causes for promotion in some places, while performance is the only reason in others. Nepotism is acceptable and even expected in some countries and prohibited in others. Mentors, sponsors, and advisors are typically provided to help individuals learn and advance in some places; sink or swim on one's own is the expectation in others. When individuals with opposing expectations are mixed, interculturally competent interventions are required to prevent disasters.

Succession Planning

In some cultures, this process is based on who is seen by higher authorities as ready (through performance, maturity, relevant experiences) to move up to a more senior level. In others, it is determined by factors such as age and tenure, politics, nepotism, and ownership. It also varies from being open to being secretive. When succession occurs, it can come with a varying mixture of responsibility and authority. When human resource professionals design and facilitate succession, the above culturally based variations must be addressed.

Ethics and Integrity

Scholars such as Rushworth Kidder have argued strongly that values such as love, truthfulness, fairness, freedom, unity, tolerance, responsibility, and respect for life are universal. Even so, cultures vary in the priority assigned to each value, especially when there is conflict. In some countries, respect for life outweighs the value for truth and allows citizens to lie in order to protect others. Where nepotism is acceptable, love of family overrides the importance of fairness. The value for unity frequently supersedes the value for freedom. In this context, setting a universal standard for ethics and integrity is nearly impossible. Setting standards in culturally diverse contexts is again an art requiring intercultural competence.

Exit (Termination and Retirement)

Being asked to leave an organization is a very traumatic event for individuals in whose culture termination is rare or the group is more important than individuals (collectivism), or if a younger person is delivering the message to an older person (in cultures where older people are revered). Termination without extreme negative consequences requires an understanding of the cultures involved in the process. Some additional considerations include being direct or indirect, being personal or impersonal, being public or private, being face-saving or not, and varying the level of compensation to fit the circumstances of termination. When termination is voluntary, much of the above still applies but may simply be taken into consideration by the person leaving rather than the person directing the exit process.

Retirement age, tenure, and retirement timing also vary around the world. Human resource professionals must understand the retirement expectations that participants bring to their organizations. Those expectations cover not only the timing but also the process. Some individuals and cultures call for a quiet exit. Others require much fanfare and ceremony.

Post-Exit

After individuals leave an organization, they vary (correlated with culture) in the type and nature of involvement they expect to have postdeparture. In some cultures, retirees are expected to be mentors, guides, and advisors to younger participants. In others, retirees simply expect to receive checks and appropriate benefits. In some countries, loyalty to one's school, employer, or agency is for life. In others, there is no expectation of loyalty.

Robert Hayles

See also Civil Rights; Coaching for Intercultural Competence; Corporations in a Globalizing World; Culture Shock; Diversity and Inclusion, Definitions of; Global Transferees; Intercultural Competence in Organizations; Reentry

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HYBRIDITY

Despite its multiple meanings, hybridity, in essence, concerns realities related to blending, mixing, and dynamic fusion. *Hybridity* can be viewed as relating to the individual or group processes of linguistic, cognitive, cultural, or ethnic mixing in ways that morph or create elements that become different from the sum of the original discrete parts. Or hybridity can be considered the mixture of different phenomena that were once considered separate, definable identities but are now fused or integrated.

At the cultural level, *hybridization* is sometimes defined as the way by which past forms become separated from their previous contexts or existing practices, are reinterpreted in new contexts, or combined with new forms to create new meanings or new practices. Hybridity is both a process and a result of the dynamic nature of human interaction and social development and provides an important impetus for society's advancement and expansion. In the era of globalization, increased intercultural communication, cultural contact and infusion, population migration, and erosion of cultural boundaries have expanded human contact within and across cultures and inevitably bring about the hybridization of values, beliefs, norms, social attitudes, and practices. As such, hybridity has become an important concept and an outcome goal for intercultural communication training and competence development, promoting the advancement of individuals and groups with a *co-cultural* orientation, plural perspective, sense of *intercultural personhood*, or *multicultural personality* for enhancing inter- or cross-cultural identities and interactions.

This entry describes the evolution of the concept of hybridity, how hybridity can inform and enrich intercultural competence studies, the status of hybridity in intercultural communication studies as a whole, some major critiques of hybridity research, and directions for future work.

Evolution of the Concept

From a historical perspective, the concept of hybridity first appeared in the 18th century when colonizers used it negatively to try to prevent racial mixing for fear of contaminating their assumedly superior White European race. Social Darwinism was partly to blame, with evolutionary assumptions from biology suggesting that like plant crossbreeding, hybrid varieties might initially look promising but have a marked tendency toward uniformity and sterility. A post-Enlightenment Western cultural twist was added to evoke and support ideologies of White racial superiority, cultural power, and privilege that sought to keep natives distinct and disadvantaged. As the poet and historian Edward Kamau Brathwaite suggested, the use of *Creole* expanded from being a label for the descendants of Caribbean colonists, born and raised in the New World, to apply to all *new* languages formed by mixing, usually contrasting them with concerns for cultural purity. This early discourse leveraged *hybridity* to promote fears of interracial breeding and prevent racial and cultural amalgamation, casting all such mixing under the pejorative name of *creolization*, *pidgin*, or other nonstandard, uneducated, pitiable connotations.

However, hybridity began to assume more positive connotations in the wake of the decolonization movements beginning in the 19th century. This affirmative hybridity discourse attained new levels of use after World War II as independent nation-states, one by one, liberated themselves from years of colonial rule and asserted and affirmed their hetero-cultural, multiethnic legacies. The emerging postcolonial discourse sought to decolonize the mind of new citizens, suggesting that cultural intermingling need not be seen as the imposition of a major culture onto a minor one, proposing instead that histories of cultural contacts and merging could be explored, leveraged, and developed. Some newly independent nations used terms such as *mestizaje* (*mestizo*) to refer to their national identity, based on the argument that they had neither a European identity nor an indigenous identity but were hybrids of both.

The postcolonial theorist Homi K. Bhabha advanced this form of hybridity as the intermingling of cultures that occurred as a result of colonial occupation. Bhabha further conceptualized hybridity as the *Third Space*, where cultural identity must be renegotiated in ways that restructure and subvert the previous power relations between colonizers and the colonized. *Culture*, in its fixed-trait link to nationality, was rejected by postcolonialists in favor of a constructivist view of culture as shared meaning making and the struggle for one's meaning being voiced and eventually accepted. In contrast to intercultural ideals of resolving cultural conflict in competent ways, difference and contestation are evidences of cultural hybridity being enunciated in contradictory and ambivalent spaces; cultural statements, sites, and systems are being constructed and reinterpreted on the margins of existing power structures to bring about new realities. In the poststructuralist sense that Bhabha advocated, all cultures are *hybrid* in that they are creating Third Spaces that offer the continual possibility of challenging, retranslating, appropriating, and resignifying the contested meanings of a culture.

Bhabha's *Location of Culture* thus represents an intercultural process, where one shows a willingness to enter into *alien territory* (or in Georg Simmel's and William Gudykunst's conceptualization, becoming a *stranger*) as a way of reconceptualizing and engaging with another culture. It represents a translation and negotiation process where the observer is no longer noting the quaint exoticism of multiculturalism or platitudes about the diversity of cultures but rather articulating a new understanding of cultural hybridity. This in-between *Third Space* is needed to redefine and carry the new meanings of culture as it is rehistoricized, reread, or experienced anew.

Implications for Intercultural Competence Research

Cultural hybridity challenges the notions of cultural differentiation held by some intercultural scholars. In early intercultural communication research, culture was sometimes defined in terms of demographic variables, an indication of cultural homogeneity. Under such assumptions, culture's stable and orderly fixed-trait characteristics are emphasized, and culture-typed identities are often inadvertently assumed, sometimes leading to claims of cultural coherence within and cultural distinctiveness without.

Such efforts at defining national character and identifying cultural distinctiveness may have met the academic agendas or national-interest-focused realities of the early 20th century, but with the increasing number of postcolonial independent states, growing ethnic identity awareness, widespread civil rights and peace movements, and rapid globalization, such claims are increasingly called into question. A growing body of scholarship suggests that cultural borders are now porous, fractured, or irrelevant; nation-states are becoming more fragmented, complex, and fused with plurality; and international flows of people, culture, and capital have brought about significant, discernable, and indiscernible shifts or synergies.

These rapidly changing social and cultural realities have posed a challenge to the intercultural communication and competence research traditions and are currently being addressed for future intercultural studies and training. Some important advances have already emerged via critical intercultural scholarship, diversity and inclusion training, and multiparadigm research designs. Although any category-crossing perspective or concept runs the risk of sacrificing precision, there is an emerging body of evidence for cultural hybridization as a palatable and necessary response to the realities of global cultural interdependence.

Hybridity also poses challenges to culture's role in communication as conceptualized in intercultural competence. Culture has often been assumed to have an uncontested authority over, or at least a dominant influence on, communication. Yet to be effective in intercultural communication, people need to be willing to adapt their behavior to meet the expectations of culturally diverse groups.

Moreover, it has been suggested that communication effectiveness can be enhanced if people are willing to adapt their way of thinking and acting, an optimism that has guided much of the enterprise of intercultural communication training. Although recognizable aspects of culture certainly do play an important role and can to some degree be described or contrasted, and people can be motivated to be more willing to adapt themselves to these differences, such perspectives are likely inadequate in accounting for the variability that has arisen within those cultures, a concern frequently addressed in contemporary training. The complex cultural fusion now embodied in some groups or individuals or the unequal status or power relations between various entities or identity groups caused by the increased cultural transfers, mobility, and mixing are all consequences of globalization that have gained a great deal of attention.

Such dynamics highlight the limitations of considering cultures in isolation or with distinguishable sets of contrasting tendencies, where the focus is on culture-specific information. Instead, teaching, training, and research should focus on the amorphous contact zones within which people live and the multiple cultures that they might interact with on a daily basis, using more culture-general principles. Though cultural traditions and boundaries persist, they are likely blurred, giving rise to new generations of bicultural and transcultural persons or groups. Empirical evidence showing that bicultural individuals spontaneously adjust their cognition, affect, and behavior to respond to multiple cultural realities further attests to the importance of better understanding the impact of cultural hybridity on intercultural competence.

The Status of Hybridity Research in Intercultural Communication

It is only recently that hybridity as such has drawn scholarly attention in the field of intercultural communication, although there are many earlier essays on the concept of multicultural identity. The status of hybridity research varies greatly depending on paradigmatic preferences. In the mainstream *functional* research that follows a postpositive tradition, hybridity has been treated as merely a descriptive device, usually summarizing generalizable effects as a product of global and local interactions. The *interpretative* approach to hybridity generally aims to explore and describe how it is constructed between interactants, what it means, and its implications. However, some scholars, such as Marwan Kraidy, maintain that the communicative practice of hybridity should also be understood as one carried out under and constituted by sociopolitical and economic preconditions.

The *critical* approach to hybridity thus arises from a need to situate intercultural communication in larger contexts that include historical, economic, and political relations and engagements. If it is understood that transcultural relations are process oriented, dynamic, and complex, then one can also see hybridity and power as *practices* related to *intercontextuality*, a term coined by Arjun Appadurai. When people relate together in spheres where semiotic inferences or tangible evidences of power or unequal relations exist (even if they are declared as nonpower zones), intercontextuality allows for an understanding of the corresponding implications of both text and context in those existing communications or structures. In this research tradition, hybridity is understood as a continuously negotiated space where both intercultural and international communication practices must work out balances of inherent and imbued power.

The critique of these critical cultural approaches is that they focus mostly on text and context (conceptually or theoretically) and inadequately on intercultural interpersonal relations (practically). However, the linguistics-oriented intercultural research in Europe tends to approach hybridity in both a critical and an applied manner; hybridity is not just a phenomenon to be described but a value-laden communication practice to reflect on or engage in. To address the observed cultural inequalities, a growing number of proponents on both sides of the Atlantic are urging individual agency. Hybridity can thus be examined descriptively at both individual and cultural levels.

At the individual level, hybridity is often employed to address the issue of multiple cultural identities. Individuals with extensive experiences in more than one culture have knowledge acquired from those cultures readily available. In many cases, they can adaptively select from those varied cultural modes to respond to the ongoing demands of their environment or changes in their sociocultural milieu. This often observed multicultural ability of discriminatively switching cultural frames, described in multiple earlier intercultural communication essays, enhances sense making. How can scholars better understand the merger of cultural ideas and identities that diverge and converge in such multicultural hybrid individuals? How can the skills of fluid sensitivity, reflectivity, flexibility, and redefinition be accounted for in cross-cultural competence theories or frameworks?

At the cultural level, hybridity is often employed to understand the impact of globalization, or the interplay of various domestic identities. Here, the cultural/postcolonial studies' text-oriented hybridity theory is applied beyond migration and diaspora experiences to all forms of cultural hybridization. People in multicultural contexts are inevitably expected to experience or undergo a continuous process of (re)balancing the countervailing forces that either unite or antagonize cultures, even if they are not necessarily aware of these. More broadly, cultural hybridization may be better reflected as a variety of cultural merging processes in newly constructed social environments—a person or group's cumulative cultural evolution that is likely to be interwoven with preexisting cultural patterns that likely still persist over time and context.

Notions of individualistic or collectivist cultures are no longer consistently operative if global and local forces do indeed interact in dialectical ways. Neither level alone is sufficient to explain the complexity of the cultural globalization of certain groups, where factors like urbanization may result in the emergence of a hybrid autonomous self, even in traditionally collectivistic cultural societies. But the persisting cultural heritage and traditions are not obliterated—in certain times or settings they may emerge, an approach described in many intercultural texts. Hybrid individuals or communities might find themselves at times adaptively pushing for individualized socioeconomic status markers and at others defaulting to previous patterns of emotional interdependence and not always in coherent ways. Different cultural forms can emerge from the complex interactions among sociodemographic variables that are changing at differential rates.

Hybridity and Dynamic Discourses

Studies concerning the discourse between cultural individuals or groups are also closely related to intercultural communication. While some scholars focus on interpersonal discourses (some forms of which are also called conversational analysis), many focus on discursive themes and patterns within or across groups. These are often distinguished respectively as (small *d*) discourse or (capital *D*) Discourse. In the latter, Discourse represents how societies structure or frame the communication of ideas through their institutions, social interactions, modes of thought, and individual subjectivity during those relations. Meanings are considered to not exist in any real way prior to their verbalization or symbolic articulation in language. Language is considered an enacted process, always socially and historically situated in discourses.

This is the focus of the ethnographic and constructivist school of discourse studies (including scholars like Gerry Philipsen, Donal Carbaugh, Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz, and many others) that examine language in social interaction. Their work generally focuses on how to understand variations in discursive preferences across cultures and what defines the discourse patterns of specific speech communities (an approach now adopted by several new intercultural textbooks).

Those who extend this by applying Bhabha's complex *Third Space* model suggest that discourse extends culture beyond each communicative encounter to a broader system of sociohistorical meaning making. Intercultural communication is conceptualized as a process of translation, a process rooted in the dynamic condition of being a speaking–interacting–transforming person in interaction.

Feminist cultural critics like Chris Weedon further suggest that intercultural communication is a site of struggle. Even though each communicator is an active producer of specific discourses engaged with others, they also are speakers of discourses beyond their control.

Thus, discourse studies of various persuasions are addressing critical issues related to the legacies of power and privilege, of intercultural inequalities, and of contested spaces between groups. For an adequate awareness of intercultural understanding in increasingly multicultural environments, hybridity is a salient and critical concept for intercultural discourse. It can help promote sensitivity to issues of subjectivity, agency, and power norms that regulate discourse. Communicators may understand that even in mundane discourses there are likely representations or clashing interests vying for privilege or status that need thoughtful negotiation.

Hybridity represents the basic multiplicity of voices, histories, or worldviews inherent in or between any dynamic cultures where members of varied speech communities find unique ways in which to experience, interpret, or live out history and the present. Awareness of hybridity can thus promote a reflective engagement with one's own and other people's perceptions, memories, and worldviews. It can help transcend *my culture* and *the other* distinctions, or *us* and *them* dichotomies, and go beyond state- or institutionally directed or assigned attributions to affirm individualized identities and agency or group initiatives toward shared, meaningful, reconciling tasks. In complex global contexts or where cultural barriers or biases persist, acknowledging hybridity and actively seeking to find and develop shared identities can become part of the intercultural competence and bridge-building initiatives that help interactants cross cultural difference divides.

Major Critiques of the Concept

Though many scholars write and teach under the rubric of hybridity, there are critiques of the concept and of how it is utilized. Some scholars view the concept either as too pervasive and differentially used to be theoretically useful or as stating the obvious since cultural exchange is inevitable and culture by nature is hybrid. Hybridity is also critiqued for its increasingly popular use, and though politically correct, those who voice it may inadvertently overlook persisting power inequalities.

The concept is also too easily associated or conflated with the meanings and implications of multiculturalism. Though the multicultural ideal is laudable, using hybridity in this way can be seen as a strategy of cooptation used by privileged power holders to minimize or even neutralize differences that matter. Calling this *hybridity* can wrongly place the margin at the center as well as confuse distinctions between the oppressor and the oppressed.

Still another critique is that the concept of hybridity in *Third Space*, though promoting fusion, still implies demarcated lines between two cultures. Hybridity can too often be employed to designate diasporic groups from more homogeneous ones, when in fact hybridity is more likely in the minds and variable actions of each group.

Directions for Future Research

According to Marwan Kraidy, the concept of hybridity needs more rigorous theoretical grounding to avoid being used superficially or meaninglessly. Both analytical and critical use of the concept should be encouraged, but each more clearly defined in reference to the paradigm being employed or outcomes being sought.

It is also important to realize that in today's world, an increasing number of intercultural persons concurrently maintain multiple cultures. Consequently, these various bonded clusters of values, attitudes, styles, or expected responses can be differentially triggered depending on the communicative context, the speaker relations, or the appropriateness of each encounter. The mechanism underlying this context-dependent *cultural frame switching* merits more careful investigation.

The study and training of hybrid individuals also need new definitions of culture, values, identities, and adaptation, and a deeper understanding of the processes by which each is picked up, adopted, or fused. Research is also needed on how priorities and preferences are sorted out and how their situational accessibility or applicability affects communication situations in an often muddled plethora of globalized contexts.

Liping Weng and Steve J. Kulich

See also Critical Research Methods; Critical Theory; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Intercultural Communication; Interpretive Research Methods; Power

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I

IDENTITY

Identity is expressed in popular culture every day; everybody knows what the word means. It is also, however, a multilayered and complex topic. It is studied by researchers; debated by educators, psychologists, and sociologists; and used as the basis for decision making by politicians, market forecasters, and advertisers. Creating awareness of one's identity is fundamental to developing intercultural competence.

In brief, *identity* can be defined as a person's largely unconscious sense of self, both as an individual and as part of the larger society. It influences with whom people affiliate and from whom they withdraw, why and how they see the world the way they do, and to what extent they are willing to engage with people who are different from themselves.

Identity consists of both personal and social dimensions. Personal dimensions of identity address dynamics such as mental health and the range of interpersonal skills that people bring to their lives. Social dimensions of identity focus on the reference groups to which people belong and suggest something about the ways people view the world. These two dimensions of identity are often confounded, although they really share no overall pattern of relationship. For example, having a strong sense of belonging (social dimension) can make it possible for people to feel better about themselves (personal dimension) when good things happen to their group, but self-esteem (personal dimension) is not directly determined by reference group orientation (social dimension). While people need to have a sense of belonging, it matters less to which reference groups they orient than that they do, in fact, orient to at least one group or another.

This entry focuses on the social dimensions of identity. It presents identity as something that (a) develops in relation to socially constructed categories, (b) is developmental across the life span, (c) develops in an ecological context, (d) has functions that must be wielded with care, and (e) has implications of personal, social, and global importance.

Identity Development in Relation to Socially Constructed Categories

Identity as a social dynamic emerges out of comparison and contrast: me, not you; we, not them. It requires people to answer two related questions: "Who am I?" (the inclusive aspect) and "Who am I not?" (the exclusive aspect). These questions, or variations on them, serve as the starting point for identity exploration. They can be posed in relation to any number of socially constructed categories, also known as *constructs*.

The most researched constructs include race, ethnicity, physical ability, sexual orientation, sex and gender, and nationality. One of the most interesting things about these constructs is that they do not exist as immutable fact. The boundary lines that people draw of "me, not you; we, not them" are socially determined according to the times, and so they change as social mores change. Each of the constructs listed above is, in its own way, invented and arbitrary.

For example, notions of masculinity and femininity are in constant flux, as can be seen in any historical review of gender expression through wardrobes, cosmetics, and social roles. Nationality, a relatively recent phenomenon of the 19th century, emerged for primarily economic reasons in Europe and was then imposed through colonialism on the rest of the world for similar reasons; it has been in flux ever since, driven by migration and civil conflicts around the globe.

Even the meaning of race, which is perceived by many to be immutable, is inherently variable. In times and places where race is correlated with culture, people may be able to change how others perceive their race by learning the dominant language, wearing clothes of the dominant culture, and generally adapting their own cultural behaviors. Similarly, when race is correlated with religion, conversion may allow a change of racial ascription. In times and places where race is correlated with social class distinctions, increasing material success may change ascriptions of racial category. Even race as determined by skin color is arbitrary: Caucasians from India tend to have darker skin than Caucasians from Norway, and African Americans may have lighter skin than Caucasians from India.

While categories such as race, ethnicity, and nationality are sociopolitical constructs, they do bring real-world consequences. Each is used to include and exclude, to determine access to power and privilege or even simply to basic needs, and thus, they affect people's everyday experience. Even if for only this reason, it is useful for people to consider their identity in light of these constructs and to develop subidentities in relation to each.

Identity awareness can be developed (and has been researched) at the intersection of multiple constructs at the same time, for example, at the intersection of race and ethnicity; of nationality and immigrant status; of race, sexual orientation, and gender; and of gender and age. The potential intersections among an individual's identity constructs are limitless. Every role a person plays in society, every kind of relationship or obligation a person enjoys, every experience a person survives—and all of these as they intersect through daily life—can become fodder for identity exploration and awareness.

Identity Development Across the Life Span

Identity scholars have brought many different approaches to their examination of identity, resulting in three primary kinds of identity models: (1) type or state models, (2) process or negotiation models, and (3) developmental or stage models. Type models offer a black-and-white snapshot approach to identity, providing ways to consider people's identity state in the present moment. Process models bring color to the snapshot, still focusing on the present moment but now accounting for the complex interplay of subidentities.

Developmental or stage models reframe both of these snapshot approaches into video: Identity is considered a developmental process, one that changes across time and experience, with people moving potentially, though not necessarily, from one stage to another. Being developmental, stage models identify both a beginning and an apex. The apex is considered the ideal, the healthiest both personally and socially, and the most accomplished identity position.

One of the first, and arguably one of the most influential, stage models of identity development is the model of nigrescence (from the French, meaning "the process of becoming Black"), as proposed by William E. Cross Jr. Although the Cross model specifically targets Black identity development in a U.S. context, it has served as the foundational concept for many models describing other reference group identities, whether in relation to race, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation or in relation to the experience of being biracial, binational, or international, to name just a few. While the developmental particulars vary (sometimes significantly) for each reference group, the overall flow of Cross's Nigrescence Model speaks to all of them.

The model is deceptively simple. It summarizes deep and complex work into just five stages: (1) *pre-encounter*, (2) *encounter*, (3) *immersion–emersion*, (4) *internalization*, and (5) *recycling*. The following paragraphs use gender identity to illustrate an overview of nigrescence in its broad applicability.

People in the *pre-encounter* stage have not thought about their gender identity. They may have been born male or female and may be active in the world as boys or girls, men or women, but as yet they have not thought what gender means to them; they have not yet "encountered" the identity construct of gender.

People enter the *encounter* stage when they experience something that makes them start questioning their gender, that wakes them up to those questions of "Who am I?" and "Who am I not?"—so that they start to draw their particular "me-not-you" and "we-not-them" boundary lines. Encounters can be a single event (e.g., being denied a job in a nontraditional trade) or a series of events over time (e.g., one too many sexist jokes at work), but to serve as an encounter, a situation should have enough force behind it to shake up people's internal status quo and render them willing to do the work of identity exploration. Encounters have to be powerful enough so that people personalize them rather than ignore, rationalize, or justify them. The same situation may thus serve as an encounter experience for one person but not for another.

The *immersion–emersion* stage is where the bulk of identity development takes place. People here are simultaneously demolishing their old perspectives and constructing what will become their new frame of reference. They do this first by immersing themselves into whatever construct it is that they are exploring, in this case gender. As they seek the support of others, perhaps joining a peer group of common explorers, such as a men's group, they typically withdraw physically as well as psychologically from those who do not or cannot share the focus. Eventually, they enter the emersion phase of this stage when, having developed an understanding of who they are in relation to their gender, they no longer need such a singular focus.

People enter the *internalization* stage as they integrate their gender identity into their overall identity matrix. For some, gender may now have a strong and positive relevance to their daily lives, that is, have high salience, while for others, it may have lower salience. Nonetheless, the implication of this stage is that a foundation has been laid such that people now have an active awareness of their gender identity.

The final stage of the model is *recycling*. At any time in a person's life, it is possible to have another encounter experience that reignites the gender-focused identity development process. It may parallel the first immersion–emersion experience in terms of depth and impact, or it may be a lighter, more intellectual return to the topic. In either case, recycling gives people the opportunity to reexamine who they are in light of evolving life experience. There is no limit to the number of times a person might recycle a particular subidentity construct. Indeed, as people's identity work broadens from one construct to include two or three and more, a single event can serve as an encounter experience for a new construct while simultaneously serving as a recycling experience for one or more familiar ones.

Identity Development in an Ecological Context

Identity is not something self-contained, forming and existing on its own. It develops as a response to encounter events, which call into question people's boundaries and cause them to consider the reference groups with which they both do and do not share common experience. It is influenced in this by the environments in which people live, love, play, and work. Among the many influences are psychological, physical, and cognitive maturation; family background, structure, and dynamics; community values, social norms, and social roles; and the quality of support given and received.

Identity is also influenced by cultural cosmologies. For example, a typical Western (and broadly male) "I-self" cosmology brings forth a different kind of identity exploration and awareness than does the "We-self" cosmology, more typical of the rest of the world (and, broadly, of women).

Finally, identity is influenced by the nature of intergroup relations. Several factors come into play here, not least the levels of economic strain between groups; population ratios and the likelihood of intergroup contact; the way group images are portrayed in the larger society; socialization of potential group members by the collective; and rules for intergroup relations as directed by history and social structures. Consider, for example, Swiss Germans and Swiss Italians, Singaporean Chinese and Singaporean Malay, or European Americans and African Americans—all of the intergroup factors listed above will influence how members of these ethnic groups develop their subidentities in relation to both ethnicity and nationality.

One of the most frequently researched influences on identity development is the experience of oppressive events. Members of minority communities—whether racial, ethnic, sexual, or otherwise—may be assimilated into the dominant culture and raised without a sense of being positively rooted in their minority communities. This "deracination" can be particularly problematic when they experience prejudice, discrimination, or disenfranchisement from the dominant culture. Over time, and as the oppressive events accumulate to create encounter experiences, people commonly seek to understand themselves in light of that oppression and to question the foundations of power and privilege.

Members of dominant culture communities may also mature without connection to their natural reference group. They do so, however, not because of assimilation per se but simply because their lives do not generate the kind of oppressive experiences that raise identity questions. For members of a dominant culture to engage in identity development, they must have encounter experiences that force them to become conscious of oppression, power, and privilege and of issues of social justice. They must empathize with those experiences rather than justify or ignore them.

It is worth emphasizing that people may be members of dominant culture communities and minority culture communities at the same time. A man in the United States will find himself automatically privileged by virtue of his gender and, more often than not, may live much of his life unaware of that privilege; it will simply be what is. If he is a man of color, is born with a physical disability, belongs to a marginalized faith practice, or is gay or transgendered, however, he will likely still be quite young when he confronts oppressive events that stimulate identity exploration. Once he starts to explore his race and ethnicity, especially if he includes conversations with women of color about their parallel yet different experiences, he may then be led into identity exploration of his male privilege.

Oppressive events, while generally accepted as the primary sociocultural stimulus for identity development, are not the only route to encounter experiences. There is more to an individual's life than socially oppressive phenomena. Identity exploration can also be rooted in the values and fabric of a group's vibrant community life, for example, through ritualized holiday celebrations or the honoring of historic figures. Encounter experiences can emerge from such pleasure as well as from pain.

The Purpose of Identity and How It Functions

Although many scholars have examined the purpose of identity and of identity development, it was again William E. Cross Jr. who brought a useful categorization to the discussion. He specified four functions of identity, four ways in which an internalized identity can help people navigate a complex world: *buffering*, *bonding*, *bridging*, and *code switching*.

Buffering is the protective function of identity. It allows people to maintain a calm center in the face of rude, offensive, or disrespectful behavior. By definition, it requires a measure of preparation as it presupposes that people acknowledge the possibility of threat before the actual threat is present.

Bonding is the community-building function of identity. It brings together those who share a commonality of experience, providing a sense of home and of belonging. This is a particularly important function of identity for people who experience themselves as culturally marginal. Until they are able to develop an identity that allows for bonding with a reference group of similar people, they are likely to forever feel "encapsulated" or trapped by their difference. Bonding with similar others helps change the experience of marginality into something constructive, where being different can become a resource rather than a barrier.

Bridging is the transcendent function of identity. It allows people to make connections with others of different experience and different reference group orientations. Bridging is what allows people with vastly different life experiences to find common ground, to work together on related projects, and to build toward a positive future.

Finally, *code switching* is the mobility function of identity. It enables people to move between cultural contexts and to act appropriately in each. The classical definition presupposes a degree of cultural fluency in the cultures between which one moves. *Betweening* has been suggested as a variation on code switching, for those who have skill in moving between cultures without specific fluency in the manners and mores of the particular cultures involved.

Ultimately, each function must be skillfully used, neither too little nor too much. Too little buffering can lead to naïveté and too much to paranoia. Too little bonding can erode the identity's relevance, while too much can lead to xenophobia. Too little bridging can reinforce a narrow-minded and ethnocentric perspective, while too much can cause a person to lose the particular nuances of group-specific experience. Too little code switching can reflect rigidity and limit access and opportunity, while too much can suggest that the person is *selling out* or assimilating to *the other*. When each function of identity is used in balance, individuals can be supported, communities can be enhanced, and living on a peaceable planet becomes a very real possibility.

The Personal, Social, and Global Implications of Identity Development

As people do their work of identity development across multiple constructs, they naturally begin to develop what is known as their *salience hierarchy*. Consider, for example, a professional man whose mother is undergoing treatment for cancer. He is about to leave the office to take his mother to a chemotherapy appointment when an urgent e-mail comes in. It is this man's salience hierarchy that will determine, at least in part, what he deems to be more important in this situation: whether he stays at work to respond to the e-mail, and thus allows his professional subidentity to take precedence, or whether he leaves on time to pick up his mother, allowing his subidentity as a son to take precedence. A salience hierarchy is thus an internal conceptual framework that tracks both the spectrum of a person's subidentities and which of these subidentities will take precedence in any given situation. Other subidentities, still there and still part of the whole picture, take a background role for the moment.

The more constructs and intersecting subidentities people explore, and the more skilled they become at negotiating their salience hierarchies, the more consciously multicultural or *multiperspectival* they become. And the more consciously multiperspectival they are, the more freedom they have to express their identity in different ways at different times according to the situation of the moment. They have to choose, for example, among the following: (a) accepting the identity someone else seeks to assign to them ("Yes, I'm African American"), (b) asserting an alternative facet of their identity ("No, I'm an African, from Nigeria"), (c) asserting multiple facets of their identity ("I'm a naturalized African American woman, born and raised in Nigeria and now living in the United States"), or (d) asserting identification under a unifying label ("I'm a woman of color"). This kind of identity flexibility used to be considered a sign of mental illness, but now, thanks to biracial and multicultural scholars, it is better understood as authentic identity coherence.

There is another point to be considered here too, one relatively new in the identity discourse but important in its timeliness. When belonging is attached to a single subidentity, a perceived threat to that subidentity is not easily negotiated. It can quickly lead to the kind of social disenfranchisement and angry righteousness that underlies most civic violence and acts of global terror. On the other hand, when belonging and attachment are spread across multiple subidentities, threats to a single subidentity no longer need threaten the whole system. From this perspective, identity development work and the development of an awake and aware salience hierarchy is both local and global peace-building work.

Barbara F. Schaetti

See also Biracial Identity; Culture-Specific Identity Development Models; Ethnic Cultural Identity Model; Identity and Intergroup Communication; Ingroup/Outgroup; Racial Identity Development Models; Sexual Orientation Identity Development

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Identity and Intergroup Communication

Intergroup communication is the interactive process of creating and interpreting messages between individuals based on their different social-cultural memberships. If people relate to one another not as individuals but as members of different social-cultural groups, they are engaged in intergroup communication. Simply stated, perceptions and feelings of group membership influence how individuals communicate with one another. Social identification or group membership identification can vary from large groups (e.g., nationality, ethnicity, and culture), to medium-size groups (e.g., organizations, institutions, and communities), to small groups (e.g., neighborhoods, teams, and family). Intergroup communication is pervasive as people are interacting with diverse others, either face-to-face or through electronic media including the Internet, smartphones, Facebook, Twitter, and Skype, among many options. Intergroup communication scholars such as Howard Giles argue that more than 70% of interpersonal communication involves intergroup communication processes. Thus, intergroup communication is everywhere, and one of its goals is effective communication among members of different groups. According to William B.Gudykunst, mindfulness is required to understand one another's perspectives for effective communication.

This entry describes intergroup communication, focusing on its origin and key concepts, intergroup communication strategies, and effective intergroup communication in multiple contexts.

Intergroup Communication

Intergroup communication is intimately related to the study of intergroup relations, which can be traced to William Graham Sumner in 1906 and to Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif in 1953. While no specific date has been identified, the study of intergroup communication itself is of recent origin, arguably in the 1980s, with a series of publications, especially *Intergroup Communication*, edited by Gudykunst in 1986. Giles wrote in his general preface that Gudykunst proffered the first formulation of a cohesively integrated model of intergroup communication. Since then, many important scholars have published on intergroup communication, including Giles, Cynthia Gallois, Jake Harwood, and Scott Reid.

Intergroup communication is essentially grounded in social categorization and social identification, explicated by Henri Tajfel and John Turner's *social identity theory* (SIT). According to SIT, every individual has two types of identity: personal identity and social identity. *Personal identity* refers to the individual's uniqueness or idiosyncrasies, such as personality traits (e.g., introverted personality and extroverted personality) and individual inclinations and habits (e.g., individual lifestyle and taste in music). *Social identity* refers to the individual's group memberships based on social categorization (nationality, ethnicity, culture, race, sexual orientation, status, and profession).

Social categorization is central to understanding social identity and intergroup communication. SIT states that humans categorize the social world into "us" versus "them." People who are perceived and identified as "us" are regarded as members of one's group (ingroup members), and those who are perceived and identified as "them" are regarded as members of the other group (outgroup members). Group members have a tendency to favor ingroup members (ingroup favoritism), not outgroup members (outgroup discrimination). For example, Jane Elliot tested the effect of social categorization on her third graders to explain the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King and racial discrimination, recorded and aired on the Public Broadcasting System under the caption *A Class Divided*. Elliot superficially categorized her third graders into groups of Blue Eyes and Brown Eyes, and within a short period of time, these groups of children began discriminating against each other. Even those who had been friends before the social categorization became very unfriendly, saying unkind things to each other. This powerfully illustrates intergroup discrimination resulting from social categorization and social identification. Once she dismantled the class division and debriefed the third graders about the exercise, they stopped their discriminative behavior. She also observed similar discrimination outcomes as a result of superficial categorization with adults.

From an *intergroup communication* perspective, social identity or group membership can change the dynamics of communication between people. Individuals may communicate with one another in two different ways: (1) interpersonally or (2) based on group membership(s). *Interpersonal communication* can be defined as individuals' communicatively relating to one another in terms of their personal identities. In contrast, individuals may relate to one another in terms of shared social identity or different social identities. The former constitutes *intragroup communication*, and the latter constitutes *intergroup* communication. For example, teachers and students can communicate interpersonally with each other, communicate with each other as members of the same academic community, or communicate with each other as members of different social identities in the classroom setting. *Intergroup communication* primarily focuses on the influence of social identity processes (e.g., social identification, stereotypes, and intergenerational perceptions) on communication in everyday life. While theoretically we can differentiate between interpersonal communication and intergroup communication, in actual practice these two forms of communication regularly occur together in everyday interactions. *Communication accommodation theory* (CAT) claims that social identity or group membership can influence the extent to which individuals may or may not accommodate one another in encounters. Individuals can employ a wide range of strategies to negotiate intergroup relations and achieve communication outcomes.

Intergroup Communication Strategies

From a social identity perspective, individuals can communicate with members of their own group (intragroup communication) or members of other groups (intergroup communication). In either case, social identity or group membership tends to influence their communicative behavior. According to CAT, group members tend to use convergence strategies with ingroup members and divergence strategies with outgroup members. *Convergence* can be understood in terms of matched communication practices, such as using similar verbal and nonverbal symbols to encode and decode the message. In contrast, *divergence* can be understood in terms of different communication practices, such as using dissimilar verbal and nonverbal symbols to encode and decode the message. Based on intergroup boundary conditions, individuals can use a social mobility strategy, social creativity, or social competition strategies to negotiate intergroup identities and communicative relationships.

Social mobility is possible based on three conditions: (1) a permeable intergroup boundary, (2) seeking a status upgrade, and (3) using convergence/accommodative strategies. In the United States, many immigrants and their children have gained social mobility through education and communicative convergence strategies. Two trends are observed in this regard: (1) *linguistic assimilation* and (2) *code switching*. First, across cultures in the United States, linguistic assimilation (speaking just *Mainstream American English* [MAE]) has occurred among second- and third-generation immigrants from around the world due to the host cultural environment, the education system, and cultural expectations. Although they gain social mobility (e.g., higher paying careers, higher status positions, increased recognition, and social acceptance), linguistic assimilation has undermined their ability to communicate in their native/heritage languages and communication styles. Unfortunately, this creates intergroup identity and communication issues at home and within the larger ethnic community. For instance, children speak MAE among themselves and with their parents, but the parents and other members of their ethnic group may speak to them in the native language. Overall, linguistic assimilation is a case of an extreme convergence strategy that is often detrimental to the individual's ancestral heritage.

In contrast, code switching can upgrade an individual's status and position while retaining the person's membership in two different linguistic groups. Code switching involves moving back and forth between two linguistic modes in an intergroup setting. Bilingual and multilingual individuals have the ability and the resources to code switch in their interaction with others who speak those languages. For example, in the United States, many bilingual immigrants code switch between their native languages and MAE daily as they interact with members of these linguistic groups. Many bilingual and multilingual Americans from different social-cultural backgrounds are able to retain their diverse social identities while upgrading their status and position. That said, many individuals might not seek social mobility in spite of their ability to code switch between linguistic modes. They may continue to speak their heritage language or intentionally code switch to their heritage language in an intergroup setting for divergence reasons such as preserving social identity distinctiveness.

Alternatively, group members may use social creativity strategies based on impermeable intergroup boundary conditions, seeking positive social identity distinctiveness or upgraded social status and using communication divergence. *Social creativity* is a divergence strategy that primarily involves redefining positively a certain aspect of one's social identity or making a favorable comparison with another social identity. It enables group members to claim positive social identity based on their uniqueness. For example, African Americans redefined beauty in the 1960s in the "Black Is Beautiful" movement. This enabled them to assert a positive African American identity based on their racial distinctiveness and to challenge the dominant group's stereotypical definition of beauty. "Black Is Beautiful" illustrates that social reality is constructed via communication. Meaning resides in people, not in things, and as the saying goes, beauty is in the eye of the beholder. People can socially construct positive social identity via communicative attribution. In the international context, Bhutan, a small Himalayan kingdom bordering India, Nepal, and Tibet, has redefined gross national product as *gross national happiness* (GNH). While gross national product clearly indicates and emphasizes overall national product as the measure of the status of a nation and its people, GNH clearly emphasizes that overall happiness (well-being) indicators can also reflect the status of a nation and its people. Bhutan can claim a positive and distinctive national identity via GNH, and arguably, it represents a social creative strategy.

Social creativity strategy also involves selective favorable comparison between groups for positive distinctiveness. In a multicultural and multilingual society such as the United States, many social-cultural groups coexist while sharing a dominant culture, or at least some of its aspects. These groups differ in terms of strength, called *group vitality*. According to Giles, group vitality can be measured along three dimensions: demographics, status, and institutional support. In the United States, European Americans have the highest group vitality in terms of demographics, status, and institutional support. Given this situation, other co-cultural groups including Hispanic Americans, African Americans, and Asian Americans can selectively compare themselves with other group members for favorable outcomes (i.e., positive distinctiveness). For example, Native Americans can compare themselves with Tibetan Americans for favorable outcomes based on group vitality. Groups with low vitality (e.g., Tibetan Americans) can selectively focus on certain aspects of their social identity for favorable intergroup outcomes. In the case of Tibetan Americans, they can claim positive distinctiveness based on their unique cultural heritage. Tibetan Buddhist centers for learning and practice have become popular and are established in various locations in the United States.

Finally, group members can use a social competition strategy to maintain and upgrade their status and identity. *Social competition* involves protests, slogans, challenges, and struggles. Historically, nations and groups across the world have used social competition strategies to seek freedom, independence, and rights. In the United States, movements such as the Civil Rights Movement, Women's Rights Movement, Free Speech Movement, Gay Rights Movement, and Animal Rights Movement are all examples of how groups use social competition strategies to upgrade the respective groups' social identity and status. In response to the recent economic downturn in the United States, many Occupy Movement demonstrators have taken to the streets in various cities, such as New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, to express discontent. These movements call for economic policy change and action to remedy the economic crisis situation.

The preceding sections have highlighted a wide range of intergroup communication strategies to negotiate intergroup relations. Being influenced by social categorization and social identification, group members generally treat ingroup members favorably and outgroup members unfavorably. However, group members can move across permeable intergroup boundaries using social mobility and accommodative strategies. In situations where the intergroup boundary is impermeable, group members can use social creative, social competition, and divergence strategies to maintain and upgrade their status and social identity. An intergroup communication perspective can inform intergroup relations and communication across many professions.

Effective Intergroup Communication in Multiple Contexts

Intergroup communication processes permeate everyday life. This section discusses effective intergroup communication in two prominent contexts, namely, academic institutions and health service providers. Effective or competent communication has been defined in various ways, including as shared interpretation or understanding. In general, effective or competent communication is defined in terms of two salient features: (1) approximately shared understanding and (2) appropriateness. There is no such thing as perfect communication. According to Gudykunst, effective communication refers to minimizing misunderstanding among strangers, and this is the goal of his *anxiety uncertainty management theory*. In light of this definition, strangers from different social-cultural backgrounds can mindfully manage their levels of anxiety (affective state of mind) and uncertainty (cognitive mind) for effective intergroup communication. Academic institutions and health service providers are two intergroup contexts where there are possibilities for both miscommunication and effective intergroup communication.

Academic institutions are systems that involve many intergroup interactions among members of administrative services, faculty, and the student body. These members represent a wide range of social groups, cultures, ethnicities, age-groups, statuses, and positions. Miscommunication easily occurs in their interactions when communication is filtered through intergroup biases such as stereotypes, ethnocentrism, racism, prejudice, and intergroup discriminatory attitudes. For example, students may complain about not being treated well by their professors or staff. Staff and faculty may complain about unfair treatment by those in higher positions based on biased intergroup perceptions. For the proper functioning of a university, it is imperative to prevent and reduce such misunderstandings. Importantly, being mindful of the great social-cultural diversity can enable effective negotiation of identity and communication issues within the education community. For example, those educators who have been primarily socialized to communicate explicitly (low-context communication) can be knowledgeable and mindful of their communication style when they interact with students and colleagues who may have been primarily socialized to communicate implicitly (high-context communication). Each side then would adapt accordingly.

Second, effective intergroup communication is also essential in the health context. Intergroup processes influence how healthcare professionals and organizations (e.g., hospitals, clinics, doctors, nurses, and caregivers) communicate with one another and with their patients. Health clients (patients and residents) communicate with them for medical care and nursing help. From an intergroup perspective, healthcare providers and their clients represent layers of group memberships based on culture, ethnicity, status, age, and social standing. Miscommunication can easily occur among them when communication is filtered through intergroup perceptual biases such as stereotypes, ethnocentrism, racism, and prejudice. For example, health providers from a European American background may misunderstand the needs of Muslim immigrants due to ethnocentric attitudes and intergroup hostility. Based on prejudice, caregivers may mistreat elder residents in assisted living or nursing homes. However, mindfulness of other cultural patterns combined with cultural self-awareness can enable effective communication in the health context.

Healthcare providers who have received intercultural training and who are culturally sensitive would be less likely to presume cultural similarity in providing services to their patients from other cultures. Interculturally competent doctors and nurses will ask their clients appropriate questions and listen to their needs empathetically before providing medical treatment. While following health policy guidelines, rules, and regulations, they will also accommodate the social-cultural needs of their clients. According to CAT, clients are also likely to be accommodative in their reaction to the health providers, appreciating their culturally responsive care. Providing appropriate healthcare is more than instrumentally communicating to patients about their medical needs based on the professional relationship; it also includes cultural competence.

In summary, intergroup communication is rooted ingroup memberships. In other words, social categorization and social identification characterize intergroup communication. Whether in face-to-face situations or in social media, when two individuals communicate with each other in terms of their different social identities (e.g., teacher and student, doctor and patient, supervisor and subordinate), they are engaged in intergroup communication. Intergroup processes permeate everyday life. As discussed, when communication is filtered through intergroup perceptual biases such as stereotypes and ethnocentrism, ineffective communication occurs in a wide variety of intergroup contexts, such as academic institutions and healthcare settings. However, mindfulness can help manage anxiety and uncertainty in intergroup contexts, leading to competent intergroup communication.

Tenzin Dorjee

See also Communication Accommodation Theory; Cross-Cultural Communication; Identity Negotiation Theory; Intercultural Communication, Definiton of; Intergroup Contact; Social Identity Theory

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Identity Management Theory

Identity management theory (IMT) proposes that whether an interacting pair of people consists of persons from China and the United States, Nigeria and Russia, or Bulgaria and Brazil (for example), the two communicators transact a relationship using identical, and thus universal, communication strategies. Imahori and Cupach developed IMT to map the stagelike evolution of relationships between two communicators from divergent cultures. Just as Sigmund Freud argued that the structure of the human psyche is invariant across cultures, they claimed that the same is true of intercultural communication strategies, regardless of the cultural boundaries being negotiated.

This entry begins by defining IMT and then explains the difference between IMT and the Multicultural Identity Enactment Model (MIEM), which is an extension of IMT. The entry concludes with a discussion of buffering, code switching, and bridging, which are ways by which a minority group member enacts social identity with majority group members.

According to Imahori and Cupach, the initial meeting of two people juxtaposes, in a psychological sense, two multilayered self-concepts. However, neither person is expected to share the totality of his or her self-concept, and each presents, instead, a persona or face. In addition, each operates with preconceived notions (abstract knowledge gleaned from texts and indirect sources) about the other's culture and psychology. Each tries to decipher how accurate the fit is between the social representation acquired in the abstract and the persona or face performed during their exchanges. By definition, face oversimplifies (stereotypes) the real, deeper, authentic self; consequently, each person must compare, contrast, correct, and reconfigure information about the partner's face, while concurrently monitoring the presentation of the individual's own face. According to Imahori and Cupach, the facework dialectic refers to the numerous ways two communicators may save, protect, damage, repair, and covet face, either one's own or that of the other. Failure to carry out facework means that the individuals may never penetrate any further than the outer layer of each other's self-concept. Consequently, they contend that one important marker of intercultural competence is mastery of facework.

As outlined in IMT, intercultural relationships unfold in three sequential and invariant phases: trial, enmeshment, and renegotiation. Trial describes the early interactions, when both actors are equally awkward, unfamiliar, and mildly guarded. The issue is not one of self-protection but of concern and worry about saying or doing something that will cause loss of face, either one's own or that of the other. As previously mentioned, it does not help that each enters the relationship with an untested and generally superficial social representation of the other. While development of an in-depth appreciation and familiarity for each other's culture can take years, the authors note that within a shorter time period, communicators will construct a shared pattern that Baxter calls a mini-culture. This mini-culture consists of relationship symbols such as behaviors unique to their interactions, physical objects symbolic of their relationship, special spaces where they have spent time together, and cultural artifacts that carry special meaning only to them. In addition, partners settle on rules, rituals, and expectations for their relationship. As the mini-culture unfolds, their separate faces merge to form a shared relational identity. It is through trial and error that the two people carve out their mini-culture, and as each component is articulated, the two people cease to be strangers and become entangled in what Imahori and Cupach call the enmeshment phase.

Should the relationship move forward, trust and confidence make it possible for the individuals to revisit personal and, especially, cultural differences. The authors explain that during the trial and enmeshment phases, priority is placed on the development of the mini-culture and the relational identity, and many questions are held in abeyance for the sake of protecting the progress being made in the dyad's facework. After the mini-culture evolves and the rational identity takes hold, then and only then will otherwise risky inquiries be perceived as those of a trusted associate. They label this new stage of mutual and trusted interrogation the renegotiation phase. Renegotiation signals an open exploration of the deeper levels of each interlocutor's self-concept and can result in an intercultural experience characterized by cross-cultural belonging and friendship.

In summary, early on, two communicators juxtapose social-cultural faces, and through trial and error they co-construct an idiosyncratic mini-culture. The communicators become enmeshed in their shared mini-culture, resulting in a sense of attachment and bonding. Once the mini-culture is co-constructed, the dialectics and jockeying between two faces are replaced by a shared relational identity. The relational identity is akin to a safe space within which either party feels free to discuss and interrogate difference, opening the door for each person to become simultaneously a friend, mentor, teacher, and cultural interpreter.

Intracultural Identity Transactions

Culture is an important factor for both intercultural and intracultural relations. Intracultural relationships, especially those involving minority–majority dyads, such as Black–White, Jew–non-Jew, and gay–heterosexual, involve factors not explicitly addressed by IMT: discrimination, oppression, power, and privilege. Consequently, conceptualizations other than IMT dominate the intracultural identity management narrative. In point of fact, models focusing on intracultural communication tend to substitute the phrase *identity management* with *identity enactments* or *identity transactions*. Gleaned from an analysis of the way African Americans transact identity, a model of multicultural enactments was developed by William E. Cross in 2012, which explicates how individual members of diverse groups, such as Native Americans, gays and lesbians, and disabled Americans, to name a few, transact social identity in everyday life. Like Imahori and Cupach, Cross theorizes that despite the critical differences in cultural and experiential identity content, racialized and stigmatized groups enact social identity in similar if not identical ways.

The MIEM outlines how the progeny of stigmatized and racialized social groups are socialized to anticipate certain experiences or situations, by parents, peers, and members of their social group. Progeny are also taught how to respond-behave (enact social identity) when they encounter such predicaments. The MIEM is Gestalt oriented and does not isolate emotions, cognitions, and strategies; consequently, the analysis highlights the person's enactment or transaction of social identity, in which emotion–thought–action are embedded. The model draws heavily on Lev Vygotsky's concept of activity theory, wherein identity actions are equated with activities that record the interplay of person–situation–action. The focus is on the doing, enactment, and transaction of identity.

Compared with the dyadic focus of IMT, the MIEM emphasizes the individual member of the social group, although the behavior of the other is always implied. The MIEM addresses predictable experiences or situations, predictable because certain experiences or situations are recurring themes in the group's sociocultural history. Progeny are taught how to protect themselves when encountering discrimination (buffering), how to be successful when functioning within mainstream institutions (code switching), how and under what circumstances to become friends with members of the mainstream group (bridging), and how to negotiate relationships within their own social community, such as feeling a sense of belonging (attachment bonding).

Buffering

When individuals are members of a stigmatized group, they can anticipate encounters with discrimination and oppression. The form of discrimination will depend on the group to which the person belongs (Jews/anti-Semitism; Blacks/racism; gays/homophobia; Native Americans/anti-Indian feelings; the disabled/ableism, etc.). According to Cross, members of stigmatized groups must weigh their options, because while one threat situation may invite a confrontational enactment (response), others may require forms of buffering that are passive-aggressive, passive, or even avoidant in nature. When the identity threat originates with a majority group member who is powerful and has control over needed resources, the stigmatized person often has to fashion a buffering capacity that is porous. This makes it possible for neutral information to pass through one's buffering shield, while simultaneously filtering harmful, hurtful, and discriminatory messages, even though each type of communication is coming from the same person.

Code Switching

Being a member of a minority group requires bicultural competence, as reflected in the ability to switch from a minority-culture face to a mainstream face. To satisfy one's need for education, employment, healthcare, and banking, for example, the person must move back and forth between one's social identity community and the larger community or mainstream. In such situations, the person code switches into a mainstream face, because within the mainstream, one's presentation of self is governed by the norms and expectations of the larger society. A code-switching cycle starts at home, where the person prepares to leave his or her community; next there is the actual entrance into the mainstream spaces (school, place of employment, hospital, bank); once within the mainstream space, the person uses mainstream communication devices (dress/appearance, language, practices) and performs in accordance with mainstream expectations; eventually, the person exits the mainstream and prepares for reentry into his or her home space; at home, the person switches personas (minority culture face), and conversations about the day's experiences allow for debriefing and catharsis, thus bringing the code-switching cycle to a conclusion. Unlike buffering, code switching is less about threat than about addressing opportunity and the fulfillment or satisfaction of critical needs.

Bridging

Bridging is the enactment of friendship/intimacy across social boundaries, as in friendships between an African American and a White person, a Jew and a non-Jew, and a gay person and a heterosexual. Unlike code switching, the motivation is not power, status, or need satisfaction; rather, it is friendship, intimacy, and closeness. When the hierarchy of a society relies heavily on social identity boundaries, friendships across such boundaries tend to be intentional, not accidental. It is at this juncture that IMT and MIEM may fuse, because the way relationships are negotiated and transacted across intragroup boundaries is akin to intercultural border crossings, as explicated by IMT (e.g., facework; trial–enmeshment–renegotiation phases leading to mini-culture and relational identity).

Buffering, code switching, and bridging capture how a minority group member enacts social identity with majority group members; however, a second objective of the MIEM is an analysis of the multiple ways in which social identity is enacted with members of one's social group, inclusive of positive and negative interactions. Negative ingroup transactions can lead to within-group buffering, interactions with powerful ingroup members can trigger within-group code switching, and cultural differences, as when an African American from Chicago encounters an African from Nigeria, may result in within-group bridging. Central to positive within-group social identity is attachment and bonding. Attachment–bonding represents any enactment, no matter how small, that results in the person feeling attached and bonded to the social group (belonging, connected, meaning making). A sense of attachment–bonding begins in infancy and continues across the life span and can involve language, dress, religious beliefs, cuisine, partner selection, social network composition, daily rituals, aesthetics, musical preferences, ideology, social historical perspectives, hairstyles, literature, art, organization memberships, superstitions, and more.

IMT captures the universal aspects of intergroup dyadic exchanges and is also useful in understanding what are called bridging enactments linked to intragroup communications. Going beyond the IMT emphasis on culture, multicultural identity enactment theory addresses directly the additional factors of stigma, oppression, and power and is the more viable framework for comprehending intragroup identity management.

William E. Cross Jr.

See also Facework/Facework Negotiation Theory; Identity; Identity Negotiation Theory; Intercultural Code Switching

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Identity Negotiation Theory

The term *identity* in identity negotiation theory (INT) refers to an individual's multifaceted identities of culture, ethnicity, religion, social class, gender, sexual orientation, profession, family/relational role, and personal image(s) based on self-reflection and other-categorization social constructionist processes. According to social identity theory (SIT), *social (or sociocultural) identities* can include ethnic membership identity, social class identity, and family role issues. *Personal identities* can include any unique attributes that are associated with one's individuated self in comparison with those of others. Thus, each individual's composite identity has group membership, relational-role, and individual self-reflexive implications. Individuals mostly acquire their composite identity through sociocultural conditioning processes, individual lived experiences, and the repeated intergroup and interpersonal interaction experiences. The term *negotiation* in INT refers to the exchange of verbal and nonverbal messages between two or more communicators in maintaining, threatening, or uplifting the various sociocultural group-based or unique personal identity images of the other in situ.

In collectivistic group-oriented cultural communities, such as Guatemala, Indonesia, South Korea, Vietnam, and West Africa, for example, people may be more concerned with communal, social identity issues. In individualistic cultural communities, such as Belgium, Denmark, France, New Zealand, and Switzerland, however, people may be more concerned with individuated personal identity issues. In a multicultural immigrant society, distinctive ethnic and cultural identity salience issues (e.g., ethnic-oriented, assimilated, bicultural, or marginal identity issues) and intergroup relation concerns also play a prominent role in the INT framework. Regardless of whether an individual is or is not conscious of these identities, identity self-conception and other typecasting influence everyday behaviors in a generalized and particularized manner.

By understanding the role of identity negotiation in greater depth in the context of intercultural communication competence, individuals can learn to monitor the communication process and outcome more mindfully and, hopefully, with identity attunement. The rest of this entry is organized in two sections. First, a brief historical background and the core assumptions of INT are introduced. Second, the phenomenon of mindful identity attunement (MIA) is addressed.

A Brief History

The original seed of the INT by Stella Ting-Toomey appeared in 1986 as a chapter in an edited book by William B. Gudykunst, in which the focal constructs emphasized the importance of affirming *both* sociocultural group membership and personal identity issues in developing quality intergroup–interpersonal relationships. The key argument in that chapter stressed the importance of validating both group membership identity salience and personal identity salience issues to develop quality relationships, and not emphasizing personal identity issues alone.

The second rendition of the theory appeared in 1993 in an edited volume by Richard Wiseman and Jolene Koester and emphasized the importance of understanding the identity dialectics of identity security/vulnerability and identity inclusion/differentiation issues of immigrants and refugees' adaptation process in conjunction with other self-perception and other-perception motivational factors. Intercultural competence was cast as *communication resourcefulness* (CR), in which cognitive, affective, and behavioral resourcefulness (with ethical resourcefulness undergirding all three facets) was identified. A conceptual model linking the various explanatory components of CR and its outcome factors of interactive identity confirmation, identity coherence, and identity attunement was proposed. A competent intercultural communicator is viewed as an individual who is high on CR and who has acquired a diverse range of cognitive tools, a rich spectrum of emotional repertoires, and a flexible behavioral set and is able to apply them effectively, appropriately, and creatively in different novel situations.

The formal 10 assumptions of INT theory were presented in the text *Communicating Across*

Cultures, authored by Ting-Toomey in 1999, with accompanying research evidence from diverse disciplines to substantiate the assumptions in multiple cultural contexts. The 1999 version also accentuated the critical role of *mindfulness* and the phenomenon of satisfactory identity negotiation as part of activating competent intercultural communication processes and outcomes. The fine-tuned version of INT appeared in 2005 and highlighted the five boundary-crossing identity dialectical themes (identity security–vulnerability, inclusion–differentiation, predictability–unpredictability, connection–autonomy, and identity consistency–change across time) and the three identity negotiation competence outcomes (*feeling of being understood*, *feeling of being respected*, and *feeling of being affirmatively valued*).

Under the 2005 INT version, competent intercultural communication is defined as the importance of integrating the necessary intercultural knowledge, mindfulness, and interaction skills to manage identity-based issues adaptively and to achieve desired identity outcomes creatively. Desired identity outcomes can include mutual identity understanding, mutual identity respect, and conjoint identity valuation and satisfaction. INT has been mostly tested by researchers studying immigrants and minority group members' acculturation process and identity change process in unfamiliar cultural environments.

Identity Negotiation Theory: Core Assumptions

INT posits that human beings in all cultures desire positive identity affirmation in a variety of communication situations. However, what constitutes the proper way to show identity affirmation and consideration varies from one cultural context to the next. INT emphasizes particular identity domains in influencing individuals' everyday interactions. It is a middle-range theory because how immigrants or refugees evolve their cultural-ethnic and personal identities in an unfamiliar environment is based on the extent of macro–host national reception and structural-institutional support factors and also on the immediate situational and individual factors of identity adaptation change processes.

The 2005 INT version consists of the following 10 core assumptions, which explain the antecedent, process, and outcome components of intercultural identity-based communication competence:

1. The core dynamics of people's group membership identities (cultural and ethnic memberships) and personal identities (unique attributes) are formed via symbolic communication with others.
2. Individuals in all cultures or ethnic groups have basic motivation needs for identity security, inclusion, predictability, connection, and consistency on both group-based and person-based identity levels. However, too much emotional security will lead to rigid ethnocentrism, and on the converse side, too much emotional insecurity (or vulnerability) will lead to fear of outgroups or strangers. The same underlying principle applies to identity inclusion, predictability, connection, and consistency. Thus, an optimal range exists on the various identity negotiation dialectical spectrums.
3. Individuals tend to experience identity emotional security in a culturally familiar environment and identity emotional vulnerability in a culturally unfamiliar environment.
4. Individuals tend to feel included when their desired group membership identities are positively endorsed (e.g., in positive ingroup contact situations) and experience differentiation when their desired group membership identities are stigmatized (e.g., in hostile outgroup contact situations).
5. Persons tend to experience interaction predictability when communicating with culturally familiar others and interaction unpredictability when communicating with culturally unfamiliar others. Interaction predictability tends to either lead to further trust (within the optimal level) or become rigidified stereotyped categories (beyond the optimal level). Constant interaction unpredictability tends to lead to either mistrust or negative versus possible positive expectancy violations.
6. Persons tend to desire interpersonal connection via meaningful close relationships (e.g., in close-friendship support situations) and

experience identity autonomy when they experience relationship separations. Meaningful intercultural interpersonal relationships can create additional emotional security and trust in cultural strangers.

7. Persons tend to experience identity consistency in repeated cultural routines in a familiar cultural environment, and they tend to experience identity change (or in the extreme, identity chaos and turmoil) and transformation in a new or unfamiliar cultural environment.
8. Cultural-ethnic, personal, and situational variability dimensions influence the meanings, interpretations, and evaluations of these identity-related themes.
9. Competent identity negotiation processes emphasize the importance of integrating the necessary intercultural identity-based knowledge, mindfulness, and interaction skills to communicate appropriately, effectively, and adaptively with culturally dissimilar others.
10. Satisfactory identity negotiation outcomes include the feeling of being understood, respected, and affirmatively valued.

In an accelerated multicultural/multiracial identity formation, society, race, ethnicity, religion, social class, and culture will become an increasingly integrative or fragmented focal point for identity negotiation and renegotiation. Newly arrived immigrants, refugees, minority members, and biracial/multiracial individuals often need to learn to swing between the various dialectical thematic poles adaptively and creatively in crafting their strategic identity negotiation process depending on relative and summative circumstances.

Identity support strategies such as mindful listening and dialogue, shared empowerment and alliance formation strategies, and constructive identity validation and empathetic inclusion behaviors are some productive identity interaction moves that can promote quality intergroup and interpersonal relationship satisfaction outcomes. Identity rejection behaviors such as mindless attendance and ego-focused monologue, power dominance or patronization, and indifferent attitudes or identity minimization messages can maximize the intergroup distance spectrum. In the recent INT 2013 version, which appeared in the edited volume by Veronica Benet-Martinez, the concept of MIA as part of the competent identity negotiation process and outcome is addressed. The following is a synoptic review of the construct.

A Mindful Identity Attunement Perspective

Drawing from the previous versions and empirical studies based under the INT umbrella, MIA is conceptualized as the intentional development of culture-sensitive knowledge and interpersonal responsiveness concerning cultural membership and personal identity issues in self and others, the cultivation of mindfulness, and the behavioral practice of appropriate, effective, and adaptive communication styles. In the 2005 version of the INT, Ting-Toomey emphasizes the construct of mindfulness as the key link in threading culture-sensitive knowledge with the artful practice of competent communication skills.

The roots of *mindfulness practice* are in the contemplative practices common to both Eastern and Western spiritual traditions. It is, at once, a spiritual, meditative, reflective, psychological, and applied way of intentional living and communicating. As an Eastern Buddhist spiritual practice, *mindfulness* means attending to one's own internal assumptions, arising emotions, intentions, cognitions, attitudes, and behaviors. Mindful reflexivity requires individuals to tune in to their own cultural and personal habitual assumptions in scanning a communication scene. It also means *emptying one's mind-set* and de-cluttering the internal noises so that one can listen with a pure heart. Mindful listening means to listen deeply, with preconceived notions, judgments, and assumptions in check. According to the writings of Buddhist philosophers such as Thich Nhat Hanh in 1991 and 1998 and Jon Kabat-Zinn in 1994, mindfulness means tracking an unfolding communication episode with one-pointed wakefulness and watchfulness. It also means being fully present, attending fully to one's own arising emotions and that of one's intercultural partners.

From a Western psychological standpoint, *mindfulness* means attuning to the other's communication assumptions, attitudes, perspectives, and communication styles. Langer's concept of mindfulness (in 1989 and 1997) includes the following characteristics: (a) learning to see the unfamiliar behaviors presented in the communication situation as novel or fresh, (b) learning to view the interaction situation from multiple viewpoints or angles, (c) learning to attend to the identity negotiation situation and the person in whom one is observing the behavior holistically, and (d) learning to create new categories through which the unfamiliar behavior may be understood. Applying this psychological mindfulness orientation to intercultural interaction situations, the perspective suggests a readiness to shift from an ethnocentric to an ethnorelative frame of reference and the possibility of interpreting events from the other person's cultural frame of reference.

More specifically, in the 1993 classic INT version, *attunement* refers to the conjoint attention to thoughts, feelings, behaviors, and cultural/moral dilemma situations between individuals and groups. Daniel Siegel in 2007 further extended the concept of attunement in connection with mindfulness and argued that attunement refers to the mindful attention of one's individual focus on the internal world of another and that in-the-moment energy enables both individuals to *feel felt* by each other. Following the 1999 INT framework, David Thomas in 2006 defined the concept of mindfulness as the metacognitive strategy that links knowledge with behavioral flexibility. Thus, MIA means the heightened awareness and responsiveness of self-identity and other-identity issues in a cultural situation. *Mindfulness* is introspective attunement with the self and being transparent about the self's intentions, motivations, sociocultural identity, and personal identity security/vulnerability issues. Mindfulness is also about an interpersonal attunement reaching-out process in connection with the culturally dissimilar other and offering her or him undivided attention, acceptance, and identity affirmation.

In casting the concept of intercultural competence from the MIA lens, to the extent that both communicators perceive that the desired identities (on both sociocultural membership and personal identity levels) have been mindfully understood, are accorded due respect, and are affirmatively supported, the parties involved should experience an optimal sense of identity satisfaction. To the extent that one or both communicators perceive that the desired identities have been mindlessly bypassed, misunderstood, and/or insulted, the parties involved should experience a low sense of identity satisfaction. Mutual identity satisfaction together with effective task performance is viewed as part of an identity-based competent intercultural negotiation outcome.

According to the identity integrated threat theory developed by Walter Stephan and Cookie Stephan in 2001, to move along productively on effective task performance and manage intergroup identity threats constructively, polarized cultural members can practice the following: (a) gaining accurate knowledge of major cultural value difference dimensions to enhance mutual understanding and decrease ignorance, (b) promoting information about overriding human values (e.g., family security, respect, and compassion) common to all cultures to decrease prejudice about outgroup members, (c) pursuing accurate data concerning the exaggerated nature of people's beliefs about the scarcity of resources in a conflict situation, (d) creating or developing superordinate identities so that both cultural groups can realize the connected humanistic souls that exist between them, and (e) reminding people of the multiple social categories or the overlapping circles to which they belong.

Additionally, setting up opportunities for two or more identity groups to engage in cooperative learning patterns (e.g., intergroup team-building activities) would help both groups see the *human face* beyond the broad stereotypic group membership identity labels. More important, both groups should be able to experience some forward movement in interdependent contributions to the problem-solving task outcome. A cooperative learning approach also includes building in semistructured time to promote personalized friendships and a mutual sharing process between the members. Last, the intergroup contact process should be strongly supported by key authority figures or change agents in the organization or the community and, hopefully, with adequate resource funds. In these cooperative settings, the *positive goal of interdependence* between cultural/ethnic groups has been identified as the key causal factor in accomplishing positive interpersonal relationships and achievement outcomes.

A Mindful Identity Transformation Journey: Process and Outcome

The cultivation of MIA is viewed as a developmental trial-and-error stumbling and relearning process across time. To engage in a meaningful identity change process, individuals need to transform their habitual ways of thinking, seeing, reflecting, and deciding. In committing to transform the source of their initial awareness, mindful communicators need to intentionally examine the grounded assumptions and premises that drive their cultural partners' meaning-making and meaning-sensing process, within the embedded historical and immediate cultural contexts. They can also use some critical reflective questions to guide their transformative *U* learning process, as suggested by Beth Fisher-Yoshida in 2005 and Jack Mezirow in 2000.

For example, if an individual's intercultural conflict partner was using *silence* or indirect response to every question asked during the interactive negotiation phase, the mindful transformative questions that the individual can process internally are the following. First, what are the individual's cultural and personal assessments about the use of *silence* in this particular conflict interaction scene? (a content reflection question). Second, why do individuals form such assessments, and what are the sources of the assessments? (a process critical reflection question). Third, what are the underlying assumptions or values that drive the evaluative assessments? (a premise value question). Fourth, how do individuals know that these are relevant or valid in this conflict context? (a premise self-challenge question). Fifth, what reasons might individuals have for maintaining or changing their underlying conflict premises? (an identity transformation question). Sixth, how should one shift cultural or personal premises into a direction that promotes deeper intercultural intergroup understanding? (a mind-set transformation question). Seventh, how should one behaviorally swing adaptively to the other person's preferred conflict competence responses to facilitate a productive, mutual-interest outcome? (a behavioral transformation question). The first three questions are based on Fisher-Yoshida's work in 2005 concerning the importance of engaging in deeper double-loop thinking in analyzing the role of the self in a conflict context. The last four questions are an extension of Ting-Toomey's mindful identity negotiation work in 1999. Concurrently, these questions can also be extended to include one's cultural partner's viewpoint in terms of his or her lens in viewing the ongoing intercultural communication episode.

Overall, the MIA communicator is a creative and flexible individual performing multiple *U*-swing loops in learning to let go of some of the previously ingrained cultural habits and recrystallize some of the newfound knowledge repertoires into her or his mind-scape and eye-scape. Mindful reflexivity means digging deep into one's own retina to truly understand why one sees what one sees and realizing that the other person does not actually see what the other sees and what is valued. MIA is allowing oneself to have some genuine "aha!" moments in making the effort and commitment to see things from the other cultural partner's lens, inventiveness, and visualization.

Stella Ting-Toomey

See also Ethnic Cultural Identity Model; Facework/Facework Negotiation Theory; Identity and Intergroup Communication; Identity Management Theory; Intercultural Intimate Relationships; Mindfulness

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Individualism and Collectivism

In the fields related to intercultural communication, the most used (and at times overused) construct or dimension for comparing and contrasting cultures has been individualism and collectivism (IND/COL). IND/COL primarily concerns how people see themselves in relation to the social groupings or structures around them. In social structures where individuals take precedence over groups and the ties between people are loose, individualism is usually the priority, such that each person is expected to look after himself or herself (or his or her immediate family). In contrast, in collectivist cultures, where the group takes precedence over individuals and social systems are tighter, people are guided from birth to be an active, contributing part of clearly defined ingroups; variations of collectivism influence people to consider how their mutual sacrifices, loyalty, or shared efforts contribute to the protection, maintenance, well-being, or advancement of the group.

Since the beginning of cross-cultural studies, differences along the IND/COL dimension have illuminated contrasts in communication in different societies, as individualists rely more on person-based information whereas collectivists rely on group-based information. Across a wide range of disciplines, IND/COL is often considered the most influential explanation for how people in different societies think, function, or relate. This entry describes IND/COL's historical conceptualization, defining features, and operationalization; low- and high-context communication as a function of IND/COL; the relationship between IND/COL and individual communication; the dimension's contribution to intercultural competence research and training; major critiques of IND/COL scholarship; and directions for future research.

Historical Conceptualization

IND/COL as an aspect of individual and/or social orientation appeared in the comparative work of sociologists as early as Ferdinand Tönnies, who suggested that there were two types of social order: (1) those oriented toward traditional, rule-ordered group associations (*Gemeinschaft*, or "bonds to community") and (2) those oriented toward more modern, calculated, and rational self-interest associations (*Gesellschaft*, or "the individualized, institutionalized, or industrialized society"). This conceptualization continues to appear or be revived in various strands of comparative culture research.

The specific terms *individualism* and *collectivism*, which inter- or cross-cultural scholars adopted, were first codified in the five broad social pattern dichotomies that Talcott Parsons identified. *Parsons pattern variables* were conceptualized in his edited book *Toward a General Theory of Action*, and one of the five schemas contrasted *collectivity* with *individual orientation*.

Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn and their Harvard Values Project team in the late 1950s built on these patterns and proposed *value orientations* as an even broader set of ideas that are universally present but differentially conceptualized, expressed, and preferred across cultures. They proposed five basic human problems and a range of alternatives for each. Among them was *social orientation*, which included hierarchical, collateral, and individualism as the range (published after Clyde's death by his wife and Fred Strodtbeck as *Variations of Value Orientations*).

But it was not until Geert Hofstede's groundbreaking research with a large multinational cultural sample that *individualism* and *collectivism* as opposite poles of a statistical dimension were conclusively shown to account for a major amount of variance across cultures. Hofstede's *Culture's Consequences*, published in 1980, impressed the social science world with its massive sample that included 40 nations and regions and statistical correlations of each of his initial four dimensions to a wide range of national economic, political, and social data. His four-dimensional model was later updated to five and, since 2010, to six dimensions. It ushered in a new world of statistical cross-cultural studies that sought to link diverse aspects of national cultural behavior to differences in country-level *value dimensions*. The most frequently examined dimension was IND/COL.

In preparing explanations for his original data set, Hofstede found that his first factor regarding social orientation accounted for an extremely large amount of the data, and it was only on further analysis that he split the closely corresponding dimension of high/low power distance from the IND/COL one. In effect, this demarcation teased out the two concepts somewhat clouded in the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck range, for example, personal social orientation and power orientation. Hofstede's seminal work and its later iterations provided specific index scores ultimately for more than 70 countries and became a sourcebook for a massive reexamination and reinterpretation of cross-cultural data. Intercultural communication scholars like William Gudykunst, Stella Ting-Toomey, and Young Yun Kim incorporated Hofstede's four dimensions into their theorizing about interpersonal and intercultural communication.

Concurrently, Harry Triandis and associates were analyzing variations of IND/COL and identified vertical and horizontal domains, yielding four broad value orientations. In general, people from vertical cultures seek to stand out, whereas people from horizontal cultures avoid standing out. Vertical individualism stresses achievement and competition. Horizontal individualism emphasizes uniqueness without standing out. Horizontal collectivism stresses cooperation, and vertical collectivism underscores doing one's duty and conformity to authorities. Some scholarship continues to note these distinctions.

More recently, Marilynn Brewer and associates broke collectivism into two types: relational and group. They fine-tuned the dimension by examining the self, the agency, and values against individualism and two types of collectivism, resulting in nine constructs. Depending on different domains of social life, one construct tends to be more predominant than others. For example, relational collectivism becomes salient when cooperation within work groups is highlighted. Group collectivism is emphasized in employees' organizational citizenship. The work of those collaborating with Brewer continues to fine-tune these constructs across a wide range of individualist, group, and collective motivational or behavioral contexts, addressing some of the critiques often leveled at the overgeneralization, polarization, and extensively broad applications of IND/COL.

Defining Features

As intercultural research has shifted from value dispositions to identity orientations, individualism basically emphasizes the priority given to an individual's identity over any related group identity, an individual's sense of rights over the promotion of group rights, and individual needs over group needs. In contrast, collectivism reverses these and emphasizes one's sense of group over the individual, the shared aspects of *We* identities over any specific *I* identity, group orientation and corresponding allegiances and obligations over individual autonomy and rights, and ingroup-oriented goals and needs over individual wants and desires.

Thus, in collectivist cultures, social norms, obligations, and duties play a more important role than individual attitudes or goals in guiding people's behavior. In individualist cultures, attitudes and personal needs and rights tend to be more important than norms and duties in guiding people's behavior. In collectivist cultures, people remain in unpleasant groups or relationships because communal relationships are common and are considered necessary for survival or advancement.

In individualist cultures, people distance themselves from unpleasant relationships more quickly.

Such societal value dispositions also affect the feature of ingroup/outgroup distinctions. Compared with individualists, collectivists tend to draw sharper distinctions between ingroups and outgroups. Thus, particularism is common in collectivist cultures (responding in differential ways depending on which group one is relating to), and universalism is common in individualist cultures (seeking to be consistent in behavior with all people in the name of equality, regardless of their group affiliation).

Triandis and associates isolated factors such as ecology, family structure, distribution of wealth, situational conditions, and demographics as antecedents of individualist and collectivist value orientations. In both Hofstede's and Triandis's analyses, typical individualist countries include Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. Frequently noted collectivist countries include Brazil, China, Colombia, Egypt, Greece, India, Japan, Kenya, Korea, Mexico, Nigeria, Panama, Pakistan, Peru, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, Venezuela, and Vietnam. Though these designations have appeared in the literature, it is important to note, however, that as a universal/etic framework, IND/COL is a construct of high abstraction. To gain a deeper understanding of specific cultures, emic data are needed.

Operationalizing the Construct

Since Hofstede's first labeling of the IND/COL dimension in 1980, there have been numerous efforts to operationalize the construct. Gudykunst developed early scales for the measurement of IND/COL that were used for correlations in his many projects, as well as those of Ting-Toomey and other intercultural scholars. Triandis worked with many associates on the multidimensionality of IND/COL at the culture level. For example, Theodore M. Singelis, Triandis, and others advanced a refined scale of horizontal and vertical dimensions of IND/COL that contains 32 items. Triandis and Michele J. Gelfand later put forward a 16-item *converged measurement* (also known as the Culture Orientation Scale) to measure their four dimensions of IND/COL. Representative items include the following: "I'd rather depend on myself than on others" (horizontal individualism); "It is important that I do my job better than others" (vertical individualism); "If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud" (horizontal collectivism); and "It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want" (vertical collectivism). Researchers worldwide continue to strive to develop more nuanced and appropriate scales or interpretations of variations of IND/COL.

Low- and High-Context Communication and IND/COL

In addition to differentiating cultures (most often at the national level), the IND/COL dimension has been useful in explaining, predicting, or correlating to other noted communication patterns across cultures. Research has consistently shown that the low- and high-context communication systems proposed by Edward T. Hall correspond to individualist and collectivist cultures, respectively, although it is also widely recognized that no culture exclusively operates at either extreme of the context continuum. According to intercultural scholars like Ting-Toomey, low-context communication encompasses communication patterns based on linear logic; overt, direct, verbal interaction; and negotiation styles focused primarily on the intent and desired responses of the sender. High-context communication encompasses communication patterns that involve circular or indirect logic; subtle, indirect, mediated interaction; and negotiation modes that are more prone to be sensitive to the nuanced intentions, nonverbal cues, or other inferred responses of the receiver (or his or her group), the communicative situation, or expectations of what is appropriate. Therefore, people from individualist cultures tend to focus more on self-expression and be more talk inclined, affect oriented, and motivated to gain affection, enjoyment, and satisfying inclusion through interpersonal interaction. In contrast, people from collectivist cultures tend to focus more on specific situational norms and pay more attention to the other's expectations, behavior, status, and face.

Linking IND/COL to Individual Communication

To bridge the link between culture and communication, it is important to realize that not all people from individualist cultures are individualists and not all people from collectivist cultures are collectivists. How people communicate largely depends on how much they have internalized cultural values and how much cultures have taught them how to view themselves.

Gudykunst and Kim argued that the impact of culture-level IND/COL on individual communication is twofold. On the one hand, these broad value orientations are embedded in cultural norms and rules that influence communication. On the other hand, through individual socialization, these cultural orientations are differentially internalized, resulting in different personality orientations, personal value preferences, and self-concepts. In terms of personality orientations, idiocentrism and allocentrism are a function of cultural IND/COL, respectively. Schwartz describes personal value preferences, where individualists tend to value stimulation, hedonism, power, and self-direction whereas collectivists tend to value tradition, conformity, and benevolence. In terms of self-concepts, the independent and interdependent self-construals proposed by Hazel Rose Markus and Shinobu Kitayama are a manifestation of IND/COL.

Emphasis on an independent self-construal is often associated with uniqueness, self-expressions, self-realization, self-promotion, and directness. Emphasis on interdependent self-construals is often associated with fitting in, finding one's right place, engaging in appropriate actions, other promotion, and indirectness. Although self-construals can be situation dependent, the frequency of using one particular self-construal differs across cultures. In general, compared with culture-level IND/COL and personal value preferences, independent and interdependent self-construals are a better predictor of communication styles.

Implications for Intercultural Competence Research and Training

The cultural dimension of IND/COL and its various individual-level expressions have significant consequences on a wide range of domains of human life, such as attributions, emotions, cognitions, social behaviors, language and communication, group processes, leadership, and conflict and negotiation. Cultural differences in these domains all exert influence on intercultural communication and adjustment. Familiarity with cultural differences in communication patterns along the IND/COL continuum contributes greatly to intercultural competence.

For those involved in delivering or receiving cross-cultural training, it is important to note that whenever individualists prepare to interact with a collectivist culture, they need to become more aware of the perceptions of group membership that the people they interact with consider to be meaningful and important in their culture. They also need to pay attention to how ingroup and outgroup memberships are defined and to the different expectations held toward each. Similarly, communication attitudes like *sincerity* may not be defined as *verbal honesty*, as in an individual-oriented culture, but rather as *loyalty* even to the point of being willing to tell a white lie in order to protect a relationship. Nonverbal messages will likely also be considered more important, and markers of identity and status will likely be attended to. Before any significant interpersonal bonds can be formed or deals made, indirect ways of showing oneself to be a worthy counterpart and taking time to build a trust relationship are usually needed.

Conversely, when those from collectivistic cultures interact with individualists, they should seek to pay less attention to group identities and consider their counterpart's unique qualities or abilities and personal achievements or potential. They should realize that verbal *truth* is important, try to express their ideas more directly, and worry less about giving or saving the other's face, enhancing their status, or playing up to role expectations. It is important to remember that their statements will likely be taken at face value, so any indirect or implied messages will likely not be readily received. Though the interaction may feel uncomfortably explicit or task focused, this more direct style is not meant to offend but just to be efficient.

These types of behavioral adjustments can be achieved if the communicators are adequately trained. As early as the 1970s, drawing on the initial knowledge of IND/COL obtained from Triandis's analysis of subjective culture, *cultural assimilator* (sometimes called *cultural sensitizer*) training programs were developed, focusing on important qualitative content, situational cues, and specific attributions arising in contrasting cultures. A wide range of interactive culture episodes were developed and employed, with an emphasis on both general and specific cultural do's and don'ts. More recently, scholars such as Dharm Bhawuk have refined those assimilators and critical incidents on the basis of defining attributes of IND/COL and the horizontal and vertical aspects of the dimension. These programs have been framed within a coherent theoretical framework, allowing trainees to move beyond superficial understandings of cultural differences to delve into the core aspects of culture and communication.

The dimension of IND/COL is also particularly useful in understanding cross-cultural differences in conflict management. Research indicates that in collectivist cultures, people prefer harmony within their ingroup and view conflict with outgroups as natural, while in individualist cultures, people view confrontation and debate within familiar circles (some type of ingroup) as normal but do not expect much conflict with outgroups and in fact may avoid public disagreements based on perceptions of universals. According to Ting-Toomey, because of the divergent preferences of the *I* and *We* identities and self-face and mutual-face maintenance between these two contrastive cultural systems, individualist communicators are more prone to use competitive or control-oriented conflict styles, while collectivists prefer to revert to integrative or compromising conflict styles.

Major Critiques

Despite their wide use, the concepts of IND/COL have not been without their critics. Some scholars have questioned their theoretical and methodological assumptions, arguing that equating culture to nation-states and quantifying *culture* using abstract values are too simplistic. Mean country scores like those in Hofstede's work are taken to suggest either a misleading *typical citizen* representation or claims for predictable explanations of variance between cultures (despite Hofstede's admonition to beware of the *ecological fallacy*, i.e., that individual behavior can be accounted for using a culture-level theory).

Other scholars challenge the IND/COL continuum and consider it to be two dimensions. Though the range across both of these domains shows similar implications at their end points, some studies suggest that they should not be conflated into one *dimension*. In one study, IND/COL was measured separately, and it was found that Indian culture is both more collectivist and more individualistic than American culture. This finding suggests that the two broad value orientations may not be located on a continuum.

Through his extensive a priori and large-scale, country-by-country values research program, Schwartz identified similar constructs, using *autonomy* and *embeddedness* as his two operative terms. His more than 70 national data sets show that when organized in a circular fashion in sequence with other closely related values, some levels of coexistence of these conflicting values can be found within each culture sample, though *autonomy* and *embeddeness* locate opposite to each other. Ongoing research shows that though there are some associations to IND/COL, his terms include different nuances and tap into more consistently rated and less generalized concepts.

The utility of the broad, stable cultural dimension of IND/COL is further questioned when specific domains of these concepts are examined. In a major metareview of the IND/COL enterprise, Daphna Oyserman and associates observed many inconsistencies regarding assumed national characteristics. Though Japan is often considered a classic collectivist culture and the United States an individualist one, comparative data show that in most domains Americans are more collectivistic than Japanese. When European Americans were compared with groups from other countries, similar results occurred, suggesting that differences in IND/COL largely depend on which specific domain of each is being assessed. Thus, the assumed cultural coherence among a nation's people, on which much of the cultural dimension research has been based, is not empirically confirmed in more careful studies.

Some scholars critique the constructs from the standpoint of observer status by challenging the legitimacy of researchers' outsider position in studying cultures. The etic approach is often criticized for its inherent scientific ethnocentrism (mainly Euro-American). Theories and frameworks that are claimed as universal may have a Euro-American bias. Some scholars suggest that individualism probably makes intuitive sense to U.S. Americans and Western Europeans because it is an incantation of features (even if confused or conflated) that people from those cultures (including much of the research community) broadly recognize as their own preferences, assumed social reality, or accepted ideology. Collectivism makes similar sense in defining *that which we are not*, an antithetical representation of the *other* and of assumed differences in other parts of the world that can best be explained in terms of what is in contrast to oneself.

Still others examine the concepts from a philosophical or ideological point of view. For example, Adrian R. Holliday views Hofstede's cultural dimensions (including IND/COL) as neo-essentialist. There is an increasing trend among cultural anthropological and critical cultural studies to debunk the grand theories of structural functionalism and their universalist, essentialist models of culture. Though Parsons's formal structuralism has been discarded, much of social science is guided by neo-essentialism and implies that national social structures (culture) influence values and behaviors in researchable, comparative, and predictable ways (sophisticated stereotypes). Scholars like Holliday argue that this positivist, a priori cultural schema continues to dominate much of today's work in intercultural communication and suggest that approaches that better consider history, ideology, and specific groups or contexts need to be more adequately considered.

Latest Research Developments and Directions for Future Research

Since the 1990s, research on IND/COL has gone hand in hand with social cognition research. The seminal work of Markus and Kitayama on independent and interdependent self-construals noted above marked the entry of IND/COL research into mainstream social psychology (fitting its predisposition for empirical personality and attitude research), thereby exerting a parallel influence on intercultural communication research.

One important direction of social cognition–oriented research is priming IND/COL in experimental settings. Numerous IND/COL priming studies indicate that these constructs have consistent and reliable effects across different samples and types of primes on associated domains like values, self-concept, cognition, and relationality. In other words, when representations of *individualism* are used as the prime, individualist tendencies are indicated more strongly and collectivist tendencies become weaker. In contrast, when *collectivism* is primed, collectivist tendencies become stronger and individualist tendencies become weaker. These findings pose a challenge to the traditional and rather deterministic assumption that culture influences behavior with some degree of predictability, and they call for a serious consideration of the situated-ness and human agency in IND/COL's behavioral consequences.

Considering the fact that the dimension of IND/COL consists of specific domains and that its impact on individual behavior is context dependent, future research should move beyond the mere description of a given culture as individualist or collectivist to consider more specific questions such as the following: Does individualism mean the same thing in Culture A and Culture B? In what specific domains of the culture are cultural members individualist in their value orientation? How is their individualism manifested in those domains? How do situational constraints mediate the practice of their individualism?

To answer these questions, a domain-specific, situation-dependent approach may be necessary in future research. Cultural comparisons and contrasts need first to center on specific domains of IND/COL in their emic settings. These aspects can then be examined and compared further in various life domains, such as work, politics, religion, education, family life, and entertainment.

Another distinctive feature of this new approach is its emphasis on situational constraints on value-related variables. To theorize this, some scholars treat value orientations as cultural knowledge, and their behavioral consequences are examined in terms of how this knowledge is activated and applied. Others have sought to connect values with situations through decision-making valuation. Research shows that only a few values will be activated and then valuated whenever an individual faces the quandary of action-related decisions. This line of research builds on the situational assessment and resulting activation of the values that might cause costs or bring rewards. Such research also assesses the trade-off importance attributed to related values. Steve J. Kulich's summary of value research notes how some scholars look at sacred or taboo values and how they fit into a range of social relationship preferences or styles (e.g., Fiske's integrated circle of four relationship patterns: authority ranking, communal sharing, equity matching, and market pricing) and that similar work is needed to test how IND/COL is reflected in David Kolb's circle of learning styles across cultures, or other circumplex models of cross-cultural constructs. Such experimental and interactive approaches to value choice, value behavior, and value relationship dynamics show great potential for reducing the past generalities on IND/COL and for moving the field toward more realistic assessments of the degrees of hybridity, situational variation, and domain-specific social preferences across cultures.

Liping Weng

See also Cultural Studies; Culture Specific/Culture General; Facework/Facework Negotiation Theory; High-Context and Low-Context Communication; Ingroup/Outgroup; Meta-Ethical Contextual Position; Value Dimensions: Hofstede; Value Dimensions: Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck Value Orientations

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Ingroup/Outgroup

This entry tells a fascinating story that could not have been told until very recently because the overwhelming majority of the research on which it is based was done in the past 5 to 10 years. A review of these studies indicates that a wide variety of basic social psychological processes have a negative impact on intergroup and intercultural cognitions, affect, and behavior. The entry discusses the research that identifies the patterns of bias, influenced by a wide variety of contexts and factors, describing the research related to cognitive, affective, and behavioral causes of bias and prejudice as well as the perspectives for addressing these socially destructive perceptions.

The entry focuses almost exclusively on nonconscious biases toward outgroups. In nearly all cases, if people were asked if they would display these types of biases, they would deny it because, unlike intentional discrimination and overt negative attitudes such as prejudice, these biases are not consciously intended. Fortunately, research indicates that these implicit biases can be brought into awareness and counteracted with carefully designed interventions.

Here, two caveats are in order. Most of the research on these biases has been conducted in Western countries, and the extent to which these findings apply to other cultures is not known at this time. One of the tasks of future cross-cultural researchers will be to determine if these biases are themselves influenced by culture. It is also important to note that individual differences exist in all the ingroup/outgroup biases reported here. Thus, not all members of a given group will display these biases, although even the people who do not display them will benefit from understanding that many members of their own group will display biases and that outgroup members are likely to direct their biases toward the ingroup. One additional note: Elsewhere, it has been advocated that intercultural training programs should move toward being evidence based. In pursuit of this goal, nearly every statement made in this article is based on empirical research.

Basic Categorization Processes

Humans are inveterate categorizers. It is one of the primary ways in which we make sense of the world. Labeling objects, events, or states of being enables us to communicate about them verbally; differentiate them from other objects, events, or feelings; study them; and write about them, as in the case of this entry. In particular, humans categorize people with a vengeance. The distinctions made between groups of people can be useful, particularly when they apply to actual, verifiable differences that characterize these groups—such as sexual dimorphism.

The problems with categorizing people arise because the very process of dividing people into groups creates biases. People have a powerful tendency to establish positive and distinct social identities. In the service of these goals, people tend to accentuate the differences between groups and perceive outgroups to be more homogeneous than ingroups. Outgroups are also assumed to be dissimilar from ingroups, usually in ways that allow ingroup members to perceive themselves favorably. For example, differences in core values between the ingroup and the outgroup tend to be exaggerated, and the ingroup is perceived to have superior values.

Research has shown that the mere division of people into social groups leads to favoritism toward the ingroup. This bias occurs even when the distinctions between the groups are totally meaningless, such as the distinction between people who over- or underestimate the number of dots on a projected image. People favor the ingroup when distributing awards and consistently evaluate ingroup members more favorably than outgroup members.

Another well-established bias that results from categorizing people into groups is that people overgeneralize about the characteristics, especially the negative traits, of the outgroup. That is, they stereotype. One cognitive process contributing to the creation of stereotypes is the *ultimate attribution error*. This bias involves attributing the negative behaviors of outgroup members to internal factors, such as personality traits, while attributing their positive behaviors to external factors, such as situational pressures. Even when outgroup members give people mitigating explanations for negative acts, this information does not change the internal attributions made for these acts.

Moreover, when presented with information about the causes of others' behavior, people *remember* best the negative behaviors of outgroup members that have been attributed to internal factors and the positive behaviors of outgroup members that have been attributed to external factors. In related studies, it has been found that members of high-status societal groups attribute the disadvantages suffered by low-status groups, such as poverty, to internal traits, such as their laziness and moral failings. Furthermore, the flaws and failings of ingroup members are dismissed by attributing them to "human nature" to a greater degree than when they are displayed by outgroup members.

To make matters worse, once acquired, stereotypes are difficult to change because people process and retain information that confirms their expectations about outgroups better than information that disconfirms their expectancies. Also, when people interact with others, they ask questions of outgroup and ingroup members in ways that tend to confirm the negative traits of outgroup members and the positive traits of ingroup members. In addition, people report that it would take more counterstereotypic information to change their stereotypes of outgroup members than of ingroup members.

Favoring the ingroup and stereotyping the outgroups are only the beginning of the problems created by distinguishing between groups of people. Many people who are not overtly prejudiced against outgroups are, nonetheless, biased toward them in a more subtle way. For instance, 75% of White Americans have an implicit racial bias, an unconscious, automatic bias that favors Whites over Blacks. The Implicit Association Test reveals that Blacks are more closely associated with negative words whereas the opposite is true for Whites. These biases are due to the fact that Americans are socialized into a culture that has historically devalued Blacks. Similar biases occur for other devalued social outgroups, and there is no reason to think that they not are found in relations between cultural groups. However, there is an important caveat to report about this type of implicit prejudice. Sadly, because members of disadvantaged groups are also socialized into cultures that devalue their group, they sometimes display a bias that favors more powerful outgroups rather than their own ingroup. For example, a substantial number of Blacks display the same bias against Blacks as do Whites. In addition to these basic cognitive processes that result from categorizing people into groups, many other cognitive, affective, and behavior biases characterize intergroup and intercultural relations.

Ingroup/Outgroup Biases

Cognitive Biases

A variety of perceptual and cognitive biases cast outgroup members in a negative light. For example, ingroup members inflate the qualifications of ingroup "candidates" to justify choosing them over outgroup "candidates" in simulated job selection or college admission tasks. In addition, anonymous individual ingroup members are judged to be better than the average ingroup member, but anonymous individual outgroup members are judged to be worse than the average outgroup member.

The ultimate attribution error is perhaps at its most problematic with respect to violent and criminal behavior. Outgroup members are perceived as more aggressive following a harmful act than ingroup members. Likewise, ingroup members regard outgroup members as more responsible for an observed criminal act than members of their own group. Even more chilling, acts considered to be torture by outgroups are less likely to be considered torture when committed by ingroup members.

People also have distorted perceptions of outgroup members' intentions and perceptions. People say that members of their own group want to have contact with outgroup members more than outgroup members want to have contact with them. Not surprisingly, people also expect outgroup members to be biased in favor of their own group. In addition, people have been found to believe that their own country has generated greater cultural and technological achievements than other cultures. Similarly, people believe that the ingroup is more creative than the outgroup. In addition, ingroup members believe that members of their group understand the outgroup better than vice versa. Ingroup members are perceived to smile more than outgroup members, whereas outgroup members are perceived as displaying anger more frequently than ingroup members. People also expect disputes with outgroup members to be more difficult to resolve than disputes with ingroup members. Moreover, people are better at remembering the faces of ingroup than of outgroup members. This ingroup memory advantage is based, in part, on having more contact with ingroup than with outgroup members.

Perhaps the most dangerous bias is that outgroup members are dehumanized; they are seen as less human than ingroup members. For instance, outgroup members are perceived as being incapable of feeling the full range of human emotions experienced by ingroup members. Ingroups are also considered to be more moral than outgroups. Importantly, outgroup members are believed to experience less pain than ingroup members when they are injured. Similarly, social pain, such as humiliation or rejection, is perceived to cause less suffering in outgroup than in ingroup members. Research also indicates that ingroup members are less concerned about the loss of outgroup members' lives than they are about the loss of ingroup members' lives.

Affect-Related Biases

A variety of affect-related biases have also been found. The lack of sympathetic feelings toward outgroups noted above may be caused in part by the fact that people empathize less with outgroup than with ingroup members. Studies have also shown that people experience more anxiety when interacting, or even anticipating interacting, with outgroup than with ingroup members, but they may remain unaware of it.

Behavioral Biases

People often respond differently to outgroup compared with ingroup members. For instance, ingroup members respond more negatively to criticism by outgroup than by ingroup members. One of the most dramatic demonstrations of ingroup/outgroup behavioral bias is called the *shooter bias*. In a video format, individuals mistakenly "shoot" unarmed Blacks more frequently and quickly than similarly unarmed Whites. This effect has also been found when Americans are faced with targets wearing a turban or a hijab, and it even occurs when the ingroup and outgroup distinction is totally artificial.

In other contexts, people spend less time evaluating outgroup than ingroup members when forming impressions. In addition, jurors in mock jury trials are biased against outgroup members who do not speak the language of the ingroup. Moreover, physicians have been found to be more likely to recommend optimal treatments for Whites than for Blacks. When people feel anxious or threatened by outgroups, research indicates that this emotion lowers the quality of intergroup communications, leads to avoidance and distancing from outgroup members, and increases conformity to ingroup norms.

Reducing Ingroup/Outgroup Biases

When it comes to intergroup and intercultural relations, people cannot see straight, they cannot think straight, their emotional responses are slanted toward negative affect, and they are also predisposed to act in negative ways. For the most part, people are unaware of their own biases and the influence they have on their own behavior. The good news is that research indicates that people can overcome many of these biases. The following sections of this entry will review a set of psychological processes that have been found to reduce nonconscious biases.

Contact

Just as intergroup contact is one of the most powerful tools to reduce overt prejudice, it has also been found to be effective in reducing nonconscious biases. For example, some of the same conditions specified in Gordon Allport's contact hypothesis that reduce overt prejudice—equal status, personal contact involving interdependence, and opportunities to identify with a common ingroup—also reduce ingroup/outgroup bias. One study found that cooperative contact with typical outgroup members that involves self-disclosure reduces ingroup/outgroup bias. Cooperative contact with outgroup members also decreased implicit prejudice. Furthermore, a successful negotiation with outgroup members reduces ingroup/outgroup bias.

Intergroup anxiety can be reduced by a brief sojourn in a foreign culture or by having a college roommate from a different race. Extended contact that involved hosting foreign exchange students reduced ingroup/outgroup attributional biases in the host families. In addition, self-reported cross-race contact is related to lower levels of facial recognition bias. Even imagining interaction with an outgroup member can decrease ingroup/outgroup bias, in this case through reductions in intergroup anxiety. Intergroup contact most likely reduces implicit biases because it creates empathy, reduces intergroup anxiety, provides information about outgroups, individuates outgroup members, and creates positive affect toward outgroup members.

Motivation to Control Prejudice

Implicit prejudice can be reduced either by appealing to the egalitarianism of people who value equality or by encouraging people to avoid appearing prejudiced. Implicit bias can also be reduced through a combination of awareness of implicit bias, concern about the effects of that bias, and acquisition of strategies to reduce bias. Furthermore, internal motivation to avoid bias undercuts implicit bias. Similarly, the motivation to be fair-minded reduces ingroup/outgroup bias. In addition, an intention to implement counterstereotypic thoughts when encountering outgroup members reduces ingroup/outgroup biases. It has also been found that people motivated to control expressions of prejudice give more lenient feedback to outgroup members than those who lack this motivation. When outgroup members are presented in a threatening context, people who are high in motivation to control their prejudices actually display a preference for outgroup members, because they exert control over the ordinarily negative, affective responses to the outgroup.

Shooter task biases can be reduced by distraction-inhibiting implementation intentions—encouraging people to employ strategies that help them to not be distracted by the social category of the person depicted in the video and to think of them only as people. Motivation to control prejudice eliminates the augmented racial bias in the shooter task that would otherwise occur when cognitive resources have been depleted on unrelated tasks. People more accurately recognize the presence of guns in the shooter effect paradigm when the context itself is presented as threatening, apparently because participants are then alerted to be vigilant for danger cues, such as guns. Biases similar to the shooter bias can also be eliminated through feedback-providing information on mistaken associations between a stereotyped group and objects related to that stereotype. This reduction in bias is especially marked among those high in internal motivation to respond without prejudice. Thus, when motivated to do so, people can implement strategies that enable them to avoid otherwise implicit biases. In particular, people who are motivated to avoid being seen as prejudiced are better able to detect their own biased associations and to reduce the activation of these biased associations in the first place. The task of intercultural trainers is to find ways of motivating people to be concerned about being biased toward people from other cultures.

Categorization-Related Processes

Because categorization plays such an important role in creating ingroup/outgroup bias, it has been the topic of a substantial number of studies examining ways to counteract its effects. For example, it has been shown that creating or activating a common ingroup identity between two social groups reduces intergroup bias. A 9-week electronic intergroup contact program stressing dual identities reduced intergroup bias due to reductions in intergroup anxiety. Another approach, *cross-categorization*, takes place when members of the ingroup (e.g., a racial or cultural group) find that they belong to the same group as the outgroup on another (e.g., religion). Cross-categorization eliminates ingroup/outgroup bias when the second dimension is an important one. Creating common ingroups and cross categorization reduce implicit biases by taking advantage of the basic biases activated by categorization to create allegiances to more encompassing social groups or to blur the distinctions among social categories by activating multiple allegiances.

Social Influence

The attitudes of other ingroup members toward intercultural relations can reduce ingroup/outgroup bias. One study found that the presence of other ingroup members reduces ingroup/outgroup implicit attitude bias apparently because they activate egalitarian goals. Another study showed that being potentially accountable to one's classmates for one's ethnic attitudes reduced ingroup/outgroup bias in 8- to 9-year-olds who were low in social emotions or empathy. Also, knowing that a consensus of ingroup members holds favorable views of an outgroup decreases ingroup/outgroup bias. In addition, friends' support of intergroup contact eliminates the ingroup/outgroup bias in explanations for avoidance of intergroup contact. The attitudes of others have an impact on ingroup/outgroup biases because people generally wish to avoid the censure and disapproval of ingroup members.

Cognitive Processes

Increasing perceived outgroup *heterogeneity* and ingroup *homogeneity* reduces ingroup/outgroup bias. Presenting information about both the positive and negative characteristics of an outgroup reduces ingroup/outgroup bias more effectively than presenting only positive information. In addition, training people to make situational attributions for the behavior of outgroup members reduces ingroup/outgroup bias in stereotyping. And in a related study, providing people with information indicating that outgroup members are not to blame for their negative characteristics reduced ingroup/outgroup bias. These studies suggest that information contradicting expectancies about the homogeneity of outgroups or default explanations for their negative characteristics can undermine ingroup/outgroup biases. It is up to intercultural trainers to determine which negative expectations and perceptions need to be addressed and how best to present counterevidence in the situation.

Cognitive techniques that reduce stereotyping have been examined in several studies. Statistical training in understanding the relationship between category membership and personality traits reduces stereotyping. Evaluative conditioning, in which positive words are repeatedly presented following the word "Black" and negative words are similarly presented following the word "White," reduces biased stereotypes and implicit bias. Also, individuating outgroup members decreases stereotyping. Additionally, viewing a video about the architecture, home decorations, apparel, cuisine, entertainment, recreation, music, movies, arts, and literature of another culture reduces stereotyping of that cultural group. It appears that stereotype change is slow because, in so many cases, stereotypes are deeply imprinted during socialization. Intercultural trainers can employ exercises to alert trainees to the negative consequences of stereotypes and teach them to be vigilant in order to avoid their pernicious effects.

Affect-Related Processes

Secure base priming, subliminally priming words associated with close affiliation to others, such as love and support, reduces ingroup/outgroup bias. Activating positive affect also reduces ingroup/outgroup bias as does brief exposure to admired outgroup members. Furthermore, contexts that generate positive affect reduce implicit bias. These techniques probably are effective because they counteract the implicit association of the outgroup with negative affect. Thus, intercultural trainers may wish to create opportunities in order to present a variety of different kinds of positive information about, or interactions with, the members of other cultures in order to decrease stereotyping and implicit biases.

Emotional empathy is another affect-related factor that can reduce ingroup/outgroup biases. Emotional empathy reduces implicit biases and decreases biased attitudes toward outgroup members. Also, one intergroup relations program found that emotional empathy created during a semester-long dialogue was related to reduced individual attributions for poverty. Empathy most likely has these beneficial effects on ingroup/outgroup biases because it humanizes outgroups and creates bonds across group boundaries.

One training program merits special mention because it combined many of the foregoing processes into a 12-week intervention. In this program, college students were taught to employ stereotype replacement, counterstereotype imaging, individuation of outgroup members, perspective taking, and creating opportunities for contact in their daily lives. This intervention reduced implicit bias on the Implicit Association Test, increased participants' awareness of their own biases, and elevated their concern about discrimination.

Finally, research also indicates that some factors related to negative affect increase ingroup/outgroup bias. Intercultural trainers should avoid or minimize intergroup competitions; situations resulting in lowered self-esteem, failure, anxiety, or threat; provoking anger or related negative emotions; or distressing norm violations by the outgroup.

Intercultural trainers have always recognized that nonconscious psychological processes have a negative impact on intercultural interactions. However, in the past, a lack of knowledge of the specific nature of these biases has made them difficult to combat. The studies reviewed provide information on the nature of these biases as well as information on the underlying psychological processes that can be used to counteract them. This research does not provide neatly packaged techniques that can be directly applied to intercultural training programs. The reason is that most of these studies were designed to uncover basic biases in intergroup relations or to test theory-based tools in order to reduce these biases. The challenge for intercultural trainers is to take the available information and tools and transform them into practical exercises that can be used in their particular training contexts.

Walter G. Stephan and Cookie White Stephan

See also Intercultural Training Creativity; Intergroup Contact; Lay Theory of Race; Racism, Institutional; Racism, Interpersonal

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Integrated Threat Theory

Threats are pervasive in intercultural relations. They occur between cultural groups as well as between individual members of different cultures. This entry focuses primarily on individuals' perceptions and feelings of threat to their group and to themselves as members of that group. Interculturalists may typically be more concerned with individual-level than group-level threats, but threats at the group level constantly loom in the background and cannot be ignored, particularly in some types of intercultural programs, such as reconciliation programs. This entry will review a comprehensive model of threat that is useful in specifying types of intercultural threats. It will discuss both the causes and the consequences of intercultural threats and explore in more detail one specific type of threat, intergroup anxiety, and ways of reducing it. All the types of threats discussed here are likely to be experienced not only by the individuals in training or in educational contexts but also by those from the cultural group with which they are being prepared to interact. Thus, people need to learn not just how to recognize and counteract their own feelings of threat but also how to respond to individuals from the other culture who are feeling threatened by them.

Intergroup Threat Theory

On the basis of their research, Walter Stephan and Cookie Stephan developed intergroup threat theory. According to this theory, there are two basic types of intergroup threats—*symbolic threats* and *realistic threats*. *Symbolic threats* consist of threats to the worldview, philosophy, morals, values, beliefs, and norms of one's own culture (the ingroup). These beliefs are intangible but so powerful that throughout history people have been willing to give up their lives for them. *Realistic threats* consist of threats to the welfare of ingroup members, including threats to their safety, power, economic well-being, territory, possessions, and health. Many wars have been fought over such issues. At the level of intercultural interactions, threats create a host of problems, but people are often unaware of them. It is important to note that symbolic and realistic threats may or may not be "actual" threats, yet even when the perceptions of threat are factually false, they can have real consequences.

Stephan and Stephan's theory postulates that intergroup threats have their origins in cultural differences, prior relations between groups, individual differences, and situational factors. Dimensions of culture shape individual values, beliefs, and norms. Differences in these cultural dimensions predispose people to be more or less likely to perceive that outgroups threaten them or their cultural group. For instance, people in collectivistic cultures may be more prone to perceive threats to their culture because they place such a high value on group membership. Likewise, people in "tight-knit" cultures may more easily feel threatened because conformity to group norms and values is highly prized. That is, deviations from social norms, such as those displayed by outgroup members, are likely to be perceived as threats. Similarly, people in high anxiety avoidance cultures may be especially aware of threats from other groups because they place a high value on avoiding uncertainty in social relations. These and other cultural dimensions are likely to be more closely tied to symbolic than to realistic threats, because these dimensions focus on the values, beliefs, and norms of the culture rather than on its resources or the physical well-being of its members.

Prior relations between cultures also influence perceptions of threat, but in this case, they probably influence realistic threats more than symbolic threats. For instance, a history of conflict between cultures would be expected to create high levels of concern about threats to the welfare and safety of members of the ingroup. Both members of cultures with high power and members of cultures with low power have reason to feel threatened by other cultures. Members of more powerful cultures have much to lose, whereas members of less powerful cultures have reason to be concerned about being exploited by high-power cultures.

Individual differences in personal experience and characteristics among members of the same culture may also have an impact on the degree to which they are likely to perceive threats from other cultures. The most important of these individual differences is probably the degree to which individual members identify themselves with their cultural group. Research has repeatedly shown that highly identified members of a group feel more threatened by outgroups than do individuals who do not feel such strong bonds to the ingroup. Similarly, people who are high in social dominance orientation or right-wing authoritarianism are more attentive to threats to the ingroup—probably because they value belonging to a well-ordered, well-regulated society. Prior individual experiences with outgroups are also important (particularly, a lack of contact with outgroups).

Of even greater interest to interculturalists are situational factors that cause people to feel threatened by people from other cultural groups when they interact with them. People are most likely to feel threatened in unfamiliar settings where they feel uncertain about how to behave, have low personal control, are outnumbered, possess low power, perceive a lack of support from relevant authority figures, and are in direct competition with outgroup members.

In intergroup threat theory, there are three types of specific outcomes of intergroup threat: cognitive, emotional, and behavioral. The strongest finding in the research literature is that threats lead to prejudice. In addition, intergroup threats have been found to increase stereotyping, ethnocentrism, intolerance, perceived outgroup homogeneity, ingroup cohesiveness, concerns about being attacked by the outgroup, ingroup/outgroup perceptual biases, and opposition to policies favoring the outgroup. Threat may also reduce cognitive functioning more generally, leading to poor information processing, lower performance on complex tasks, and lower quality decision making.

Research indicates that emotional responses to intergroup threat include fear, anger, distress, contempt, and disgust. It is also likely that threat leads to other negative emotions such as rage, hatred, dread, despair, and panic. Intergroup threat also leads to the perception that outgroup members are incapable of experiencing the same range of emotions as ingroup members do. Ingroup members typically feel less emotional empathy toward outgroup than toward ingroup members, and threat probably magnifies this tendency. Intergroup threat can also lead to feelings of collective guilt in some circumstances.

Research shows that the behavioral responses to threat include aggression, avoidance, discrimination, ingroup favoritism, rejection of outgroup members, rejection of deviant ingroup members, conformity to ingroup norms, and general physiological arousal. It is important to note that intergroup threat can sometimes cause positive behaviors such as negotiation, politeness, and decreased distancing from outgroups. These positive responses are most likely to occur when people are motivated to avoid appearing prejudiced.

Intergroup Anxiety

In the context of intercultural learning, the most relevant intergroup threats are those individuals experience in the process of training or education and in their subsequent interactions with people from other cultures. Stephan and Stephan's label for these threats is *intergroup anxiety*. It arises when members of one group or culture interact with—or anticipate interacting with—people from a cultural outgroup. People are anxious in such settings because they are concerned about being embarrassed or misunderstood, or feeling uncomfortable, confused, annoyed, frustrated, or incompetent. They also worry about negative outcomes such as being discriminated against, physically harmed, deceived, exploited, harassed, or contaminated (e.g., contracting a disease) by members of the other group. In addition, they may be concerned that the outgroup will reject them, insult them, stereotype them, or disapprove of them. Clearly, this is a bad frame of mind to carry into intercultural encounters.

The research literature bears out these pessimistic projections. It indicates that intergroup anxiety has negative effects on attitudes and stereotypes, behavioral intentions, perceptions of outgroup variability, perceptions of the difficulty of intergroup interaction, and perceptions of dissimilarity. Intergroup anxiety also creates negative emotions such as anger, fear, and distress. In addition, it can lead to ineffective intergroup communication, offensive and negative behaviors toward the other group, avoidance, unwillingness to have future contact with outgroup members, and reduced helping of outgroup members.

Reducing Intergroup Anxiety

Efforts to devise interventions to counteract intergroup anxiety are only in their infancy. Nonetheless, these efforts provide interculturalists with insights into the processes involved in reducing intergroup anxiety and offer some suggestions for specific techniques to reduce it. For instance, intergroup contact can reduce intergroup anxiety. In one study, having a college roommate from a different racial group decreased intergroup anxiety. Another study found that an exchange program in Morocco decreased intergroup anxiety. Even imagined contact reduced intergroup anxiety in one study. A study examining cross-ethnic contact that was designed to create friendships reduced the physiological index of anxiety over the course of three interactions. Intergroup contact is most likely to reduce intergroup anxiety when the conditions specified by Gordon Allport's contact hypothesis are present—interdependence, equal status, the potential to get to know outgroup members as individuals, and an emphasis on the common humanity all groups share.

In other studies, it has been found that increasing the complexity of explanations offered for outgroup behavior reduces intergroup anxiety. Increasing emotional empathy toward the outgroup also reduces intergroup anxiety. Diluting the impact of strong ingroup identities and perceived ingroup distinctiveness by promoting a common identity that encompasses both the ingroup and the outgroup can also reduce intergroup anxiety.

More speculatively, counteracting the causes of intergroup anxiety should reduce it. For instance, increasing the perceived similarity of the outgroup to the ingroup should decrease intergroup anxiety. Doing so emphasizes the common humanity we all share. Similarly, reducing negative stereotypes and negative expectations or increasing positive expectancies should reduce intergroup anxiety. Also, increasing the chances that intercultural interactions will be positive and limiting the chances that they will be negative should decrease intergroup anxiety over time. Reducing linguistic barriers during intercultural interaction should reduce intergroup anxiety. Furthermore, changing perceived social norms or perceptions of the attitudes of significant others toward relationships with outgroup members should also reduce intergroup anxiety. Increasing perceived outgroup variability might also have beneficial effects on intergroup anxiety. In addition, explicitly counteracting false perceptions of realistic and symbolic threat could have beneficial effects on levels of intergroup anxiety. Furthermore, promoting multiculturalism and egalitarianism, along with motivating people to avoid being perceived as prejudiced, should set in motion self-regulation motives that can decrease intergroup anxiety.

This entry has suggested that many people come into professional development or educational programs believing that the culture they are being prepared to work with poses threats to their culture and to themselves. Correspondingly, people from the other culture often feel threatened by one's own culture. Perceiving threats predisposes people to hold negative attitudes, feel negative emotions, and behave negatively toward people from the other culture, often without intending to or knowing that they are doing it. They are also likely to feel anxious when interacting with individuals from the other culture, and this anxiety will undermine their capacity to communicate effectively and work with them successfully, as well as influencing how individuals from the other culture perceive them. Knowledge of the types of threats and anxiety that people may experience in intercultural interactions is a significant component of intercultural competence, and learning how to overcome this anxiety will improve individuals' interactions with people from other cultures.

Walter G. Stephan and Cookie White Stephan

See also Ingroup/Outgroup; Perceptions; Prejudice, Bias, Discrimination; Value Dimensions: Hofstede

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Integrative Communication Theory

Humans are creatures of habit, much of which is shaped by culture. *Culture*, as a collectively shared knowledge system in a given population, provides its members implicit models of reality. When people are strangers in an unfamiliar culture, they are challenged to recognize taken-for-granted cultural scripts, undertake the process of new learning, and open themselves to changing, at least temporarily, some of their natural ways of being, doing, and acting. Over time, by engaging themselves in this process, they are able to form a relatively stable functional and psychological relationship with the host environment and an emergent identity orientation that is less cultural and more intercultural. This dynamic phenomenon is explained in Young Yun Kim's integrative theory of communication and cross-cultural adaptation.

By placing adaptation at the intersection of the person and the environment, Kim's theory describes *cross-cultural adaptation* essentially as a process that occurs in, and through, communication activities. This systemic, communication-based conception elevates the ontological status of cross-cultural adaptation to the level of a culture-general, panhuman phenomenon that must be treated not merely as a specific analytic research unit (e.g., an independent or dependent variable) but as the entirety of the evolutionary process an individual undergoes vis-à-vis an unfamiliar cultural environment.

The theory addresses two central questions. First, how does the cross-cultural adaptation process unfold over time? Second, what are the key factors that help explain the different rates or speeds at which individuals achieve adaptive changes? This entry explores the detailed answers to each of these questions.

The Process of Cross-Cultural Adaptation

With respect to the first question, the theory presents a three-pronged process model, *the stress–adaptation–growth dynamic*. This model captures the dialectic, cyclic, and continual draw-back-to-leap process of adaptive change taking place in individuals over time toward an increased person–environment fit. The theory explains that this evolutionary process inevitably accompanies *stress* in the individual psyche, a kind of identity conflict rooted in the desire to retain the habitual mind, on the one hand, and the necessity to seek congruence with the new milieu, on the other.

Yet no open system can stabilize itself forever. If this were so, nothing would come of evolution. The heightened self-awareness in the state of stress serves as the very force that propels strangers to overcome the predicament and partake in the act of *adaptation* through the active development of new habits. This is possible as they engage in forward-looking moves, striving to meet the challenge by acting on and responding to the environment. Stress, in this regard, is intrinsic to self-(re)organization and self-renewal.

What emerges from successful long-term and cumulative experiences of managing the stress–adaptation dialectic is a subtle and often imperceptible psychological *growth*, that is, an increased complexity and adaptive capacity in an individual's internal system (Figure 1).

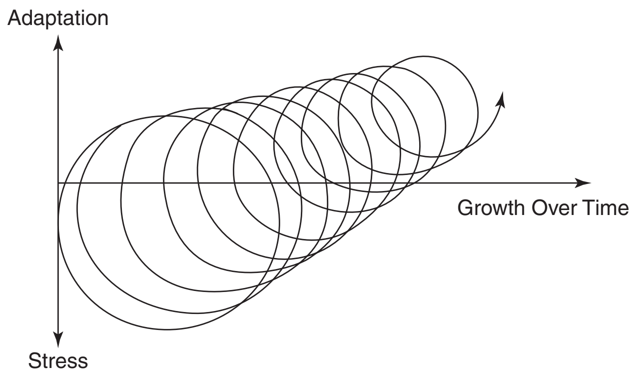

Figure 1 The Stress–Adaptation Growth Dynamic
Source: Kim (2001, p. 59).

The Structure of Cross-Cultural Adaptation

The second question driving this theory calls for a set of key factors that, together, account for the different rates or speeds at which individuals move along the cross-cultural adaptation process. The theory answers this question in a multidimensional and multifaceted *structural model*, in which the interrelationships between the key factors that facilitate (or impede) the adaptation process are specified in a total of 21 theorems.

Personal and Social Communication

Placed at the center of the structural model, individuals' communication activities are grouped in two basic, interdependent categories: (1) *(intra) personal communication*, or the internal mental activities that occur within individuals, disposing and preparing them to act and react in certain ways in actual social situations, and (2) *social communication*, which takes place whenever they participate in face-to-face or mediated forms of interactions with the host environment, including other people.

Personal Communication. The successful adaptation of individuals in a new and unfamiliar cultural environment is realized only when their personal communication system sufficiently overlaps with those of the members of the new culture. This personal communication system is examined in Kim's theory in terms of "host communication competence," that is, the internal cognitive, affective, and operational capacity to receive and process information and to design and execute mental plans in initiating or responding to daily communication situations.

Cognitive competence includes mental capabilities such as knowledge of the host culture and language, including the history, institutions, worldviews, beliefs, mores, norms, and rules of social conduct, among others. Language/culture learning is accompanied by the development of cognitive complexity, the structural refinement of a stranger's information processing capacity. *Affective competence* provides the motivational base to embrace and manage the various challenges of living in the host environment, including the willingness to make necessary changes in one's original cultural habits. *Operational competence* allows strangers to enact their cognitive and affective capabilities outwardly, making it possible for them to interact with members of the host culture appropriately and effectively.

Social Communication. The development of host communication competence influences, and is influenced by, participation in *host social communication* activities.

Host interpersonal communication, in particular, helps strangers obtain vital information and insight into the mind-sets and behaviors of the local people, thereby serving as the points of reference for a check and validation of their own behaviors. Also, exposures to the messages of *host mass communication*, from radio and television programs and newspaper and magazine articles to museum exhibits and theater performances, further facilitate the adaptation of strangers by exposing them to the larger environment including its collective history, institutions, and mores.

Ethnic interpersonal communication activities involving people from their own culture provide strangers with access to their original cultural experiences, often rendering assistance to those who need material, informational, emotional, and other forms of social support. This is likely the case particularly during the initial phases of relocation, when strangers lack host communication competence. The theory explains, however, that heavy and prolonged reliance on ethnic social communication activities tends to help maintain their original cultural habits and limit their opportunities to participate in host social communication activities.

Environment

The extent to which strangers participate in host social communication activities is linked to the conditions of the host environment. The theory identifies three key environmental conditions affecting the stranger's adaptation process: (1) host receptivity, (2) host conformity pressure, and (3) ethnic group strength.

Host receptivity refers to the degree to which a given host environment is structurally and psychologically accessible and open to a particular group of strangers. A given society or community may exhibit a welcoming attitude toward certain groups of strangers but not toward certain other groups. *Host conformity pressure*, or the extent to which the environment challenges strangers to act in accordance with its language and cultural norms, varies across culture groups. Culturally and ethnically heterogeneous environments, such as large cosmopolitan cities, tend to exert less conformity pressure on newcomers to change their original habitual ways. *Ethnic group strength*, on the other hand, tends to discourage the cross-cultural adaptation process of individual members. Large and active ethnic communities offer members an informational, emotional, and material support system. Such groups also tend to exert a level of ingroup social pressure to maintain their ethnic practices and discourage active participation in host social communication activities.

Predisposition

Along with the conditions of the environment, the process of cross-cultural adaptation is affected by the internal conditions of individual strangers themselves. The theory identifies three key predispositional factors: (1) *preparedness*, (2) *ethnic proximity/distance*, and (3) *personality*.

Strangers come to their new environment with differing levels of *preparedness*, that is, the mental, motivational, and operational readiness to deal with the new cultural environment, including understanding the host language and culture. Contributing to such preparedness are formal and informal preparation in and media exposure to the host language and culture. Furthermore, contacts and experiences with members of the host society, as well as prior cross-cultural adaptation experiences in general, contribute to a predisposition to adapt. *Ethnic proximity* (or *ethnic distance*) is a relational concept in which a given stranger's ethnicity and the predominant ethnicity of the host environment are compared. The theory postulates that a stranger whose ethnicity is similar to, and compatible with, the mainstream ethnicity of the surrounding community is likely to blend in with relative ease.

In addition, strangers differ in their more or less enduring *personality traits*. Of particular interest are those personality resources that would help facilitate an individual's ability to endure the experiences of adaptive stress. The theory identifies *openness*, *strength*, and *positivity* as three significant personality characteristics that enhance one's chances of successful cross-cultural adaptation.

Intercultural Transformation

Through a progression of adaptive experiences, strangers undergo a set of identifiable changes in their habitual patterns of cognitive, affective, and behavioral responses. The theory identifies three interrelated features of adaptive changes: (1) *functional fitness*, (2) *psychological health*, and (3) the emergence of an *intercultural identity*.

Through repeated activities resulting in new cultural learning and self-organizing and reorganizing, strangers achieve in time an increased *functional fitness* vis-à-vis the demands of the host environment. Successfully adapted strangers have accomplished a sense of ease, efficacy, and a desired level of effective working relationship with the host environment. Closely associated with the increased functional fitness is a higher level of *psychological health*, reflected in an increased sense of personal well-being and satisfaction with one's life in the host environment.

The theory explains that such functional and psychological transformation is further accompanied by a subtle change in one's identity from a monocultural identity to an increasingly *intercultural identity*. That is, an individual is likely to develop an identity orientation that is increasingly individuated and universalized, with a clear self-definition and a definition of others as singular individuals, rather than being rigidly held by monolithic and static notions about cultural or ethnic groups, along with a broadened understanding of a common humanity beyond the differences we acquire as cultural beings.

Moving Forward

Although originally intended to explain the adaptive experiences of individuals who physically relocate to a new and different cultural environment, the core concepts and the knowledge claims presented in this theory are applicable to the broader context of increasing intercultural encounters brought about by the process of globalization.

Whether at home or on foreign soil, numerous people the world over are being challenged to undergo at least some experience of the stress–adaptation–growth dynamic.

Through direct contacts as well as technological means of communication, people around the world are increasingly exposed to the images, sounds, and messages of once distant cultures. In most urban centers, local people are routinely coming in contact with those from other cultures.

This emerging phenomenon of crossing cultures at home promises a new chapter in the continuing development of the integrative theory. Meanwhile, the theory projects the possibility for individuals anywhere in the world to embark on a path of adaptive growth, in which they stretch themselves out of the familiar and reach for a deepened and more inclusive understanding of the human condition.

Young Y. (Yun) Kim

See also Acculturation; Assimilation; Culture Shock; Developing an Intercultural Vision; Double-Swing Model; Systems Theory Perspective; Transformative Learning

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Intellectual and Ethical Development

Intellectual and ethical development as defined by William Perry's model provides a developmental understanding of epistemology, the theory of knowledge, from a personal perspective: What does it mean to know, and what does that mean for me as a knower and as a learner? The model describes what Perry called an intellectual *Pilgrim's Progress*, tracing a consistent and coherent development journey among students as they grapple with the complexities confronted in a college education. One's *personal epistemology* is shaped by learning experiences, reflecting how the individual makes sense out of the diversity and complexity of the world he or she encounters. This meaning-making perspective has a profound influence on how an individual understands intercultural contexts and cultural diversity, and thus on a person's capacity for intercultural competence. This entry describes the Perry scheme by detailing the nine positions of intellectual and ethical development and then discusses the ways in which the scheme applies to diversity and cultural competence.

Overview of the Perry Scheme

Based initially on a series of open-ended interviews conducted with undergraduate students during the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Perry model (or *scheme*, as Perry preferred to call it) emerged from exhaustive qualitative analyses of the ways in which the students described their experiences and transformations over their college years. Following the initial work, the basic developmental journey that Perry described has been recognized in a wide variety of students in a broad range of higher education institutions around the world.

The model describes nine distinct stages, or what Perry preferred to call *positions*, as in relatively stable positions from which to view the world: Positions 1 through 5 describe the primarily intellectual portion of the scheme: systematic, structural change toward increasingly complex ways of understanding knowledge and the world. In Positions 6 through 9, the primary focus of the journey shifts to what Perry called *ethical* concerns: How do I define who I am by making meaning and taking stands in a world without clear-cut answers? The nine positions of the scheme generally have been grouped into a sequence of four major categories: (1) dualism, (2) multiplicity, (3) contextual relativism, and (4) commitment within relativism.

Dualism: Positions 1 and 2

The Position 1 perspective offers a completely unquestioned view of truth as *absolute truth* in stark, polarized, black-and-white terms. The identification with an authority figure—parent, teacher, church—is absolute and unquestioned, with no tolerance for alternative points of view. In Position 2, different perspectives and beliefs are now acknowledged but are simply considered wrong. Thinking in this position is characterized by dichotomies and dualisms, for example, We-Right-Good versus They-Wrong-Bad, or some variation. The world thus consists essentially of two boxes, rights and wrongs, and there is generally little trouble in distinguishing one from the other.

Multiplicity: Positions 3 and 4

The intellectual progression across the first five positions can be seen as incremental attempts to account for and make meaning of diversity, initially in terms of competing and contradictory facts. The modification in Position 3 represents the first acknowledgment of legitimate uncertainty in the world; instead of two boxes or categories, right and wrong, there are now three: right, wrong, and *not yet known*. Thus, the knowledge that is not yet known is knowable and will be determined at some point in the future. This acceptance of uncertainty as legitimate, albeit temporary, is a profound departure from the dualistic perspective, and for many students an exciting one. Positions 3 and 4, then, are characterized as *multiplicity*, the confrontation of and coping with diversity and multiples in virtually everything. The initial solution to the problem of uncertainty is that there are obviously right ways, or methods, to find the right answers, and learning becomes a focus on process and methodology. In Position 4, the *not yet known* notion of Position 3 often becomes a new certainty of *we'll never know for sure*, and what becomes most important then is one's own perspective and thinking: If we can't know for sure, then there is no nonarbitrary way to decide which opinion or perspective is *right*.

Contextual Relativism: Position 5 (and Beyond)

The movement from Position 4 to Position 5 is arguably the most significant transition within the Perry scheme. This transition represents a transformation of one's perspective, from a vision of the world as essentially dualistic, defined by rights and wrongs, with a growing number of exceptions to the rule in specific situations, to a vision of a world in which *rights* and *wrongs* depend on the context of the decisions and in which judgments in those contexts define who I am. One's task in life is finally understood fully as intellectual *and* ethical, a question of judgments and meaning making in both academic and personal contexts.

Commitment Within Relativism: Positions 6 Through 9

As defined by the model, the primary developmental emphasis shifts beginning in Position 6 from intellectual to ethical: namely, the anticipation, clarification, and ongoing refinement of *commitments*. These commitments are distinguished from what Perry referred to as *considered choices*, since they have been chosen in the face of legitimate alternatives, after experiencing genuine doubt, and reflecting a clear affirmation of one's self, and they help define one's identity in a world without clear answers.

Making Sense of Diversity

At its core, the Perry scheme reflects two central interwoven dynamics: (1) *confronting and coping with diversity and uncertainty with respect to new learning* and (2) *the attendant evolution of meaning making about learning and self*. As depicted in the nine qualitatively distinct positions (and the transitions between them) of the Perry scheme, learners cycle through three increasingly complex encounters with diversity in the form of multiples:

1. Multiple opinions about a given subject or issue (Positions 1 through 3)
2. Multiple contexts/perspectives from which to understand or analyze issues or arguments (Positions 4 through 6)
3. Multiple commitments through which one defines a set of values and a personal identity (Positions 7 through 9)

As learners confront these levels of multiplicity, their meaning making shifts and evolves in predictable ways. Most significantly, knowledge is seen as increasingly uncertain, open to (and requiring) interpretation. This central understanding of knowledge and learning triggers parallel shifts in the learner's views about the role of the teacher, moving from *the Authority* as the source of *Truth* to *an authority* as a resource with specific expertise to share, as well as the role of the student, moving from a passive receptor of facts to an active agent in defining arguments and creating new knowledge.

Overall, the Perry model represents the critical intertwining of cognitive and affective perspectives at the heart of learning, reflecting a difficult journey toward more complex forms of thought about the world, one's discipline or profession, *and* one's self. Perry's work underscores the notion that in education, the most powerful learning, the learning most faculty really want to see students achieve as a result of their experiences with the academic institution, involves significant *qualitative changes* in the way learners approach their learning and their subject matter.

Implications for Intercultural Competence

At the heart of the Perry scheme, then, is a reflection of a personal perspective not just about what knowledge is but also about what diversity is, how one should think about *the Other*. This perspective frames and constrains one's capacity to balance multiple viewpoints, to appreciate similarities and differences across cultures, and to engage in the kind of nuanced self-reflection needed to make sense of cultural diversity. At the same time, the model also makes it clear that the learning environments and opportunities the individual encounters, especially in the college years, have a significant influence on the kind of intellectual and ethical development Perry describes. The extent to which students are exposed to diverse cultural backgrounds and perspectives can promote intellectual development provided they also have meaningful opportunities to reflect on and process the experiences.

William S. Moore

See also Cognitive Styles Across Cultures; Developmental Theory; Ethical and Moral Reasoning; Intercultural Sensitivity

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Edited by

Janet M. Bennett

The Intercultural Communication Institute
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Intensity Factors

This entry introduces the reader to the concept of *intensity factors*, which refers to the set of characteristics related to the person and the context that can intensify the experience of living and working in cultures other than one's own. The intensity, or stress, of intercultural encounters can be lesser or greater given the degree to which these factors are present and manifest themselves. This concept is relevant to this encyclopedia because it can be used to design predeparture, on-site, and reentry programs that will help sojourners adapt to the new culture and enhance their intercultural competence. For the purposes of this entry, the term *sojourner* will be used for persons who are temporarily or permanently residing in a culture other than their own at home or abroad.

For professionals involved in managing international transitions, being familiar with intensity factors can help them (a) identify those factors that will be particularly salient in a given destination or setting; (b) predict the overall level of intensity or stress sojourners are likely to experience, especially early on; and (c) prepare sojourners to anticipate these factors and more effectively cope with their adjustment to the new cultural environment. The well-known concept of culture shock provided an early frame of reference for the complex phenomenon of cultural adjustment. This entry specifies the conditions that influence the adjustment process.

Intercultural experiences, living in cultures different from one's own or in complex multicultural settings, can be very stressful at times. Attempting to communicate and interact in an interculturally competent manner—effectively and appropriately across cultures—is quite challenging. The cultural rules of the game are unclear. Host culture language skills may be minimal or nonexistent. And the newcomer may have limited prior intercultural experience on which to draw. Even knowing how to learn about the culture is a skill set that many do not yet possess.

Intensity Factors: Personal Characteristics

Four personal characteristics are potential intensity factors: (1) ethnocentrism, (2) host culture language proficiency, (3) prior intercultural experience, and (4) expectations. These are qualities the person brings to the intercultural setting, and they can affect it significantly.

Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism refers to the use of one's own culture as the frame of reference for making sense out of and evaluating another culture's norms, values, and behaviors. Put another way, this might be called the *monocultural worldview*. It is an intensity factor because people who are relying on their own culture as the lens for understanding may be puzzled and disturbed by cultural differences and, as a consequence, will negatively evaluate them. It can be expected that the greater the degree of cultural difference between one's own and the new culture, the more the stress will be. Moreover, the more negative the person's evaluation of cultural differences, the greater will be the stress.

Host Culture Language Proficiency

This intensity factor refers to the ability of the sojourner to communicate in the language of the host culture. This is less of an issue if the same language is spoken, although there are still many cultural nuances of language use to be learned. It is clearly an issue if the host language is different from one's own native tongue. While today we are living in a more globalized society, where English is quite commonly spoken and many people around the world speak it, in a given setting, not having language fluency can be quite problematic. It means having to rely on interpreters, not being able to participate in everyday social conversation, and, accordingly, feeling more like an outsider. When the host culture language is the primary means of communication, not knowing it can create considerable stress.

Prior Intercultural Experience

Prior intercultural experience provides a significant foundation for future cultural adjustment. Those individuals with a greater amount of experience living abroad or in different cultures within their own country are more likely to have developed skills related to language learning, culture learning, recognizing their own culture and how it affects them in the new setting, and managing the cultural adaptation process. They are now better equipped cognitively, behaviorally, and emotionally to enter, live, and work in another culture. It can be expected that those who have little or no prior intercultural experience will experience greater stress in a new culture.

Expectations

It is well-known that having unrealistic expectations about an upcoming event or experience can cause disappointment and stress if they are not realized. This is no less true of intercultural experiences, about which individuals can often have very positive expectations that are unlikely to be met. They may be thinking that living and working in another culture will be a constantly exciting adventure filled with stimulating new experiences and people. However, these expectations are not based on an accurate understanding of either culture or cultural adaptation. Such expectations are unrealistic stereotypes of people and places.

The challenge for educators is to balance the enthusiasm of the sojourner, based as it may be on stereotypical understandings, with a more nuanced set of expectations of what awaits them in the culture. The goal here is to reduce cultural naïveté while at the same time maintaining curiosity and interest about the culture. We can expect that the further removed the expectations are from reality, the greater the stress of adjustment in the new culture.

Intensity Factors: Situational Characteristics

There are six situational characteristics that are potential intensity factors: (1) cultural differences, (2) cultural immersion, (3) cultural isolation, (4) visibility/invisibiity, (5) status, and (6) power and control. These reside in the situation or the context of the intercultural setting itself. They constitute a set of intensity factors that await the person entering a new cultural milieu.

Cultural Differences

One of the major propositions in the intercultural literature is that the greater the degree of cultural difference between one's own and the host culture, the greater will be the intensity of stress associated with being in the new culture. Moreover, the more negatively one evaluates those cultural differences, the greater will be the stress.

Cultural differences exist in areas of life such as norms and values, attitudes, behaviors, communication styles, patterns of thinking, approaches to conflict resolution, verbal and nonverbal communication, and ways of learning. Although not all differences actually make a difference in interpersonal relations, those that do can be very challenging.

Becoming interculturally competent means first acquiring an understanding of one's own culture, referred to in the literature as *cultural self-awareness*. Interestingly, many are not aware of their culture at a conscious level, having learned it implicitly in their formative years. Being cultural does not necessarily mean knowing one's culture. A major component of intercultural training or education is to provide instruction about culture in general and one's own culture in particular.

Cultural Immersion

This intensity factor pertains to the degree to which the person is immersed in the new culture. Immersion refers to the amount of interaction a person has with members of the host culture at work or in the living situation. Stress will generally be greater as immersion increases. Sojourners who are deeply immersed can experience what has been identified in the literature as *language fatigue* and *culture fatigue*, which result from having to regularly communicate in another language and function in another cultural system. Some intercultural settings cushion the person from extensive immersion through things such as the creation of expatriate housing communities, interpreters, and cultural mentors who serve as bridges to the culture. Whatever the circumstances might be, it is very important to be aware of the level of cultural immersion that awaits sojourners, prepare them in advance, and then provide ongoing support on-site.

Cultural Isolation

This intensity factor, which is the degree to which a person is isolated from home country/culture peers, adds another dimension to the intercultural experience. Isolation in this sense can be particularly taxing. While others are also experiencing cultural adaptation, these individuals do not have the same amount of access to their own cultural community, with whom they can interact, share stories, reaffirm their sense of cultural identity, and just relax. Social media and present-day information technology have to some degree reduced the stress of isolation because it is not as absolute as it might have been in the past. However, the culturally isolated person can still feel a greater sense of loneliness than others who are closer to home culture colleagues, which can cause considerable stress.

Visibility/Invisibility

This intensity factor is well-known and understood by those who have been the visible outsider or minority in their own or another culture. But it is not skin color, nationality, values, political views, or sexual orientation per se that creates the experience of being highly visible or invisible. It is the new culture itself that creates the experience of visibility or invisibility for the sojourner.

Visibility is often a function of skin color, and it is complex. Think of a White person, for example, coming to a small Kenyan village or the newly arrived international student from Kenya arriving at a small, predominately White liberal arts college in the United States. They will be highly visible. If one has not anticipated or ever experienced visibility, it can be quite demanding.

Invisibility refers to a different situation where something about the sojourner is not recognized, however important it might be to the person. Furthermore, it may actually be unsafe for sojourners and their host country friends, for instance, to express their own political views or discuss their gay/lesbian/bisexual/transgender sexual orientation. While these may be very important parts of their identity, they are withholding them because of the circumstances. Again, this can be quite stressful.

Status

Every society has its own markers of status, and these can differ dramatically across different cultures. The classic distinction has been made between *ascribed status* and *achieved status*. Ascribed status is conferred on the basis of family name, age, gender, or other quality over which the person has little or no control. Achieved status is conferred on the basis of what a person has done in life, his or her accomplishments. This is a situational intensity factor because it is the culture, not the new person, that determines the status indicators. What is important for the sojourner is to be mindful of the ways in which status is conferred in the host culture and to adapt to that reality accordingly.

Status differences can cause stress in several ways. First, sojourners might find that their status has been diminished because what was valued in their home culture is not a marker of status in the new one. If age and parenthood, for example, are markers of wisdom and maturity, and thus higher status, in one culture, a person from that background can experience s*tatus reduction* or *status dislocation* when those characteristics are not acknowledged to the same degree in another culture. Alternatively, persons from an achieved status culture entering an ascribed status cultural community may be granted a higher status on the basis of factors such as age or gender, which they don't feel they have earned or deserve.

Status differences can be particularly confusing because they also carry a very strong normative component. Status markers represent deep values that people maintain, and it can be difficult to alter them.

Power and Control

The proposition is that the less power and control people feel they have over their circumstances, the more stress they will experience. Generally, individuals in a new culture do not have the same amount of power and control as they do at home. First, how one gets things done in a new culture will be very different. In the early stages of the stay, sojourners do not know who are the gatekeepers and others who can help them get things done. Second, they discover large differences in the way bureaucracies and social systems function. Third, they have much to learn about the sources of power and control, particularly as an outsider to the culture. Interestingly, this intensity factor can be particularly challenging for highly placed professionals who are used to getting things done at home and are surprised when they cannot do so in the new environment.

Intensity Factors as a Profile: Conclusions

These 10 intensity factors do not operate separately from each other but interact so as to form an overall *intensity profile* specific to the new cultural setting and the person entering it. Every setting will have a distinct profile in which some factors are more relevant than others, some higher on intensity than others. The importance of intensity factors is that they provide a road map for designing programs and support across the predeparture, on-site, and reentry spectrum. These programs and support systems that take into account the stressors associated with intercultural experiences enhance the prospects of sojourners becoming more interculturally competent while in their new cultures.

R. Michael Paige

See also Culture Learning; Intercultural Communication, Definition of; Intercultural Competence Development; Intercultural Sensitivity; International Education

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INTERCULTURAL CODE SWITCHING

If a person has ever lived, studied, or worked in a foreign culture, that individual has likely confronted situations in which the natural, comfortable, default behavior from the native culture turns out to be ineffective for a situation within the new cultural environment. This can occur on the job, during the job search process, in academic situations, and in social settings. Take, for example, the case of an Indian professional working in the United States and having to describe his accomplishments to his boss as part of a promotion process. In India, discussions with the boss would be quite formal and serious, and employees are expected to speak with discretion and composure and be quite modest about their accomplishments. In the United States, however, this employee would have to engage in a completely opposite set of behaviors to attract his boss's attention. He would have to express a relatively high level of enthusiasm to show that he has pride and excitement for what he has accomplished. Furthermore, he would have to likely be relatively assertive and self-promotional during the conversation. After all, in the United States, an employee wants to give the boss the impression that the person is a "go-getter" and "leadership material," and the way to do that is to show confidence about professional tasks.

The problem here is relatively easy to see: The way in which this professional needs to act conflicts at a relatively deep level with how the person is comfortable acting. But to achieve the goals and be effective at the job, the individual needs to learn to switch or adapt cultural behavior. This act of switching cultural behavior in specific situations of cultural differences is the essence of the idea of intercultural code switching.

In today's ever-globalizing world, people are constantly faced with situations in which intercultural code switching is necessary—situations such as those profiled above, in which their natural, intuitive, culturally ingrained behavior is inappropriate for the situation they face. To complicate the issue even further, the rules for effective behavior in the new culture may even conflict with their own culturally ingrained values and beliefs. To act appropriately and effectively in these situations, people must somehow learn to switch their cultural behavior. This means being able to recognize their behavior as cultural, learn the new rules, suppress their natural response, and then somehow produce behavior that is appropriate to the new setting. And, of course, it is not just in professional situations where people need to interculturally code switch. It is so in academic and social settings as well.

The concept of intercultural code switching emerges out of two different streams of research literature. The first stream is research about cultural differences themselves, an expansive body of work in psychology, organizational behavior, and other related fields that has emphasized and documented all the different ways in which cultures are different. For example, from this body of work on cultural differences, we now know that cultures differ significantly in the ways people communicate with one another, both verbally and nonverbally; in how they express emotion; and in how they think and make sense of the world. (In fact, many of these differences are described and documented in this encyclopedia.) What a differences-oriented approach does not capture, however, are the personal and psychological challenges that people face when they have to adapt their behavior across cultures in light of these differences. Understanding cultural differences is clearly important. However, the reality is that when adapting across cultures in the examples described above, people do not just struggle with differences. Rather, they struggle at adapting behavior to overcome cultural differences. Intercultural code switching takes this critical next step and explores the challenges of actually *switching* one's cultural behavior.

In addition to having emerged from this literature about cultural differences, the idea of intercultural code switching has also been deeply influenced by researchers in the field of sociolinguistics, who have studied how bilingual speakers alternate between languages when speaking with other bilinguals. However, whereas linguistic code switching focuses on switching languages, intercultural code switching describes the more complex and psychologically challenging task of switching actual behavior.

The Challenges of Intercultural Code Switching

From growing up in a particular cultural setting, people develop internalized expectations for how to behave in specific situations. This set of expectations is the "code" in intercultural code switching. Like the script of a play, the code gives individuals an intuitive sense of how a particular situation will likely unfold, how they and others in the situation are expected to behave, and what the range or zone of appropriate behavior is for that particular situation.

The reason why intercultural code switching can be so challenging is that it forces us to override these ingrained responses and expectations. In particular, intercultural code switching creates two particular sets of challenges for people engaging in it: (1) competence-based challenges and (2) identity-based challenges.

Competence-Based Challenges

The first challenge of intercultural code switching has to do with competence, or people's abilities to successfully produce the behavior required to act appropriately in the new foreign cultural setting.

In some cases, especially those where the new cultural norms are not that distinct from the norms of one's native environment, intercultural code switching is actually quite simple and does not present many competence-based challenges. For example, the way one delivers performance reviews in Canada might be slightly different from how one delivers such reviews in the United States. However, because these differences are relatively slight, it is unlikely that most Americans or Canadians would experience difficulties making the switch.

In many other situations, especially those where the discrepancy between the home "code" and the foreign "code" for a particular situation is significant, intercultural code switching can be quite challenging. An illustrative example might be a student from an East Asian country, such as Korea, Vietnam, or China, learning to participate actively in classroom discussions in the United States. If that student is not used to participating in classroom discussions at all—which is likely the case for most students from these particular cultural backgrounds—the student may not actually know how to participate effectively. What constitutes effective class participation? And how can someone voice their opinion during a discussion in a way that is appropriately assertive, rather than overly assertive, especially given the importance of not wanting to insult the professor, which would be a key consideration for students from more hierarchically oriented cultural backgrounds?

Geert Hofstede, the well-known Dutch culture theorist, once said that culture is like the "software of the mind" and that each of us has a different internalized system of interpreting the world that is characteristic of our culture. Intercultural code switching is like operating in a world with completely different software. And when the native software proves insufficient for diagnosing the rules for effective and appropriate behavior in a new culture, people can struggle. They can feel awkward and anxious about their inability to accurately diagnose the new cultural code. They can also feel embarrassed and ashamed that these inabilities are visible to an evaluative audience. Ultimately, these disruptive emotions can interfere with a person's ability to successfully produce the behavior in the first place, further exacerbating this competence-based challenge.

Identity-Based Challenges

Even if a person has developed a perfect understanding of the new cultural code, as well as the differences between these new rules and expectations for appropriate behavior in the individual's native cultural setting, he or she can still struggle because of how it *feels* to perform the new behavior. People feel an identity challenge when the norms for behavior in a particular situation in a new culture make it impossible for them to act both in a culturally appropriate manner and in a manner that honors their internalized system of values from their native cultural setting. The larger the discrepancy between the native norms and the new norms, the stronger the identity conflict will be. Imagine, for example, the case of a Korean employee having to give her American boss constructive criticism as part of a 360-degree performance review system in the company. In Korea, it is generally taboo to criticize your boss, whereas in the United States, it is relatively more acceptable, especially when included as a requirement in a companywide performance feedback system. From a Korean cultural perspective, the discrepancy between the two sets of norms would be quite large, thereby exacerbating the potential for identity conflict.

Of course, not everyone from a given cultural background necessarily subscribes to that culture's core set of cultural values and beliefs. Imagine, for example, that in the case described above, the Korean employee in question had lived and worked in the United States for many years and perhaps also went to college in the United States. In this case, the employee might have ingrained values more in line with the American culture and would therefore experience a less intense form of identity conflict, or perhaps none at all. Additionally, the experience of intercultural code switching is affected by an individual's personality and the degree of fit between that individual's personality and the cultural norms in question.

As an additional illustrative example, imagine the case of a foreign student from Vietnam learning to participate in an American classroom setting. As described earlier, the classroom culture in the two countries is typically quite different, with the United States generally encouraging active participation, and even questioning and debating, among its students, whereas the education system in Vietnam tends to discourage such assertive classroom behavior. So for the prototypical Vietnamese student, making the switch to the American classroom setting can be quite challenging. But here is where personality also comes into play. What if the student in question happens to be quite extroverted and assertive by nature and truly enjoys this type of active, vocal classroom debate? Perhaps the student actually felt constrained by the norms in Vietnam and on coming to the United States feels freer to be his or her true self. In this case, personality, and in particular the fit between personality and the norms in the new culture, ends up mitigating the potential identity conflict the person would experience when code switching. Of course, the reverse is true as well: If there is a strong misfit between the new norms and an individual's personality (e.g., in the previous case, if the person were very shy), it would exacerbate rather than mitigate the identity conflict and make intercultural code switching much more challenging.

The Paradox of Intercultural Code Switching

When people struggle with competence or authenticity, they experience strong negative emotions that can interfere with their ability to code switch effectively. When they struggle with competence, they can feel awkward, embarrassed, or even ashamed about their inability to switch effectively. When they struggle with authenticity, they can feel guilty and distressed about having to act in a manner that is inconsistent with their culturally ingrained beliefs and values. Specific emotions such as anxiety and embarrassment can motivate a person to exit rather than persevere within a difficult situation. Similarly, when individuals feel distress or anger about having to switch behavior, these negative emotions can "leak" into their performance of the behavior, further undermining effectiveness. People in such a state are often quite inwardly focused on their own emotions and on resolving their emotional state rather than on trying to accommodate the needs of a client or address the demands of a difficult situation.

In the end, code switching requires flexibility and creativity. But the paradox for many people trying to engage in intercultural code switching is that they have to do it under high levels of emotional intensity and pressure, making flexibility quite difficult to achieve. To address this problem, new research is being conducted about how people can escape this difficult bind. It seems that one of the most effective ways of coping with the challenges of intercultural code switching is to personalize an individual's behavior in a new culture so that while it still conforms to expectations for appropriate behavior in that setting it also feels authentic and genuine to the person. This idea of "having your cake" (keeping your personal integrity) and "eating it too" (being simultaneously effective and appropriate) is the motivation behind new research on authenticity, coping strategies, and successful intercultural code switching.

Andrew Molinsky

See also Co-Creation of Meaning; Culture Learning; Empathy; High-Context and Low-Context Communication; Intercultural Nonverbal Communication

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Intercultural Communication, Definition of

Actual intercultural communication presumably dates from the earliest era of human history, when groups of people whose lives and behavior differed encountered one another for the first time. Not much is known about those first encounters, but intercultural encounters have been continuous, even though the results have not always been encouraging. Intercultural encounters, and even long-term positive relationships, are not new and are not rare. However, the recognition of intercultural communication as worthy of serious study, with implications that could guide behavior toward mutually beneficial outcomes, is relatively new, dating from the latter part of the 20th century.

Central to this is the assumption that all human communication is in part a cultural expression. It is through communication that one's cultural identity is expressed, and meanings are co-created through interpersonal communication. Consequently, it is helpful for people to become more aware of their own assumptions about what they perceive as reality, their own cultural values, their habitual behavior, and their expectations of how others should act, recognizing that there are always cultural as well as personal influences on behavior; one would do well not to confuse the two.

After defining intercultural communication, this entry will review the origins and development of the field, assert the interrelationship between domestic and global communities, and review the growth of the field as courses, training, and Internet opportunities have proliferated.

Definitions

The term *culture* is often treated as if it had features associated with the word *nation*, as if *a culture* was like a place with clear boundaries in which one lives and from which one may depart and then enter another, somewhat different place. In whatever ways the word *culture* is defined, its meaning as a bounded space is at best a limited definition, and it is partly for this reason that many anthropologists today avoid using the noun *culture*, while retaining the adjectival and adverbial forms (as in *cultural patterns* or *culturally influenced*). The intercultural communication field has helped to broaden and diffuse the idea of culture as a concept that overlaps with the culturally imposed categories of race, ethnicity, and social class; age and generation; gender and sexual orientation; and differently abled people. Interculturalists also speak of institutional cultures (e.g., specific organizational cultures) when considering interpersonal and intergroup communication. Any one person may identify with many such categories, suggesting intersecting cultural identities.

As the name suggests, the focus of intercultural communication is on the "inter."

Intercultural communication refers to what transpires when people engage in communication with others whose experiences, assumptions, sense making, and behaviors are different. The emphasis in this field is not on *objective culture*, including *material culture*, much of which is popularly identified as the whole of culture, such as art, literature, food, architecture, and recorded histories. Important as these are, they are not central to intercultural communication. Nor should one assume that human communication is a neutral, transparent activity to which one can *add* culture. Intercultural communication concerns the *process* through which shared meanings are *co-created* through engagement. These shared meanings are also directly affected by *subjective culture*—cultural assumptions, expectations, and behaviors so deeply learned that they are easily imagined to be human nature. Individuals may even assume that culturally influenced ways of thinking, which have been learned from and shared with their communities of origin, are a matter of *common sense*. Intercultural communication is about a process, not products; its complexity and dynamics are manifest for reasons that are largely internalized and often not within one's conscious awareness.

There are patterns of behavior that distinguish one group of people from another: language, most obviously, and dialect, which is more subtle. There are also culturally influenced patterns of nonverbal behavior of all kinds—not just obvious differences in gestures but also norms regarding the display of emotions in culturally defined contexts, how people learn to regard time, or how they organize and occupy space, for instance. Furthermore, patterns such as how people have learned to reason, to argue or not argue, and even to learn are strongly influenced by their cultural backgrounds. People may describe *cultural patterns* when generalizing about what they learn from and share with others, and such generalizations are helpful in the understanding of intercultural communication.

The intercultural communication field grew out of a recognition that some of the same points of tension and conflict in communication were observed irrespective of the specific people and backgrounds involved. This is the realm of the *culture general* (perhaps more appropriately called the *interculturally general* perspective of *interculturalists*), in contrast to the detailed, *culture-specific* information that has characterized other social science studies, where research focuses on a single culture. Culture-general frames anticipate possible patterns of interaction without necessarily requiring detailed knowledge of the backgrounds of those with whom one works. Conversely, an area specialist may know much about the historical and cultural histories of a people but still not be effective interculturally.

Although intercultural communication is often expressed at the interpersonal level, there are also systemic histories and practices that characterize many intercultural encounters. The experience of privilege or discrimination is also a part of a cultural background that affects one's sense of *agency* and self-efficacy. In the field of intercultural communication studies, some have emphasized the interpersonal, while others have emphasized the intergroup dynamics that often center on power that favors one group over another. Each emphasis is important.

The field of intercultural communication has acquired a considerable research history, and in the process of research, learning, and application, the goal extends beyond the learning of new information. Rather, the emphasis from the beginning has been on an attitude of self-reflection, *cultural modesty or humility* (being open to learning from and with others rather than telling others what to do), and appreciating the importance of empathy, or what some in psychology call the *theory of mind*, shifting one's own perspective in an effort to see things as another person might. There is an assumption that each person's idea of reality is socially constructed through the influence of the categories and grammar that languages provide us, as well as through the person's personal and social histories.

Intercultural communication competence is a term that has gained attention in the early part of the 21st century throughout much of the world. How to characterize such competence is a challenging task. The Association of American Colleges and Universities developed a framework of intercultural knowledge and competence as a set of cognitive, affective, and behavioral skills and characteristics that support effective and appropriate interaction in a variety of cultural contexts. Significant in this statement is the recognition that knowledge is not the same as, and may not lead to, competence; it calls attention to the need for motivations and actions (skills) that are appropriate (acceptable to those involved) and effective.

Conversely, there has been an effort to identify and develop more effective responses to expressions of prejudice, stereotyping, individual and systemic discrimination, and other negative behavior that requires far more than merely labeling such behavior as wrong.

Origins and Development of the Field of Intercultural Communication

Identifying the beginnings of anything as broad and complex as a field of study is inevitably somewhat arbitrary, as there are always earlier events, individuals, and ideas that contributed their influences. With that recognition, the origin of intercultural communication is often identified with the publication in 1959 of *The Silent Language* by the U.S. anthropologist Edward T. Hall. Hall's work grew out of his personal and professional life in the culturally complex southwestern region of the United States and, after the end of World War II, his undertaking an assignment at the U.S. Foreign Service Institute to find better ways to prepare those working in the diplomatic service to be more culturally effective. Hall learned that some of the same challenges and complaints that he heard over and over again when he visited embassies abroad were not so different from many of the issues he had experienced in intergroup relations in the United States. Hall was the first to use the term *intercultural communication*, and though he never intended to launch a new field of research and practice, his writings had that effect. He also introduced concepts and coined terms for them, which added to a vocabulary that emerged in the following two decades. Hall sought to reach a broad public, not just other academics in his field, and he hoped to raise awareness and influence behavior. It is not surprising that the academic home for intercultural communication was not in anthropology but in what are now called departments of communication, which has a long history as a pragmatic, process-centered, applied field. Similarly, many programs in business and management have introduced courses in intercultural communication.

During the 1960s and 1970s, considerable attention was given to international contexts—international development personnel, U.S. Peace Corps volunteers, international students and their advisers, study-abroad programs, and the increasing internationalization of the business sector.

During the same period, the Civil Rights Movement helped transform the nation and its institutions, inspiring other social movements for inclusion and equality. The changing demographics in the workplace, schools, and elsewhere, reinforced by changes in the law, affected the national consciousness. Domestic demands for inclusion, fair treatment, justice, and social change, which are goals basic to the meaning of intercultural communication, were rarely at the forefront of the goals of international intercultural communication in its early years. However, the changing demographics resulting from immigration, refugee resettlement, international education, corporate transfers, globalization of business, and outsourcing of personnel make the notion of a clear-cut distinction between domestic and global obsolete. Moreover, the underlying perspectives, models, and concepts of the intercultural communication field serve the goals of both those who are most concerned with domestic diversity and those whose focus is on intercultural communication across national boundaries.

Another effect of all this activity was that communication courses, which had once been mostly found only in the United States, began to appear throughout the world, with intercultural communication often being the initial offering. So widespread are college courses in intercultural communication that in many schools they are required for particular majors where interaction among people from different cultural backgrounds can be anticipated. These include education, public health, social work, dentistry, medicine, nursing, counseling, international education, management, and many others.

However, how one can best learn intercultural communication competence, which requires more than acquiring information, has been a challenge from the outset in the field. In a now classic article written by Roger Harrison and Richard Hopkins in the early years of the U.S. Peace Corps, the authors argued that university classes, at least as conventionally presented, were unlikely to foster the sensitivity, values, and behavior needed by prospective sojourners. Rather, attention to nonverbal behavior, emotional expression, tolerance for ambiguity, and knowing there are few *correct answers* would be crucial. Today, courses in intercultural communication are often highly participative, using simulations, role-plays, and other methods that may be more associated with training than with readings and lectures. Newer possibilities and challenges have appeared since the 1990s with the ubiquity of the Internet and kinds of intercultural communication that were unimaginable when the field was taking shape. Social media, virtual conferences, online educational programs, and invitations for friendship and romantic relationships have become commonplace as a part of intercultural communication. But the ease with which these occur does not obviate the intercultural challenges. The anticipated increase in the use of online learning of foreign languages and of aspects of intercultural communication will no doubt continue to affect the study and practice of intercultural communication.

John Condon

See also Cross-Cultural Communication; Cultural Patterns; Culture, Definition of; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Intercultural Communication; Diversity and Inclusion, Definitions of; Hall, E. T.; Intercultural Communication and Language

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Intercultural Communication and Language

Undeniably, language is an important element in intercultural communication, whether one is using one's first language or another language. In many parts of the world, more and more people from different cultural backgrounds are coming together and communicating in a common language or dialect. Increasingly, these intercultural interactions involve the use of a second or a third language, such as English or another international language. If one or more of the speakers do not have the requisite language or cultural competency, there is a power imbalance, and miscommunication may also ensue. To complicate matters, it is possible to mistake language barriers for cultural problems if one does not have an adequate understanding of linguistic elements and the communication process.

As language is closely tied to one's identity, worldview, and positioning, it also influences how people from different cultural backgrounds interact and perceive one another. Language and cultural misunderstandings and identity misalignments can have a negative impact on intercultural relations and, subsequently, reduce the willingness for further interaction. To enhance one's intercultural competence and experience more satisfying intercultural interactions, it is vital to have an understanding of the linguistic dimension of intercultural communication.

This entry describes the core elements of language and the communication process; the relationship between language, worldview, and communication styles; the role of language and power in intercultural interactions; the complex relationship between language, culture, and identity; and the vital role of language and intercultural relations in today's globalized world. Although the term *language* may refer to spoken and written language as well as body language (e.g., nonverbal actions), this entry largely focuses on verbal codes.

Language Components

Human language is basically an arbitrary symbolic system that enables us to engage in verbal communication. It includes the following five components: (1) phonology, (2) morphology, (3) semantics, (4) syntactics, and (5) pragmatics.

Phonology or phonological rules refer to the system of sound segments that we use to build up words. Each language has a different set of these segments or *phonemes* (the smallest sound units of a word). During the primary socialization process, children learn to recognize and then produce the speech segments that are characteristic of their native language.

Morphology or morphological rules describe how combinations of different sounds make up a meaningful word or different meaningful units of a particular word. A *morpheme* is the smallest semantic unit in a language. Words may consist of one or more morphemes.

Semantics or semantic rules refer to the system of meanings that are expressed by words and phrases. To serve as a means of communication between people, words must have a shared or a conventional meaning.

Syntactics or syntactic rules describe the system of rules by which words and phrases are sequenced to make meaningful statements in a particular language. Children need to learn how to use the ordering of words to mark grammatical functions such as the subject or the direct object.

Pragmatics or pragmatic rules describe the system of patterns that determine how we use language in specific social settings for particular purposes. All of us belong to linguistic and social groups, or speech communities. Each speech community uses language based on pragmatic rules or norms. During the socialization process, group members develop understandings of the appropriate ways to use language in certain social situations. For example, as children we learn what expressions, degree of directness, and communication styles are considered polite in particular contexts. We discover the socially accepted ways to greet people, take turns in conversation, and demonstrate respect to individuals with a higher status. Over time, we learn how to adjust the content and style of our communication in order to match our listener's interests, knowledge, position, and language ability.

Together, these components and properties make human language a unique type of communication system, differentiating it from the forms of signaling used by apes, bees, dolphins, and other creatures.

The Communication Process

When communicating verbally, people (the senders) transmit their thoughts and emotions to others (the receivers) in the form of words and sentences, which may be accompanied by nonverbal actions, including *paralanguage*, speech behavior that accentuates the words that are spoken (e.g., pitch, volume, intonation, tone of voice). Without language, nonverbal behaviors (e.g., gestures, spatial distance) may also transmit information, whether intentionally or not, to others. The process of putting an idea or message into a set of symbols (e.g., words, gestures) is referred to as *encoding*. The common channels or paths of communication are speech, writing, and nonverbal signals.

In the communication process, the receiver interprets the verbal message (e.g., language, communication style) and nonverbal signals (e.g., eye contact, facial expressions) that have been transmitted by the sender. The act of deciphering this information is referred to as *decoding*. The receiver may then respond verbally or nonverbally or not react. *Feedback* refers to the verbal or nonverbal signals that receivers send to a speaker to acknowledge what the speaker has said (e.g., nodding their head, uttering words of agreement or disagreement). The speaker processes this information to gauge whether the message has been interpreted as intended. *Interaction*, then, is the process of encoding and decoding messages. All communication takes place within a particular environment (linguistic, physical, sociocultural, socio-relational, temporal, etc.), which influences how the interaction unfolds.

Within a speech community, members learn to associate certain verbal and nonverbal symbols (e.g., words, idiomatic expressions, gestures) with particular ideas or concepts. In intercultural interactions, the sending and decoding of messages can pose challenges when communicators do not share the same understanding of the symbols or communication styles that are being used. Receivers who have a different linguistic and cultural background from that of the sender may easily misinterpret or not recognize the messages that are being transmitted, especially if they are not fully proficient in the language being used and have little knowledge of the verbal and nonverbal codes and other linguistic and cultural norms that are prevalent in a particular speech community.

Language, Worldview, and Communication Styles

Language use varies among cultural groups. This means that even speakers of the same first language who are socialized in different parts of the world may express themselves differently and have different worldviews or philosophical outlooks. For example, native speakers of English in Australia and Britain vary in their use of aspects such as idiomatic expressions, communication styles, and humor, among others. In particular, speakers of the same language may employ different degrees of directness in their speech, and this also varies depending on the context and status of the communicators. All of these dimensions may challenge their intercultural communication, raising awareness of the importance of the linguistic dimension in all intercultural interactions.

Pragmatic usage, in particular, differs among speech communities. Consequently, when people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds interact, they may easily misinterpret a speaker's intended meaning. Listeners may take offense when none is intended or perceive romantic interest when there isn't any. Newcomers who use a more direct style of communication than is the norm in a particular cultural context may be labeled as rude and aggressive; conversely, those who employ a more indirect style in situations where direct discourse is valued may be perceived as weak and indecisive. These negative, and often inaccurate, perceptions may significantly hamper intercultural relations.

Language, Power, and Intercultural Communication

Power can play a critical role in intercultural interactions. When people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds interact, they do not share an equal power status. In most encounters, the person with more power (e.g., a monolingual native speaker) determines how the communication process unfolds (e.g., which language or dialect is used, the speed of the discourse, who speaks when and for how long, what communication style is accorded more respect). Those in power, consciously or unconsciously, use language to reinforce and promote their own language variety, style of speech, and ways of thinking.

One's accent, communication style, and linguistic knowledge (e.g., level of proficiency/listening comprehension, awareness of language conventions prevalent in a particular context) affect one's degree of power or positioning in intercultural interactions. As English has become the dominant language of globalization and is a lingua franca in many parts of the world, individuals who are very proficient in this language may be accorded more status and privileges in intercultural interactions.

In any communicative event, it is important to be mindful of what language and linguistic features (e.g., accent, dialect, communication style) are regarded as prestigious. One must also recognize the ways in which language may be used to marginalize or degrade others. For example, individuals who speak with a particular accent or communication style may be cast in a negative light and associated with undesirable characteristics or stereotypes (e.g., perceived as less intelligent).

The Relationship Between Identity, Language, and Culture

One's self-conception or identity is a core element in intercultural interactions. We all have multiple identities (e.g., age, cultural, ethnic, gender, language, religious, national, cyber) that affect how we see others and ourselves. Identities are dynamic and are influenced by the socialization process; our linguistic, social, and cultural contexts; our desire to fit in with particular groups; and the perceptions of others.

Language identity denotes the relationship between one's sense of self and the language(s) used to communicate with others. Many dimensions of our social and cultural identities (e.g., gender, class, nationality, ethnicity) are shaped by the language or languages we speak. During the socialization process, language becomes strongly intertwined with culture and identity. Within a particular environment, at a certain period of history, language develops according to the needs and interests of the members of the speech community. Over time, social and cultural groups develop specific communication styles and linguistic norms (e.g., cultural scripts for speech acts such as greetings/apologies/refusals/requests, use of certain discourse markers of politeness in specific situations). Knowing the language of one's group and ancestors can provide a sense of belonging; however, in intercultural interactions, it can also serve as a barrier between individuals and groups who speak in a different way or use a different language or dialect, especially if one is accorded more respect.

One's language identity is linked to one's level of proficiency in a particular language, one's attitudes toward and feelings about the language (and the community where it is widely spoken), and one's historical connection with the language (e.g., whether one was raised in a community where the language is spoken or one learned it as an additional language in adulthood). In particular sociocultural settings and situations, we may emphasize specific dimensions of our identities (e.g., gender, class, nationality, ethnicity, personal) through language choice and use (e.g., accent, code mixing, jargon). With each speech act (e.g., request, apology, refusal), we may disclose our solidarity with (or separation from) the people we are communicating with. This notion is linked to *communication accommodation theory*, which posits that language may be used to draw us either closer to or farther apart from individuals with a different linguistic and cultural background (e.g., those who possess different social and cultural identities from ourselves). *Convergence* occurs when individuals (e.g., second-language speakers) try to minimize cultural difference by adjusting their nonverbal behaviors and speech patterns to match those of people belonging to another group (e.g., first-language speakers who possess different social and cultural identities from them). *Divergence* happens when individuals accentuate speech and nonverbal differences between themselves and people belonging to another group. For example, when a power imbalance is prevalent, second-language speakers may use a particular style of speech to emphasize their ingroup membership and to distinguish themselves from the person with whom they are speaking. Satisfying intercultural interactions involve delicate balancing acts of convergence and divergence.

In intercultural interactions, we routinely express and negotiate our identities through verbal and nonverbal means, in part depending on the messages we wish to convey about ourselves. In face-to-face encounters, our communication partners are also interpreting our actions and making assessments about us and what groups we belong to. Their perceptions, however, may not match our preferred self-identities, and when this happens, we may feel frustrated, misunderstood, and disrespected. For example, individuals may wish to be affiliated with a particular social, linguistic, or cultural group through the use of their second language, but first-language speakers may persist in viewing them as outsiders no matter how well they master the language. Conflicts may arise when one's language identity is not recognized or respected.

Similar to other types of social and cultural identities, language identities may shift during one's lifetime. For example, you might learn Arabic as a child in Egypt and then immigrate to the United States in your twenties, where you then live and function in your second language in your social and professional life. As you form strong bonds with English speakers, you develop a sense of belonging to that linguistic community. You may marry a native English-speaking American and have children who speak only English. In some circles, however, the identity you wish to convey (e.g., your English-language self) may not be accepted by locals. Owing to your accent and other factors, you may still be positioned as a second-language speaker, no matter how fluent you are. Language, identity, and power can be very sensitive issues in intercultural communication.

Learning an additional language need not result in *subtractive bilingualism*, that is, the loss of one's first language and cultural identity as one masters the second language. With *additive bilingualism*, one's first language and culture continue to be nurtured even as one becomes more proficient in the second language and culture. In the latter case, individuals are enriched by learning two or more languages and cultures. Over time, with an open mind-set, bilinguals (or multilinguals) may develop a more broadened, hybrid sense of self, incorporating elements of multiple cultures and languages.

The Significance of Language in Intercultural Communication Interactions

In today's globalized world, with significant advances in technology and transportation, people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds are coming into contact with one another with increasing frequency. While some encounters are face-to-face, many others involve online communication (e.g., e-mail, Facebook, Skype, Twitter) or the use of the phone or fax. Our ever-changing, interconnected world demands effective intercultural communication skills, global competency, and linguistic ability in more than one language, especially an international one. As immigration is also leading to linguistic and cultural diversity in many nations, it is imperative that we understand the relationship between language, identity, and culture. Our affiliations with particular groups can provide us with a sense of belonging, but our identities and attitudes can also serve as barriers to intercultural communication (e.g., lead to stereotyping, discrimination, and exclusion). Increasingly, bilingual or multilingual interactions further underscore the need to better understand the impact of language and identity in intercultural relations.

The role of language in intercultural communication is naturally very important for applied linguists and second-language teachers, as well as second-language learners. Educators who are responsible for preparing individuals to communicate in another language, whether at home or abroad, must pay attention to both linguistic and sociocultural elements. People in other professions (e.g., communication, healthcare, business, tourism) also need to be mindful of the multiple ways in which language use, attitudes, identity, and positioning may influence intercultural relations.

When individuals from different cultural backgrounds interact, one or more of the speakers is apt to be using a second language, and if the person is not fluent in the language, miscommunication may easily occur. In intercultural interactions, speakers who are using their first language need to be aware of their privileged position and recognize that their communication partners are apt to be expending considerable effort and energy in order to express their ideas in their second language. Individuals with a limited proficiency in the language may mentally translate a message in their head, formulate a response in their native language, and then struggle to convey their thoughts in their second language. They may also be plagued with insecurities about their grammar/word choice and fear that they will be misunderstood. To be mindful intercultural communicators, individuals need to routinely employ measures to check that their second-language communication partners understand their intended messages, without causing embarrassment. In second-language interactions in particular, it is imperative for first-language speakers to demonstrate respect for conversation partners who may not be fully proficient in the language.

With more understanding of the linguistic dimension in intercultural interactions, it is possible to avoid confusing language problems with cultural misunderstandings, and vice versa. To better understand the multifarious connection between language, culture, power, and identity, it is imperative for scholars in different disciplines to come together in order to study intercultural interactions in context. This can deepen our knowledge about the central and complex role that language plays in the intercultural communication process.

Jane Jackson

See also Applied Linguistics; Communication Accommodation Theory; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Applied Linguistics; English as a Lingua Franca; Language and Identity; Language, Culture, and Intercultural Communication; Language Use and Culture; Linguaculture; Pragmatics; Sociolinguistics; Speech Acts

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Intercultural Communication in China

Since China's opening in the 1980s, intercultural communication competence (ICC) has been a focus of the fields of foreign language education (FLE) and comparative cultural studies or intercultural communication studies in China. Approaches to ICC mainly adopt a functional, cognitive-behavioral approach, that is, how to teach or train students or course participants in the knowledge or ways that will tangibly increase their appropriateness and effectiveness in interactions with others. These have progressed from early efforts to enhance communicative language competence and expanded to language and specific cultural knowledge, then to more general notions of cultural awareness and skills, and now increasingly to ICC. Chinese work on ICC largely continues to borrow overseas conceptualizations and adapt them primarily to language learning or teaching contexts, seeking to prepare Chinese students and sojourners for interaction in international contexts. There is growing awareness of the need to explore and expand the dynamics of ICC according to Chinese perceptions, with more relevance to the increasing complexity of both Chinese and global contexts.

Development: The Historical Context

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, China became increasingly cut off from most of the world. Embroiled in continued campaigns directed at nation building, corrective political movements, socialist economic policies, devastating natural disasters, and the political intrigues that resulted in the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), it was not until the pragmatist leader Deng Xiaoping took over at the helm in 1978 that the nation stabilized and developed. His *four modernizations*, open-door and economic reform policies, set China on a new course. As China began to reengage with the world, the need for foreign language teaching (FLT) became an acute priority. Some of the first international students sent abroad to the West returned to develop the new language curriculum. Wenzhong Hu returned in 1982 from a visiting scholar stay in Australia and helped telecast China's first language learning show, the BBC's *Follow-Me* program.

In the early 1980s, scholars focused on ways to teach language more effectively, communicatively, and in line with new research on Chinese contrastive linguistics, pragmatics, or second language acquisition. Guozhang Xu is often credited with being the first to publish this awareness of contrastive language and culture with his 1982 essay *Culturally Loaded Words and English Language Teaching*. The sociolinguistic aspects of cultures were also being considered in the early-1980s works of Yuan Chen, with titles like *Language and Social Culture*. Daokuan He, from Shenzhen University, highlighted exemplary works from U.S. sociology and anthropology in a 1983 essay, "My Views on Comparative Culture," suggesting that these could enrich a wide range of language and culture applications and develop capable professional or diplomatic communicators in China. He was one of the first to highlight the concept of *appropriate contextual competence*.

Such impulses fostered a broad array of programs focused on the cultures of English-speaking countries, with the initial courses titled British and American Survey, American Culture, and British Society and Politics. Winston Brembeck's quip was often cited, reminding learners that just knowing someone else's language without knowing their culture might make a person a fluent fool.

Emergence of Intercultural Communication as a Field in China

This expansion of FLT and language and culture courses and programs in the 1980s led to a growing awareness of the need for intercultural communication (IC). In another 1983 essay, Daokuan He also suggested establishing this dynamic field. Focusing on FLT, contrastive linguistics, pragmatics, and communicative competence approaches, the early work sought to cultivate cultural awareness in language use and introduce basic intercultural concepts, as evidenced by a number of texts and conferences titled "Language and Culture" in the late 1980s. Beijing Foreign Studies University was an early center of this focus, and Wenzhong Hu, in the late 1980s, coedited some of the first intercultural readers.

Nationwide, scholars also launched the first intercultural courses (e.g., Hu's master of arts course in the late 1980s), started directing MA theses (e.g., Yuxin Jia, then at Heilongjiang University, in 1987), and wrote the first textbooks in the mid-1990s. These included Enping Zhuang (Shanghai University); Shijie Guan (Peking University), who compiled his 1995 text while on a study leave at Harvard in 1988–1990; Hongyin Wang (Nankai University, Tianjin), who did his MA with John Condon at the University of New Mexico in 1988–1990; Yuxin Jia (Harbin Institute of Technology), who gathered materials for his 1996 text while teaching at Illinois State University in Springfield in 1987–1989; Dajin Lin (Fuzhou Normal University); and Yihong Gao (Peking University). Hu and Gao cowrote one of the first works to deal with intercultural FLT, which also noted various levels of competence.

Comparisons with native users of English (usually Britons or Americans) provided the early frame of reference for the field. The growing U.S. American IC field served as the main inspiration. Li Song has reported that most of her MA textbooks at Heilongjiang University (1988–1990) were ones that her supervisor Yuxin Jia had brought back from the United States, among them many works by William Gudykunst. She completed her master's thesis, *Intercultural Communication and Foreign Language Teaching*, in 1990. Doctoral dissertations with an IC focus started appearing in the mid- to late 1990s, including those directed by Weidong Dai, Zhaoxiong He, Shuzhong Hu, Qinghua Feng, and Dechun Wang at Shanghai International Studies University (SISU), where Steve Kulich and Hongling Zhang were pioneering IC coursework, as well as Wenzhong Hu, who directed the first two interculturally related dissertations at Beijing Foreign Studies University, one in 1995 and the other in 2000. Hongling Zhang completed her dissertation, *Intercultural Approach to Foreign Language Teaching*, in 1999, which inspired her pioneering articles and monographs of the past decade. In the late 1990s, courses, research papers, and books also appeared from scholars like Jiazu Gu and Linnell Davis (Nanjing Normal University), Ruiqing Du and Benxian Li (Xi'an Foreign Language University), and Degen Tang (Xiangtan University).

After the culture fad of the late 1980s inspired the early language and culture conferences, Harbin Institute of Technology (with support from the U.S.-based International Association of Intercultural Communication Studies) hosted the first truly international IC conference in 1995. There the Chinese Association for Intercultural Communication was established with the aim of fostering Chinese intercultural teaching and research and promoting cooperation between Chinese and international scholars. With an official identity, an association that meets every 2 years, and a growing palette of texts, the field grew rapidly. Hu reported in 1999 that IC research and educational articles exceeded 1,000 by 1997, reached 2,000 in the next 5 years, and approached 6,000 in 2009, illustrating the rapid growth of the field.

ICC: The Key Chinese IC Application Area

At the turn of this century, as MA, PhD, and research programs began to be more focused, scholars emphasized the need to move the IC field beyond language. The scope has expanded, with ICC becoming an increasingly important focus. Scholars such as Hongling Zhang, Yihong Gao, Lisheng Xu, and Li Song have been key proponents of developing the conceptualization and implementation of ICC. Most textbooks now include ICC as an underlying goal of their design or as a specific chapter topic. Competence is increasingly integrated as a core component in IC courses and research projects, like those of Weiwei Fan and Hua Zhong (Huazhong University of Science and Technology) and Yi'an Wang (Hangzhou Electrical Technology University). The undergraduate and graduate courses started in 1999 at SISU (initially called Intercultural Communication Theory and Practice) focused on developing ICC by using experiential exercises from Linell Davis's text *Doing Culture*, later added Myron Lustig and Jolene Koester's textbook, and have accordingly been renamed as Intercultural Communication Competence.

Conceptually, however, scholars have been grappling with appropriate ways to adapt ICC to Chinese contexts. Gao proposed two levels of ICC—(1) a *going across* (increasing target culture proficiency) and (2) a *going beyond* (gaining cultural awareness and a reflective, tolerant attitude)—suggesting that going beyond is the more important pedagogical objective for English language teaching in China. In noting the inadequacies in China's models of FLT, Qiufang Wen argued that they be taught with a focus on intercultural competence and made suggestions for teaching English as a second language. Her two-component Intercultural Communicative Competence Model focuses on (1) communicative competence (linguistic, pragmatic, and strategic competence) and (2) intercultural competence (sensitivity to, tolerance of, and flexibility in dealing with cultural differences). She further suggests that (a) all language-teaching programs offer an IC course that combines the daily teaching of cultural knowledge with promoting the students' ICC and that (b) ICC should be a part of general education to help students develop a competitive global edge. Other scholars have proposed domestic ICC frameworks that involve a global mentality, cultural adaptation, knowledge, and communicative management.

Empirical Study on the Conceptualizations and Framework of ICC

In the past decade, a number of domestic scholars have been moving beyond calling for competence to actually empirically studying how the conceptualizations, frameworks, and applications of ICC work in China. Yongchen Gao has conducted several studies on the function and development of cultural empathy in ICC, as well as investigating how effective the new syllabus guidelines are in cultivating the college student's ICC. Various empirical studies include interviews, proposals for framework building, modified surveys or new questionnaires, and conclusions relevant to the FLE needs for ICC in China. Yet most have followed the standard model of affective, cognitive, and behavioral characteristics and skills, with the typical components highlighted, like cultural awareness, cultural knowledge, and communicative practice.

Influence and Inclusion of ICC in National Policies

All this work is beginning to influence national attitudes, practices, and even policy. In 1999, the Chinese Ministry of Education revised the FLT curriculum and syllabus to include IC awareness and ICC in the teaching of foreign languages. College English teachers nationwide now affirm the promotion of communicative competence but are still challenged with how to integrate it effectively into their teaching of ICC, though methods such as discussions, presentations, case scenarios, critical incidents, role-plays, and debates are being tried.

However, there continue to be larger conceptual concerns. Lisheng Xu has been one of the continuing evaluators of the construction of ICC in China and in various forums has noted that it is still influenced by the Western traditions of U.S. communication studies. He highlights the prevailing tendencies in this research toward reductionism, fragmentation, a pragmatic preoccupation with effectiveness, and non-cross-cultural orientations and makes constructivist suggestions to develop true cross-cultural paradigms in order to further the field. This dominance of modernist, functionalist, and essentialized approaches to developing Chinese learners' ICC means that phenomenological, critical discourse, postmodern, or postcolonial perspectives have hardly been noted to date.

Yet progress in IC research has undergirded the trend of national efforts in integrating ICC into FLE. The 2000 Chinese English Syllabus for English Majors emphasized cultivating English majors' ICC for the first time. The Chinese English Syllabus for English Majors now requires that English majors have intercultural awareness, tolerance, and flexibility in real intercultural contexts. Two more influential policy documents came out in 2004. The Chinese College English Curriculum Requirements gave intercultural competence the same important role as English knowledge and language proficiency for millions of college English learners. The new Chinese High School English Curriculum Standard elaborated that English education in high schools should include cultural knowledge, awareness, and skills in IC. With these three policy documents from the Chinese Ministry of Education, IC education and ICC are gradually being integrated into different levels of English education across China.

Current Status of IC in China: Associations/ Conferences, Courses/Programs and Centers, Research, and Publications

In the past decade, more than 20 universities (nearly every institution listed) have developed postgraduate programs and IC centers to advance IC teaching, comparative research, and ICC training. In cooperation with international and domestic IC scholars, the key presses in FLE are playing important publishing roles. Within the past decade, SISU's affiliated Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press and Beijing Foreign Studies University's affiliated Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, Peking University Press, and Higher Education Press have been reprinting seminal international IC works in China and launching a new national series. The SISU Intercultural Institute launched an edited series, *Intercultural Research*, focusing on key themes of IC. Several recent surveys found that IC scholars and practitioners in China have more than 80 textbooks available, most of them with a chapter or section devoted to competence.

Assessment of Weaknesses in the IC Field

A series of recent articles have noted weaknesses in IC teaching in FLE across China, such as the lack of (a) differentiated roles of language and competence teaching; (b) clear aims and systematic content; (c) holistic, integrated designs (e.g., the need to link the IC teaching curriculum, textbooks, and evaluation); (d) IC training for the teaching staff; (e) both teachers' and students' awareness of the importance of IC education, especially the deeper understanding of diversity and the dynamics of cultures; and (f) theoretical foundations for the indigenous application of IC education (e.g., a reconceptualization of Chinese ICC). A review by Kong and Luan of the major literature on cross-cultural college English teaching in the past decade suggests that China's IC is not effectively supporting the college English curriculum reforms, has not yet caught up with globalization trends, and is not yet providing adequate foundations for the nation's need of IC teaching and learning at the college level. The need to upgrade the status of Chinese IC teaching and research (topics, methods, and subjects) is great. The need to improve intercultural research methodologies and publishing is also pressing. More ethnographic explorative work and data-driven empirical studies are needed, whether based on in-depth qualitative, quantitative, or mixed triangulated methods.

Status and Prospects for Integration With Other IC Streams

It would give an incomplete picture to assume that IC (generally called *kuawenhua jiaoji*) is expressed only in the realm of language and culture teaching in China. There are also important IC scholars in areas like historical language studies, multicultural discourses, and comparative literature and a host of scholars dealing with IC translation and other text- or media-related applications. Since the turn of the century, there has also been rapid growth in research on IC in mass communications. However, the study of IC in mass communications has as yet not focused much on competence, except as it is occasionally embedded in considering media management, production, or media effects, cultivating audience awareness, targeting advertising, or developing visual literacy.

While most countries have a strong parallel (or in some cases parent) field of cross-cultural psychology, Chinese comparative social psychology has generally focused more on educational comparisons and ways of fostering children's school achievements or career orientations. Only a few scholars are working on intercultural-related topics like ICC, among them Wenhua Yan (East China Normal University, Shanghai), who conducted a national research project assessing the intercultural competence of international students in Shanghai, translated a leading international cross-cultural psychology text, and has written her own case-based book. This text has a strong focus on cultivating the psychological aspects of ICC, with a chapter dedicated to analyzing and applying the models of Brian Spitzberg and William R. Cupach and that of G. Belay.

In the past decade, there has also been incredible growth in cross-cultural management, organizational, and business studies. Since 2009, Zheng Fan (SISU College of International Business) and his team have hosted a biennial conference on cross-cultural management, published the proceedings in a new journal, and launched an MBA program focusing on *borderless management*, with a strong intercultural component and a course dedicated to ICC. Weilin Dou has been active with her colleagues at the University of International Business and Economics, Beijing, developing national research studies and textbooks for IC in business contexts. Enping Zhuang (Shanghai University) has continued to focus on developing competence in business-related English teaching and corporate training. Shuming Zhao (Nanjing University) is one of the national leaders on cross-cultural issues in human resource management and is involved in the dynamic group of domestic and overseas Chinese scholars affiliated with the International Association for Chinese Management Research, founded in 2002. A number of scholars at Asia's leading business school, the China European International Business School, are publishing cutting-edge cross-cultural organizational and leadership publications.

Summary of Progress and Prospects for the Future

With less than three decades of history as a concept or practice, the field of IC in China has solidified and accomplished much since its official start in Harbin in 1995. It is widely recognized, however, that clearer domestic conceptualization, greater rigor in research operationalization, and methodological analysis are needed, for the broader field of IC as well as ICC studies. Yet with increasing Ministry of Education mandates for language and culture teaching and the growing awareness and pressure to keep up with the pace of globalization and international exchanges, the challenges of and opportunities for understanding and applying ICC have never been greater for scholars and practitioners. For example, in the past decade, colleges of business and organizational training firms have also increasingly focused on ICC training in international work and management contexts. With such a rapidly growing market and acknowledged need, ICC research and applications in China have bright prospects. Yet a better understanding of ICC in increasingly differentiated Chinese contexts and among diverse types of Chinese has never been more important. Grappling with ways to link indigenous Chinese studies to international theorizing and applications will be an essential part of the IC scholarly and training enterprise in the coming years.

Steve J. Kulich and Yi'an Wang

See also Cross-Cultural Communication; Intercultural Sensitivity

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Intercultural Communication in Europe

This entry presents both a diachronic and a synchronic analysis of the term *intercultural competence* in Europe; of its respective geographical, disciplinary and political width; as well as of the use of other related terminologies and their semantic and conceptual discussion.

Although the specific term *intercultural competence* has only recently been introduced in Europe, whether in education or in professional training, *culture*, most often understood in ethnocentric patterns, has traditionally been an issue in European political and social history. In addition to the fact that European political associations and organizations, even empires, have always been culturally hegemonic, European modern history, and the Enlightenment, developed even more intensively cultural and political hegemony based on the construction of the nation-state, of which Benedict Anderson gives an interesting account. After World War II, with the foundation of the European Community, and later on with its enlargement, issues of intercultural communication came to the fore with more intensity. This occurred more particularly with the integration of southern European countries in the 1980s, called the Mediterranean enlargement, and its expansion to the east in the 21st century, called the post–Cold War enlargement.

Language, Culture, and Citizenship

In Europe, the concept of *culture* has always been very much linked to the concept of *language*, and since the modern era, both have been closely related to the notion of *citizenship*, due to the importance of this triangle in the conceptualization and formation of the nation-state. Nevertheless, this hegemony has started nowadays to be deconstructed, both in theory and in practice, and overcome by political, economic, and technological globalization and, furthermore, by the increasing political recognition and social visibility of plurilingualism and multicultural communities within the nation-states. However, in Europe, official plurilingualism and multiculturalism still remain mostly perceived as international rather than as intranational. Regional and immigrant native languages are considered to be territorially circumscribed, both in their regions and in urban communities, and are considered as communication tools in their private spheres, rather than as intercultural tools. In Europe, the languages that are active in intercultural situations are, besides English in first place, central languages such as French, German, and, much more recently, Spanish and Portuguese.

Mobility and Immigration

Mobility has been a key word in both educational and professional transnational exchange programs in Europe. The European Commission designated 2006 as the *European Year of Workers' Mobility* and 2008 as the *European Year of Intercultural Dialogue*. Mobility and immigration are two opposing social frameworks within the scope of intercultural competence in Europe, since they both refer to distinct socioeconomic levels and, therefore, to different kinds of education and performance—mobility for the upper classes, within European circles, and immigration for the lower, working classes, mostly coming from outside Europe. The notion of citizenship has, therefore, become more flexible, both by moving beyond the borders of the nation-state and by gradually renovating itself intranationally.

Cosmopolitanism

In the meantime, the notion of cosmopolitanism, once external to the idea of nationality, has also acquired an internal dimension; that is, societies have become more cosmopolitan within the national borders, due to ethnic, cultural, and linguistic diversity. Furthermore, the difference between the concepts of migration and mobility accounts for the existence of two types of cosmopolitanism, if the focus is on citizenship issues, which correspond to two types of bilingualism or multilingualism and have become predominant in European societies: (1) deficit cosmopolitanism and (2) elite cosmopolitanism. The first, internal to the nation-state, lies at the multicultural fringes of society, generally restricted to the lower socioeconomic levels, which are only recognized by a monocultural state to the extent that they are expected to go through a transitory bilingualism in order to reach a native-like monolingualism and to keep their multicultural spaces apart, the private and the public. The second, external to the nation-state, lies in the upper socioeconomic levels of society, where multilingualism is the goal and the dialogue between cultures is possible and, therefore, intercultural competencies are valued, regardless of how they are achieved, as long as they are strategically effective. However, middle-class cosmopolitanism has become ubiquitous due to globalization, "glocalization," and the resulting exchange programs in education. Lower-class cosmopolitanism has become more educated, and therefore, individuals are reaching the upper levels or are establishing more ambitious objectives for the ethnic groups to which they remain loyal.

Europe, a Complex Political and Social Web of Relations

In Europe, intercultural competence reflects a complex political and social web of relations, both historical and contemporary, and is committed to different aims both in education and in work contexts. At the policy level, decisions and recommendations have been put forward by the European Commission, its Parliament, and the Council of Europe for the promotion of multilingualism and intercultural dialogue. In the context of professional development programs, leading models provided by higher education institutions all over Europe, such as the Copenhagen Business School and Anglia Ruskin University, as well as other private organizations, have responded to the requirements of corporations, mainly multinational companies acting globally.

Terminologies: A Plurality of Interests

The difference in terminology, *migration* and *mobility*, does not simply address the apparent difference between groups of people moving only one or both ways. While the former is meant to emphasize the underlying perceptions of low status, the latter aims to acknowledge that the groups of people referred to are not only guests but also hosts in a transnational sense; that is, it works both ways for those who come and go. Such distinction accounts for the positive connotations of the term *expatriate* (or *foreigner* in some languages) and the negative connotations of the word *migrant*. The value of the term *immigrant*, as far as a particular group is concerned, has been influenced not only by the host country's perceptions of the immigrant's country of origin but also by his or her individual socioeconomic status in the host country.

In Europe, both in policy documents and in the academy, as well as in the media, there has been a diversification of terms replacing and related to *intercultural competence*, notably *intercultural communication*, *intercultural dialogue*, and *intercultural understanding*. It is also worth discussing the use of *multicultural* or *intercultural*. Both have been used simultaneously, although with a chronological predominance, starting with the former and ending with the current preponderance of the latter, as well as the geographical dominance of the former in the north and of the latter in the south of Europe. Throughout the 1960s to the 1990s, *multiculturalism* was, on the whole, used more frequently, and the term *intercultural* was generally unrecognized. It is well known that the Anglophone academy has, for almost half a century now, taken the lead in the theorization and policy design of multiculturalism, and therefore, the term *multiculturalism* has become popular both in the academy and in the media, in political debate as well as in informal talks. It was not so long ago that European scholars, teachers, politicians, and so on did not even recognize the word *intercultural*. However, the latter term has become more and more popular despite the fact that in northern countries, in particular in Scandinavia, *international* and *transcultural* are still more popular terms.

Since the word *intercultural* has become increasingly used in transnational official documents, for example, those produced by the Council of Europe and the European Commission, it has recently become more familiar. However, this does not mean that its use is consensual or even equally acceptable for every tradition, either in scientific interpretation or in ideological terms. The word *intercultural* still sounds strange, a neologism, in Anglophone circles, while it has on the whole been accepted, from the beginning, as commonplace in Spanish and Portuguese in Ibero-American circles, where the term was promptly and easily adopted despite its different connotations.

Finally, it must be stated that the term *intercultural competence* has recently gained momentum in Europe and has become more consensual, in both the educational and the professional development fields, despite the fact that the word *competence* causes suspicion among critical interculturalists on the grounds that the two concepts, intercultural and competence, are incompatible. A variety of definitions, from a wide theoretical spectrum, have recently been put forward by European scholars such as Stephanie Rathje, Geert Hofstede, and Manuela Guilherme.

Intercultural Competence for European Globalization

With economic globalization and the expansion of multinationals, European companies need a workforce prepared to collaborate, negotiate, and implement across cultures, even though most often monolingually due to the hegemony of English, generally called a *lingua franca* on such grounds. Research has also attempted, from the 1980s onward, to respond to these needs, although in Europe research in intercultural competence focusing on professional development programs has lagged behind research dedicated to education, especially foreign-language education, as described by Mike Byram and Manuela Guilherme. While discussing the goal of intercultural competence, Stephanie Rathje often describes it as economically oriented. In addition, other authors such as Alois Moosmüller and Michael Schönhuth mention that it has grown in the area of international management before spreading to education, psychology, linguistics, and other social sciences. In professional training, leading research in Europe has mainly come out of the Netherlands, Germany, and England, which does not mean that scholars from other countries, such as Denmark and France, have not produced equally valuable models. However, most of the research produced in Europe in this particular field has been carried out in intensive dialogue and discussion with U.S.-based research on intercultural competence. Geert Hofstede, a Dutch scholar, deserves particular attention for his transnational impact in the field with his theory based on dichotomous dimensions, such as individualism–collectivism. Several doctoral theses have also been devoted to research on intercultural competence in the workplace, such as that of Catherine Geoffrois (who received an award from the newspaper *Le Monde*) on the collaboration between English and French coworkers.

The European Commission has also promoted research on intercultural competence in the workplace, mostly through the already finished Leonardo da Vinci program and other current programs. For example, the INCA Project, which was meant for young engineers and their trainers, created a draft framework for the assessment of intercultural competence, while the ICOPROMO (Intercultural Competence for Professional Mobility) designed and tested modules that aimed to develop intercultural competence, based on eight axes to describe the main capacities composing intercultural competence.

Intercultural Competence and Education in Europe

As stated above, most of the research on intercultural competence in Europe has been carried out in the field of education and, more recently, with a great emphasis on language education and the development of plurilingualism. At the policy level, both the European Commission and the Council of Europe have provided guidelines, recommendations, and funding to help member countries tackle cultural diversity in their societies, in general, and in their education systems, in particular.

As far as the European Commission is concerned, there are permanent references to a culturally diverse *European identity* in their documents. The Green Paper on *European Dimension in Education* came out following a Resolution of the Council of Ministers of Education in 1988, which stressed the need to reinforce a sense of European identity in young people. This identity was defined more clearly in a declaration by the Council in 1997, on respecting diversity and combating racism and xenophobia, which defined Europe as diverse, tolerant, and solidary. But it is the Committee of Regions that, in an opinion from 1997, gave a more inclusive sense to that cultural mix, which was considered to be made up not only by the different nations but also by the diverse fabric of each society, with a special mention of the immigrant groups.

As far as the Council of Europe is concerned, through its focus on human rights, fundamental freedoms, and democratic values, early documents (late 1970s–mid-90s) generally prioritize *cultural dimensions* of citizenship education. In 1997, it launched a 3-year project on *Education for Democratic Citizenship* with the aim of developing and implementing different types of plural citizenship throughout Europe, considered as continental Europe, that is, beyond the current European Union countries. A number of Council of Europe documents refer to the multicultural nature of European communities and the education and integration of immigrants and their children. Nevertheless, it was not until 2003, at the 21st session of the standing conference of European Ministers of Education in Athens, that a project specifically targeted at intercultural education was launched by this institution with the aim of promoting conceptual research on intercultural education to clarify the concepts that had been used in the field. The INTERACT project, mentioned above, was intended to respond to this call.

Some substantial work in education was carried out in collaboration between the academy and the Council of Europe, namely that by Michael Byram, Geneviève Zarate, César Birzea, and others. Furthermore, language education in Europe adopted and developed a taxonomy of *savoirs* proposed by Byram and Zarate in the *Common European Framework of Reference for Language*, namely *savoir*, *savoir-être*, *savoir-faire*, *savoir-comprendre*, and *savoir-s'engager*, the latter accounting for full civic and democratic participation. Language education and cultural studies have made an important contribution to the development of a theory of intercultural communication and interaction and, consequently, have given more elasticity to the definition of intercultural competence in the field. This discussion originally began to expand with Byram and Zarate's contribution to the Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference for Languages with a new concept, the *intercultural speaker*, whom the authors have described as someone who displays the motivation and competencies for relating interculturally through the use of one or more languages. Following from this, much research has been carried out throughout Europe on the development of intercultural competence in language education.

Conclusion

Research on intercultural competence is currently still a work in progress in Europe and even more so as the terminology itself is unstable and contested. The same goes for the boundaries of this scientific field that have also raised questions. The basis for the scientific work in the topic has been mainly interdisciplinary, with the disciplines involved ranging from linguistics, literary, and cultural studies to education, anthropology, intercultural communication, sociology, political studies, and so on. The whole field was first led by academics in northern Europe, in dialogue with those in the United States; however, currently there have been important contributions from southern and eastern European countries, in dialogue with Latin America, Africa, and Asia. This complex networking has generated a great variety of perspectives, pointed out rich paths for research, and, moreover, questioned statements and beliefs that were taken for granted. Moreover, the Eurocentric perspectives of intercultural competence have been shaken. However, the discussion springs not only from outside the region but also mainly from inside the European societies where the cultural fabric is reflecting the deep demographic changes that they are undergoing.

Manuela Guilherme

See also English as a Lingua Franca; International Communication; Language, Culture, and Intercultural Communication

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Intercultural Communication in International Cooperation

International cooperation, also called development cooperation, is a wide field of activity including a great variety of actors. The official aim of international cooperation is to improve the quality of life of the citizens in the countries of cooperation. Two main groups of actors play a role in international cooperation: (1) donors and (2) local partners and beneficiaries. The *donor* group includes large international organizations, governments, nongovernmental and nonprofit organizations, religious organizations, and small private initiatives. Over the past years, the corporate world has also made its entry into international cooperation. The *beneficiary* group includes governments and local administrations, corporations, local communities, religious organizations, and individual citizens.

All these actors are present in the countries of cooperation, sometimes in synergy with one another, sometimes in competition. In both groups of actors, staff needs to work across cultures in order to implement programs and projects. Therefore, intercultural competence is central. Indeed, projects developed and carried through by actors sensitive to cultural dimensions have a higher potential for sustainability. This entry explores specific intercultural challenges for the donors and for the beneficiaries, before suggesting intercultural competencies for international cooperation.

Challenges for the Donor and Expatriate Group

Professionals or volunteers entering a host country to work on a project of international cooperation seldom find the ideal conditions necessary for communicating across cultures. Some of the most common challenges they may face include the following.

High Levels of Stress

This applies especially in the field of emergency and humanitarian aid, during or after wars, natural disasters, or epidemics. Working under stress and with fear is not ideal to practice empathy and to open up to other ways, values, or priorities. The development worker tends to reproduce what that person can do well, with little awareness of cultural differences.

Exposure to Extreme Economic Poverty

Cooperation workers are often confronted, sometimes for the first time, with extreme economic poverty and distress. To remain sensitive without becoming paralyzed or cynical is a delicate balance that may need to be reestablished, sometimes even daily.

Culturally Inadequate Tools

Most organizations use a set of tools developed at headquarters and applied on all continents. Planning, monitoring, and evaluating are usually based on the same tools and principles in all partner countries, without any consideration of differences in communication styles, value orientations, beliefs, or other cultural factors. The idea that "one size fits all" can set up enormous barriers to serving the host cultures.

Short Assignments

Development workers seldom spend more than 2 or 3 years in the same country. Although this may seem like a long time by the standards of present-day Western society, it is barely enough to start understanding a new culture in depth. The increasing pressure to achieve measureable results quickly leaves expatriate workers with little time to learn about the local culture, understand it, and take it into account in their work.

False Expectations Regarding Trust

Expatriate staff in international cooperation may have unrealistic expectations of trust being offered to them as soon as they arrive, because they are "well-intentioned, nice people who come to help." The disillusion is sometimes bitter when one realizes that, as in any other professional field, trust must be developed and that intercultural sensitivity plays a central role in the process.

Challenges to Effective Intercultural Communication for the Beneficiaries

Local professionals or volunteers who work with visiting international cooperation personnel also live under conditions that complicate meaningful intercultural communication. Among the most common challenges they may face are the following.

High Levels of Stress

In situations of war, epidemics, and natural disasters, local colleagues experience high stress levels linked to their own survival and that of their family and community, as well as the sometimes culturally inadequate behavior of some expatriate colleagues. Practicing empathy and cultural openness is very difficult under these conditions.

Economic and Educational Gaps

The gap between the economic status and educational opportunities of expatriates and those of local partners or beneficiaries is often so large that it can be difficult to bridge in relational terms. Local colleagues often perceive a sense of superiority and lack of respect for their own knowledge and culture from the visiting colleagues. This superiority/inferiority dynamic is a persistent challenge for partnerships.

Residual Lack of Trust From Colonialism

In some countries, colonialism has left lasting wounds that still affect intercultural relations, especially in terms of trust and identity. Whether in the form of internalized oppression or ongoing anger, the invisible effects of prior experiences endure.

Short Assignments of Expatriate Colleagues

The short assignments of expatriate colleagues require that their local colleagues, who tend to work far longer in projects, are always in the process of getting to know new colleagues who are often their superiors and who bring constant change in priorities, attitudes, and behavior. Local colleagues hesitate to enter into meaningful relations, knowing that the person will soon be gone and be replaced by another, who will also need to be supported through a period of culture shock. Innovation is inhibited by this lack of continuity, and important teamwork is jeopardized.

Bridging Between Cultures

Local colleagues often function as cultural interpreters between expatriate colleagues and local beneficiaries. This role can be very demanding, especially if both of the partners named above are not interculturally competent. Local colleagues may be criticized by their own cultural group for abandoning their culture, while expatriate workers may complain that the local connection is not adapting enough. The local development worker lives with constant pressure to be more, or less, adaptive.

Intercultural Communication Competencies for International Cooperation

In addition to the classic intercultural competencies like empathy, coping with uncertainty, handling culture shock, or suspending judgment, actors on both sides of international cooperation will achieve more lasting results in more enjoyable ways if they develop the following communication competencies across cultures. This section includes several quotes from a collection of stories published by Cinfo that present the perspectives of local colleagues in international cooperation projects in seven countries around the world.

Respect

Effective international cooperation is built on partnership and community. This cannot happen without respect among all partners. However, local partners often feel disrespected by expatriate colleagues. Their voices are heard in the following examples:

> The project did not take off, because words and behaviors of that officer had made them (the villagers) think that they were being looked down on. They could not accept such nagging contempt. (Laotian actor in international cooperation)

> I was given an opportunity to plan a workshop with two international volunteers working here in Zambia. They did not consider my ideas. I felt my contributions were brushed aside or were not valued. (Zambian actor in international cooperation)

Staff in international cooperation, whether on site or at the headquarters, need to be sensitive to the way they interact and to discover the local meanings and expressions of respect. In development projects, respect is the most central theme for all local partners.

Listening

Interculturally competent listening communicates respect. Listening effectively to discover the needs of a community does not happen in the same way in a village in Togo as in a village in Germany. Newly arrived colleagues need to take time to observe and listen, without interpreting and judging too fast and especially without falling into the trap of giving advice before really understanding the complexity of the situation. The African proverb "When you arrive in a new place, open your eyes, not your mouth" is particularly apt in this case.

Taking the time to listen can be difficult, especially as projects get shorter and the pressure for results increases. Nevertheless, respectful listening is empowering. It is one of the central competencies for moving beyond feelings of superiority or inferiority to develop a healthy relational balance between international communication partners.

Direct and Indirect Communication and Conflict Styles

The following voices illustrate the central relevance of this field of competence:

> In our culture, we have different ways of solving conflicts, depending on the nature of the conflict. We don't always need to talk about it. Sometimes, rituals are the best methods, sometimes talking, sometimes saying nothing. Expatriate colleagues are sometimes exhausting when they always want to talk about everything in very direct ways. We don't do that. (Vietnamese actor in international cooperation)

> How can we give direct feedback to our boss? He or she is our boss! (Kirghiz actor in international cooperation)

Cultures develop their own communication and conflict styles. However, in projects of international cooperation, conflicts are mostly addressed in the preferred style of the foreign partners—thus inadequately. Development specialists must know that solving conflicts happens in various ways; they must be attentive to the methods of their local partners and learn to practice some of them. This is especially important when talking about sensitive issues and conflicts or when giving feedback.

Nonverbal Communication

Although the nonverbal field is too wide to address here in a comprehensive way, the importance of attending to nonverbal cues is critical to mission success. The following voices illustrate important points of attention:

> Often expatriate colleagues dress in very inappropriate ways when they go to the local communities, or when they attend church services. People feel uneasy with this kind of behavior. (Namibian actor in international cooperation)

> Some cultures love hugging each other or kissing when they greet. We don't do that. It is not appropriate to hug your colleague when you want to greet or congratulate him or her. (Actor in international cooperation from Myanmar)

Expatriate colleagues in the field of international cooperation need to learn and practice some of the central nonverbal dimensions of their host culture. The respect they get from the community and the energy the latter puts into the projects are centrally linked to appropriate nonverbal behavior.

Food

In most partner countries of international cooperation, sharing food is more than a matter of quenching thirst or consuming calories; it is central in developing trusting relationships.

> We had prepared a meal for foreign visitors. When they arrived, one of the men started to play with our flat bread, making masks out of it, to play with the children. We were so shocked. To us, bread is sacred. (Kirghiz actor in international cooperation)

> In our country, we are often hungry. When we are offered food, we never refuse it. (Zambian actor in international cooperation)

> In order to win the hearts of ethnic minorities, we need to be able to share their realities by drinking and eating with them. (Vietnamese actor in international cooperation)

Expatriate colleagues often have the opportunity to eat in local communities, during working days or at festive occasions. Tolerance of ambiguity, as a core intercultural competence, supports their being able to taste food that is unfamiliar to them, without making faces, and declining in culturally appropriate ways food they do not feel like eating. In countries where hospitality and trust building are related to sharing food, time for sharing meals needs to be built into the program as part of the requirements for effective change-agentry.

Time

Sharing food helps in building relations with local colleagues, authorities, and communities. This requires time. Staff need to know that time invested in building relationships, getting to know one another, and sharing meals is not wasted time.

It is time invested toward more efficient work based on understanding local needs, which generates local energy for the project.

> Expatriate colleagues are always in a rush, and they are not good at waiting. Even if I am on my way to meet them, I need to stop and greet a relative if I happen to meet one on the road. Also, sometimes things creep up that you have not planned. Expatriates need to learn flexibility. (Bolivian actor in international cooperation)

> How can our foreign colleagues prefer to stay at the office and work, when we are all attending a funeral?! (Namibian actor in international cooperation)

> My expatriate boss wanted to change everything very fast. He complained that Lao people were stupid. (Laotian actor in international cooperation)

International colleagues need to develop the competence of recognizing and switching between various time concepts. While their appointments and calendars are usually based on the clock and future oriented, the day of the local communities turns more frequently around the event and the present. Successful cooperation workers are able to know which time concept to apply in each situation and to navigate them both.

Money

Finally, dealing with money also requires special intercultural sensitivity in the field of international cooperation.

> Our rituals are very important for us and for our life beyond death. We save money to do these rituals well. (Malagasy actor in international cooperation)

> I can see that my expatriate colleague does not trust me with money. Sometimes I have no receipt when I buy fruit at the market. But people don't give receipts at the local market. (Zambian actor in international cooperation)

Indeed, large amounts of money are sometimes invested by and made available for the foreign actors, while local colleagues and local communities often experience severe financial need. The temptation for corruption is built into this imbalance and needs to be taken into account in the ways finances are handled. The intercultural competence of knowing one's own relation to money and that of the local partner is central in dealing with budgets and finance.

All Actors Need to Develop Intercultural Competence

The preceding sections have emphasized the intercultural competence needed by expatriate colleagues to achieve successful and sustainable results.

Local colleagues also need high levels of intercultural competence, both to deal with the constant flow of international visitors and to successfully navigate within-country cultural differences.

Although predeparture training is essential to orient future expatriate colleagues, trainings in the field that include both expatriate and local colleagues yield the most benefit. They allow structured, guided, and nonjudgmental dialogues; have a strong team-building effect; and enable both partners to develop intercultural competence—a key to sustainable international collaboration.

Véronique Schoeffel

See also Change-Agentry; Culture Shock; Expatriates; Intensity Factors; Intercultural Nonverbal Communication; Missionaries; Nongovernmental Organizations; Peacebuilding

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Intercultural Communication in Japan

Intercultural communication started to grow with a strong U.S. American influence in Japan in the 1980s, when Japan experienced its economic peak. In the 1990s, with Japan's domestic cultural diversity and widened world market, the field of intercultural communication flourished. In the 21st century, the field is subject to paradigm shifts and quests for its own identity.

In this entry, *culture* refers to subjective culture—a set of values, attitudes, and behaviors shared by a group of people—and the entry explicates the development of intercultural communication in Japan, the changes in research themes, and the paradigm shifts within the field.

Dawn of Intercultural Communication in Japan

At the end of the 1950s, when Japan was engaged in postwar reconstruction, the basis of the field began to form. In the latter half of the 1960s, the JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) started to dispatch volunteers to developing countries as a part of Official Development Assistance. In the 1970s, a series of books on *Japanology*, the study of Japanese people and society, were published, and U.S. scholars' books on intercultural communication were translated into Japanese. This served as a foundation for the emergence of intercultural communication in Japan.

There were two main groups of people who contributed to its growth in the 1980s: (1) those Japanese who had studied the field in Western countries and (2) non-Japanese people residing in Japan. These interculturalists began to use their expertise within educational institutions and business organizations. A number of Japanese companies made inroads worldwide, while many companies from North America, Europe, and Oceania, as well as from other Asian countries, came to Japan. In addition, individuals from various countries came to Japan to seek job opportunities, sometimes becoming manual laborers.

In the mid-1980s, a handful of interculturalists, both Japanese and foreigners residing in Japan, established SIETAR Japan (the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research), which is open to educators and practitioners with multilingual access. Likewise, academic associations such as the Intercultural Education Society of Japan were established. Training companies offered intercultural professional development programs to businesspeople, and U.S. scholars and trainers conducted a series of workshops for their Japanese counterparts. Moreover, several major private universities started courses in intercultural communication, mainly within the fields of English language or conference interpreting. Japan's government actively invited students from other Asian countries to Japanese universities to meet its goal of increasing the number of foreign students to 100,000. Thus, how to communicate well with foreign students became one of the research themes in the area of Japanese language education.

Although intercultural communication takes place in situations where two parties from different cultural backgrounds interact with each other, in the 1980s, there were many comparative studies on the differences between people from two cultures in speech acts such as apologizing, giving compliments, and making excuses. Terms such as *Japanese children living abroad*, *foreign students*, and *returnees* began to appear frequently in the academic journals, and globalization of workplace and educational institutions became a shared goal in the society.

Growth of Intercultural Communication

At the end of the 1980s and during the 1990s, the field flourished in many ways. First, there were governmentally supported programs such as the Japan Exchange and Teaching Program, which was started in 1987 to promote international exchange between Japan and other nations. Since then, more than 4,000 young people have come to Japan to work as assistant language teachers at public junior and senior high schools all over Japan. What keeps this program going is the relatively high status of English as an international language.

Second, diversity in cultural background among the people living in Japan became conspicuous in the 1990s. The international marriage rate rose sharply, and more Japanese married other Asians such as Chinese, Koreans, Filipinos, and Thais. Also, many Japanese corporations found markets in other Asian countries. The immigration law was reformed in 1990, which enabled Brazilians of Japanese descent to move easily between Japan and Brazil, and many of them started to work in the manufacturing industry.

Third, at schools of all levels, there emerged increased needs to accept and educate those from different cultural backgrounds or who speak different native languages, including returnees, children from international families, and children of foreign workers.

The scope of research themes and targets expanded and now includes Asian workers, international students, people of Korean descent, newcomers who came to Japan after the 1980s, and their children. Intercultural studies were conducted instead of comparative or contrastive studies. Thus, research explored themes arising from interactions between the aforementioned people and Japanese nationals. The term *intercultural communication* became pervasive, and several universities developed intercultural graduate programs. Moreover, the perspectives and theories of this field started to be applied extensively to English and Japanese language education.

The Need to Shift to a Multicultural Society

Intercultural communication in Japan has been deeply influenced by the United States and other Western countries, and the North Americans and Europeans were initially considered as primary communication partners. In Japan, *globalization* meant *being Westernized*.

However, from the beginning of the 21st century, Japan started to face the reality of the imperative to shift to a multicultural society. To support this trend, another academic association, called the Japan Society for Multicultural Society, was established. There are five factors that produced this shift.

First, the working population is seriously decreasing. In particular, the shortage of medical health providers such as nurses and caregivers has been devastating as the aging of the society accelerated. From 2008 on, Japan's government concluded EPAs (Economic Partnership Agreements) with developing countries such as the Republic of Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. As a result, Japanese medical facilities welcomed nurses and caregivers from these countries.

Second, *Ainu* were recognized as Japan's indigenous people by the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in the United Nations General Assembly in 2007, and Japanese people's supposed homogeneity was proven to be a myth, created and perpetuated for ideological reasons.

Third, intercultural communication has been further incorporated into language education. For example, it began to be included among the subjects for a Japanese language teaching competency test in 2003. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology enacted the "Global 30" project in 2008 to increase the number of international students to 300,000 by 2020 and invited them to complete all their university degree courses in English. The ministry also mandated that all Japanese elementary schools start English language education in 2011.

Fourth, owing to the progress of media and communications technology, Japanese people are exposed to various kinds of culture. Particularly, the entertainment business from other Asian countries has been launched in Japan, which helps Japanese people understand the values and social customs of these countries. Moreover, TV talents who claim to be members of sexual minorities and those who are from international families appear frequently. This has the effect of enabling Japanese people to perceive their society as being diverse in ethnicity, native tongue, and sexual orientation.

Fifth, Japan has established a new image as a creator of popular culture such as video games, *anime*, and *manga* and has started to attract the interest of youth worldwide. This encourages some people to come to Japan or study Japanese.

These changes are reflected in research themes and targets. Terms such as *international families*, *bilingual families*, *foreign medical health providers*, and *newcomer youth* are seen in the titles of published articles. In addition, those who are engaged in volunteer activities and those who stay abroad on working holidays have attracted researchers' attention. It is also worth noting that the definition of culture is no longer limited to ethnic or national culture. It could mean a variety of social identities based on factors such as gender, religion, role, sexual orientation, and physical ability.

Paradigm Shifts

In reflecting on the course of intercultural communication in Japan, it is clear that the field has experienced several paradigm shifts. First, it underwent a shift in approach. In the 1980s, the majority of the researchers in the field aimed at pursuing "the truth," which was seen as having an objective external existence. They tended toward a positivist approach that involved quantitative research to test their hypotheses. In this approach, researchers must distance themselves from the research participants. They were also likely to treat culture as a static entity, and it was their mission to identify how culture conceived in this way influences how people communicate. The hope was that these quantitative studies would be of immediate practical use to educators and help businesspeople perform better. However, from the 1990s on, the voice of those who took an interpretive approach became stronger. They aimed at conducting research that acknowledged the existence of multiple realities in the social world and pursued their research questions through qualitative studies. In this approach, researchers actively engage with their research participants as closely as possible.

Second, as was implied in the first point, in the 1980s and the early part of the 1990s, researchers tended to treat culture from the viewpoint of cultural essentialism. Thus, culture was something static, and the existence of culture or cultural differences was taken for granted. That is, each culture was viewed as having its own pattern of responding to the world, which never changed over time. However, from the end of the 1990s on, some researchers started to take the approach of cultural constructivism and perceived culture as changing constantly. Thus, culture is not a priori but is constructed through interactions with others.

Third, since its birth, the field of intercultural communication had focused on verbal rather than nonverbal communication. However, in the 1990s, more and more researchers and practitioners started to either shift their interest to nonverbal communication or include it in their interests. Particularly, intercultural training was conducted to assist trainees to build awareness of not only verbal cues but also nonverbal cues and somatic experience.

Fourth, echoing the trend in the United States, in the early 2000s, some interculturalists in Japan launched an endeavor to go beyond intercultural communication. For example, a methodology called Personal Leadership allows one to maximize one's competence by becoming aware of one's own being and behavior in a holistic way and becoming a leader of one's own life. Some practitioners, including practitioners of this methodology, now incorporate knowledge from other areas such as positive psychology, neuroscience, and quantum physics.

Although many theories and concepts from Western scholars and practitioners were introduced, intercultural communication in Japan has also sought to develop its own identity. Some Japanese scholars make serious efforts to originate their own theories, reflecting that some theories have been built on the background of Western cultural assumptions and might not be applicable to the Japanese experience. Basing their work on communicative behaviors that are exhibited clearly in Japan, they seek to build theories that go beyond the culturally particular.

Kiyoko Sueda

See also Constructivism; Intercultural Communication, Definition of; Intercultural Communication and Language; Interpretive Research Methods; Personal Leadership; Positivist Research Paradigm; Qualitative Research Methods; Quantitative Research Methods

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Intercultural Communication in the Caribbean

The study of intercultural communication is primarily the study of the process, dynamics, and impact of messages emerging from interaction between individuals from different cultures. Such messages occur and require examination within a particular context—a physical, social, historical, and political setting that inevitably affects individual perceptions and collective meanings shared over time. The Caribbean is a geographic region comprising 28 developing nations and dependent territories located within the Caribbean Basin and North Atlantic Ocean, including Anguilla (United Kingdom), Antigua and Barbuda, Aruba (Kingdom of the Netherlands), Bahamas, Barbados, British Virgin Islands (United Kingdom), Caribbean Netherlands (Kingdom of the Netherlands), Cayman Islands (United Kingdom), Cuba, Curacao (Kingdom of the Netherlands), Dominica, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Guadeloupe (France), Haiti, Jamaica, Martinique (France), Montserrat (United Kingdom), Puerto Rico (United States), Saint Barthélemy (France), Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Martin, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Sint Maarten (Kingdom of the Netherlands), Trinidad and Tobago, Turks and Caicos Islands (United Kingdom), and the United States Virgin Islands (United States). These countries have similar histories of European colonial slave plantation systems and as emerging economies depend primarily on the service (tourism) and financial (banking and foreign investment) industries, along with a few agricultural and raw mineral exports.

The context of the Caribbean is an important one for interculturalists to consider, as the Caribbean occupies a vital place in the American imagination as the cradle of North American development. It was in the Caribbean, specifically on the island of San Salvador in the Bahamas, that the first documented intercultural encounter in the Americas occurred between the Spanish and the region's first inhabitants, the Amerindians. Christopher Columbus stumbled on the Caribbean while searching for the continent of Asia in the late 15th century, igniting a wave of European territorial expansion. This set the stage not only for the development of Caribbean cultures but also for the relationships of political and economic domination that continue to exist between the Caribbean countries and some of the world's most powerful nations. Europeans initially labeled the region as the West Indies. Though a misnomer, the term is still in common use within the region itself. People from the region increasingly represent a significant proportion of more recent immigration to the United States mainland and to other developed nations. This entry provides a brief statement on the features of Caribbean cultural development most relevant to intercultural communication and calls on interculturalists to seriously consider further exploration in and around Caribbean contexts.

Critical Cultural Features: Demographics and Migration

The Caribbean is home to a variety of ethnic groups, including the descendants of East Indians, Chinese, Syrians, Lebanese, and Greeks, to name a few. However, Caribbean historians and anthropologists have tended to focus on the encounters between Europeans and Africans as the primary social groups, since these groups' traditions are often the most identifiable features of Caribbean societies and are a direct consequence of the Atlantic slave trade, European colonization, and the social structures derived from plantation systems. The descendants of African slaves make up the majority of most states, with Caucasians of

European descent typically representing a small but powerful minority. However, a rich demographic complexity and communication dynamic exists in the region, mainly due to the distinctive synthesis of cultural values, worldviews, languages, and traditions that emerges from the symbolic and political tensions between the social groups that have come to inhabit the Caribbean landscapes. That synthesis is what scholars often refer to as the *creole society* model or, rather, *creolization*—a concept used to describe the invention of new distinctive languages and cultural identities that emerge from intercultural encounters between two or more disparate cultures.

Creole as the national language of Haiti, for example, suggests a form of speech and a new culture evolving from the intermingling of African diaspora languages, French, and Spanish. Creolization as a concept therefore illustrates the embodied tension between the linguistic and cultural impositions of European colonizers and the fragments of African languages and cultural patterns that stubbornly persisted throughout the acculturation processes in the Caribbean. In turn, the resulting syncretic modality itself is in tension with the languages, traditions, and cultures of ethnic groups who voluntarily migrated to the region or were imported as labor during the post-Emancipation era.

In Guyana and in Trinidad, for example, after the abolition of slavery, the British experimented with an indentured labor program that brought in a large number of East Indians to these settlements. These new immigrants at the time were insulated primarily in barracks until these nations gained independence in the 1960s. This insulation, in addition to the fact that the intention of the indentured workers was to earn a great deal of money and return to India and that Hindu religious protocols seek to guard traditional spiritual practices from outside influences, contributed in large part to the maintenance of major East Indian cultural traditions. These factors set this group apart in many ways from the African and European descendants in these two countries and in other parts of the region, but complete segregation was difficult to sustain. Miscegenation, or romantic intercultural encounters that resulted in the birth of mixed-race children, still occurred. Trinidadians, Guyanese, and Surinamese use the somewhat derogatory term *Dougla*, a Hindi term to refer to the progeny of Africans and East Indians. Biologically, these bicultural offspring are considered half-African, half-Indian and are often dismissed by the groups from which they emerge. Despite this dismissal, Douglas are a direct result of intercultural processes in the Caribbean.

After the decline of the slave trade, Chinese laborers were contracted to work alongside or to replace African Caribbean laborers. Chinese Caribbean people now represent small but significant segments of the population in places like Cuba, Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica. Many of them settled after the contract labor period, while others migrated to these and other Caribbean countries and integrated at various levels to become primarily identified as a merchant class. The Lebanese, on the other hand, migrated to the region voluntarily in large numbers around the early 1900s. Seeing opportunity in the decline of plantations during the postslave era, many started small businesses as street vendors in places like Haiti and Antigua and have since grown to become an elite merchant class in many cases. Their integration and assimilation is clearer in Haiti, for example, than in Antigua, where they still remain relatively segregated.

To gain a different perspective on the intercultural processes in the region, contrast these cases with the history of Haitian immigration to the Bahamas. Haitians from some of the poorest provinces tell stories of the opportunity to live and work freely in the Bahamas, or more ambitiously, they dream of reaching the United States by boat. Some attempt to make the journey on their own, while others band together to survive. As a result, newsfeeds are often littered with stories of the human toll of capsized boats or of air and sea rescues attempting to save Haitians trapped on vessels that are ill-equipped for such a treacherous Atlantic voyage, which few survive. At the same time, there are many Haitians who have made the journey successfully, gaining both authorized and unauthorized entry over the years. Haitians now account for a significant segment of the Bahamian population, with second and third generations coming of age to identify as Haitian Bahamian. Their integration into Bahamian society, while wrought with political tension, has forced the Bahamian government to recognize Creole as a primary language spoken alongside English. However, there are often concerns about the potential for violence since Haitians in the country face many restrictions, often living in segregated shantytowns and settlements that few outsiders can infiltrate.

Scholars have observed that the very essence of Caribbean life seems to focus on mobility. The colonial experience and the emancipation process that followed it helped create a sense of dissociation from the islands, even as these experiences became the basis for nationalist ambitions. Such dissociation is based in part on creolization processes, but it can also be explained through an understanding of Caribbean schooling systems, which until recently emphasized knowledge of other, more developed nations over topics of local concern. It is said that Caribbean people tend to express a kind of visa mentality—ambivalence about being rooted anywhere. It is a clear part of the Caribbean cultural consciousness. Migration, then, continues to be a significant feature of Caribbean experiences and cultures. Particularly in the mid- to late 20th century, Caribbean people have departed from their island homes for better prospects in cities like Paris, Toronto, Montreal, New York, Boston, Newark, Miami, and Amsterdam, where there are established communities that make the cultural transition a little less painful. The governing bodies of Caribbean countries and territories recognize this cultural value and as such have instituted formal policies that enable migrants to maintain their passports and move with ease between their homelands and the places where they reside and earn a living.

Understanding Caribbean Subjects

Intercultural communication scholarship can be defined by two key principles. Foremost is the recognition that studying culture is not merely about providing insights into cultural patterns. Though these descriptive patterns (e.g., whether the structure of a given society can be characterized as collectivist or individualist) are important, intercultural communication is inherently about learning more about people to develop and improve our overall understanding of the human condition and the quality of our relationships with others. Second, to best understand communicative interaction, we must not only have an extensive knowledge of the people and our relationship to them but also understand the various situational and historical contexts that inform their perceptions and behaviors. An increased orientation and sensitivity to people, relationships, and contexts are therefore prerequisites for serious intercultural study and for intercultural competence.

Given the demographics and history (both economic and political) of the region, there are many features of Caribbean societies that should be of interest to interculturalists. Colonial histories and population shifts are obviously two of the more important features that affect communication in Caribbean contexts. In relation to these features, individuals can explore important understandings of intergroup relations in specific countries and in the region as a whole. There is also space for a better understanding of racial and ethnic stereotypes as well as immigrant rights. More specifically, the relationships between minority and majority groups in different countries within the region, the politics of how they arrived in these locations, the privileges and restrictions these groups face, and their unique roles in the cultural and economic development of these nations require closer examination. The relationship between culture and gender in these contexts also merits some attention. Each of these features factors into much larger debates about Caribbean identities and cultural development. Interculturally competent individuals can learn more about the nature of power in global contexts as well as improve the relationships between Caribbean immigrants and others.

Elvinet S. Piard

See also Intercultural Communication, Definition of

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Intercultural Competence and Clergy

Clergy often come into the ministry with the goal of nurturing and growing beloved communities of faith and action. The seminary does not prepare clergy for the unanticipated cultural competency challenges that they may face. Clergy encounter multiethnic communities and multiethnic congregations, and some clergy are pastors of congregations that are significantly different ethnically, racially, economically, and educationally from themselves. Some are pastors of ethnically similar congregations while sharing church facilities with a congregation of a different identity, typically a first-generation immigrant congregation. Within this complex world of ministry, identity dynamics coupled with the need for intercultural skills are salient challenges for clergy who need to become competent cross-cultural leaders.

It is clear that there are tensions regarding the social realities of historic and immigrant minorities as well as the variant worldviews of clergy and congregations. "How we do church" becomes a major challenge cross-culturally, with hidden differences in expectations regarding worship, leadership, and the appropriate roles of clergy and laypersons. These complexities are embedded within the sometimes monocultural worldview of some of the Euro-American U.S. population. One expression of the depth of this challenge manifests in the minimization worldview of Euro-Americans of the importance of cultural, racial, and class differences in the lives of persons in the United States. This is in contrast to the experience of racial/ethnic minorities, where there often exists a deep awareness that such differences powerfully shape their lives. Minimization makes engaging multicultural/multiracial ministry dynamics difficult. The aim of this entry is, in the main, to reveal and analyze such challenges as they pertain to clergy cultural competency.

The Shifting Landscape for Ministry

The issues regarding cultural competency for Christian clergy are set within a U.S. population in flux, racially and ethnically. Demographic dynamics in which communities and even states are increasingly multicultural/multiracial are well-known albeit not always celebrated. Although increase in the Hispanic population is often reported, the presence of other recent populations affects many communities. Refugees such as the Hmong, Cambodians, and Vietnamese who fled war in Southeast Asia now reside in all regions of the United States, including urban, suburban, and rural. Afghans, East Africans, Filipinos, Koreans, Pacific Islanders, and Somalis are an increasing presence.

The church is affected especially at the local community level. Increasingly, churches are located in communities more ethnically diverse than the congregations themselves. Multicultural congregations and congregations sharing facilities with non-English-speaking congregations are increasing. For example, a small Euro-American congregation in San Francisco has 14 different languages represented in worship and a separate Fukienese immigrant congregation from Taiwan. A Lutheran congregation has members from Tanzania and Eritrea. A historic African American church is surrounded by a burgeoning Filipino population, and a Euro-American congregation share their property with an Afghan mosque and work together with them on community endeavors. Roman Catholics and United Methodists are experiencing a significant increase in cross-cultural/cross-racial appointments.

Theological statements and denominational policies recognize and celebrate the diversity of communities and express the goal of the churches becoming more ethnically/racially diverse and intentionally relating to their changing communities.

This is emphasized and reiterated publicly in religious and secular arenas. Although racial and ethnic issues are recognized, class differences are rarely addressed.

However, within congregations and communities there are strong differences of opinion regarding any major influx of "racial/ethnic" minorities. Whether spoken or whispered, these sentiments are present, especially where communities are in the midst of change. Negative responses reflect social unease and fear. The fear can be expressed in personal terms, for example, living in the midst of people not like oneself. The fear often reflects awareness that previous access to social power is in question.

As significant as the population numbers are, the speed of the change is even more important. The rapidity with which local communities can shift ethnically and racially is a dynamic that often brings forth strong reactions. As communities change rapidly, many longtime residents observe in anguish, "This isn't my community anymore!"

The theological, social, and cultural challenges are significant in these situations, especially given the history and the current experiences of prejudice and racism affecting both historic and immigrant minorities. The church is not exempt from this. The church has been shaped by and is embedded in the layered history of the United States and in the current realities of institutional racism as well as in community contradictions and challenges regarding immigration. Adding to the complexity is the strong U.S. value placed on individualism, with the central assumption that if people work hard enough, they will succeed. Social dynamics such as class, ethnicity, race, and regional variations are not assumed to be significant.

Even though there is a clear need for clergy, laypersons, and denominational leadership to become more skilled and competent as cross-cultural/cross-racial leaders, until very recently there has been little, if any, focus on providing cultural competency training for these leaders or congregations. A typical statement, "Love Jesus and carry out ministry," assumes that differences make no difference. Research into cross-cultural clergy appointments found a lack of attention to, and at times even active avoidance of, dealing with issues of racial/ethnic difference. This was true with individuals and at times institutionally. Some church hierarchy stated that providing cultural competency training was tantamount to declaring that clergy, especially ethnic minority clergy, are incompetent leaders.

Other denominational leaders have taken the opposite approach, reflecting within church structures the diametrically opposing views present in the broader society and demonstrating that the church exists in a society divided by race, ethnicity, and class. They assert that the experiences of the church, locally and denominationally, are shaped by prejudice and institutional racism, resulting in anxiety, fear, and even hostility. An African American bishop in New Jersey reflected, "We are living together without understanding each other."

Trusting Relationships: Key to Clergy Leadership

A reasonable question can be posed: "What is unique about clergy in these situations?" Clergy, as pastors of local congregations, are the leaders of voluntary organizations formed for spiritual guidance, faith development, and guiding that faith into action. People often join churches and leave churches due to their relationship with the pastor. Financial offerings are affected by an evaluation of pastoral leadership. Whether a bishop appoints or the congregation *calls* the pastor, the relationship of the laypeople with the pastor makes or breaks the ability of the pastor to minister effectively. The hierarchy of all denominations expects churches to grow and thrive; ongoing dissatisfaction or conflict sends a warning message that puts the clergy on notice.

These expectations are true for nearly all clergy. When racial, ethnic, or economic differences are significant, misunderstanding or conflict can increase exponentially in the absence of an effective level of clergy cultural competency. It is reasonable to assume that both clergy and laypersons need cultural competency skills; however, it is the clergy who are expected to adapt. Laypersons seldom say that they themselves need to become more sensitive.

The expectations for effective pastoral leadership encompass, inter alia, (a) leading the congregation in deepening faith and commitment, (b) pastoral care in times of pain and crisis, (c) engaging and providing leadership in the neighborhood and broader community, and (d) motivating and guiding laypersons to go into the community with activities of compassion, service, and justice. These are culturally challenging expectations that, to be met successfully, require building trusting relationships with the laity and community leadership. Trusting relationships are the bedrock of successful cross-cultural ministry. To achieve this goal, clergy need to be especially cognizant of the need for cultural self-awareness, to recognize that they have been socialized in a particular worldview resulting in values that guide and inform their beliefs and behavior.

Building cross-cultural/cross-racial relationships, developing pervasive authority, gaining social capital, and leading effectively require self-awareness, a nonanxious presence, and culture-general and culture-specific skills. Culture-general skills are foundational for competency, especially as clergy may well relate to more than one specific ethnic group or community. Clergy understandably are more focused on the need for culture-specific knowledge related to the persons in their congregation and community who are from a particular culture group. Rather than learning culture-general frameworks, which would allow them to begin to understand *any* culture, they often feel it is more expedient to learn about African American culture or Mexican culture.

When focusing on building cultural competency skills in the church context, there is often a counterintuitive resistance stated theologically: "We are all God's children. It's prejudiced to emphasize difference." Christian clergy and their congregations are gathered together as *the body of Christ*, socialized, nurtured, and guided by their faith and informed by theology and biblical understanding. A strong belief in unity and in the equality of all through God's creation, if not critically examined, can work against a commitment to develop cultural competence. The strong value placed on individual agency rather than on social community increases that resistance. Intentionally engaging issues of difference is one of the most significant personal challenges for clergy. This is vividly reflected in the comments of minorities that when their uniqueness and their difference from the dominant group are minimized, they disappear.

Identity Challenges for Clergy

Even though the foundational cultural competency skills needed for effective pastoral ministry are the same for all clergy, there are significant differences shaped by the clergy's social location. Being members of the dominant sociocultural group, Euro-American clergy rarely if ever experience identity issues arising from ethnic or racial differences. However, given the mobility of persons in the United States, there can be identity issues emanating especially from regional U.S. differences or economic class. As members of nondominant groups, identity challenges for ethnic/racial minority clergy are pervasive. These challenges are especially evident when these clergy are assigned to pastor Euro-American congregations.

Being the spiritual leader of a Euro-American congregation while also being a member of a marginalized group presents social and personal contradictions. Often, these clergy will question their acceptance by Euro-American laypersons who are members of the historically dominant social group.

All clergy will at times have disagreements or conflict with laypersons. However, when this happens in a cross-cultural clergy assignment, the question of *why* looms over the interaction, at least for the clergy. Is this happening because the pastor needs to be more sensitive to the perspectives of the layperson and, therefore, needs to adapt in some fashion in order to be effective, such as choosing more familiar hymns? If that assessment is accurate, the pastor can make a professional judgment as to what changes are needed. However, the question looms, "Is this happening because I am African American (or Filipino or Tongan)?" "Is this person negative because I am Chinese (or Mexican or because I come from the rural South)?" "Is this disagreement actually a racial issue? If so, changing the hymns is almost irrelevant."

The fact that all clergy need to adapt their behavior somewhat in order to be successful as pastors is not usually a major issue of identity. However, when challenged to adapt in a cross-cultural/cross-racial context, ethnic minority clergy may resist, feeling that they are always expected to change in order to fit into the dominant Euro-American society and that their identity, values, and behavior are typically not validated. They are spiritual leaders of their congregation; why do they still need to adapt to the dominant group? This perspective is heightened by the social status values in the clergy's own cultural group. Typically, these clergy come from hierarchal cultural groups that elevate the status of the clergy above that of laypersons. The anthropological insight that a strong defense regarding one's ethnic identity is *the mask of oppression* is relevant here. Increasing cultural competency for these clergy is in tension with the struggle to maintain identity and self-respect.

Cultural Dynamics of Clergy Leadership

Leadership style, informed by whether the pastor comes from a hierarchal society or from a society where being egalitarian is valued, is a challenge for all clergy. It is most salient when there is a cross-cultural ministry environment, whether within a congregation, in sharing facilities, or in community outreach. Since many congregations today are multicultural, at least in urban and suburban contexts, many clergy are faced with the complex necessity of shifting leadership styles depending on whom one is engaging.

Is leadership asserted top down, with the pastor having the final say, or are decisions made in a back-and-forth discussion, with the pastor and the laypersons having equal influence unless the issue is theological or biblical? Can a group make a decision, or must a broader group be engaged before a final decision can be made? Does one build pervasive authority by attending to relationships, by asserting one's role as pastor, or by producing programs to engage the congregation? Although all clergy need to use all three approaches over time, the issue is one of primary focus. The response to these questions is shaped by the hidden cultural values of all involved. The importance of this is illustrated, for example, in the necessity to focus primarily on personal relationships when one is the pastor of an Asian or Pacific Islander congregation. The social pressure and values for a Euro-American pastor are typically to produce: produce programs, produce excellent printed materials, produce activity by groups of laypersons, and produce an increasing number of congregants. This is a classic cultural contrast: a relationship orientation in contrast to a task/time orientation. As one Japanese American clergyperson graphically asserted, "If you attend to relationships, you can do anything you want. However, you white folks just don't have the time!"

A parallel challenge of building pervasive authority is whether the pastor assumes that he (it is usually a *he*) has unquestioned authority and privileges because he is the pastor. This is effective if the pastor is leading a hierarchal congregation. Tension ensues when such a pastoral perspective meets an egalitarian, layperson perspective. This can happen, for example, when the pastor's assumption that there should be a reserved parking space set aside for him encounters the more egalitarian response of laypersons: "If you get here in time, there will be an empty space to park in!" The pastor experiences this as deep disrespect and might assert his assumed rights even more strongly, thus meeting with stiffer resistance.

Respect is a major cross-cultural issue, especially given the U.S. racial and class dynamics. An apparently simple example of the salience of respect as key to trusting relationships is the question of how a pastor should be addressed. The Euro-American egalitarian approach of using first names as a way to include a person is often experienced as lack of respect by pastors for whom title indicates respect for the role of pastor. This is especially salient for clergy from marginalized social groups.

Worship, the time of the week when the congregation gathers, is one of the most significant responsibilities for all clergy. Although for Protestant churches, the basic outline of a worship service is similar, the implementation varies widely, culturally and theologically. Traditional African American worship is spirit filled, dynamic, emotional, full of singing and praise, with storytelling sermons and a style of call and response, where the congregation responds verbally to the preaching of the pastor. Prayer and fiery preaching shape Korean American worship services. Pacific Island worship includes all the family, with the unsurprising energy displayed by young children. Sermons are expected to be based on biblical stories. Typically, the length of the services is not an issue. Euro-American worship services, in contrast, tend to be low-key, not emotional, with a time expectation of 1 hour and young children cared for in another setting.

The cultural conflict around worship is especially intense in three arenas: (1) the length of the service, (2) the style of preaching and the length of the sermon, and (3) the choice of hymns. Most of the cross-cultural clergy contexts are ethnic minority clergy pastoring Euro-American churches, although this is not always the case; for example, a Korean may be pastoring a Filipino congregation. It can be asserted that time is essentially a nonnegotiable issue for Euro-Americans. Research regarding cross-cultural clergy assignments bears this out. Worship services that extend beyond an hour, especially on a consistent basis, typically produce great frustration and negativity on the part of Euro-Americans. Clergy who place their value on the spirit of the service, the importance of a deep and long sermon, the dynamic involvement of the congregation, and lengthy prayers make the erroneous assumption that Euro-Americans are not interested in their own spiritual life and development. Shaping this contrast and conflict is the differing understanding of the importance of time, again a classic cultural contrast of time in tension with relationship. In this case, the relationship sought is a deepening relationship with God.

Conversely, if a Euro-American clergyperson is called to pastor and lead worship across cultures, such as with a multiethnic congregation, surprise and confusion are likely. Anglo clergy are challenged to absorb the nuances, the history that informs the worship style, and the layers of complexity of, say, a Tongan or Mexican American service. The expectations are far from normative for clergy who have only experienced the more contained, managed worship service typical for Euro-Americans socialized in mainline Protestant denominations. Being a culturally humble learner is essential; having laypersons who are willing and able to be cultural informants and bridge people is also essential. Developing a meaningful worship experience across cultures is time-consuming and person centered, and it requires a nondefensive perspective regardless of the ethnic or racial identity or the economic background of the pastor.

Euro-American clergy's cross-cultural experiences are also the outgrowth of their social location. Persons whose socialization and identity are that of the dominant social group typically do not reflect on the salience of this position. A common assertion is that one does not have a culture and the way things are done is *normal*, not recognizing that if something is experienced as normal, it is cultural.

Lack of cultural awareness presents specific challenges for Euro-American clergy. Pastors, sensitive to the assertion that Sunday morning worship is the most segregated time of the week, may have a faith-based goal of increasing the diversity of their congregations. This goal might be put into motion with outreach efforts to connect with the church's changing neighborhood or by focusing on welcoming and incorporating a specific age-group into the congregation. Often, the assumption behind such efforts is culture neutral, that is, assuming that if it is a welcoming church, treating all people equally, people will want to join the community. "How do we need to change or adapt in order to be, in fact, a culturally welcoming church?" is rarely heard since the way "we do church" is seen as normative.

Euro-American clergy typically operate from an egalitarian, low-context perspective, valuing direct communication and sharing of decision making. Hence, they are especially vulnerable to misunderstanding persons who have great respect for the authority of the pastor, do not participate unless personally invited by the pastor, look to the pastor as having the final say, and demonstrate their respect with an indirect communication style. Adapting to an indirect communication style is especially difficult for pastors who depend on direct communication. On a day-to-day basis, these Euro-American members of the clergy are often confused as to whether or not a decision has actually been made. When does *yes* mean *yes*, and when does it mean *no?* It is not surprising that the pastor makes misguided judgments assuming that these people are not interested in the life of the church and that they will not be effective, engaged leaders who can make independent decisions and take action.

Clergypersons wading into the complex, challenging cross-cultural thicket as spiritual leaders can feel overwhelmed. How can one be aware and knowledgeable of the multiplicities of difference encountered in today's ministry? How can one build trusting relationships and become effective spiritual leaders with persons operating from a variety of worldviews and with wide differences in their expectations of what makes a successful, effective pastor? Thankfully, clergy do not have to be perfect. In fact, recognizing that one is not fully competent cross-culturally can be a strength in ministry, where trusting relationships are essential. Cultural humility, taking on the role of a learner, acknowledging that others are cultural teachers, and seeking out ways to learn are significant expressions of respect and leadership. When pastors seek to understand the personal values and experiences of laypersons, taking individuals seriously and respectfully, it is not surprising that laypersons themselves become more open, less defensive, and less prone to negativity when cultural misunderstandings happen, which they will. When clergy approach others with cultural humility, respectful relationships are built and effective cross-cultural spiritual leadership is strengthened. Previously unimagined opportunities unfold, ministry is enriched, and clergypersons' lives deepen in many positive dimensions.

Lucia Ann McSpadden

See also Assumptions and Beliefs; Cultural Humility; Cultural Self-Awareness; Prejudice, Bias, Discrimination; Religious Contexts; Respect; Spiritual and Religious Diversity; Trust; Worldview

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Intercultural Competence Development

Intercultural competence has been identified with a bewildering set of terms, including *intercultural sensitivity*, *cross-cultural effectiveness*, *intercultural skills*, *cross-cultural adaptation*, *global competence*, *multicultural competence*, *cross-cultural relations*, *cultural proficiency*, *intercultural agility*, and even the misnomer *cultural intelligence*. In spite of this lack of conceptual agreement, there exists a widespread consensus among researchers and practitioners that intercultural competence is a key capability for working and living effectively with people from different cultures, critical in achieving diversity and inclusion goals within organizations, essential for reducing ethnocentrism and bias among people, and central to building productive and positive relations both within one's own culture/country and internationally. Additionally, intercultural competence is identified in workplace surveys as one of the top 10 skills needed for leaders and employees in the 21st century.

Intercultural competence can be defined as the capability to shift one's cultural perspective and appropriately adapt behavior to cultural differences and commonalities. Intercultural competence involves (a) the cultivation of deep cultural self-awareness and understanding (i.e., how one's own beliefs, values, perceptions, interpretations, judgments, and behaviors are influenced by one's cultural community or communities) and (b) increased cultural other-understanding (i.e., comprehension of the different ways people from other cultural groups make sense of and respond to the presence of cultural differences). This capability permits the successful navigation of *cultural differences*, defined as those experiences, values, interpretations, judgments, and behaviors that differ between people and are learned and internalized from the groups one belongs to.

In this entry, developmental compared with compositional conceptualizations of intercultural competence are reviewed, followed by a discussion of the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) and its measurement counterpart, the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI).

Compositional Approaches to Intercultural Competence

Many studies have been conducted over the past 60 years that have attempted to identify critical intercultural competencies foundational to individual, group, and organizational success in navigating cultural differences. This work has been largely compositional, that is, an effort to identify or list personal characteristic (e.g., trait) components of intercultural competence, with little theoretical specification of how the identified components relate to one another. Furthermore, this compositional approach has largely adapted the tripartite classification of personal characteristics into cognitive (e.g., open-mindedness, knowledge of the customs of a culture group), affective (e.g., tolerance of ambiguity, curiosity about other culture group practices), and behavioral (e.g., behavioral flexibility, host language mastery) dimensions, in which individuals possess either higher or lower degrees of the proposed personal characteristic or trait.

One such compositional model, developed by Darla Deardorff, identifies the knowledge (cognitive) elements of cultural self-awareness, understanding of culture, culture-specific information, and sociolinguistic awareness; the attitude (affective) elements of respect, openness, curiosity, and tolerance of ambiguity; and the skill (behavioral) dimensions of listening, observing, interpreting, analyzing, evaluating, and relating. This model was based on research with 23 intercultural experts using Delphi methodology to attain consensus on the specific compositional components of intercultural competence. Deardorff, however, explicitly excluded developmental models/components from her study.

In 2009, Brian Spitzberg and Gabrielle Changnon completed a comprehensive review of 50-plus years of research on intercultural competence. Their analysis identified 268 components of intercultural competence, classifying 64 variables as cognitive/personality, 77 traits/states as affective/attitudinal, and 127 factors as behavioral/skill components of intercultural competence. The authors were unable to identify significant, consistent findings across this unwieldy list of personal characteristics. They concluded that few efforts have tested the cross-cultural validity or generalizability of these personal characteristics and research has not clarified how these dimensions relate to one another or to important cross-cultural outcomes.

Developmental Approaches to Intercultural Competence

Developmental models of intercultural competence focus on the progression individuals or groups follow in moving from lesser to greater levels of intercultural competence. A developmental view of intercultural competence emphasizes that individuals gain intercultural competence over time through the extent and quality of their interaction with people from different cultures. Developmental approaches tend to characterize the growth of intercultural competence in more holistic terms rather than through more specific delineation of traits through the lens of cognitive, affective, and behavioral categories. Finally, developmental models suggest that individuals experience and respond to cultural differences from a developmental stage or orientation arrayed across a progression continuum.

Difficulties with developmental models involve the struggle to accurately assess the more holistically defined stages or orientations that constitute the continuum of intercultural competence. Thus, developmental models propose more complex theories of intercultural competence compared with compositional models but suffer from limitations in designing a cross-culturally valid measurement of the developmental stages. Because compositional models specify discrete personal characteristic constructs, researchers have been able to develop a greater array of assessment questionnaires to measure these various traits/states.

The DMIS and the IDI

One of the most widely known developmental theories of intercultural competence is the DMIS, originally proposed by Milton Bennett. This model identifies a set of orientations (mind-sets) from which individuals or groups engage cultural differences. These orientations are arranged along a continuum from more ethnocentric mind-sets to more ethnorelative perspectives.

In Bennett's original formulation, this continuum ranged from Denial to Defense/Reversal, Minimization, Acceptance, Adaptation, and Integration; the latter orientation focused on a reconceptualization of cultural identity (see Figure 1).

The capability to deeply shift cultural perspective and bridge behavior across cultural differences is most fully achieved when one maintains an adaptation perspective. (Because the Integration stage is focused more on identity reformulation than on intercultural competence, the remaining discussion will focus on Denial, Defense/Reversal, Minimization, Acceptance, and Adaptation.)

A *denial* mind-set reflects minimal recognition of cultural differences and consists of a lack of interest in other cultural practices and avoidance of difference. The *defense* and *reversal* orientations are evaluative mind-sets that tend to see cultural differences from an "us versus them" perspective. In the Defense stage, cultural differences are typically experienced as threatening to one's "way of doing things," while reversal is a mind-set that values and may idealize other cultural practices while denigrating one's own culture group. *Minimization* is a transitional mind-set between the more monocultural orientations of denial and defense/reversal and the more intercultural/global worldviews of acceptance and adaptation. The minimization orientation emphasizes commonalities in both human *similarity* (basic needs) and *universalism* (universal values and principles). However, this focus on commonalities can de-emphasize deeper understandings of cultural differences. An *acceptance* orientation is curious about cultural differences and attempts to recognize and appreciate patterns of difference in one's own and other cultural communities. Finally, an *adaptation* orientation consists of both *cognitive frame shifting* (shifting one's cultural perspective) and *behavioral code shifting* (changing behavior in authentic and culturally appropriate ways). An Adaptation mind-set engages in bridging across cultural differences using a more complex set of intercultural frameworks (e.g., individualism/collectivism) and an enhanced set of adaptive practices for navigating cultural differences.

IDI is the cross-culturally validated and generalizable assessment of intercultural competence developed by Mitchell Hammer and Milton Bennett based on the DMIS framework. The IDI is back-translated from English into multiple languages, measuring an individual's or group's position along the intercultural developmental continuum (see Figure 1). Substantial research has been completed with the IDI, and it is used in a wide range of educational institutions, corporations, and nonprofit organizations to increase intercultural competence.

Mitchell R. Hammer

See also Culture Learning; Developmentally Appropriate Pedagogy; Essential Principles for Intercultural Training; Interventionist Models for Study Abroad; Training Intercultural Trainers

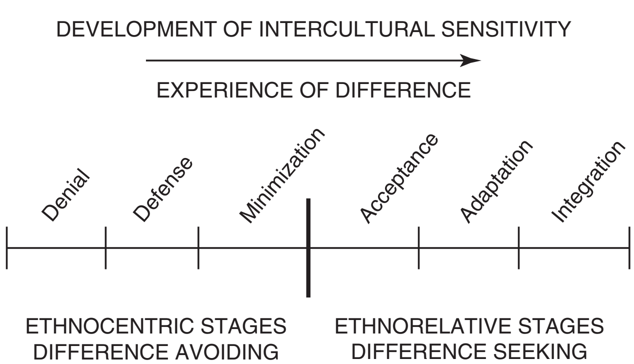

Figure 1 Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity
Source: Bennett and Bennett (2004, p. 153).

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Intercultural Competence in Healthcare

Healthcare refers to medical services that trained and licensed health professionals offer to individuals for preventing, treating, and managing illnesses and promoting physical and mental well-being. Usually, individuals can access healthcare at hospitals, a family doctor's office, or community health centers. Interpersonal aspects of healthcare, such as healthcare provider–receiver interactions, can shape healthcare outcomes such as medication compliance, diet, exercise, weight management, and reduction in alcohol consumption.

Today's increasing ethnically, culturally, and linguistically diverse populations around the world present unique challenges to the practice of healthcare. When healthcare providers and receivers cannot communicate effectively because of cultural and linguistic barriers, ineffective healthcare will likely follow. For example, non-English-speaking parents may end up at the emergency department with their very sick infant because of incorrect medication dosing, a result of the pharmacist's inability to explain the proper medication dosage to the parents. Hence, the failure to address possible differences in the perceptions, occurrence, management, and outcomes of health problems among different cultural groups can result in miscommunication and misunderstanding, ultimately leading to misdiagnosis and mistreatment.

This entry discusses healthcare in an intercultural context, in relation to intercultural competence, and situations where healthcare may be compromised because of intercultural incompetence.

Healthcare in an Intercultural Context

Healthcare in an intercultural context involves interpersonal interactions between members of different cultural groups involved in the provision of healthcare. The pattern in a healthcare context is between a healthcare provider and a patient, and perhaps the patient's family. Regardless of whether the two individuals hail from the same nation or different ones, the healthcare provider can also be considered to be representing a culture of medicine and the healthcare receiver as representing a lay culture. Interactions between a healthcare provider and a receiver at the intercultural level in a healthcare setting can be shaped by their respective sociocultural conditions. For example, when a healthcare provider and a receiver are representatives of different nationalities, their interaction can be viewed as a cluster of different health values, beliefs, and behaviors communicated within their respective cultures.

Researchers have identified culture as a significant variable in how people experience, perceive, construct, and understand health. A shared interpretation of the medical encounter by persons of different cultures can be confounded by disagreement, debate, power struggles, and emotional conflict among different cultural groups. For example, healthcare providers and receivers may disagree on illness experiences and treatment plans because of their differences in worldviews and role expectations. These differences can arise from healthcare providers controlling the medical consultation, not explaining the symptoms to the patient, and not encouraging questions and from patients' perceptions that healthcare providers do not want to know their viewpoint on their illness and treatment goals. Therefore, intercultural competence is essential for appropriate and effective healthcare communication in an intercultural context.

Research on intercultural healthcare cuts across issues of language, race, ethnicity, gender, and class because of the pervasive and permeating character of culture. Scholars have identified the importance of culture as a framework for communicating health. Culture shapes people's views on health and healing. People who may share the same skin color can be seen to have varied cultural orientations resulting from distinct ethnic backgrounds, countries of origin, geographic locations, primary languages, and immigration statuses, as well as differences in age, sex, religion, sexual orientation, employment status, disability, and so on. This comprehensive understanding of culture yields important implications for healthcare in an intercultural context.

Research shows that different cultural, social, and ethnic groups have differences in their understanding of the causes of ill health, in the kinds of treatment they believe in, and in whom they would go to if ill. For example, some patients may prefer to deal with mental health issues such as depression with religious and spiritual traditions such as prayer. A better understanding of culture's roles in health beliefs will allow providers to adapt to patients' cultural needs.

Studies have also demonstrated that language is a cultural difference that matters in effective healthcare. For example, some patients may find it difficult to explain themselves adequately to healthcare providers and understand healthcare instructions accurately when it comes to reproductive health. As such, everyday difficulties can arise from caring for people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, owing to language and cultural barriers.

Some researchers argue that, as a communication system, culture can be viewed as the beliefs, traditions, values, attitudes, and behaviors of particular social groups or organizations contributing to the creation of each person's cultural identity. This perception of culture illustrates the complexity of intercultural healthcare when providers are viewed as members of one culture and patients are viewed as members of another culture. During medical encounters, it can be a very delicate process to reach some mutual understanding of the values, health beliefs, and worldviews of the provider and the receiver if these are fundamentally different from each other. Hence, it is important to negotiate meaning and understanding between culturally different providers and patients in medical consultations.

Through the use of case studies, some scholars have demonstrated that cultural differences can cause conflicts and misunderstandings. These case studies underscore the importance of gaining knowledge of individuals' cultural values, family structure, healthcare beliefs and practices, religious beliefs, diet, language, communication styles, and psychosocial interactions that may differ among cultures. For example, during a medical encounter, a patient may be fearful of the physician, and she or he may feel anxious and panicky when talking with the physician; a patient may have certain religious dietary needs that may interfere with the treatment; a patient may feel discomfort during medical examination; a patient may have gender preferences for medical care. A lack of understanding of these cultural differences may affect the quality of healthcare. In recent years, intercultural competence, often labeled as *cultural competence* in healthcare contexts, has been advanced as an approach to reduce inequality and improve quality in healthcare delivered across cultures. In many medical professions, cultural competence has become a required part of the training.

Healthcare and Intercultural Competence

Over the past two decades, intercultural competence has emerged as a movement in healthcare and is accepted as an essential strategy to deal with cultural differences in healthcare in a proper manner. Despite this widespread recognition, there appears to be a lack of agreement on a definition of cultural competence. Health policymakers, managed care administrators, academicians, and health professionals often use the terms *cross-cultural education*, *culturally and linguistically appropriate services*, *cultural awareness*, and *cultural sensitivity* to describe cultural competence. Nonetheless, scholars do agree on the fact that cultural competence is an essential set of skills for successful healthcare practice. To be interculturally competent in the delivery of healthcare, healthcare providers need to recognize and respect cultural differences and develop cultural knowledge.

Over the years, scholars have developed models for healthcare providers to deliver interculturally competent healthcare. Josepha Campinha-Bacote viewed cultural competence as a continuous process that involves healthcare providers attempting to become culturally competent. Campinha-Bacote described five components of cultural competence: (1) being conscious of cultural differences, (2) internalizing cultural knowledge, (3) being capable of addressing cultural needs, (4) actively seeking out cultural interactions, and (5) striving for cultural diversity.

Nicolas Carballeira developed a model for healthcare providers to deliver culturally competent healthcare. It is known as the LIVE (Like, Inquire, Visit, and Experience) and LEARN (Listen, Evaluate, Acknowledge, Recommend, and Negotiate) Model. The LIVE and LEARN Model assumes that healthcare providers' possible cross-cultural attitudes may vary from viewing their own culture as superior to that of the patient's, to being incapable of managing cultural differences, to considering basic human values and treating all alike, to being culturally sensitive and culturally competent.

Madeleine Leininger developed the Sunrise Model for healthcare providers to help assess patients along dimensions of cultural values, socioeconomic conditions, religious beliefs, and political factors. This model allows healthcare providers to tailor treatment to patient-specific information and become more culturally sensitive.

Scholarly attempts to measure cultural competence have resulted in the creation of assessment tools, standards, and guidelines to help healthcare providers and organizations determine the degree to which they are culturally competent. These self-assessment tools also increase sensitivity to the importance of cultural competence and provide baseline measurement for professional development and training needs. More recent scholarly efforts have resulted in patient-reported measures of physicians' intercultural competence.

Healthcare and Intercultural Incompetence

When providers do not adapt healthcare to the unique cultural needs of their patient population, there is a likelihood of unsatisfactory outcomes.

Consider, for instance, the following examples:

> A physician with a tight schedule may interrupt her patient during the medical interview, rushing through the patient's concerns and missing the essential detail for an accurate diagnosis.
>
> Another provider may prescribe medication and a dosage schedule, not realizing that the patient is in a passive role, not comprehending the provider's recommendation, since he failed to check to see if the patient understood him.
>
> A specialist may immediately reveal to her patient that he has leukemia, ignoring the fact that the patient often comes with his family members. By not acknowledging the cultural values of the patient and asking if he wanted his family members involved in discussing the diagnosis, the doctor will appear quite disrespectful to the patient's family.
>
> A nurse may get frustrated when she fails to understand what her patient is saying in Hindi. Moreover, the nurse assumes that the patient wants vegetarian food when he rejects the hospital food, because the nurse believes that all people in India are vegetarians. The nurse seems to be unaware of the language barrier between her and the patient; she appears to be ignoring the cultural differences and to be stereotyping the patient.

The above illustrations spotlight the inherent subtlety and nuances of healthcare in an intercultural context. Oversimplified cultural frameworks may limit culturally competent care because they cannot account for the complexity of these interactions. Researchers have emphasized the need for sensitizing healthcare providers to their own cultural biases as they learn about the cultures of their clients. As such, the first step for a person developing intercultural competence is to be aware of his or her own cultural beliefs, then learn culture-general principles for understanding any culture, and, finally, learn about the specific cultures. Hence, intercultural competence is a dynamic, ongoing process, not merely an end goal, and begs constant evaluation of the relationship between the healthcare provider and the receiver as it adapts to new situations and encounters unexpected events.

Finally, intercultural competence in healthcare is critical because the world becomes more multicultural as the years progress. Healthcare providers need to care for healthcare receivers as unique individuals and adapt healthcare to their specific cultural needs. Recognizing and learning about cultural differences and how to treat people who are culturally different with respect will likely ease communication and prevent misunderstanding between healthcare providers and receivers, thus promoting effective healthcare in an intercultural setting.

Rukhsana Ahmed

See also Assessments of Intercultural Competence; Intercultural Communication, Definition of;

Intercultural Communication and Language; Intercultural Competence Development

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Intercultural Competence in Organizations

Given the growing cultural diversity and globalization in most workplaces, *intercultural competence* in organizations is an important concern for managers and employees. In general, intercultural competence is appropriate and effective interaction enabled by cognitive, affective, and behavioral skills. In organizational settings, such competence skills focus not only on individuals but also on the overall organization itself. This entry describes what is meant by an organization, why intercultural competence in organizations is important, the different philosophies for achieving intercultural competence, and the specific steps for achieving intercultural competence.

Defining Organization

Organizations represent a distinct context for intercultural communication. An *organization* is a collection of people who coordinate their actions to achieve a common goal. To organize or coordinate their work, individuals structure their activities by division of labor and by creating a reporting system within a hierarchy. These activities or job duties are usually conducted under supervision and in collaboration with others. Overall, organizational structures result in multiple levels that can be thought of as nested within each other. First, individual workers complete their assigned tasks. Second, these individuals often work in close coordination with other similarly assigned employees; thus, they work as members of a team. Third, these teams complete their tasks working with other teams as a part of a larger unit or division. Fourth, all of these divisions complete part of the larger organization's goal. Finally, the organization exists within a larger context that includes other organizations (both collaborators and competitors), government, customers, and concerned publics, such as consumer watchdog groups. These multiple levels and coordinated activities provide a distinct context for understanding intercultural competence.

The Importance of Intercultural Competence in Organizations

Intercultural competence is important because of growing cultural diversity resulting from globalization. *Cultural diversity* is the representation of multiple groups that have cultural significance. A cultural group is often thought of as a nation or an ethnic group. However, other group characteristics also have cultural significance for its members. These include, but are not limited to, gender, sexual orientation, class, job status, and disabilities. In organizational studies, the focus of cultural diversity is on any group that members perceive as different from the others and whose members share similar values, beliefs, behaviors, and identities.

Cultural diversity has benefits and challenges for an organization. Some research examines the benefit or "value added" of diversity for an organization. One value added that diversity provides is creativity. Diverse groups have been shown to have more creative ideas and solutions than homogeneous groups, particularly when the topic is related to the aspect of diversity in the group. For example, if the group were developing strategies for encouraging people to travel to a specific country, a diverse group of individuals with people from the country of origin and the target country would be helpful for creativity.

Second, diversity is also an advantage in marketing, advertising, and public relations when dealing with diverse clientele. In all of these activities, employees create target messages for a particular audience. Having people in the organization from the targeted community will improve the quality of messaging in the campaigns.

Third, many organizations have relationships with customers. Having a diverse workforce enhances customer service for a diverse customer base. People often relate to others who come from similar cultural backgrounds and feel more satisfied with interactions with people who are like them.

Fourth, cultural diversity is also a social justice issue. People from all cultures have a right to have access to jobs and employers. Organizations that are culturally diverse and encourage people from all cultures to excel help address some of the societal burden from poverty, discrimination, and low socioeconomic status.

However, cultural diversity is not without its challenges, including process difficulty and prejudice/discrimination. Research finds that diverse groups have more process difficulty compared with homogeneous groups. *Process difficulty* refers to tensions, power struggles, conflicts, and other communication difficulties. Challenges in interacting occur because people from different cultural groups have different communication styles and strategies. Research does note that diverse groups are able to overcome process difficulty with time, training, and experience working with members from other cultures.

Prejudice and discrimination are also challenges. Negative attitudes and behaviors toward other cultural members are not limited to society in general; they also exist in organizations. While discrimination in the workplace is illegal in most countries, it still occurs; sometimes it results without the awareness of well-meaning individuals, and at other times, it is built into the institutions and structures of an organization. Prejudice and discrimination result in differential outcomes and contribute to a negative organizational culture. They also result in status differences among cultures, such as an under- or overrepresentation of one cultural group at the managerial level. An example might be having few African American women managers although the workforce is composed of a large number from this group.

Cultural diversity has a number of benefits as well as potential challenges. Intercultural competence is a key factor for addressing these challenges and in allowing organizations to achieve the benefits.

Philosophies of Intercultural Competence in Organizations

Most scholars and practitioners recognize the importance of intercultural competence in organizations, but there is some disagreement about the general philosophy and labels related to intercultural competence. The most popular approach is diversity management. This approach emphasizes the importance of organizations (and particularly management) taking an active approach to address diversity and to ensure an inclusive organizational culture. It places the burden on the organization to ensure that individuals, and the organization itself, have intercultural competence. This approach takes a predominantly management focus because the emphasis is on the organizational goals. Individual goals are supported only if they are in the best interests of the organization.

Scholars and practitioners do not dispute the importance of an active organization addressing diversity issues. However, some do dispute the label of diversity management and its implication for organizations in nations other than the United States. For some scholars, the notion of diversity management is problematic because it commodifies people from diverse backgrounds (i.e., treats them as objects for organizational benefit). Furthermore, these scholars argue that “to manage” means to control, which results in a lack of agency for employees. They believe that by emphasizing a business and profit-based model, diversity scholars and practitioners are dehumanizing the problem, resulting in a decrease in the quality of work life for employees. For other scholars, the notion and practices of diversity management do not work because they are based in U.S. cultural values and history. In contrast, these scholars argue, addressing diversity issues is better achieved by understanding the local demographic issues. That is, the local situation of a country provides a unique context for understanding and addressing diversity issues.

As an alternative approach to diversity management, some scholars suggest a focus on integration, learning, and multivoiced discourses. This approach emphasizes a collective valuing of the cultural backgrounds of employees and a framing of their perspectives as beneficial to both the organization and the employees.

The fundamental philosophical difference in perspective derives from the top-down (diversity management) versus bottom-up (integration and learning) approach to addressing diversity. While there are differences in philosophy, both the diversity management approach and the integration, learning, and multivoiced approach emphasize active and creative strategies for developing intercultural competence in organizations. The final section explores a few specific strategies for enhancing intercultural competence in organizations.

Strategies for Achieving Intercultural Competence in Organizations

Many organizations attempt to address diversity problems through simplistic problem analysis or solutions. One simple problem analysis is that in a particular organization there are not enough people from different cultures and, thus, the organization needs to add diversity by hiring people from underrepresented groups. This strategy can be problematic if the organization does not understand why there was limited diversity in the first place. A second simple problem analysis is that there are poorly trained employees, and so the organization needs better training. People certainly need to learn and be trained in how to interact and work effectively with people from other cultures. However, training alone does not address one core problem in organizations, namely, the lack of an inclusive organizational culture. Many organizations with diversity problems need to examine their organizational systems and culture to see if they have an inclusive culture that allows people from all cultures to thrive. The organization needs to make sure that intercultural competence is practiced at all levels in the organization.

To create an inclusive culture, organizations need to consider five facets: (1) leadership, (2) research, (3) education, (4) alignment of management systems, and (5) follow-up. Leadership refers to the vision and strategy of the organization. An important step is for the organization to state that intercultural competence and diversity are a key part of its vision and goals. Communicating this vision to employees and to the larger community encourages an organization to take steps to address cultural differences.

Second, organizations need to complete some research about diversity in their organization. Organizations with intercultural competence know that measuring attitudes toward diversity and the perceptions of employees from different cultures allows the organization to identify potential problems and to create baseline data in order to compare future assessments. In addition, the organization can monitor promotion, retention, and recruitment efforts. Such research enables organizations to determine where they are and where they need to go.

Third, once the organization knows its baseline data, it is ready to implement intercultural competence training for all its employees. Such training should include cognitive, affective, and behavioral skills. Organizations need to ensure that employees are knowledgeable about other cultures, are motivated to embrace cultural diversity, and have good skills to communicate with people from other cultures. Intercultural competence training should be implemented at all levels and should be continual. Often, the assumption is that a single training is sufficient when, in reality, improvements in intercultural competence take a long time to develop, as with any professional ability.

Fourth, organizations need to make sure that their management systems are aligned to support people from different cultural backgrounds. Some of these important management systems include work schedules, recruitment, promotion, and socialization. Flexible work schedules enable organizations to attract and support people with families and those who want to achieve a good work–life balance. Promotion systems need to be set up to reward both team and individual participation. For example, many organizations suggest that teamwork is important and then reward people only for individual accomplishments. Such mismatches discourage people who have a collective approach to organizational behavior.

Finally, organizations need to follow up on their diversity plans and efforts. Managers and leaders need to continue to measure attitudes and perceptions and make continual changes to training and education and the alignment of management systems. Additionally, they need to report findings about their efforts to employees and interested publics and continue to express the importance of diversity and intercultural competence in the organizational vision. Organizations that have high levels of intercultural competence realize that diversity efforts constitute a continual developmental process that is integral to their success.

John G. Oetzel

See also Benchmarks in Diversity and Inclusion; Conflict Management; Dimensions of Diversity; Global Diversity Management; Multicultural Organization

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Intercultural Conflict Styles

Intercultural conflict style differences are important because they can significantly affect intercultural understanding and relationships at the individual, group, organizational, and international levels. This entry offers an explanation of conflict and conflict styles, followed by a summary of intercultural conflict style differences across cultural communities.

Conflict

Conflicts have been a part of human interaction since the first tribal communities were established. Conflict communication is a social process, yet it differs in important ways from nonconflictual, everyday social interaction. Often our communication with one another involves misperceptions; communication misunderstandings; differences in goals, values, and needs; and misinterpretation of intentions and behavior. In many cases, these differences are routinely clarified between the parties in ways that increase understanding and reinforce relational trust. By themselves these differences, therefore, are not necessarily conflictual.

Conflict has two important characteristics, however, that differentiate it from other forms of social communication. First, conflict is grounded in either perceived or real incompatibilities between two or more interdependent parties. *Interdependent parties* means that each individual is not able to satisfactorily accomplish his or her own goals without the cooperation of the other party. Interdependency ensures that each party needs to engage in a conflict resolution effort with the other.

Conflict also involves substantive disagreement in goals, values, viewpoints, or practices between parties. These incompatibilities reflect not merely misunderstandings or misperceptions; rather, they represent goals or needs that one or more of the parties feel cannot be achieved if the other party accomplishes his or her goals. This sense that "I do not see how I can achieve my goals if you achieve yours" typically creates a win-lose conflict dynamic whereby each party attempts to either gain an advantage or prevent a loss vis-à-vis the other party.

Second, conflict involves affective or emotional upset, where one or more of the parties involved experience negative feelings such as hurt, betrayal, anger, and so on. Emotional upset contributes to a diminishing of trust toward the other party, which can further escalate the conflict dynamic.

Conflict communication or conflict resolution focuses, therefore, on helping the parties reach mutually acceptable agreements (resolving perceived incompatibilities) and on addressing emotional upset and relational mistrust, largely through a reframing of the conflict dynamic into a win-win, cooperative interaction.

Conflict Style

Conflict style is critical because it is often the fulcrum to conflict escalation and de-escalation as parties engage one another in a conflict resolution process. Conflict style is a particular form of a person's more general patterns of communication behavior. Conflict style refers to patterned interpretations and actions of the conflict dynamic (incompatibilities and emotional upset) across situations. Since the early 1900s, conflict style has been variously characterized in terms of fight-or-flight behavior, moving toward and moving against the other party, and cooperative and competitive behavioral patterns. In 1964, a more expansive typology of conflict style was adapted from the managerial grid proposed by Robert R. Blake and Jane Mouton. This modified typology viewed conflict style in terms of two dimensions. The first dimension involved either a high or a low concern for achieving one's own goals and needs (a self-concern), while the second dimension focused on a high or low concern for the goals and needs of the other party (an other concern).

This two-dimensional model produced five distinct conflict (resolution) styles. A *dominating* style reflects an approach to resolving disagreements in which people focus on "getting what they want" even at the expense of other people achieving few of their own goals. This style indicates, therefore, a high concern for one's own goals and needs and a low concern for the other party's goals and needs. An *obliging* style is the opposite of the dominating approach. In this style, people often "give in" to the goals and needs of the others and focus little on achieving their own goals (low self-concern, high other concern). An *avoiding* style reflects little effort at attaining either one's own goals or the goals of the other party (low concern for one's own goals and low concern for the goals of the other). An *integrating* style is typically identified as the more cooperative and creative approach to resolving conflicts as it involves both a high concern for attaining one's own goals and an equally high concern for the other party's goals. Finally, a *compromising* style describes a moderate concern for both one's own goals and the goals of the other party. Because of the popularity of this two-dimensional model of conflict style, various assessment questionnaires have been developed, perhaps the most influential being the Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument.

Intercultural Conflict Style

Patterns for resolving conflicts (substantive disagreements and emotional upset) are learned largely from one's own family and cultural community through socialization. As such, people internalize those attitudes, thoughts, and behavioral strategies for responding to conflict from the people with whom they most interact.

The conflict style taxonomies identified earlier have been developed largely within a U.S. (Western) cultural context. Because of this, some authors have suggested that these conflict style models and assessment tools may not be cross-culturally generalizable beyond individualistic cultural communities. For example, an *avoiding* approach (identified in the two-dimensional conflict style model adapted from Robert Blake and Jane Mouton) may be viewed in collectivistic cultures as a high (not low) concern for achieving one's own goals and a high (not low) concern for the goals of the other party. This supposed avoiding strategy functions in collectivistic groups to maintain relational harmony, which greatly facilitates problem resolution. As such, an avoiding strategy is identified as a more proactive, positive integrating strategy in collectivistic communities. Additionally, it has been noted that these conflict style typologies are not grounded in identified intercultural patterns of difference.

Because of this, questions have been raised regarding the cross-cultural applicability of these conflict style models and measurement.

Intercultural conflict style is defined as a culture group's preferred approach for resolving conflicts around substantive disagreements and negative feelings each party has toward the other. Intercultural conflict style is learned within the context of the norms and practices of one's cultural community and can change based on other cultural experiences. Some of the factors that can lead to changes in a community's preferred intercultural conflict style include (a) the degree of cultural diversity versus homogeneity within a particular community; (b) the extent of cultural isolation versus engagement with other cultural groups; (c) the influence of assimilation, colonization, and other substantial culture contacts (e.g., tourism); and (d) the degree of immigration and refugee resettlement.

A number of intercultural researchers have looked at how core, culture-general patterns of difference influence how individuals and groups attempt to resolve substantive disagreements and address emotional upset during conflict. This work has documented the fact that conflict communication differs across diverse cultural values and practices, notably differences between individualistic and collectivistic patterns, high-context and low-context approaches, affective and emotionally neutral strategies, and high and low tolerance of uncertainty and ambiguity in social norms and practices. While research has identified differences in conflict communication across diverse groups, the studies do not offer a more comprehensive model or typology of intercultural conflict styles to explain cross-ethnic and cross-national differences.

Mitchell Hammer has proposed the four-quadrant model of intercultural conflict style to address some of these shortcomings. The two fundamental dimensions of conflict—(1) substantive disagreements and (2) emotional upset—most closely relate to the intercultural dimensions of direct and indirect cultural strategies (for addressing substantive issues) and emotionally expressive and emotionally restrained approaches (for dealing with emotional upset).

Evidence, identified primarily from conflict studies examining differences in individualistic and collectivistic patterns of conflict resolution and in high- and low-context cultural conflict approaches, reveals underlying cross-cultural patterns of direct and indirect strategies in resolving substantive disagreements. Direct culture strategies stress the value of straight talk and verbalization of each party's goals, wants, and needs. Direct cultures see the first step in resolving conflicts as to get the issues on the table so that a fruitful discussion can be initiated. Other strategies include the use of precise, explicit language to minimize misunderstanding. Often, in conflict situations in direct culture groups, if ambiguity or vagueness is expressed, mistrust is increased between the contending parties. Direct cultures prefer more face-to-face communication for addressing difficult issues and are comfortable with the assertion of differences of opinion. Direct culture approaches also rely more on detailed arguments to persuade and, overall, engage in more solution-focused problem-solving strategies.

In contrast, indirect culture strategies value greater nonverbal attention cues and contemplative talk about each party's goals, wants, and needs. For indirect culture groups, the use of ambiguity and vagueness in verbal communication indicates a willingness to listen and resolve the difficulty. Furthermore, indirect cultural approaches rely more on the use of third parties to buffer difficult conversation. Finally, indirect cultures employ more *face-work* as a strategy of persuasion, attending to saving face for others and oneself as well as the group. Overall, they implement more relational-repair, harmony-honoring, and problem-solving strategies.

Other studies indicate that emotional expressiveness and emotional restraint are core cultural patterns of difference in how people address emotional upset during a conflict interaction. While emotions are universal across cultural communities, how these emotions are expressed differs across diverse groups. Emotionally expressive cultures engage in more visible displays of feelings and control emotions by externalizing—that is, by sharing one's emotional reality through more animated nonverbal behavior and facial expression. Emotionally expressive cultural patterns also view more emotionally laden interactions with others as a demonstration of trust and credibility.

In emotionally restrained communities, emotional upset is nonverbally disguised or internalized, with a minimal display of feelings through nonverbal actions, and value is placed on maintaining emotional control to build trust and establish credibility.

Based on these constructs, Hammer identified four distinct intercultural conflict styles. In the *discussion* style (direct and emotionally restrained), individuals engage in more direct, verbal strategies for resolving conflict and a more emotionally controlled approach for dealing with one's own and the other party's level of emotional upset. The *engagement* style (direct and emotionally expressive) emphasizes direct, more verbally confrontational strategies for talking about substantive disagreements, coupled with a more emotionally expressive stance. The credibility of each party in a conflict situation is strongly influenced by the degree to which more intense emotional displays are permitted and accepted. The *accommodation* style (indirect and emotionally restrained) values approaches to resolving conflicts that involve more indirect communication strategies along with maintaining emotional calm, even if one or both parties are emotionally upset. Finally, the *dynamic* style (indirect and emotionally expressive) involves indirect (e.g., third parties) strategies with more emotionally intense verbal and nonverbal expression. Hammer's Intercultural Conflict Style Inventory has been cross-culturally validated and provides a useful individual assessment of either direct or indirect strategies around substantive issues and emotionally expressive or emotionally restrained approaches for dealing with emotional upset.

By assessing one's own core approach to resolving conflicts through the lens of the intercultural conflict style model, the individual can explore options for increasing intercultural competence when there are communication breakdowns in the face of seemingly unresolvable intercultural conflicts.

Mitchell R. Hammer

See also Facework/Facework Negotiation Theory; Individualism and Collectivism; Intercultural Conflict Transformation; Intercultural Verbal Communication Styles

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Intercultural Conflict Transformation

What is conflict? It is a difference that matters, one that becomes a dividing line between "us" and "them" or between competing claims over fairness, law, or morality. Conflict is often about perceived struggles over material resources or incompatible goals, but it can also exist beneath the surface in relation to divergent worldviews. Because not all conflicts are manifest, subterranean tensions can emerge in ways that seem sudden or unexpected. Conflict frequently escalates through miscommunication and poor listening, especially in instances where power appears to be unevenly distributed.

This entry examines the relationship between conflict and culture, the role of power in conflict, strategies for resolving differences, and core intercultural competencies for conflict transformation.

Systematic studies of conflict are relatively new, becoming common only after World War II. Drawing from multiple disciplines, the field of conflict studies tends to accent psychological, communication/linguistic, and legal knowledge. It tends to underemphasize the significance of political economy, aesthetics, anthropology, sociology, geography, and, until recently, neuroscience. This path of development has led to an underemphasis of culture and cultural fluency. Though there have been many conferences, books, and articles featuring culture as a theme for conflict studies theory and practice, many programs fail to incorporate culturally fluent understandings in analysis, design, engagement, or follow-up.

The Role of Culture in Conflict

Such underemphasis notwithstanding, it is clear to interculturalists that culture is always relevant to conflict. Conflicts arise in human relationships that are necessarily shaped by culture, and they grow in intensity when intercultural competence is lacking on one or more sides. In addition, cultures both affect and are changed by the ways we name, frame, blame, and tame conflicts. Indeed, whether a conflict exists at all is necessarily bound up with culture. For example, an elderly Chinese man interviewed in Canada indicated that he had experienced no conflict at all for the previous 40 years. Among the possible reasons for his denial was a cultural preference to see the world through lenses of harmony rather than conflict, as encouraged by his Confucian upbringing. Labeling some of our interactions as conflicts and analyzing them into smaller component parts is a distinctly Western approach that may obscure other ways of paying attention, making meaning, and navigating difference.

While culture is always a factor in conflict, it may play either a central or a less obvious, subtler role. Intractable relations such as the Israeli–Palestinian conflict or the India–Pakistan conflict over Kashmir are not just about territorial, boundary, and sovereignty issues; they are also about acknowledgment, identity, representation, and legitimization of contrasting narratives and diverse ways of being, relating, and creating meaning.

Given that culture includes *bright connections*—the ways people in a group experience affiliation and a shared identity—it can also function as a *bright line* that marks exclusion or differential treatment of outsiders. These identity boundaries are an important source of conflict, as are political, historical, resource-based, and other kinds of divisions. When multifaceted, dynamic, and complex cultural ways of seeing and being intersect with the emotionally charged, often mysterious and intricate phenomenon of conflict, escalation is not surprising.

While culture is inextricable from conflict, it does not cause conflict. It is important not to problematize culture as the source of conflict, for to do so obscures the rich resource that cultural wisdom and rituals offer in addressing conflicts.

The Role of Power in Conflict

It is similarly important to include power and power relations in any conflict analysis. Conflict does not arise in a vacuum, and troubles in communities, organizations, or families are often exacerbated by unequal power sharing or perceived disrespect. People in a dominant group whose cultural norms are shared and are considered (at least by them) to be normal and common sense may not realize the extent to which their cultural assumptions radiate pain or generate conflict for those outside the shared group identity and behavioral norms. This truism is playing out in contemporary struggles of decolonization, in which the colonized strive to revive traditional ways of handling conflict as the former colonizers are challenged to find new, respectful ways to build relations.

Strategies for Resolving Conflict

To address conflict effectively, the following are essential:

- Cultural fluency in analyzing, framing, engaging, problem solving, and sustaining outcomes
- Curiosity and openness to a variety of ways of addressing conflict, including indirect, high-context approaches that may or may not include face-to-face meetings or direct naming of issues
- Comfort with ambiguity and with the understanding that there are many dynamics that will not or cannot be addressed overtly
- Familiarity with the symbolic and ritual aspects of conflict and communication, and facility with working with symbolic tools including narrative, metaphor, and ritual
- Internalization of cultural continua that deepen cultural fluency
- Conversance with creative approaches to conflict that transcend spoken or written language and foster experiences of joint belonging

Each of these points is addressed in turn below.

Cultural Fluency

Cultural fluency means familiarity with cultural dynamics—how they work and the ways in which they intertwine with relationships in times of conflict or harmony. Cultural fluency means awareness of and facility with intercultural communication strategies and tools, including diverse ways of

- naming, framing, and taming conflict;
- making and negotiating meaning;
- defining and navigating relationships, including status, identities, and roles;
- intervening in conflict; and
- managing, resolving, transforming, or otherwise handling conflict.

Cultural fluency involves the readiness to anticipate, internalize, express, and enact culturally sensitive, meaning-making processes in resolving conflict. It involves

- anticipating a range of possible ways to navigate communication and relationship in unfamiliar and diverse cultural contexts;
- becoming and remaining conscious of the cultural influences embedded in meaning-making processes;
- expressing cultural assumptions transparently to others unfamiliar with particular meaning-making patterns; and
- navigating the sometimes turbulent cross-cultural dynamics to co-create functional and constructive processes, systems, and ongoing engagements.

What are *meaning-making processes*? These are the constant brain–body activities that connect experiences to existing mental schemas. We make narratives of our lives, resisting accounts of experience as a series of nonsequiturs. Conflicts are no exception: We excavate our own and others' intentions, reasons for behavior, justifications, aspirations, and attributions in the context of social and relational structures, patterns, and past experiences. Thus, we conclude that an interaction is "not fair" or a way we have been treated is "unjustified." Cultural fluency means accounting for meaning making in two ways: (1) by examining the constructed contexts within which experiences occur and are understood and (2) by using a series of tools to prevent or bridge misunderstandings and enhance accurate communication going forward.

Curiosity and Openness to Diverse Understandings of Conflict

For those from direct, low-context cultures, conflict should be named and engaged efficiently. But this approach may be jarring to someone whose focus is on harmony and maintaining orderly social relations. Low-context communicators in conflict with high-context counterparts do best when their curiosity is satisfied through observation and indirect information gathering. High-context conflict parties may find that telegraphing messages results in distortion, and so they may need to cultivate ways of moving along the directness–indirectness continuum toward more disclosure. In today's multicultural, complex settings, cultural fluency in conflict practice means that no one approach is ideal. Rather, curiosity and flexibility are the watchwords in conflict.

Comfort With Ambiguity

There will always be opacity across cultures; this is part of relating in the midst of difference. Not knowing is a necessary part of any conflict-handling process, and reducing the anxiety associated with this not knowing can enhance functionality. This may be more difficult for those whose communication preferences accent closure and disclosure. It is a valuable discipline to cultivate comfort with ambiguity while knowing when—in the context of a conflict—to attempt clarification or to venture into the terrain of explicit naming.

Familiarity With Symbolic Language and Conflict Rituals

Metaphors are used across cultures in communication about conflict. Understanding these metaphoric images and their rich provenance, including cues about intensity, relationship, attitude, perception, and position, is critical to effectiveness in intercultural conflict. Similarly, rituals function as vehicles for transition. Attuning to existing rituals that lubricate social relations and creating new rituals are important skills for the intercultural conflict intervener. Finally, narrative is at the center of conflict, affecting how stories are held, told, received, and shifted. Culturally fluent conflict engagement involves valuing narratives and finding ways to communicate respect while also locating pivot points within stories where common ground can be identified.

Internalization of Cultural Continua Relevant to Conflict Handling

- Spatial orientation (how close it is comfortable to stand, how furniture should be arranged, who should be seated where, etc.)
- Affiliation and agency (accent on individual autonomy or group decision making)
- Communication content and approach (directness and indirectness and the related ideas of high and low context—the degree to which things are named explicitly [low context] or to which the context is used to communicate what is not said [high context])
- Axiology and epistemology (including whether the universal or the particular is emphasized, as in the difference between mass production and one-of-a-kind creation; also whether there is a reliance on specificity and diffuseness, as in the difference between decision making based on empirical data, and intuition)
- Permissibility and kind of touch (greeting and parting rituals and the range of acceptable behavior across genders and generations and within and between groups depending on status and other variables)
- Meanings associated with nonverbal communication (including eye contact, specific gestures, and particular facial expressions, as well as comfort or discomfort with silence)
- Attitudes toward fate and personal responsibility (whether personal accountability is expected or people anticipate that many things are outside their control)
- Face and face-saving (important in virtually every culture but with substantial cultural variability)
- Power distance (the degree to which people are comfortable with vertical hierarchies)
- Uncertainty avoidance (the degree to which people avoid risk and associated uncertainty)

Facility With Creative Conflict Engagement, Including Arts-Based Approaches

Arts-based approaches are a fruitful counterpoint to the habit—ingrained in many conflict parties' minds—of seeking to vanquish the other. In the nuanced world of the arts, it is difficult to maintain stark black-and-white dichotomies and a crisp sense of separation from others. People emerge from creating images or moving together in improvised dance with new appreciation for each other's dilemmas and complexities. With actual experiences of each other's cultural "common sense," they are better able to appreciate commonalities and find ways to bridge differences.

Arts-based approaches encompass a constellation of enacted, somatic tools that foster creative expression, from visual and theater arts to music, dance, and poetry. These approaches come from the humanities, fine and performative arts, and expressive arts, providing fruitful vehicles for imagination and intuition in the midst of conflict. They welcome sensing and feeling—dimensions so often "managed" or sidelined in conventional approaches—as embodied experiences essential for truly transforming conflict. This makes sense because emotions can be powerful motivators toward transformation, just as they are central drivers in conflict escalation. Furthermore, neuroscience researchers report that sensing and feeling trigger mirror neurons, thus evoking empathy as experiences are shared.

Arts approaches need not be formal. They encompass a wide range of expressive and imaginative tools in conflict resolution processes, whether arising spontaneously or preplanned. In a conflict context, these modes are not used primarily as performances or to generate artistic products (though sometimes participants choose to continue joint efforts that yield such things) but as conduits for accompaniment and change. They can also be vastly beneficial in pedagogy because of their versatility and their capacity to help learners deepen creative, somatic capacities.

Arts approaches need not always adhere to specific forms. They can be as simple as imagery-based metaphors, as in the case of the dialogue between those in Canada who characterize themselves as pro-life or pro-choice. Invited to identify their heroes or heroines, activists from both sides chose Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela. This commonality surprised them, interrupting the negative labels that each had long assigned to the other. An exploration of what these figures represented to each side—compassionate leadership, justice, and emancipation—fostered emergent mutual respect. From this base of respect, the dialogue participants collaborated on a range of social actions to ameliorate the feminization of poverty.

As is evident from this example, cultural fluency is intricately bound up with arts-based work. Seeing a play in France can give more contextual understanding than attending 10 lectures about patterns of conflict-handling behavior in France. Humor, tone, textures of engagement, ways of naming or skirting differences, nuances of communication—all these can be presented in an engaging narrative that literally takes the viewer inside the frames of reference of the characters. Participating in creating a play or a piece of visual art—necessitating sharing assumptions about what works and why—is thus potentially even more fruitful.

As conflict is a difference that matters, our complex and technologically advanced world calls for culturally fluent, effective ways of engaging it. Our deficits in cultivating the capacities described above are perilous; our successes inspire hope for a more peaceful world.

Michelle LeBaron

See also Conflict Management; Intercultural Conflict Styles; International Negotiation; Knowledge, Skills, and Attitudes in Intercultural Conflict

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INTERCULTURAL FAMILIES

Families become intercultural in one of two ways: (1) internally (through intercultural marriage/partnership or adoption) or (2) because they move, as a family, from one culture to another. It is not uncommon for families to be *complexly intercultural*—a bicultural couple with a (biracial, bilingual) child may move multiple times to different cultures, each experience leading to intimate familiarity with other cultures and all the potential opportunity and challenge this involves. Internally intercultural families that are formed from *intercultural intimate relationships* and *cross-cultural adoptions* are described separately in this volume, so the focus here is on *globally mobile families* that move to a new cultural environment, either temporarily (as *expatriates*) or permanently (as immigrants). Topics include developmental differences in the experience of such families, systemic changes that affect family interaction, challenges to marriages/partnerships, parenting across cultures, raising bilingual children, educational differences children must master, *third-culture kids/global nomads*, and the challenges facing accompanying spouses/partners.

Developmental Differences in the Experience of Globally Mobile Families

The experience of globally mobile families depends heavily on whether there are children in the family and, if so, on the ages of the children. Child-free families and those with grown offspring who do not accompany them to the new culture avoid the challenges and expense of finding childcare or schools that are consistent with their values, and they report enjoying the freedom to explore their new location more easily than those with children. Families with children, on the other hand, appear to benefit from the structure and natural cultural engagement that come from being daily at the playground, meeting other parents after school, and sharing family experiences alongside host national peers. There is no particular age at which intercultural transitions are easiest, although expatriate mothers of adolescents report more difficulties than mothers of babies, toddlers, or school-age children (of course, this age pattern may be observed among nonexpatriate mothers as well). Younger children's cultural adjustment is likely to be tied to their own temperament (some children make transitions to new situations more easily than others) and to the emotional messages they receive from their parents (their primary social influence even in the new location). Teenagers' temperament and parents influence their course as well, but their own developing identities, expectations for independence, weakening connection to peers, and emerging family roles can become more complicated in a new cultural environment.

Systemic Changes That Affect Globally Mobile Family Interaction

Families that move from one country to another commonly face four kinds of systemic changes, any one of which can be a challenge to even the healthiest family. While these changes also affect relocating families making domestic moves, the realities of international moves—with their distance from home, visa limitations, language demands, new daily customs, and cultural norm challenges—exaggerate the effects for globally mobile families. First, family *membership* often changes, as important family members are left behind and others now travel so much that they are psychologically absent. Second, *boundaries* between family and nonfamily often get redefined in the context of the new culture. A family accustomed to fluid boundaries, with neighbors and extended family flowing seamlessly through their homes and lives, will be jolted by being in an environment where they do not know anyone well enough to include in their daily lives and do not have the language skills or history in the community to build such relationships. Or, conversely, a family used to privacy and a self-contained life will be jolted by the sudden presence of maids, drivers, close neighbors, or nannies. Third, family *roles* often change during intercultural moves. The parental division of child rearing and outside employment often shifts, leaving both parents and children struggling to adapt. A parent may suddenly be more (or less) involved in making dinner or managing bedtime, and an older child may suddenly be more (or less) responsible for younger siblings. A change in the income-earning status of one parent is an especially challenging role change that often confronts globally mobile families. And, fourth, *subsystem alliances*—within-family bonds based on shared values, skills, interests, or physical characteristics—often get disrupted in light of the demands of living in a new culture. Changes in things like parental travel, how children get to school, or even the architecture of the new home subtly alter the way family members interact with one another. Old relationship patterns—who sits where at meals, who is in the same room while doing homework, who is in charge during breakfast, who is there to nurture or advise or discipline—can change in subtle ways with profound consequences. For all these reasons, family *flexibility* and *adaptability* are traits that promote resilience in globally mobile families.

Marriages/Partnerships in Globally Mobile Families

Marriages or partnerships are often strained, at least temporarily, during the period of transition to the new country. Each partner bears new responsibilities—as the one who instigated the move, causing disruption in the other's work, education, and social worlds, or as the one who, willingly or not, takes on the practical tasks of settling into a new culture. Internal strains that existed in the relationship may rise to the surface, and the external context over which the couple has no control—work visa status for the spouse, laws about same-sex partners or marriage, restrictions on women's daily lives—poses new challenges to surmount. Many couples say the international move brought them closer together; a minority say it broke them apart. Few say it had no impact.

Parenting Across Cultures

A common dynamic that occurs in globally mobile families is the uneven alliance of members to the home and host cultures. Typically, and naturally, the parents have deep-rooted connections to the values of the culture in which they were raised. The children, profoundly influenced during their developmental years by the cultural values of the new country, must juggle the competing demands of their parents' home country values and their peers' (and sometimes teachers') host country ones. An added dimension sometimes occurs in which the two parents *split* their evaluation of the cultures, one becoming the "keeper" of the old, the other the promoter of the new. The most settled families find a way for all members to appreciate both the home and the host cultures.

Raising Bilingual Children

Many children in globally mobile families have the opportunity to become bilingual (or multilingual). The practical advantages of being bilingual in today's world are obvious, and many parents note this opportunity for their children as one of the most important motivations for choosing their intercultural life. In addition to being able to speak two languages, however, bilingual children appear to have other advantages over their monolingual peers. Their metalinguistic awareness—their understanding of how language works—develops earlier than in monolinguals, probably as a result of their having experience with the arbitrariness of different linguistic structures and rules. There is evidence that bilingual children also have superior skills in executive functioning (especially attention control), creative problem solving, and perception.

Educational Challenges Facing Children in Globally Mobile Families

In addition to children in globally mobile families having to learn to speak a new language and juggle their parents' and peers' conflicting values, they also have to learn to master a new educational system. Curricula around the world vary widely, as do classroom expectations. Teachers in different countries expect different things from their students. In some countries, teachers put the highest value on innovative, creative, original opinions from their students (even if their answers are "wrong"), while in other countries teachers demand detailed mastery of widely respected expert opinion. Teachers in some countries offer encouraging remarks to their most successful students, while in other countries these remarks are reserved for students who are failing. Teachers in some countries praise effort, while those in other countries praise mastery. Children have to decode this bewildering set of teaching practices, usually without explicit instruction.

Third-Culture Kids/Global Nomads

Children raised in the context of multiple cultures because their families have moved to a new country, and who spend a significant part of their developmental years outside their passport country, have been called *third-culture kids* (TCKs) or *global nomads*. While TCKs must manage some difficult issues (e.g., losing friends and families repeatedly as they or others move away, not being in control of their immediate future, and not feeling fully rooted in one place), they have also been found to have a broad worldview; to be culturally open-minded, adaptable, and socially aware; to be excellent bridge builders in conflict situations; and to have good observational skills. Note that TCKs are a subgroup of the broader category *cross-cultural kids* (CCKs)—children of internally intercultural families who have not necessarily moved with their family to a new country but have nonetheless been raised in different cultural worlds (e.g., by virtue of having parents of different cultures or being adopted from another culture) and share many of the TCK traits described here.

Accompanying Spouses' Experience in Globally Mobile Families

In work-generated international relocations, typically one spouse/partner has the job that motivates the move; the other spouse/partner is commonly referred to as the *accompanying spouse or partner* (or sometimes as the *trailing spouse*, although many find that term demeaning). Accompanying spouses/partners often have both more intense intercultural experiences and more significant challenges than others in the family. The partner with the expatriate job maintains a sense of mastery and competence at the workplace, usually doing similar work as before the move. In contrast, the accompanying partner, left to manage the acts of daily living for the family, often engages with the new culture in a deeper (interesting but challenging) manner, having to master new bureaucracies, trades, and social conventions, perhaps in a new language and often without assistance. Furthermore, they often have had to give up a career to make this move. The visa status of many relocating spouses/partners does not allow for paid employment, and even if it does, the challenges of missing credentials/licenses, far-away clientele, inadequate language facility, and lack of employment networks are often significant. This potential loss of professional identity is often matched by a parallel loss of role identity if distance prohibits fulfillment of important social roles (e.g., grandparent, child, sibling, friend, community leader) that may be even more important in the face of missing career employment.

Importance of Supporting Globally Mobile Families

The Global Relocation Trends Survey, an annual industry survey of human resource managers in small, medium, and large corporations around the world, has consistently noted spouse/partner or family adjustment problems as the most common reasons for assignment failure and for refusal to take an assignment. There is a clear interactive effect between family adjustment and work outcome: Where personal and family satisfaction is high, work outcomes (job attitudes, absenteeism, willingness to complete or repeat international assignments) are more positive. This *spillover* effect works in both directions; positive experiences are related to positive outcomes, negative experiences to negative ones. Factors related to positive family adjustment include an accompanying spouse interested in and willing to move, involvement of the spouse in planning and decision making about the move, the presence of children, adequate support for children's educational needs, adequate social support, assistance in the practical aspects of settling in, cross-cultural training that covers the cultural as well as emotional aspects of the move, personal open-mindedness and stability, and family adaptability and cohesion.

Anne P. Copeland

See also Biracial Identity; Cross-Cultural Adoption; Expatriates; Intercultural Intimate Relationships; Third-Culture Kids/Global Nomads

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INTERCULTURAL HUMOR

"That's hilarious." "I'm offended." Because intercultural humor is so dependent on the eye of the beholder, these two responses could refer to the very same ethnic joke or humorous cultural depiction. Depending on one's perspective, examples of intercultural humor may be viewed as either hilarious or offensive, sometimes *both* hilarious and offensive.

Jokes, usually targeted at members of an ethnic group, regional culture, or foreign nation, may be the most conspicuous form of intercultural humor. Yet such humor is also found in genres such as literature, music, theater, film, radio, television, visual arts, and print media.

It might be tempting to conflate intercultural humor with the idea of cultural disparagement. That is, if humorists use a cultural group as their target, this must be considered disparagement. However, while disparaging humor does exist, particularly when the tellers hold some sort of power over the target group, intercultural humor is far too varied and complex to be reduced to this simple prototype.

Categories of Intercultural Humor

There are myriad definitions and theories of humor. Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (1997) define it as "any message—transmitted in action, speech, writing, images or music—intended to produce a smile or a laugh" (p. 1). While generally emphasizing cultural incongruities, most intercultural humor appears to fall into seven general categories. In describing these categories, the terms *teller* (the person, group, or entity that creates and/or transmits the humor) and *target* (the person or group who becomes the focus of the humor) will be used.

Humor of Hostility

In this type of humor, the teller expresses animus toward the target group. Sometimes humor is used to foster societal antipathy toward members of the target group, occasionally portraying them as conspiring to undermine society. The latter can be seen in Nazi-era anti-Semitic humor, 20th-century East African anti-Asian humor, and early-20th-century Turkish anti-Armenian humor. However, antipathy should not be assumed in all intercultural humor.

Humor of Superiority and Condescension

In this type of humor, the teller treats the target group as odd or inferior, but without expressing hostility. This often takes the form of caricaturing or exaggerating the target group's purported values and behavioral tendencies—for example, cuisine and eating habits—sometimes to the point of absurdity.

Humor of Adaptive Failure

In this type of humor, the teller makes fun of the purported inability of the target group to adapt to the mainstream culture, with resulting intercultural incongruities and misunderstandings. One variation involves caricaturing the target group's speech mannerisms and its struggles to use the language of the new culture. Another variation portrays groups as unable to successfully adapt to social innovations and new technology. Over the centuries, such incapacity humor—for example, Egyptian humor about Nubians—has encompassed technological innovations such as elevators, telephones, calculators, and currently computers.

Humor of Linguistic Inferiority

In this type of humor, the targets may be tourists, subcultures within nations, or other nations. For example, there is considerable humor involving perceptions that others speak a debased version of your language, such as variations of French and English used in *colonial* countries. Both Dutch humor and French humor target the perceived misuse of their languages in Belgium. Some Latin American nations have developed a humor focused on the perceived debasement of Spanish in neighboring countries.

Humor of Resistance

In this type of humor, the teller is part of a subordinate group (usually a subordinate ethnic group), and the group with power becomes the target. Sometimes the humor is directed at societal pressures to assimilate. This resistance humor often functions to foster greater intragroup cohesion, as seen in the humor of enslaved Africans in the United States, satirizing the slave masters.

Humor of Social Criticism

In this type of humor, the tellers do not target another ethnic group but rather criticize societal institutions and practices by portraying the experiences and adversity faced by ethnic or cultural groups. This type of humor is sometimes used to poke fun at flaws in the mainstream culture and the inequities created by mainstream institutions, with the humor focusing on themes such as racism, ethnocentrism, discrimination, and exclusion. For example, there is a rich Jewish humor about the experience of dealing with anti-Semitism, a humor dating back at least as far as the Roman era and even concerning the horrors of Nazism.

Humor of Self-Deprecation

In this type of humor, the teller is a part of the targeted group. This humor tends to thrive within the target group, often accompanied by pressure to keep the humor within the group. Common themes of such intragroup humor are group idiosyncrasies, often caricatured by the group members themselves, and the absurdity of reality. This can be seen in much of Irish and Jewish humor.

Dilemmas of Appropriateness

Intragroup humor, in particular, has caused considerable controversy, especially when used by group members in intergroup or even public settings. In what respects should intragroup humor remain within the group, and when is it permissible for group members to display this humor outside the group, such as in stand-up comedy? In what respects should this humor be acceptable only when used by group members rather than by outsiders? These questions arise when considering ethnic comedians such as Jackie Mason and Richard Pryor.

Mason, one of the leading Jewish stand-up comics in the United States, specializes in humor based on Jewish culture and experience. He often incorporates comparisons with Gentiles and touches of Yiddish, the traditional language of eastern European Jews. However, according to Mason, he has sometimes been criticized by other Jews because his humor is *too* Jewish.

Pryor, an acclaimed African American comedian, also received intragroup criticism. In his case, the issue was his frequent use of the *N*-word as part of his comedy routines (now a widespread practice among young African American comics). In the latter part of his career, Pryor renounced the use of the term.

Maybe even more complex—and sometimes controversial—is cross-over humor, where comedians challenge and blur group boundaries. Two such routines of talented American performers provide an illustration of this phenomenon.

In his skit *Blind Supremacy*, the African American comic Dave Chappelle plays a blind White supremacist who pours forth invective against Asians and Latinos, as well as Blacks, not realizing that he himself is Black. As part of his one-man show *Mambo Mouth*, the Colombian American comic John Leguizamo plays a Latino who conducts seminars for other Latinos on how they can succeed by transforming themselves into Japanese. His routine, which consists of one of those seminars, both draws on and parodies stereotypes of Latinos, Japanese, and Anglo-Americans.

Humor of Dichotomies

Much of intercultural humor involves the juxtaposing of dichotomies. For example, according to the humor scholar Christie Davies, the two most common themes of intercultural humor are dumbness and canniness, the latter sometimes being combined with stinginess. Possessors of these contrasting traits might be cultures of another nation or subcultures within a society, such as ethnic groups.

Such humor is sometimes replicated from nation to nation, with variations on which groups are targeted. For example, dumb Irish humor (common since the 17th century) thrives in England, dumb Belgian humor thrives in the Netherlands, and dumb Polish and Italian humor thrives in the United States. Although they are bitter geopolitical antagonists, India and Pakistan become informal allies when it comes to dumb Sikh humor. While targeting a group or culture as dumb clearly seems to be intentionally disparaging, it may actually have become a mere formula to get easy laughs, even though the group stereotype itself has virtually disappeared from general sociocultural thinking.

The humorous portrayal of groups as canny is even more complex because it combines respect for cleverness and business acumen with disrespect for the group's overemphasis on this trait. For example, one variation caricatures group members as actually impairing their quality of life by relentlessly fixating on trying to make or save money.

English humor based on the theme of canny, miserly Scots exemplifies the latter category. Canny humor directed at different target groups can be found throughout the world: canny Dutch in Belgian humor; canny Armenians in Greek and Middle Eastern humor; and canny Chinese in Pan-Asian humor.

Moreover, intercultural humor migrates. Dumb Irish humor has migrated from England to Australia and the United States, accompanying Irish migration to those countries. Comparably, humor about tight, canny Scots has migrated to Canada and the United States, while humor targeting canny Scots and Jews has even migrated into countries where there are few members of those two groups.

Another humor blend of derision and respect involves Germans, who are formulaically treated as rigid and authoritarian while simultaneously noted as supremely efficient. Intercultural humor about Americans derides them as loud and crass while also portraying them as industrious.

Characteristics of Intercultural Humor

Intercultural humor embodies some discernible characteristics, such as the following five variations.

Interchangeability

Some humor has become interchangeable among groups. For example, jokes about supposedly dumb Italians and Poles are often identical, suggesting that this has become an established formula rather than humor drawn from actual knowledge of the two groups. In fact, much of that humor directly replicates the *little moron* humor of the 1940s.

Reciprocity

Members of some nations (e.g., Latin America) tell similar jokes about each other. Another form of reciprocity is typified by English humor about the supposedly vulgar Australians, while Australians use that same humor as a proclamation of egalitarianism in contrast to stuffy, stratified England.

Recategorization

Some regional humor becomes almost synonymous with cross-ethnic humor. When it comes to categorizing groups as inferior, Tasmanians become the targets of metropolitan Australian humor, Newfoundlanders serve as targets of big-city Canadian humor, and southern Italians are targets of northern Italian humor. Comparably, religion is sometimes conflated with ethnicity, with Jews and Sikhs, for example, treated as ethnic as well as religious groups for the purposes of humor.

Longevity

Sometimes a group or characteristic may continue to be the focus of humor even though few people still believe in the cultural stereotype, which may have existed at an earlier time. The humor continues because the society has informally accepted some cultural characterization as a convenient humor convention. Davies refers to this as the humor of *ethnic scripts*. Davies argues that even where there is an apparent match of ethnic script and ethnic stereotype, those who laugh at the jokes do not necessarily subscribe to the stereotype and indeed may see the joke as a satire on the stereotype.

Transportation

In some cases, intercultural humor about certain target nations travels to countries that neither are near that nation nor contain many people of that national origin. In such cases, these imported humor traditions survive as conventions, although the tellers and listeners possess little real knowledge about the target group.

Reification

More problematic is whether or not the very repetition of intercultural humor may contribute to the public reification of an intergroup perception or cultural stereotype, regardless of the beliefs or intentions of the teller. For example, such humor may become part of the informal education of newcomers to a country, serving as their main introduction to a particular ethnic group they may not have previously known. The teaching power of such repetition may be unintentionally enhanced if the humor comes from group insiders, thereby making the group characterization appear more authentic.

Intercultural humor has had a long, sometimes tortuous, often controversial history. However, it continues to flourish, facilitated by the globalization of communications, the international movement of people, and the resulting intermingling of cultures.

Carlos E. Cortés

See also Cross-Cultural Communication; Ingroup/Outgroup; Prejudice, Bias, Discrimination

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Intercultural Intimate Relationships

Intimate relationships between people of different races, faiths, nationalities, or subcultures can all be considered *intercultural* in nature. Around the world, across countless types of cultural differences, unprecedented numbers of people are planning their futures, raising children, merging extended families, and living the rest of their lives with partners (married or not, gay or straight) who grew up in very different circumstances. In addition to the joys and opportunities open to them, intercultural couples face many *practical*, *communication*, *emotional*, *family*, and *value-based challenges*, starting from the moment they begin their relationship and extending throughout their lives.

Mate Selection

The process of finding and selecting a mate, or having one selected for you, differs widely across cultures. Even across industrialized nations, notions of what makes a "good" or "bad" spouse or marriage differ, with some cultures more than others emphasizing gender-specific ideals about homemaking, being a good provider, and the appropriate way to show respect and share authority.

Transition From Stranger to Intimate

Many intercultural couples do not encounter significant challenges at the beginning of their relationship, when differences can feel trivial, or exotic and liberating. If they meet in the context of a novel or neutral environment for both—a university, for example, or a work assignment outside both partners' home cultures—neither partner's culture is dominant in influence; differences may be managed with a degree of distance. Several factors can contribute to increased difficulty, however: changing their location (especially from one partner's culture to another or from the culture where the relationship began to another), the prospect of raising children together, the increased or decreased involvement of extended family, changing professional roles and responsibilities, or simply a deepening of the relationship. In addition to the value-based differences that emerge from these transitions, each partner may be coping alone with culture shock or reentry shock.

Practical Challenges

Intercultural couples, especially those from two different countries, face some fairly straightforward practical challenges:

Where to live: Deciding which culture provides the best environment for the lifestyle the couple envisions

Financial planning: Deciding where the couple will retire and saving for retirement in that context; settling on who controls and manages the shared assets; understanding widow/widower rights

Elder parent care: Being present for the care of elderly or ill family members

Children's education: Choosing educational systems that will suit the children from kindergarten through university, which can be particularly difficult if the couple plans to move back and forth between cultures; making decisions about supplements to local education

Food: Sharing culture-specific food, cooking methods, and aromas

Holidays: Having access to the specialized food, icons, and community for celebrating important national and religious holidays

Hygiene: Accommodating the notions of personal hygiene that vary from culture to culture, as what is tolerable early in a relationship may become less so with time or with a change in location

Table manners: Accepting differences in where to put one's elbows and hands, when to begin eating, or whether to belch or slurp, all of which have strong cultural connotations and may increase in importance to a couple over time, for example, when they change location or begin to raise children

Many issues that appear to be straightforward and practical on the surface, however, may become problematic because they camouflage deeper value and dynamic differences. What does it mean to expatriate spouses to think about living the rest of their lives away from "home"? How does it feel to be absent from the smells, tastes, and sounds of one's childhood holidays? In general, what are the deeper ramifications for the couple when one person agrees to live in the other's land?

Communication and Emotional Style

The way we speak, use gestures, and express emotions is highly influenced by the environments in which we were raised—that is, by our national culture, gender, social class, and ethnicity. Intercultural couples often find each other's different styles part of their attraction to each other—the quiet one enjoying the partner's ebullient expressivity, and the partner, in turn, finding peace and stability in the reflective style of the former. In some groups, a raised voice, big gestures, and direct verbal expression are accepted and admired signals of commitment and passion. In others, these connote an untrustworthy, dangerous emotional instability; a detached, calm discussion of options is taken more seriously. Over time, and especially in times of stress, these kinds of differences can become problematic for intercultural couples, misinterpreted by each other and their friends and family as character flaws rather than a reflection of learned cultural patterns.

Nonverbal communication can be even more problematic than verbal messages. Words can be queried and clarified, however difficult the exchange, but the unspoken cultural misinterpretation of nonverbal looks, gestures, and attitudes can be insidious and destructive if not perceived, discussed, and constructively resolved.

These communication differences can influence relationships even when both partners are native speakers of the same language. When partners have different native tongues, however, additional problems can arise. If they choose to communicate in a third, common language, neither partner is fully at home. More typically, they pick the native language of one of the partners for most of their daily communication. This partner then has a subtle, or not so subtle, dominance in the relationship, with an advantage in arguing points of view, expressing emotions, and being able to reveal his or her most authentic personality. If the couple's chosen language is also the dominant language of the place they live in, that partner also has the advantage of being able to understand and connect to the community more easily, and both the advantage and the added responsibility of being the primary contact for banking, legal, healthcare, and contractual issues.

Family Relationships

Cultures differ widely in their values about families. For the couple, these revolve around practical, power, and nurturance dynamics: What is the proper role for each spouse in accomplishing the tasks of daily living? Which spouse(s) should provide financial support? Whose job is it to tend to the emotional health of the relationship? How will important decisions be made?

For the extended family, cultural differences revolve around expectations, roles, and boundaries: How close—physically and emotionally—should adults be to their parents and in-laws? What financial and emotional responsibilities do partners have for their own and the other's parents, or vice versa? In what circumstances do parents-in-law have a role in decision making in the couple's life? Who commands more loyalty—one's partner or one's parent—and how are conflicting demands resolved?

Cultural differences also revolve around views about ideal parenting styles and underlying worldviews about child-rearing goals. Along the general axes of warmth and control, there are many combinations of how to parent. Is it better to allow children as much freedom of expression as possible or help them learn how to live compatibly in society? Is it better to help children think for themselves or learn from their wiser elders? Is it parents' most important job to protect their children or to teach them to protect themselves? Should children be given a lot of free time to explore and dream or structure to build skills and competence?

Children who grow up in intercultural families are considered *cross-cultural kids* or *third-culture kids*, and they benefit from their early exposure to multiple worldviews, languages, and sets of cultural values.

Values

Nothing challenges couples more than differences in deep-rooted values. While this is true for all couples, the likelihood that such differences will emerge in an intercultural relationship is especially high. Here are some examples:

Money: How is money spent, saved, or invested? What is the meaning for each partner of having, or not having, paid employment? Is it more important to be modest in spending or to enjoy the money one has earned? Is buying an expensive gift for a family member a sign of generosity or irresponsibility? To whom does one have financial obligations and for how long? Does philanthropic giving connote selflessness or a lack of responsibility to one's family?

Friends: What is the line between "acquaintance" and "friend"? What can one expect or demand of a friend? Is it acceptable to ask a friend to borrow money, help move furniture, or babysit, and if so, what are the rules about mutual obligation? What topics are acceptable for discussion with a friend? Is mutual dependence a good or a bad thing in a friendship? If a couple is surrounded by friends from the culture of one partner, how does the dynamic between the partners change?

Illness and suffering: How does one express illness symptoms or pain? What are one's underlying beliefs about the cause of illness and about optimal treatment? How does the ideal healthcare provider behave?

Sex and affection: Is it better for one partner to have a dominant role in the relationship, or is equality the ideal? Is there agreement between the partners about public displays of affection? Contraception? Abortion? Fidelity?

Gender roles: Many couples—intercultural and monocultural alike—find that they revert to the gender role divisions and values of their childhood as they begin their families. When these are very different in the partners' cultures, this can be a source of stress. On the other hand, many intercultural couples intentionally invent some third, more egalitarian way of dividing tasks and roles, using the intercultural aspect of their relationship as a structure for their new rules.

Education and achievement: How important is education in life, and at what age should one begin to worry about academic success? Should one live to work or work to live?

Time: Differences in conceptions of time can have a practical impact on intercultural couples, in their attitudes about punctuality and the relative importance of relationship maintenance and task accomplishment. Differences in culturally learned positions on pace of life and orientation to the future versus the past also pose challenges as couples plan their lives together.

Social class: Differences in social class can have a profound effect on a couple's relationship. What appear to be minor behavioral differences (e.g., how one holds a fork or the fabric of one's dress) as well as differences in how one demonstrates politeness or respect (e.g., standing up to greet an elder or holding the door open) can signal that the other is from a different social class and may elicit strong emotional reactions. These cues about social class are often so subtle and culture specific that they are invisible to cultural newcomers, escaping notice even by the couple until later in their relationship. Alternatively, cues that indicate social class in one culture may be misinterpreted as indicators of social class in the other when actually they are not; the result can still cause stress between the partners.

Religion: Partners reared within different faith systems may have profoundly different values and beliefs about issues such as fatalism, one's relationship with nature, and ethics. Some interfaith couples find it workable for each to practice his or her own religion, although some religious faiths demand the partners to be of the same religion and/or to raise children within that faith. Regardless of this choice, interfaith couples often are surprised to encounter religion-based differences when they begin to raise children, plan meals and holidays, or face medical decisions.

Positive Indicators

Intercultural couples who report the fewest problems have several common skills and characteristics that are significantly related to intercultural competence. Each partner demonstrates a mutual respect for and interest in the other partner's culture. Neither is ethnocentric or believes in the superiority of his or her own ways in all cases. Both partners are able to maintain a core identity and a connection to their home values while adopting/accepting some new ways introduced by their partner. They are able to talk about their differences in a nondefensive, nonaccusatory way. When having to make choices, they are clear about their decision and can articulate the values that led them to pick one partner's way or to invent or identify some third way. They are flexible in their gender and family roles (although some host cultures allow more diversity of behavior than others).

Solution Approaches

Intercultural couples who are interculturally competent have found a variety of ways to manage their differences. An overall success strategy is to recognize, acknowledge, accept, and even celebrate cultural differences, maintaining a focus on shared deep values. In some cases, one partner simply adopts the lifestyle, values, language, and assumptions of the other's culture. This can work, although most find that having some connection to one's home culture is emotionally fulfilling and important. Other couples work out a series of compromises—living 3 years here, then 3 years there, or raising the boys in one religion and the girls in another. This approach requires an intricate set of delicate agreements, and the continual accounting required is often problematic. In some cases, especially where the two cultures are drastically different, both partners leave their own cultural frameworks and adopt some third culture as their own. Finally, others adopt a consensus-building approach, where decisions about each important cultural difference are discussed and resolved in a way that both partners endorse.

Anne P. Copeland

See also Cultural Patterns; Culture Shock; Intercultural Families; Third-Culture Kids/Global Nomads

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Intercultural Nonverbal Communication

Although language often comes to mind first when considering communication, no discussion of communication is complete without the inclusion of *nonverbal communication* (NVC). NVC is also known as *body language* in popular culture and is generally defined as encompassing almost all of human communication except the spoken or written word, or as the transfer and exchange of messages in any and all modalities that do not involve words. One of the major ways by which NVC occurs is through *nonverbal behaviors* (NVBs), which are the behaviors that occur during communication that do *not* include verbal language. But our definition of NVC implies that it is more than body language. It can be in the distance at which people stand while they converse. It can be in the sweat stains on their garments. It can be in the design of a room. NVC is a broader category than NVB, encompassing the way you dress, the placement of your office within a larger building, the use of time, the arrangement of your room, or even the bumper sticker you place on your car.

This entry will provide an overview of the primary aspects of NVC, including the sources of nonverbal cues, the various behaviors and functions of NVC, its structures and properties, and the role of NVC in intercultural competence.

For centuries cultures have had written or oral traditions expressing the importance of NVC to their basic understanding of human beings. For example, over thousands of years, Chinese culture has developed a set of rules on how to judge the character and personality of an individual by observing the size, shape, and relative positions of the nose, eyes, eyebrows, chin, cheeks, and forehead (known as Chinese face reading). Someone with wide-set eyes would be a broad-minded person, and someone with a high forehead would be a smart person. Although there does not seem to be much scientific evidence that facial characteristics predict personality, many modern people still believe this to be valid.

Ancient Greek culture also relied on NVC to understand people. The playwright Theophrastus created a list of 31 types of men that he made available to other playwrights to assist them in the creation of characters for their plays. Theophrastus relied on insights gleaned from NVC to describe these personalities; for example, the penurious man doesn't wear his sandals until noon, and the sanguine man has slumped shoulders. We still rely on nonverbal insights like these to judge people's personalities and emotions.

In India, the sacred Hindu texts called the *Vedas*, written around approximately 1000 BCE, described the nonverbal characteristics of a liar as someone who, when questioned, rubs his big toe along the ground, looks down, and doesn't make eye contact. Late-20th-century research based on North Americans shows that people still concur with the *Vedas* on this description of a liar.

Research on African history has shown that one of the characteristics of an effective chief was his ability to move his subjects with the power of his speeches, made particularly potent by the heavy use of NVC. This legacy is apparent in the traditions of the predominantly African American church in the United States. This same principle of strong body language and voice tone accompanying speeches has now been adopted in various forms by the rest of American society and politics because of its ability to persuade above and beyond well-crafted words.

Today, NVC is a rich and fertile area of scientific inquiry and discovery and is important to an understanding of cultures and intercultural competence.

The Sources of Nonverbal Communication

There are multiple sources of NVC. One is the *environment* or *context*. Different houses send different messages about their occupants (and people often make relatively accurate judgments of the occupants' personalities just by viewing a room). This is accomplished through the use of color, lighting, heat, fabric textures, photos, and so forth. Restaurants capitalize on the messages sent by these environmental factors to influence the behaviors and impressions of diners. Fast-food restaurants use active, bright colors like orange, yellow, and red, in a well-lit environment with hard plastic seating. These messages subtly urge diners to eat more food more quickly and to not feel comfortable lounging around afterward, so that the fast-food restaurants can get a quick turnover to maximize their profits. In contrast, elegant restaurants use dimmer lighting, softer and darker colors, and more comfortable chairs to communicate a more intimate impression, subtly urging diners to feel comfortable and stay around for dessert and coffee; this will cause diners to spend more per visit, as well as ensuring repeat business through positive word of mouth. Designers of gambling casinos also know well the power of creating an environment to send a message, as do gamers and movie producers. Thus, the nonverbal messages sent by the environment can help guide the behaviors that occur within that environment.

Another source of NVC is one's *physical characteristics* or *appearance*, such as the static physical appearance or smell of a person, including the person's height and weight, skin color, hair, eyebrows, cheeks, chin, proportion of eye, nose, and chin size, and odors. In the past, some researchers believed that different body types were predictive of personality: endomorphs (heavier, obese, rounder, softer looking) were sociable and pleasant, mesomorphs (angular, muscular, harder looking) were leaders and strong willed, and ectomorphs (thin, frail, brittle looking) were withdrawn, smart, and nervous. The media capitalizes on this association by casting actors and actresses accordingly: The leading man is often a dynamic mesomorph; the comic relief is often the sociable, chubby endomorph; and the smart person is often the nerdy, skinny ectomorph. Although these beliefs persist, there is no strong evidence that body types predict personality.

Chinese face reading, described above, is another example of NVC through physical appearance. Odors also send messages, both at a conscious and at an unconscious level—such as messages conveying a sense of hygiene, attractiveness, or comfort. Physical appearance clues also include what are called *artifactual clues*, such as jewelry, clothes, or glasses. People wearing glasses may be seen as smarter. Jewelry sends messages about one's socioeconomic or marital status. Clothing sends messages about income, group membership, and even respect for others. People who wear T-shirts and jeans to a formal occasion send a message about what they feel about that occasion, although, as in the previous instances, this message can be inaccurate.

NVC also occurs in the *dynamic actions* of the face, voice, and body; these are NVBs. NVB involves multiple *nonverbal channels*. These are called channels because, like the channels on a television, they are each capable of sending their own distinct message.

Biology, learning, and culture influence these actions, and thus there are both universal and culture-specific aspects of NVB. NVB includes the following:

- *Facial expressions*. These are used for many functions, including signaling emotional states, illustrating or animating speech, regulating conversation, expressing symbolic verbal messages, signaling thinking and concentration, controlling expressive behavior, and aiding in physical exertion. All of these signals and functions of facial expressions are universal, although there are many cultural differences in exactly how these expressions are performed and managed. Of these various signals and functions of facial expressions, the one that has been studied the most concerns facial expressions of emotions and their universality.

- *Gestures*. These are body movements (primarily hand movements, although one can make head and face movements as well) that are used to illustrate speech or convey verbal meaning. Gestures are generally classified into two major categories: (1) those that co-occur with speech, called *speech illustrators*, and (2) those that can occur independently of speech, called *emblems*.

- *Gaze*. This is associated with dominance, power, or aggression, as well as with affiliation and nurturance. These meanings and functions of gaze and visual attention are similar across cultures; all cultures create rules concerning them, because both aggression and affiliation are behavioral tendencies that are important for group stability and maintenance. However, cultures differ in the amounts of gaze considered appropriate.

- *Vocal behaviors*. These are also known as *paralinguistic cues* and include the tone of voice, intonation, pitch, speech rate, use of silence, and volume. Some specific emotional states are conveyed through the voice across cultures. The voice and verbal style are also used to illustrate and amplify speech, and culture likely moderates the use of these vocal characteristics in social interaction.

- *Interpersonal space* is called *proxemics*. The classic work by Edward T. Hall suggested that we learn what is appropriate depending on the social relationship type: intimate, personal, social, or public. This meaning and function of space is a universal aspect of life that exists across cultures; thus, cultures must regulate the use of space as such regulation is necessary for social coordination. Violations of space bring about aversive reactions. Exactly how much space is associated with intimate, personal, social, and public relationships is culture specific.

- *Touch* is known as *haptics*. Touch communicates distinct emotions such as anger, fear, disgust, love, gratitude, and sympathy. Just as cultures regulate space, they also regulate touch; while the meaning and function of touch are likely similar across cultures, cultures differ in the amount of touching behavior deemed acceptable.

- *Postures and gait*. Postures communicate attitudinal states and general affect, as opposed to the specific emotions communicated by face and voice. These include liking, orientation (closed or open), attention (direct or indirect), and openness. These various dimensions communicate general positivity as well as status relationships. Gait refers to the pattern of movement of the body when walking, and there has been some research across cultures on the speed with which individuals typically move through their cities, demonstrating that pace is associated with punctuality, coronary heart disease, and a variety of attitudinal and personality traits.

Functions of Nonverbal Communication

NVC serves a number of functions. First, it can *define* communication by providing the backdrop for it. Quiet, dimly lit rooms suggest that the communication that occurs within that environment should also be quiet and hushed (as in a religious venue or a library); brightly lit rooms, with active colors like yellow and orange, communicate active, upbeat activities. The behavior or dress of others in the room may also define communication; if others are moving calmly, crying, and/or wearing formal clothes, that sends a message quite distinct from the message conveyed by a room full of people moving with a bounce in their step, laughing, and wearing Hawaiian shirts.

NVC can also *regulate* our interactions and verbal communication. Much of our conversation is regulated by nonverbal cues so subtle that the average person does not notice them. For example, people nod and smile at particular moments during a face-to-face conversation. This signals that listeners understand and that talkers should continue talking. When talkers are finished, they will drop their voice tone and loudness to let listeners know. If talkers wish to continue talking, they will fill the pauses that occur with a louder voice and with many *umms* or *ahhs*. These subtle nonverbal signals are called *back-channel communication* because they are not the main focus of communication but instead function at the periphery of communication.

NVC can *be the message* itself. A smile indicates joy; a frown indicates unhappiness. A wave of the hand signifies "Goodbye." A quiver in the voice signifies distress. Raising your index finger to your lips signifies "Shhh" or "Be quiet," yet raising the index finger into the air in a thrusting manner may mean "We're number one!" In these cases, no words are needed to send these messages because the NVC substitutes for the words, such as an individual nodding her head up and down to signify "Yes" when asked if she wants another helping of pasta, rather than attempting to utter the word through a mouthful of spaghetti. Some of these behaviors and their messages are universal; some of them are culture specific.

NVC can *comment on verbal messages* by repeating, contradicting, complementing, or accenting the words. A smile that accompanies the phrase "I like it!" amplifies those words, while a wrinkled nose with those same words may contradict the verbal message. A smile with the words "I am very angry with you" may qualify the anger, sending two different messages at the same time. Gestures and voices may animate, illustrate, exaggerate, or even minimize the spoken words. NVC can repeat verbal communication, such as when people simultaneously say the word "No" and shake their heads from side to side. NVC can contradict words, such as when someone utters the phrase "This will be fun" and yet displays a facial expression of disgust while speaking those words. NVC can complement words, as when someone says, "I've had a tough day" and at the same time slumps his shoulders and drags his feet. NVC can accent a particular spoken word, such as when someone says, "It is important to punctuate your speech with nonverbal gestures," while rhythmically moving one hand up and down when pronouncing each syllable in the word *punctuate*. In this instance, the moving hand gestures for the word *punctuate* will accent that word, thus letting the listener know that this concept is important.

Finally, NVC may be a sign of the discharge of nervous energy, such as when a person constantly shakes a leg when sitting or rubs an arm with the hand. Facial tics or darting eyes may also be signs of the release of such nervous energy.

The Structures and Properties of Nonverbal Communication

NVC conforms to many of the same properties as verbal communication—properties such as structured rules, intentionality, awareness, how much of it is covert or overt, control, and how private or public it is. To communicate meaning, nonverbal messages must be rule bound, like speech, and violations of the rules change the meanings of the behaviors. For example, in North America, there are unspoken rules that guide where and when it is appropriate to touch people. Professors may not hug their students, but they may give a congratulatory hug when the students have successfully defended their theses. Male teachers might at some point touch a female student on her forearm, they probably should not touch her on the small of her back, but they definitely should not touch her on her backside. The same touch rules would apply to a male student. But in very rare circumstances, they might be allowed to touch a male student on the rear end: If they were playing on the same intramural basketball team and the male student made a great play, he might get a congratulatory slap on the rear. But the same student should not receive a congratulatory slap on the rear if he turns in his term paper 2 days early. These rules are culture bound.

The vast majority of spoken communication is *intentional*; we choose the words we speak. Much of NVC is also intentional. We deliberately wave to people or give an insulting finger gesture. But much of NVC is also unintentional, and people are generally less *aware* of their NVC than of their verbal communication. Verbal communication is also more *overt* and NVC more *covert*. People are formally trained in verbal behavior in schools. NVC is less obvious, as in subtle facial expressions and barely perceptible changes in voice tone, and people are not typically formally trained in NVC. For example, children are not given lessons on how close to stand to others when talking or how to express anger in their facial expression.

NVC is less *controllable* than verbal communication. Verbal communication is easy to suppress or express, and people choose the words they use. NVC is much more likely to have an unbidden quality to it—for example, the smile that creeps onto one's face when one knows that one should not be laughing, or the person who is instructed not to smile when being interrogated but still smiles even while trying to conceal it.

Finally, verbal communication is more *public* than NVC. Verbal communication typically requires an audible or visible message that is available for others to hear or see, not just the intended target of the communication. Once public, this communication is also fodder for public discussion. In contrast, NVC tends to be fodder for private conversation. When political candidates spoke in the past, people publicly discussed and debated their policies, but not their shoes or their gestures. This trend has changed recently, where it seems that there is now as much focus on how the candidate delivers a message as the message he or she delivers.

Importance of Nonverbal Communication in Everyday Life and in Intercultural Competence

Studies comparing the relative contributions of verbal versus NVBs in conveying messages report that the vast majority of messages are communicated nonverbally. Depending on the study, the estimated amount of information communicated nonverbally ranges between 65% and 95% of the total messages conveyed. This is ironic, especially because people most consciously attend to the verbal language when interacting with others, especially when assessing credibility or evaluating truthfulness from deception. NVBs are part of the hidden dimension of communication, a silent language. When individuals do not pay attention to the NVB, there is a great chance that they are missing much of what is actually being communicated by the other person. Thus, while active listening is always good, active observation is also necessary for the interculturally competent person.

David Matsumoto and Hyisung Hwang

See also Body Language (Haptics); Eye Contact (Oculesics); Facial Expressions/Universal; Hall, E. T.; Space (Proxemics); Time (Chronemics)

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Intercultural or Multicultural Classroom

In an increasing number of schools in many nations of the world, considerable differences exist between the demographic makeup and life experiences of much of the student population when compared with the majority of the teaching force. This is especially evident in the United States, where the majority of the teaching force continues to comprise a relatively homogeneous group while the demographic makeup of the school-age population continues to become increasingly diverse. Given that schools more than any other social institution bring together, in one small space, the wide range of individuals that make up the society at large, it becomes increasingly essential for teachers and administrators to understand the cultural contexts from which their students come, learn to communicate effectively with the children and their families, and work to create an interculturally inclusive learning environment.

This entry provides an overview of how the demographic challenges facing many schools and communities are experienced in the intercultural classroom; explains how this affects the interaction between teacher and student, and thus the educational attainment of minority or underrepresented students; and presents some strategies teachers have employed to enhance their intercultural competence.

Teacher and Student Demographics

The majority of teachers as well as teacher education students in the United States (up to 85%) continue to be monolingual, White females from a lower-middle-class or middle-class suburban or rural background who wish to teach children just like themselves. Equally critical is that teachers, like most other people, tend to be culture bound, having little significant knowledge of or experience with people from other cultures, which limits their ability to interact effectively with many of the students in their charge. Indeed, studies that look at the background and experiences of teacher education students report that few have significant experiences outside their own culture or ethnic group, with up to 69% of White teacher education students reportedly spending all or most of their free time with people of their own racial or ethnic background. In addition, most of them want to teach in the same kinds of schools in which they were educated. More disturbing perhaps is that a substantial number of teacher education students do not believe that low-income and minority learners are capable of grasping the high-level concepts in the subjects they are preparing to teach. These demographics have remained constant, changing very little over the years, even though significant efforts have been made to recruit underrepresented groups into the teaching force and to enhance the multicultural experiences of all students. These patterns are similar in many countries around the world, except that the predominant ethnic background of the teachers may differ.

As the primary and secondary classrooms in schools worldwide become increasingly culturally diverse, greater attention is being given to better understand the intercultural dynamics that operate at the interface of teaching and learning and how teachers can become better prepared for this reality.

Intercultural Impact on Teaching and Learning

Intercultural differences in the classroom may be evident in a wide range of contexts, including the manner in which children approach learning; how they communicate, both verbally and nonverbally, with peers, teachers, and other authority figures; how they have learned to solve problems, make decisions, and deal with conflict; how they go about approaching instructional tasks; and the degree to which they reveal information about themselves to others. Such differences operate on multiple levels; teachers as well as parents, each having been socialized in a particular manner as well as educated in their own cultural contexts, have certain expectations and assumptions about the educational process and how best to achieve the educational goals for their children.

The gap in achievement between students from the mainstream culture and those outside it continues to widen in many schools. In classrooms where teachers' behavior may be grounded in their own traditional approaches from a dominant culture perspective, students from outside that culture may be left behind. Students in any of the following minority or underrepresented groups, ethnic/cultural, linguistic, or sexual, may become especially marginalized in classrooms and schools. Those who do not feel as if they belong or have not connected on an emotional and/or a cognitive level with teachers and peers may feel frustrated as a result of isolation, rejection, or discrimination resulting from unequal treatment by teachers and/or fellow students. Such experiences result in a heightened emotional state that can distract students and interfere with their learning, resulting in a loss of self-esteem, poor academic motivation and achievement, and loss of a sense of identity. This may leave students feeling disenfranchised and disenchanted with schooling, and lead to them ultimately opting or dropping out of school. Immigrant and refugee students are particularly vulnerable to marginalization in schools as they face additional challenges such as having to learn a new language while trying to understand confusing and sometimes conflicting cultural norms, adapting to differences in teaching and learning styles, struggling to be accepted by peers, and perhaps acting as an intermediary for their family. In such classrooms, these already marginalized students are further challenged and often fail, thus creating or perpetuating a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure.

It is important in this regard to consider the difference between equality and equity. Where there is equality, everyone is treated in the same manner regardless of differences. On the outside, this sounds fair and reasonable. However, where equity exists, all students' needs are met in ways that ensure that they can achieve the same learning goals based on their unique learning needs. Equity, thus, is true fairness. Teachers who recognize the role that a student's culture plays in his or her ability to succeed also recognize the importance of using approaches that take into account the culture of nontraditional students. Well-functioning intercultural classrooms are, thus, equitable and provide balanced opportunities for all students to contribute and succeed.

Strategies of Interculturally Competent Teachers

To successfully integrate students from a wide variety of backgrounds and thus build community in the classroom, teachers and others responsible for fostering student success must develop intercultural competence. Although this can be accomplished in many different ways, there is general agreement that the following strategies assist teachers to become more interculturally competent.

Effective teachers strive to understand themselves and how culture has influenced their own development. Cultural self-reflection is a critical starting point in developing an intercultural perspective. People need to examine how their own personal biases may affect instruction as well as develop comfort and skill at engaging in intercultural dialogue and what may be termed *courageous conversations* (e.g., not being afraid to address such issues of prejudice, racism, inequality, and power).

Effective teachers strive to build inclusive classrooms. It is important to nurture a sense of belonging in all students, getting to know them as individuals and helping them get to know their classroom peers as individuals beyond the stereotypes that might exist for a given group. Teaching strategies and resources that reflect students' cultures should be sought and used wherever possible. The school should be a welcoming place for all students and their families. Finally, this can all be encompassed by the teacher being a positive role model, exhibiting the types of interests, interrelationships, and interactions he or she wishes the students to emulate.

Effective teachers make an effort to understand how power and privilege function in the school and classroom, while working to become comfortable confronting inequity and social injustices where and when they are encountered. It is essential that teachers develop mutually trusting and respectful relationships with their students and their families, so that they are seen as advocates, willing to work on their behalf and for the success of the student. The teacher should work to make the classroom a more equitable environment, recognizing that students are equal as human beings but not necessarily equal in their needs.

Interculturally competent teachers may need to transform instructional practices. Instruction and assessment can be made more meaningful and relevant by learning about students' cultures, languages, and learning styles. The experiences of *all* students should be welcomed and encouraged, not just those from the culturally dominant group. This can be accomplished by the use of engaging teaching and learning practices, including resources and activities that relate to the lives of all students. It is important also to realize that even though students may not be able to communicate effectively in a second language, they bring with them a wealth of prior knowledge and experience. Thus, when possible, their first language should be encouraged and integrated.

Finally, families and community should be engaged whenever possible. Teachers should also hold high expectations of success for all students and assume that all families and community members want their children to succeed; they might just show it in different ways or be afraid to communicate this due to prior experiences with teachers and other authority figures and institutions. Thus, providing a welcoming environment by capitalizing on the benefits of diversity that families and the community can contribute can be extremely beneficial to the entire school experience. Teachers can also make a difference by linking families to available community resources that support education and other family needs, including the use of language interpreters wherever possible.

Kenneth Cushner

See also Culture Learning in the Language Classroom; Diversity and Inclusion, Definitions of; Equality Versus Equity; Higher Education Intercultural Campus; Intergroup Contact; Learning Styles Across Cultures; Multicultural Education; Underrepresented Groups

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Intercultural Relations and Globalization

Our ancestors lived in the villages where they were born, and much of their information sharing was done through face-to-face communication with those who were much like themselves. Increasingly over the centuries, however, advanced transportation systems, telecommunication technologies, and expanding business, education, and political networks brought strangers from different parts of the world into face-to-face or mediated contact. The *Global Village*, a term coined by Marshall McLuhan in 1964 to describe a world in which communication technologies bring news and information to the most remote parts of the world, is now a reality. We can exchange ideas as easily and quickly with people across the world as our ancestors did within the confines of their villages. Communication beyond geographic borders has also transformed how human relationships are formed.

In the past centuries, the distance one could walk typically circumscribed social relationships. With the availability of the telephone, fax, e-mail, the Internet, and social media, ways of connecting with others are multiplying, and human relationships have been expanded manifold. This is a time when people across the world are more interconnected than ever before; this is also a time when intercultural relations are becoming not only increasingly important but also more complicated. This entry explores the nature of human relationships, the forces that unite communities as well as those that divide them, and the importance of building relationships through third-culture formation to counteract the human tendency to form ingroups and outgroups.

Intercultural Relations: Building Bridges Across Cultures

Initiating and maintaining personal and social relationships is an essential part of human life. *Human relationships* can be defined as an interactional process of connecting individuals with others in the network of social needs. People are connected to one another through social groups, ethnic communities, friendships, family, organizations, and cyberspace; through such relationships, they define themselves and evaluate others.

Maintaining human relationships satisfies three basic social needs: (1) inclusion (a sense of belonging), (2) affection (showing love to and being loved by others), and (3) control (the ability to influence others, the environment, and ourselves and the desire to be influenced by others). Human relationships are dynamic (in a state of development), hierarchical (in an order ranging from strangers to intimate friends), reciprocal (mutually satisfying), unique (governed by different rules), interdependent (mutually dependent), and irreplaceable (a lost relationship is not always replaceable by another).

People from different cultures meet the needs for *inclusion*, *affection*, and *control* differently. For example, in some cultures, a man is expected to open the door for a woman to show masculinity and courtesy; in others, a woman is expected to walk a few steps behind a man in deference to his masculinity. The interpretation of the same type of relationship varies across cultures. For example, in Australia, the term *friend* can be used to refer to neighbors or colleagues or even someone one has just met, and in Greek culture, the phrase *non-Greek* can mean simply a stranger to a particular Greek community. Cultural differences are also reflected in norms governing self-disclosure, or revealing of personal information. Although self-disclosure is used in almost all cultures as a means of developing relationships, the degree of acceptable disclosure varies. In China, it is perfectly appropriate to ask a married acquaintance about his wife; in the United Arab Emirates, this would be considered a major breach of social etiquette. In New Zealand, it is appropriate to talk about national and international politics; in Korea, similar topics are avoided.

Building intercultural relations is challenging. Individuals bring with them a perceptual frame of reference through which the behavior of culturally different others is filtered. Violating expectations of culturally determined behavioral rules, which can be subtly different from one's own rules, can impair further communication. Psychologists argue that all people, regardless of culture, engage in categorization, ordering the environment by grouping persons, objects, and events on the basis of perceived similarity in features or characteristics. Research on intergroup relations indicates that the mere categorization of persons into groups is sufficient to foster bias, which leads us to the perception that we (the *ingroup*) are who we are because they (the *outgroup*) are different from us and not as good as we are. People tend to label members of competing outgroups with distinctive undesirable attributes, while attributing distinctive desirable qualities to ingroups. This is an important basis of group-based stereotypes (preconceived beliefs about a group), prejudice (negative attitudes toward individuals resulting from stereotypes), and discrimination (denial of opportunities to outgroup members).

Stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination may be based on gender, social class, religion, race, or other physical characteristics and are reflected in employment, housing, political rights, educational opportunities, and elsewhere. The burning of women as witches, Hitler's attempted genocide of the Jews, the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Rwanda, and the more recent religious conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims are examples of extreme forms of prejudice. Such prejudice is often based on perceived differences in beliefs, customs, values, and communication patterns. It has a strong influence on intercultural encounters and, hence, is a barrier to good intercultural relations. We therefore need to develop intercultural empathy, shifting our own mind-set into that of the other person (or the other culture). Building harmonious relations has become an essential survival skill in the global village.

Globalization: Forces That Pull Us Together and Apart

Although definitions of globalization differ, the term is generally used to describe a process of growing interdependence and interconnectivity among societies and people beyond geographic boundaries. *Globalists* view globalization as an inevitable development that cannot be resisted or significantly influenced by human intervention, particularly through traditional political institutions like nation-states. *Traditionalists* argue, to the contrary, that most economic and social activities are regional rather than global and that there is a significant role for nation-states. *Transformationalists* contend that globalization represents a significant shift but question the inevitability of its impacts, arguing that there is significant scope for national, local, and other agencies. In spite of these differences, scholars agree that as globalization progresses, borders and boundaries are giving way to integration and interdependence among societies and cultures. Malcolm Waters suggests that the process of globalization involves a growing recognition that people and communities are less constrained by geography and have increasing opportunities to vary their social systems.

Increasing interconnectivity does not mean that cultural differences are being subsumed into one global culture. New communication technologies bring us closer, but this does not mean that we actually partake of a unified world. On the one hand, the isolation that once nurtured cultural uniqueness is disappearing, thanks to increasing economic and political interdependence and the spread of transport and communication technologies. On the other hand, these same tendencies generate culturally distinctive responses and enhanced opportunities for culture-specific products. While global cultural icons like McDonald's and CNN highlight Western cultural homogenization, these symbols may also trigger a strong desire for local cultures to form into distinctive communities and maintain their local traditions. New communication technologies enable people around the world to remain in instantaneous contact, so that viewers in one hemisphere can watch real-time events unfolding in the other. At the same time, these technologies make it possible for indigenous cultures to create their own media outlets and for sojourners to maintain close ties with their home communities. The reconfiguration of the sociocultural, political, and economic landscape reminds us that as the Global Village draws more tightly together into a single system of consumption, it multiplies the circulation of cultural differences. Interconnectedness is embedded in a system of inherent differences.

Nations are trying to come to terms with the growing diversity of their populations. As the benefits of cultural diversity become more apparent, there has been an accompanying awareness of potential threats to cultural uniqueness. Behind the overt symbols of cultural diversity is a complex and often implicit concept of multiculturalism. At a descriptive level, multiculturalism characterizes a society with diverse cultures. As an attitude, it refers to a society's tolerance toward diversity and acceptance of equal societal participation of members from different social and cultural groups. Globally, some host nationals have expressed concerns over the threat that new ethnic cultures may pose to mainstream cultural values, the political and economic power structure, and the distribution of employment opportunities. Some countries are addressing these concerns by trying to control diversity through tighter entry requirements. Other countries are developing policies concerning the rights of immigrants to preserve their home culture within the host country.

Global Citizens: Managing Intercultural Relations

Globalization has fundamentally reshaped the villages known to our ancestors. One of the most significant contributors to our multicultural environment is the increasing flow of people through migration, education, business, and other forms of international exchange. Such intercultural encounters provide opportunities for understanding or for misunderstanding between people. How do individuals perceive, evaluate, and behave toward one another across ethnic group boundaries? How can we maintain a multicultural society where culturally different groups can interact in harmony? The challenge for intercultural communicators is to manage intercultural relations in a global society. To address this challenge, we need to develop intercultural competence. In intercultural encounters, we first tend to perceive differences. These differences form the basis for categorizing people into ingroups and outgroups. We often treat outgroups with suspicion and control them carefully while deciding whether we can trust them, but we are more tolerant of ingroup members' behavior. To overcome the barrier of perceived differences, we need to build mutual understanding. G. M. Chen and W. J. Starosta emphasize the importance of developing cultural synergy or a third culture, where people from different cultures negotiate their cultural differences. To do this, it is important to understand the meanings different cultures attribute to different types of human relationships and the cultural rules governing interactions between people. The better culturally diverse people get to know one another, the more they can appreciate the differences and see the commonalities.

There is now greater freedom to travel beyond national borders, as well as more choices for belonging. The arrival of immigrants also brings changes to the host cultural environment. Cross-cultural adaptation is not a process unique to immigrants; host nationals must also experience cultural adjustments when their society is joined by culturally different others. The tension between immigrants and host nationals often centers on the extent to which immigrants can maintain their heritage culture in the host country. A key question is whether the host society provides immigrants with an environment in which they feel welcome to integrate. In countries receiving many immigrants, ethnically different populations may become perceived threats to the collective identity and to the standard of living.

An important barrier to building intercultural relations is *ethnocentrism*, the degree to which other cultures are judged as inferior to one's own. Ethnocentrism is usually based on stereotyping about outgroup members compared with the ingroup. Stereotyping prevents us from seeing evidence that does not confirm our presumptions. For people to become more competent intercultural communicators, it is important to decrease ethnocentrism and avoid prejudiced attitudes. Communication is rule-governed behavior, but rules vary from culture to culture. When we enter an intercultural encounter, we may not know all the rules governing appropriate behavior in the other culture. Our stereotypes and categorizations may prevent us from keeping an open mind and being aware that what we practice may be neither the only nor the best way of doing things, and from being flexible in adapting our communication style as the situation requires.

Intercultural competence allows for questioning one's stance on issues that may have been taken for granted and widens one's vision to include an alternative perspective of valuing and relating. Cultural differences need not prevent individuals from developing relations with one another. For the Global Village to flourish, ways must be found to overcome the division into ingroups and outgroups, so that culturally competent communicators can be effective.

Cindy Gallois and Shuang Liu

See also Corporations in a Globalizing World; Global Citizenship; Identity and Intergroup Communication; Ingroup/Outgroup; Intercultural Communication, Definition of; Intercultural Competence in Organizations

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Intercultural Sensitivity

When individuals are faced with cultural differences, they have a surprisingly similar range of reactions and a tendency to make remarkably consistent statements within that range.

1. When asked to consider differences, a European midlevel manager might say, "Differences are irrelevant here; this town hasn't changed in decades."
2. When encountering someone of a different race, a European American might express concern about the person's qualifications for the job.
3. When meeting a new international student, members of the host family might exclaim how the African visitor is "just like us."
4. Traveling to a new culture, the South American tourist, curious about different customs, might ask, "I am not sure I understand what is happening here, but I would like to."
5. Living in Asia, the long-term sojourner might come to appreciate and adapt to the interaction strategies used in the local area.

6. The immigrant to a new culture may internalize that culture and in the process become bi- or multicultural.

These six perspectives are not particular to any culture group but can be experienced globally. They represent the mind-sets that individuals bring to the experience of difference no matter what culture they are from originally, mind-sets that are described in the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS).

Intercultural sensitivity refers to how an individual construes or makes sense of cultural differences and the experience of difference based on those constructions. Higher levels of intercultural sensitivity are characterized by more complex understandings of difference such that the experience of culture now approximates the ways members of the culture group themselves understand and behave in their own culture. *Intercultural sensitivity* was introduced by Milton Bennett, in 1993, as the central concept in his DMIS. The DMIS is a conceptual framework consisting of six different stages or levels of sensitivity, as illustrated briefly above, each of which in the developmental sequence represents a greater capacity to make sense of culture, cultural differences, and intercultural experiences. As Bennett (1993) states, intercultural sensitivity "is the construction of reality as increasingly capable of accommodating cultural difference" (p. 23).

The concept of intercultural sensitivity is particularly relevant to this encyclopedia because it provides an explanation of intercultural competence as an observable, distinctly developmental, and holistic phenomenon. The DMIS has had a profound influence on intercultural education and training and, following the introduction by Mitchell R. Hammer in 1998 of the Intercultural Development Inventory, has generated a large empirical body of knowledge. The purpose of this entry is to introduce intercultural sensitivity and the developmental model in which it is embedded, discuss them in greater detail, and address the implications for intercultural educators and trainers.

According to Bennett, the DMIS has its theoretical and conceptual roots in constructivism and phenomenology. Constructivism is a school of thought positing that reality, rather than being a given to be discovered, is a function of one's experience and perception of events. Applied to culture and intercultural sensitivity, constructivist theory holds that the reality of a culture is a matter of perception. Greater intercultural sensitivity can be defined as a more complex perception of culture that is congruent with how the members of a group themselves experience and understand their own culture. In phenomenology, the meaning a person gives to events is central, not the events themselves. A culture, therefore, can be experienced in very different ways that may or may not be similar to the way it is experienced by its members. Drawing on Kelly, there is a well-known intercultural training adage that one can be immersed in another culture yet not have an insider's experience of that culture. Being in Paris does not mean that one will necessarily have a Parisian experience in Paris. It is not enough to be merely in the vicinity of French events; the experience one has of Paris depends on one's level of intercultural sensitivity.

For intercultural educators and trainers seeking to promote intercultural competence, being familiar with the stages of intercultural sensitivity will be very valuable for

- developing program content relevant to the developmental levels of the learner,
- appropriately sequencing learning content and activities so as to balance the amount of challenge and support for the learner,
- better understanding the challenges learners will face in new cultural contexts as a function of their initial level of intercultural sensitivity,
- anticipating and comprehending learner resistance, and
- empowering the learner by teaching learning-how-to-learn skills for construing, reflecting on, and reconstruing intercultural experiences.

Bennett makes the important point that intercultural sensitivity is not the natural condition of humankind but can be taught and learned.

Six Stages of the DMIS

The DMIS is organized into six stages—the three *ethnocentric* stages of Denial, Defense, and Minimization and the three *ethnorelative* stages of Acceptance, Adaptation, and Integration. The ethnocentric stages, sometimes called *Difference Avoidance*, represent monocultural orientations, where one's own culture is central to reality and serves as the point of reference for evaluating and interpreting other cultures. The ethnorelative stages, sometimes called *Difference Seeking*, are intercultural orientations, where one's own culture is only one of the many possible organizations of culture, where meaning is derived from other cultures on their own terms, and where evaluations are relative to the cultural context. Each stage of intercultural sensitivity is generative, to a lesser or greater degree, of the capacity for interculturally competent behavior and communication.

Denial

Denial of difference, the first stage of intercultural sensitivity, is defined as the lack of concern for, and inability to construe, cultural difference. Cultural diversity simply does not matter and is basically seen as occurring elsewhere, or as one trainee expressed it, "It will never happen here." Cultural differences are not relevant to the person with a denial orientation. Bennett refers to denial as "the purest form of ethnocentrism," a mind-set that is supported by living in a predominantly monocultural setting through physical isolation or intentional separation from other culture groups. It is a stage of intercultural sensitivity that is sustainable only as long as a given cultural community does not need to pay attention to or interact very much with persons from other cultures.

Denial takes two forms: *isolation* and *separation*. *Isolation* occurs when communities have limited contact with other cultures generally as a result of physical isolation combined with culture group homogeneity. An example is a cultural community living in a small, rather isolated town or village. Persons in such a community have limited contact with the outside world. They know their own cultural norms and abide by them. Cultural difference is not a reality for persons in such a setting. *Separation* is the form of denial that occurs when cultural communities are intentionally kept apart for political, social, economic, and other reasons. Extreme examples of separation are apartheid in South Africa and segregation in the United States.

When examining denial holistically in terms of cognition, affect, and behavior, it can be observed that there is

- a notable lack of cognitive complexity regarding culture and difference,
- an affective lack of concern for and indifference toward persons from other cultures, and
- a behavioral tendency to stay in one's cultural community and interact primarily with persons of the same culture.

Defense

Defense against difference, the second stage of intercultural sensitivity, is defined as a polarizing, dualistic, *us–them* worldview characterized by stereotypical and highly judgmental thinking. Defense is a reaction to the perceived threat posed by other culture groups, hence it represents a slightly more substantive recognition of culture than denial. Defense takes three forms: *denigration*, *superiority*, and *reversal*. The *denigration* form of defense is characterized by the negative evaluation of other cultures and persons from those cultures. *Superiority* refers to the positive evaluation of one's own culture and people. Denigration can be seen as an overly critical judgment of another culture, whereas superiority is a relatively uncritical evaluation of one's own.

In *reversal*, the polarization takes the form of an overly critical evaluation of one's own culture and an uncritical and overly positive assessment of another culture. Reversal is often related to supporting the underdog or aligning one's views with those of an oppressed group.

Viewed holistically, defense is characterized by the following:

- A slightly more complex but stereotypical understanding of culture
- Fear and anxiety as the dominant affective qualities
- Behaviors designed to maintain the superiority of one's own group, such as discrimination, failure to expand equality of opportunity to other groups, and so forth

Minimization

Minimization, the third stage of intercultural sensitivity, is defined as the growing recognition of cultural difference but with an emphasis on similarities. Here, as Bennett (1993) points out, "cultural difference is overtly acknowledged and is not negatively evaluated. . . . Rather, cultural difference is trivialized" (p. 41).

Minimization takes two forms—*physical universalism* and *transcendent universalism*—both of which subordinate cultural differences. In *physical universalism*, the sense of commonality derives from biology, our physical similarities as human beings. Being human is what differentiates a human from other life forms and provides people with a sense of having something at the core of existence that is shared in common with other humans. Alternatively, in *transcendent universalism*, what is commonly shared is adherence and commitment to overarching principles or laws, such as human rights, universal value orientations, or religion. In both forms of minimization, individuals see themselves as being more alike than different. What makes minimization ethnocentric is that it is based on one's own version of the transcendent principle or understanding of what constitutes being human: "Everyone is all alike, and they are all like me." A common manifestation of minimization is the view that individuals can get along well with others if they are just true to themselves, a view that is reflective of an underlying sense of similarity. In minimization, there is a growing openness to people from other cultures because difference is no longer seen as threatening. Interestingly, this opens the door to increasing cultural self-awareness; one's interest in culture begins with oneself.

In holistic terms, minimization is characterized by the following:

- Greater recognition of cultural differences in spite of the fact that they are subordinate to similarities
- An affective openness to other cultures and willingness to interact and communicate across cultures
- The behavioral tendency to be respectful and tolerant, avoid conflict, seek out commonalities, and withhold judgment about other culture groups

Acceptance

According to Bennett, there is a "paradigmatic barrier" that exists between Minimization, the last ethnocentric stage, and Acceptance, the first ethnorelative stage. In the paradigm shift from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism, one's own culture is no longer the reference point for understanding other cultures or the standard by which they are judged. Now cultures are seen as relative to one another and viable in their own right. Even if a given culture is not yet well understood, there is acceptance of the fact that cultures differ and are just as important to their members as one's own.

Acceptance, the fourth stage of intercultural sensitivity, is defined as recognition of cultural difference, a growing interest in culture, a desire to learn more about other cultures, and, at its core, acceptance of the principle that cultures are relative to one another, not better or worse. Interculturalists often refer to acceptance as characterized by a strong desire to learn more about other cultures through real-life experiences. Students at this stage, for example, will want to take advantage of culture-learning opportunities such as study-abroad programs and work internships in culturally diverse settings. Managers will begin to recognize that understanding other cultures facilitates productivity.

There are two forms of acceptance: *respect for behavioral difference* and *respect for value difference*. In terms of intercultural development, behaviors are easier to observe and learn, hence they precede values in the developmental model. The most obvious behavioral difference is language, followed by observable patterns of nonverbal communication, such as personal distance, eye contact, body language, and touch. More subtle behavioral differences include communication styles (e.g., linear and circular, direct and indirect) and ritual communication as used in greetings, requests, and apologies.

Bennett suggests that respect for value differences is more difficult because it involves a process of assigning worth to a cultural pattern. The pattern is something that members of the culture group care about, something that matters to them. Accepting value relativity, especially where what is being valued in another culture contrasts with what is valued in one's own, is challenging. Intercultural sensitivity here means accepting the idea that contrasting values come from a different organization of culture. Acceptance does not mean agreeing with value differences or even supporting alternative perspectives but, rather, accepting that cultures are organized differently. Accordingly, one can acknowledge a value difference without necessarily liking or being comfortable with it: "I see how this value difference fits into the whole of this culture. While I don't want to adopt it as my own, I can place it in perspective."

In holistic terms, acceptance is characterized by

- increasing cognitive complexity about culture and cultural differences;
- an affective eagerness to learn more about other cultures, comparing them with one's own culture in a nonethnocentric manner; and
- behaviors that are about learning and experiencing culture.

To summarize, Acceptance might be characterized as the *culture-learning stage* of intercultural development.

Adaptation

Adaptation, the fourth stage of intercultural sensitivity, is defined as the capacity to adapt one's thinking and behavior to the patterns of another culture. These shifts in the way a person thinks and acts support effective communication and interaction across cultures. The acquisition of these new mind-sets and skill sets is an additive, not an assimilative process. This means that persons in the Adaptation stage are neither subtracting from their own cultural mind-set nor abandoning their core culture in the process of learning the new culture; rather, they are expanding their cultural repertoire through an ongoing process of culture learning, adding new cultural patterns and skills to their repertoire.

Bennett posits two dimensions of adaptation: *empathy* and *pluralism*. Empathy refers to intentional though temporary efforts to experience and comprehend another culture. Elsewhere, he makes an important distinction between empathy and sympathy, pointing out that sympathy does not involve a shift of perspective to another culture. As exemplified in the Golden Rule, sympathy—"doing unto others as we would have them do unto us"—is ethnocentric. In contrast, empathy—"doing unto others as *they* would have done unto themselves"—is Bennett's Platinum Rule in that it involves an attempt to take the perspective of the other.

Pluralism is the philosophical commitment to the position that there are multiple cultural realities and that to truly internalize other cultures, there must be substantial experience living in other cultures, where one has acquired multiple cultural frames of reference. These multiple frames are eventually internalized, and whereas empathy is temporary, pluralism is enduring. In pluralism, cultural difference becomes an integral part of one's self.

Viewed holistically, adaptation is characterized by

- considerable cognitive complexity regarding culture,
- a deep affective commitment to living and working effectively within and with people from other cultures, and
- a behavioral code-shifting capability that demonstrates a person's having acquired multiple cultural frameworks.

Whereas acceptance is about culture learning, adaptation is about acting on what has been learned; that is, it is about the enactment of culture.

Integration

Integration is the sixth and concluding stage of the DMIS. At this stage, the person has transcended the primary cultural affiliations and identities. Cultural identity is now an ongoing process of integrating, reintegrating, and bridging different cultural perspectives. Persons in the Integration stage are, by definition, cultural marginals operating on the boundaries of cultures, neither entirely a part of nor apart from them. They are no longer anchored by a primary culture; rather, they now have the capacity to be culture constructors.

There are two manifestations of integration: *contextual evaluation* and *constructive marginality*. Contextual evaluation refers to the process of evaluating multiple cultural perspectives in making choices. Put another way, contextual evaluation means taking positions and acting on them within a given cultural context, decisions that consider alternative perspectives. Persons at this stage are able to call on their cultural repertoire and arrive at decisions based on their assessment of what will be best in that situation. Long-term sojourners in the Integration stage have internalized this capacity and will almost always examine the perspectives of two or more cultures in their decision making. In *listening* to their various cultures, they are routinely considering the consequences of a particular action in a given context. What would a person in this culture do? What would a person in another culture with which I am familiar do when faced with the same situation? If one does not do what is expected or normative in the culture, how would that appear to other members of the culture? What would a person with my background be expected to do when faced with a particular problem? How can one use these multiple perspectives to create an entirely new solution?

Constructive marginality is the second manifestation of integration. This concept is based on the work of Janet M. Bennett and describes a person who lives outside cultural boundaries, moves back and forth across cultures with ease, and finds purpose in helping others bridge cultural differences. Constructive marginals draw strength from their multiple cultures and often apply their expanded cultural knowledge and skills to help others work more effectively in culturally diverse environments.

Viewed in holistic terms, the characteristics of the Integration stage are as follows:

- Highly complex cognitive structures regarding culture
- A lifestyle commitment to bridging cultural difference
- Behavioral skill sets in working with persons who are in their own intercultural transitions and being involved in processes of cultural change

Persons in the Integration stage can be referred to as culture constructors and cultural bridge builders.

Applications of the DMIS

Professionals in a variety of fields can use the DMIS to facilitate working with individuals in developing intercultural sensitivity, designing diversity initiatives, creating cultural competence programs, and assessing the developmental readiness of others. To assist in this process, the Intercultural Development Inventory has been created and widely used to assess the developmental stage of individuals and groups.

In applying the DMIS, human resource practitioners can use the framework for creating programs that are developmentally appropriate for their specific group. For instance, if a group were strongly represented in the Minimization stage, the program would be most effective if designed with the primary goal of cultural self-awareness, the central developmental task at this stage.

The DMIS is unique in supporting curricular design for systematic intercultural competence development. Trainers and educators can design sequential activities and topics that take into account the mind-set of the intended audience, using models, theory, and experiential learning that address the readiness level they bring to the course, before intentionally moving them to more ethnorelative stages. It allows an educator to ground instructional design on theory, providing an answer to the question "Why is this designed this way?"

Coaches can use the DMIS to support global managers adapting to new cultures or to address cultural issues the client has experienced. Furthermore, in response to the client's questions or concerns, the coach can reply with sensitivity to the client's mind-set. In this scenario, a knowledgeable coach knows what stage the client is in, what expectations the coach can have about the client, and what the most developmentally appropriate response should include.

For diversity and inclusion professionals, the DMIS suggests a powerful caution: Highly challenging topics will often generate highly defensive resistance if presented before learners are developmentally ready. Ideally, topics such as race, sexual orientation, power, and privilege (if perceived by the audience to be challenging) are best offered when the audience is approaching the Acceptance stage, where cultural self-awareness has been explored and curiosity about other cultures is characteristic.

The DMIS offers a theoretical perspective for understanding how people develop intercultural competence and sensitivity in a model useful in a variety of professional contexts.

R. Michael Paige and Janet M. Bennett

See also Assessments of Intercultural Competence; Constructivism; Cultural Self-Awareness; Intercultural Communication, Definition of; Intercultural Competence Development

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Intercultural Service Learning

Intercultural service learning is an educational pedagogy that pairs experiential learning and civic service within a multicultural and/or intercultural context. Facilitators of intercultural service learning seek to provide students with an interactive learning experience rooted equally in theoretical foundations and real-world applications, complementing classroom learning with context-rich civic service that provides students with both hands-on experience and the opportunity to learn local knowledge from community practitioners. As compared with general models of service learning, intercultural service learning requires an additional level of context provided by facilitating student learning and participation within and across diverse communities and cultures.

This entry introduces core components of intercultural service learning; identifies goals, learning outcomes, and potential benefits for participating students; and discusses the significance of this model as an educational pedagogy for global educators.

Intercultural Service Learning: Core Components

Intercultural service learning consists primarily of four core components: (1) academic learning, (2) community service, (3) intercultural context, and (4) facilitated reflection. The first of these, academic learning, is typically organized and facilitated through a traditional classroom setting. This can be a college or university, a high school or primary school, an adult education setting, or any other type of formal learning environment. However, the learning aspect of service learning can also be conducted informally through group discussions, guest lectures, workshops, academic excursions, or other learning environments not tied to a formal academic institution.

The purpose of the academic learning component is to introduce the learner to the subject at hand as well as provide the person with an understanding of historical, political, cultural, societal, and other issues and variables affecting the topic. Subjects can be specific to a particular issue, historical event, or idea or can focus on interdisciplinary topics. For example, if learners are engaged in intercultural service learning to explore the issue of homelessness, academic learning may focus on exploring topics such as poverty, access to housing, classism, racism, mental health, and other factors. Ideally, these subjects would be explored using a multitude of lenses, from exploring the broad theoretical foundations to investigating what these issues look like in real-world global or local settings. Where intercultural service learning involves full immersion (e.g., service learning in a study-abroad context), academic activities should also include introducing students to host community cultural norms and practices, preparing them for living and serving abroad, and providing support for the postengagement transition back, with the latter two beginning before departure to the host country and continuing after returning home.

The second component of intercultural service learning is community service. Here, individuals actively participate in, learn from, and contribute to local organizations through volunteer service. Projects are often identified via reciprocal partnerships between the educational institution or program facilitator and local community organizations. Within these collaborative arrangements, local organizations typically identify their current needs and opportunities where students can potentially engage and learn, while class facilitators seek to effectively match student interests and/or abilities to the available opportunities. Alternatively, instructors may seek existing service opportunities within the local community where students can potentially serve as volunteers. Service projects can be completed by students individually or collectively as a class. Typically, students do not earn academic credit for the service itself, instead earning credit for the class within which the service takes place via traditional academic assignments. Partner organizations and service opportunities that can be directly connected to the academic topic are the ideal, so that the service is treated not as an add-on activity to the class but rather as an intentional mechanism for experiential learning and further topic exploration. For example, if studying homelessness, students might engage in service with local homeless shelters, food banks, or community development agencies so that they can further explore the issue by learning more about the inner workings of organizations serving this population. Simultaneously, they can develop skills and gather perspectives from people who are doing this work day to day, while also interacting with people who are currently homeless or have been affected by homelessness in their lives.

The third component of intercultural service learning is an intercultural context. Here, *intercultural* is often defined very broadly to mean interaction across any number of cultural boundaries, with the understanding that all individuals and communities contain a multitude of cultural identities, including age, class, race/ethnicity, education, sexual orientation, and so on. Thus, an intercultural context is one in which students engage and interact with individuals and communities different from those with whom they might traditionally self-identify. Intercultural contexts can be applied in a domestic setting, for example, serving within and alongside a community of recent immigrants or seeking to contribute to and learn more about LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) issues as a straight ally or via international service learning, where students live, serve, and immerse themselves in foreign cultures on a daily basis.

The fourth key component of intercultural service learning is facilitated reflection. This activity is designed to encourage students to assess and analyze what they have learned both in the classroom and also through service, seeking to connect the dots between the big-picture context and the local application, including exploring how their learnings through academics and service inform and/or challenge one another, while also exploring their own personal values, opinions, and ideas in light of their newly acquired knowledge and experiences. Facilitated reflection can take place in a classroom, in the field, or by using online tools, and it typically includes activities such as small-group and classroom discussions, storytelling exercises, and interactive games. Reflection also frequently takes place through individual written reflection journals or essays where students explore and describe the service they engaged in, how it is connected to their course content and learnings, and their personal explorations of how engaging in this intercultural service learning may have affected their personal values, assumptions, and behaviors. Where intercultural service learning is facilitated via international or cultural immersion, reflection activities can also be engaged in to assist with cultural adjustment pre- and postimmersion, including establishing realistic explorations of their time abroad and offering suggestions for further study and continued engagement on return.

Goals and Potential Benefits of Intercultural Service Learning

There are a number of goals and perceived benefits of engaging individuals in intercultural service learning. First, educators seek to give participants access to two distinct environments as learning opportunities: (1) the classroom of an educational institution and (2) the real-world environment of a community organization. Similarly, students have learning facilitated by more than one educator as community partners seek to enhance and expand student understanding of issues through real-world experiences and perspectives. Learning through these complementary methods can make academic study more immediately applicable for participants, helping them connect what otherwise may feel complex or esoteric to individual lives and organizations. It also provides them with a variety of viewpoints and perspectives on what are often very complex issues, complementing the material selected by the instructor by also gathering perspectives from experts and actors outside the academic community, giving equal weight to the value of each source of learning. Simultaneously, through the development and fostering of relationships between scholars and community actors, greater connections can be built between academic institutions and local practitioners, helping inform scholarly agendas, translating academic findings into real-world practice, and potentially opening up opportunities for increased community-based research.

Second, students may benefit from the real-time acquisition of skills and hands-on experience. For example, while they learn in a classroom about how nonprofit, public, and charitable organizations address issues of homelessness, they can also be learning about and gaining practice with program development, service delivery, fund-raising and grant writing, developing collaborations and partnerships, and other activities typically employed by agencies addressing these same issues. Similarly, an individual serving with a social service agency may gain experience facilitating community meetings and building partnerships with community leaders and fellow organizations that represent diverse cultural communities. Service placements can provide a safe and supportive environment to develop these kinds of transferable, marketable skills, while also helping students explore potential career paths in their field of interest. Students engaged in intercultural service learning, especially when immersed in a foreign community, can also significantly improve the language skills required to interact within the local community. Finally, learners can begin to develop their professional networks with their service agencies and other organizations with which they are connected through intercultural service learning.

Personal transformation is commonly reported by those engaged in intercultural service learning and may include things such as greater flexibility and patience, increased empathy and a greater desire to understand differences, greater concern for the social and environmental problems affecting global communities, a new or renewed commitment to civic service and community engagement, exploration of career paths not previously considered, and recognition of the role of individuals and communities in seeking to create local or global change.

Due in large part to the intercultural interaction and communication facilitated by service activities, scholars have also found that students participating in intercultural service learning can gain greater cultural competence and awareness. This can include developing greater respect and understanding for cultures different from their own, a greater connection with the concept of global citizenship and other shared identities, and a new or stronger appreciation for different cultural attitudes, values, behaviors, and norms (as well as potentially a new perspective and a desire to explore and challenge one's own attitudes, values, behaviors, and norms). Students have also reported that intercultural service learning has helped change and challenge stereotypes and preconceived notions about, as well as develop greater empathy for, different communities, especially populations that have been historically marginalized, such as the homeless or people living in poverty.

For example, an individual who may have previously believed that homelessness was an issue solely of economics may have his or her beliefs challenged by meeting individuals who can share how they have been affected by things such as systemic poverty, mental health challenges, or institutionalized racism. Students can also take complex, large-scale issues and connect them more effectively to individual experiences through intercultural service learning. For example, a student serving at a soup kitchen in Italy was able to understand the global economic recession more thoroughly on learning about how it had affected Italian families.

The Significance of Intercultural Service Learning

Intercultural service learning is a relatively young pedagogy but one that has the potential to engage a variety of student learning styles, incorporate a broad array of educational methods, encourage learning both within and outside the classroom, and facilitate a cultural immersion typically not available in an academic setting. In an increasingly globalized and multicultural world, these methods may lead to the development of a more global citizenry, students who are more comfortable with and open to cultures different from their own, and graduates with marketable skill sets that were developed alongside practitioners in the very fields they may be seeking to enter.

As the body of research exploring intercultural service learning models continues to grow, these empirical findings will continue to inform the practices and methods of facilitators of intercultural service learning, further shaping this pedagogy to serve as a valuable methodology for educators and academic institutions worldwide.

Thomas Winston Morgan and Erin Barnhart

See also Global Citizenship; Global Learning; Intercultural Communication and Language; Intercultural Competence Development; Intercultural or Multicultural Classroom; Intercultural Relations and Globalization; Intercultural Sensitivity; International Education; Learning Communities; Transformative Learning; Worldview

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Intercultural Training Creativity

Creativity in intercultural training is the ability to move learners beyond their traditional mind-sets in a manner that engages the whole person, is applicable to their lives and work, and both supports and challenges the development of their intercultural competence. Training that fails to engage and stimulate will fall short of enabling participants to achieve their learning objectives. Creativity is both what the trainer must bring to the environment and what the learner must be able to access in order to be competent. Without it, training will be of little use to the learner.

This entry explains why creativity is crucial in intercultural training; the elements of creativity in intercultural training; and the common prerequisites for developing, and strategies for maintaining, creativity in intercultural training.

Why Creativity Is Crucial in Intercultural Training

The very quality that intercultural training aims to develop—intercultural competence—demands creativity. Participants in intercultural training need to learn to experience new and different realities, to temporarily set aside their previous experience and be able to imagine the world as others experience it. Effective intercultural training provides the skills to reflect on and make meaning from new experiences. It offers strategies for continuing to learn, effective dialogue, resolving conflicts, and building trusting relationships. Creativity and innovation in the training process are imperative given the enormity of the task and the limited time generally allotted for intercultural training.

It is vital that intercultural training be designed and facilitated in such a way that the participants are able to understand and relate key learning points to the context of their lives and work. They need to be able to use what they learn in their daily undertakings. Thus, originality is required to ensure that training is appropriate to its context.

Cross-cultural effectiveness is context specific. For example, effectiveness in one multicultural team does not ensure or predict effectiveness in another; each team is a unique composition of personalities, goals, processes, and environment. Thus, it is risky to assume that there are any universally correct ways to behave in a cross-culturally effective manner. Positivist or prescriptive approaches to intercultural training fall short in preparing learners for an ever-changing landscape.

Culture is a complex, dynamic process. Too often, however, culture is thought of as a reified "thing." Cultures change depending on the person perceiving the culture and also because people within a culture are constantly varying their behavior. The boundaries we perceive, the differentiations we make between one group of people and another, between different cultures, enable us to discern culturally appropriate behavioral patterns. The goal of intercultural training is to help learners effectively navigate those different cultural patterns. This often requires creativity on the part of the learners—to think beyond their "natural" cultural responses.

Intercultural trainers must be adept at sharing culture-specific information, tendencies, and guidelines and at demonstrating the importance of culture, without exaggerating differences or stereotyping. Effective training will enable learners to see people as unique individuals influenced by multiple cultures (based on nationality, ethnicity, gender, age/generation, sexual orientation, spiritual tradition, socioeconomic status, etc.).

Intercultural training holistically involves knowledge (head), emotions and motivation (heart), and skills (hands). It is crucial that all three of these elements be adequately addressed in the training environment, which takes a skilled and creative facilitator.

Elements of Creativity in Intercultural Training

Creativity is required in all phases of intercultural training. We are all inherently biased and have our own strengths, weaknesses, perspectives, and experiences gained from the cultures in which we have been raised. Those who train need to transcend their own biases in order to enable learners to transcend theirs. A training program in which learners perceive the relevance of intercultural skills to their lives, both personal and professional, is one that creatively and effectively links context, needs, learning styles, design, and facilitation.

Successful intercultural training design is grounded in intercultural theory and research, as well as incorporating data derived from needs assessment. Based on the synthesis of this information and the learning objectives, a trainer selects and sequences appropriate exercises and activities. These may include custom activities developed to help achieve specific learning objectives or existing activities that have been adapted for the specific situation. Activities must be developed in such a way as to be comfortable and safe yet challenging and encouraging of growth.

There is definitely an art to the facilitation of intercultural training. It must give learners the sense of confidence and safety they need to experiment with new behaviors and values while simultaneously motivating them to try what might be uncomfortable or unfamiliar behaviors. A successful facilitator is able to navigate the emotions and challenges of group dynamics that frequently arise in intercultural training. Learners may become emotional—upset, angry, hurt, or offended—and a skilled facilitator is able to respond creatively in a way that calms, as well as guides, the learner.

The development of intercultural competence requires ongoing, structured learning; reflection; and practice. Creativity is necessary to devise ways to engage learners in this process and help them experiment with new behaviors in a safe environment.

Common Prerequisites for and Maintenance of the Creativity Needed for Intercultural Training

The prerequisites for demonstrating creativity in intercultural training are a solid grounding in intercultural theory, a broad interdisciplinary background, and the practical application of skills in assessment, design, development, group facilitation, evaluation, and follow-up. Those new to the practice of intercultural training often have keen insights that feed the creative insights. However, experience in the field, in terms of both group facilitation and personal intercultural sojourns, is also crucial. Often the best and most creative outcomes emerge when dyads or small teams of practitioners work together. Other factors that stimulate and maintain trainer creativity include ongoing professional development, feedback from mentors, focus groups with past participants, coaching, and regular reflection. Because so much of the success of intercultural training depends on its perceived applicability to learners, familiarity with the context (beyond the needs assessment) is invaluable.

It takes creativity to look at the world through the learner's eyes, apply the appropriate theoretical framework, and design and deliver effective intercultural training.

Dianne Hofner Saphiere

See also Co-Creation of Meaning; Communication Accommodation Theory; Constructivism; Developmental Theory; Dimensions of Diversity; Essential Principles for Intercultural Training; Hybridity; Learning Styles Across Cultures; Resistance to Change; Simulations and Games

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Intercultural Verbal Communication Styles

Intercultural interaction has become a reality of everyday life for almost everyone in today's modern globalized world. As intensive communication with speakers of differing backgrounds and assumptions is now the rule rather than the exception, conversing and communicating competently across cultures is becoming a major concern for many people. It is important to be aware of *how* language is used in another culture and to understand the culturally specific patterns of communication. Cultures provide people with ways of thinking and ways of seeing, hearing, and interpreting the world. The prevailing culture determines whose speech style will be seen as normal; who will be required to learn the communication style and interpret the meaning of the other; and whose language style will be seen as deviant, irrational, and inferior. Due to their different perceptions about conversational styles, cultural groups may disagree about appropriate choices of conversational strategies. This entry describes the definitions of intercultural verbal communication, different styles (how) of verbal communication across cultures, approach versus avoidance toward (how much of) verbal communication across cultures, and practical implications.

Language and Verbal Communication Across Cultures

In intercultural communication, simply knowing the language of another culture may not be enough to give the whole picture of an interaction. Every language consists of a set of rules, such as syntax and semantics. However, mastering all those rules is still not enough for effective communication, for language and culture cannot be separated. Regarding the degree to which culture and language are related to each other, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis proposes that language not only transmits but also shapes our thinking, beliefs, and attitudes. Other scholars argue that language merely reflects, rather than shapes, thinking, beliefs, and attitudes. Despite these differences in approaches, scholars still agree that language is a guide to culture.

The manner of expressing oneself with words, of communicating with words, varies dramatically from one culture to another. The preferred communication style, just like more general cultural values and norms, influences the basic strategies used to engage in conversations with others and also the background standards with which to interpret and evaluate communication; that is, one's communication style shapes how one perceives and reacts to communication events.

A variety of communication styles among different cultural groups have been developed over generations, closely linked with the cultural norms, values, and behaviors of associated cultural groups. To learn about these styles, to become conscious of one's styles, and to be able to recognize the styles used by individuals of different cultural backgrounds greatly contributes to better intercultural communication.

As with perception, no communication style is better than another. Problems do arise, however, when a person using one communication style fails to understand or respect communication styles that are different. To be able to recognize and respect different communication styles is the first step in developing intercultural competence. As people are increasingly involved in situations where intercultural communication is required, its difficulties are recognized. Two of the most serious sources of verbal miscommunication and misunderstandings in intercultural contexts are (1) the *how* of communication (degrees of directness) and (2) *how much* communication (the amount of talk, degree of loquacity). Most intercultural verbal communication research has focused on the *how* of communication.

The *How* of Verbal Communication Across Cultures

Low-Context Versus High-Context Communication

In low-context communication, often associated with individualistic cultures, the meaning of the utterance is contained in the words themselves. In the low-context U.S. American culture, for instance, the responsibility for meaning falls mainly on the speakers, whose job it is to formulate it into clear language. Low-context cultures rely on the literal and precise meaning of the words used. These communicators prefer explicit conversations where words convey the bulk, if not all, of the entire message.

On the other hand, a high-context communication message is one in which most of the information is already in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. Groups that have high-context communication styles combine verbal and nonverbal messages to convey the entire meaning. A listener must read between the lines and add nonverbal nuances to fully understand the message. It is important to have excellent listening and observational skills when interacting with individuals from a high-context culture.

In high-context cultures, meanings are contingent on context, and the skilled communicator must *read* not only the words but the nonverbal behaviors of the other as well. In Japanese culture, this is called "reading the air." Koreans define *nunchi* as the *sense of eye* or *eye measurement*, or it may also be thought of as mind reading, which is a very important component of Korean communication. *Nunchi* is a form of high-context communication and is often used to interpret and comprehend another's thoughts, intentions, feelings, and desires, which are seldom verbally expressed. Listeners are expected to understand that the context of what is said, and who is saying it, is as important as what is said. High-context communicators convey messages in an abstract, implicit, and indirect manner, and meanings are interpreted based on the intuition and contemplation of the audience.

Degree of Directness/Indirectness

A second communication style often related to individualism–collectivism is the degree of directness individuals employ in conversation. Some prefer to express their intentions directly, while others are inclined to talk indirectly in order to communicate what they mean. In indirect speech, individuals say one thing that actually implies something else. In such instances, individuals have an underlying message that is not literally expressed in the verbal message. Furthermore, indirectness is also reflected in polite forms of expression. The primary motivation to use indirect expressions is concern for the other's face. The emphasis on face leads to the use of relatively indirect expressions or very polite expressions.

The ability to produce and interpret indirect meaning in messages is described as *conversational indirectness*. Indirectness is usually motivated by interpersonal consideration or by an individual's mutual sensitivity to the thoughts and feelings of the other. For example, when one individual indirectly says to his or her friend, "I just heard from the doctor. I am afraid the news was not very good," the speaker's meaning is "I have an incurable disease." Likewise, when one individual cannot directly say "I don't love you," he or she might indirectly say "My conviction has been increasing . . . that we're meant to walk different paths."

Indirectness caused by sensitivity is also seen in an individual's concern for managing the face threat of the verbal acts. The face management view argues that individuals are motivated to manage the face of one another by using polite remarks (indirect speech). The tendency of face management is seen more among individuals from collectivistic cultures than in those from individualistic cultures. Some research findings support the relationship between a communicator's sensitivity and indirectness. Independent (individualistic) self-construal was related to two outcome-oriented conversational constraints: (1) *clarity* and (2) *effectiveness*. On the other hand, interdependent (collectivistic) self-construal was related to relational constraints such as a concern for not imposing on others, avoiding hurting the hearer's feelings, or avoiding a negative evaluation.

It has been suggested in the West that a person is well advised to focus on *open* communication, thus emphasizing that direct discussion is the best way to deal with relationship problems. The norms and rules of intimacy expression and communication are differently perceived across cultures. It was found that collectivists tend to use the *flight* or *exit* approach to manage relational issues in romantic conflict situations. Collectivists tend to avoid disclosing feelings and voicing opinions to romantic partners. People from individualist cultures (those who emphasize an independent self-construal) would tend to use the *verbal* approach to deal with relational conflict issues. That is, they would probably engage in a greater degree of overt argument and disagreement when conflict occurs. In individualist cultures, communicators are likely to be perceived as separate individuals engaging in diverse communicative activities to maximize their own self-interest.

Self-Enhancement Versus Self-Criticism

In addition to approach/avoidance, high/low context, and directness/indirectness, cultural groups also vary in tendencies toward self-enhancement or self-criticism in interaction with others. As might be expected, self-enhancement appears obvious and natural in those cultural contexts in which one is encouraged to create a distinct and objectified self. To the extent that the self is interdependent with others (as is the case with collectivists), there will be fewer concerns with enhancing and actualizing one's identity, because the need to create an autonomous self is not a cultural imperative.

Prior research has shown that self-enhancement is a marked tendency for those in the North American culture. This self-enhancement can take many forms: attributing success to one's own abilities and expertise and attributing failure to external or situational forces. They may compare themselves with others who are less fortunate, and this contrast allows them to maintain their sense of positive individuality and self-esteem; they may minimize the relevance or importance of a task that they performed poorly. Various efforts are employed by people in U.S. culture to protect and maintain a positive self-image.

When people confront a threat to their self-esteem, they often engage in diverse activities to enhance self-esteem and to restore a global sense of self-esteem. It was found that many U.S. Americans show unrealistically positive self-evaluations (self-enhancement), exaggerated perceptions of control or mastery, and unrealistic optimism. The literature also suggests that Americans often find self-promoters likeable, and they are perceived as more competent than self-effacers, whereas men who reveal negative things about themselves are perceived as weak and incompetent.

Findings from a number of social psychological domains suggest that European Americans show a general sensitivity to positive self-relevant information, which is referred to as self-enhancement. There is a growing body of literature that indicates that the self-enhancement effect is reversed in non-Western groups, many of whom have collectivistic tendencies. In some Asian countries, communication is not seen as a means to enhance oneself but as a process by which one reduces selfishness and egocentrism. Therefore, one may attribute one's success in terms of effort or luck and one's failure in terms of one's lack of abilities or talents. This sensitivity to negative self-relevant information is referred to as self-criticism.

Therefore, it is argued that within a collectivistic cultural system that is rooted in the importance of maintaining, affirming, and becoming a part of significant social relationships, sensitivity to negative self-relevant information is not an indication of low self-esteem or something to be avoided or overcome. Rather, it has positive social and psychological consequences. When a cultural group emphasizes the importance of being part of the group, standing out or being different, even in a positive sense, may not be valued.

In sum, communication styles result from a collective process through which the views of the self are inscribed and embodied in the very ways in which social acts and situations are defined and experienced in each cultural context. Whereas collectivists tend toward high-context, indirect communication or even self-criticism, individualists tend toward direct, elaborated, and self-enhancing communication. These are patterns that, of course, do not necessarily apply to any single person from a particular culture.

How Much of Verbal Communication Across Cultures

Approach Versus Avoidance Toward Verbal Communication

A notion closely related to different styles (how) of intercultural verbal communication is approach/avoidance toward (how much of) speech. In individualistic contexts, there often appears to be a demand to interact, which characterizes much of interpersonal communication. There is a built-in assumption that when people are engaged in focused conversation, it is their responsibility to keep verbal communication active. Silence or avoidant communication styles might, at times, represent a threat to this responsibility. On the other hand, avoidant styles (low verbal output) among collectivists can be seen rather positively, as being pleasant to others by not imposing.

Notably, most cross-cultural research on communication disposition has explored how it applies and operates in U.S. culture in comparison with other cultures. In the mainstream U.S. culture, talk is considered positively and is generally rewarded. Many other cultures do not place as high a premium on the amount and frequency of talk as does U.S. culture. Within the U.S. context, avoidance of communication is often viewed negatively. Those with a high independent construal (individualists) tend to engage in a substantial amount of *elaborated talk* in order to establish identity or to stand out from the crowd. Therefore, highly verbal persons are seen in a positive light because they are more successful at establishing identity. Also, within individualistic societies, the development of strong interpersonal relationships is heavily dependent on the amount of communication in which the individuals are willing to engage. That is, the more an individual is willing to talk, the more likely the person is to develop positive interpersonal relationships. Since talkativeness is so positively valued in U.S. society, it is not surprising that most of the research relating to predispositions and orientations toward talking have focused on problems of communication avoidance rather than on problems of excessive communication.

To the interdependent self-construal (collectivist) communicator, a talkative individual is often considered a show-off or is seen as insincere because of the belief that meaning is sensed and not phrased. Some of the more familiar East Asian proverbs include "To be always talking is against nature," "One who speaks does not know," and "An empty cart makes more noise." These proverbs emphasize the tendency of the interdependent individual to dislike excessive talk that highlights the accomplishments of the self and threatens the existing harmony in a relationship. For Koreans, for instance, silence is more than just a virtue; it is a necessary component of everyday communication, reflecting communicative competence and skill.

Attitudes toward silence and speech are among the internalized social and cultural standards against which people measure their own (and others') communicative performance. Such norms are used to interpret whether silence or lack of verbal communication means agreement, denial, avoidance, or a violation of norms. Among interdependents, wordless communication can convey rich meaning, which may often be missed by independents. Special attention is needed to distinguish between, and properly interpret, the different meanings of verbal loquacity. Stereotyping and misunderstanding occur when the characteristic use of silence by members of one speech community are interpreted according to the norms and rules held by members of another community, and vice versa. Thus, learning appropriate rules for silence and loquaciousness is also part of the acculturation process for people attempting to develop communicative competence in a second language and culture.

Practical Implications

The foregoing discussion has important practical implications for intercultural interaction and cross-cultural communication competence. Knowing the cultural *way* of communication entails more than a command of syntax and lexicon; it requires an understanding of cultural perceptions and of the usages regarding different types of communication tactics. The transfer of the norms of one community to another community may well lead to *pragmatic failure* and to the judgment that the speaker is in some way being impolite and uncooperative. A successful intercultural interaction may partly be achieved if individuals with different perceptions of *appropriate* communication styles can correctly interpret the observed communication behavior, as well as expand their definitions of *appropriate*.

Intercultural misunderstandings often seem to stem from different perceptions regarding verbal communication styles. Terms such as *miscommunication*, *misunderstanding*, and *communication breakdown* have been used to describe events wherein people fail to understand the intentions underlying one another's utterances or the lack of them. Intercultural interactions are more difficult to carry out effectively precisely because the individuals lack shared background knowledge; as the fund of their shared knowledge increases, the frequency of miscommunication is likely to decrease. People from different cultural backgrounds may react in totally different ways in varying degrees of verbal behavior. Thus, intercultural communication is fraught with potential misattribution and miscommunication. This is especially true when those involved are unaware of differences in preferred styles of verbal communication and preferred levels of verbal loquacity.

A contemporary view of self-culture relations suggests that this relationship is much more complex than was previously thought, and certainly more complex than a generalized view of self that pits individual and group needs in opposition to each other. Research on cultural identity encourages psychological work that is sensitive to *hybrid* identities. Such identities are shaped by migration, discrimination, poverty, and minority ethnic, racial, and religious statuses. It highlights aspects of the *other*, marginalized, cultural identities. A bulk of intercultural communication research has focused on the preferred communication styles of *culture-typed* individuals. The conceptualization of a culturally embedded sense of self can lead to the dangerous dichotomization of individuals as either independent or interdependent. Increasingly, this bicultural identity will be recognized as a resource to be harnessed for professional or social advantage. At present, however, there is a paucity of research on the effectiveness of bicultural individuals in their communication behavior. There are important research questions to be addressed, such as the role of bicultural identity in communication flexibility and of changes in communication patterns in the development of personal identity.

In the era of the multicultural society, cultural diversity has to be recognized, understood, and used appropriately in organizations and interpersonal settings. The implications of these relationships for cross-cultural communication are far-reaching. The interdependent individual (who is less verbal) interacting within the independent social group is potentially at a disadvantage socially and is perceived as less attractive than other potential communication partners. Independent individuals operating within interdependent social groups may encounter a similar reversal regarding the perception of their verbal behavior. Verbal communication behaviors evidenced by members of different cultures are not simply surface representations of their cultural background but, rather, are deeply tied to the values and self-identity possessed by the individual members.

Min-Sun Kim

See also Cross-Cultural Communication; Identity and Intergroup Communication; Intercultural Conflict Styles

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Intergroup Contact

For decades, researchers and practitioners have sought to understand how contact between groups can reduce prejudice and promote more positive intergroup relations. Numerous studies have revealed the positive effects of contact in many different parts of the world, including contact between Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland, between racial groups in South Africa, and between immigrants and natives in Europe and South America.

Early efforts emphasized the role of ignorance in perpetuating prejudice, and the need to provide opportunities for members of different groups to interact in order to enhance mutual knowledge and, in turn, to reduce their prejudices toward one another. It is granted that ignorance often plays an important role in intergroup relations. Yet a half-century of research and theorizing has identified many other situational and psychological factors that further elucidate the effects of contact on relations between groups.

Situational Factors: Optimal Conditions for Intergroup Contact

Perhaps the most well-recognized extension of intergroup contact theory and research concerns the situational conditions under which members of different groups interact. Naturally, contact between groups holds the potential either to reduce or to intensify intergroup prejudice and hostility; recognition of this issue is in large part what led theorists such as Gordon Allport to specify optimal conditions for intergroup contact. The reasoning here is that by proactively changing features of the immediate social situation, researchers and practitioners can facilitate prejudice reduction and other positive changes in intergroup attitudes.

Such optimal conditions for intergroup contact typically include (a) establishing equal status between groups within the contact situation, (b) encouraging the groups to interact in a cooperative manner, (c) having the groups work together in pursuit of common goals, and (d) ensuring that the contact between the groups is supported by institutional authorities, laws, or customs. Rather than being conceived of as entirely independent, these conditions are typically understood to be interrelated and to mutually reinforce one another. For example, efforts to establish equal status between groups in the contact situation can be bolstered by institutional norms and authorities who provide guidance regarding how the members of different groups should treat one another. Also, these conditions encouraging groups to cooperate should involve some degree of interdependence such that the members of these groups must work together and rely on one another to achieve their shared goals.

In line with this view, a meta-analysis performed by Thomas F. Pettigrew and Linda R. Tropp, including more than 500 studies of intergroup contact, revealed positive effects of contact, particularly when the contact occurred under optimal conditions. To perform a meta-analysis, researchers seek to find every study conducted on a particular topic and statistically pool their results to examine overall effects as well as moderators for those effects. The studies in this meta-analysis employed a range of survey, experimental, and field methods and included responses from more than 250,000 individuals in 38 nations. The analysis showed that across many different contact settings, target groups, and national contexts, greater levels of intergroup contact are typically associated with lower levels of intergroup prejudice. Moreover, the studies in which the contact was structured with optimal conditions showed stronger prejudice-reducing effects than the remaining studies. Taken together, these findings suggest that intergroup contact can be an effective tool for reducing prejudice and that optimal conditions can further facilitate positive contact outcomes.

Psychological Factors: Subjective Concerns and Mediators of Contact Effects

With its traditional focus on establishing optimal conditions within the contact situation, contact research has tended to highlight objective conditions of the contact situation, with less attention to group members' subjective responses to those contact situations. Beyond conditions of the contact situation, we must also recognize that group members have psychological concerns and personal histories of experiences that are likely to inform their views of relations between groups and their responses to cross-group interactions.

Indeed, people often experience a great deal of uncertainty and anxiety about relating to others across group lines. For example, people may anticipate being judged negatively or rejected in intergroup encounters, which can curb their interest or willingness to participate in intergroup contact. Particularly during the initial stages of intergroup contact, people are likely to feel anxious and/or have negative expectations about how they might be perceived or received by members of other groups, and in turn, these tendencies can lead to avoidance of or awkwardness during intergroup contact. Some people may also be constantly aware of their group membership or concerned about being rejected by others on the basis of their group membership, which could further exacerbate anxieties about cross-group interactions.

At the same time, a growing body of research indicates that positive contact experiences with members of other groups can diminish feelings of anxiety and foster prejudice reduction and a greater willingness for further contact. For instance, in a study of cross-community relations in Northern Ireland, positive contact with members of the other community predicted lower anxiety about intergroup contact and lower levels of intergroup prejudice. Longitudinal survey studies in the United States, Europe, and South Africa also show that more positive contact with members of other racial and ethnic groups predicts significantly lower levels of intergroup anxiety and intergroup prejudice over time.

Experimental research in laboratory settings shows similar trends. For example, White participants who reported prior interracial contact exhibited significantly lower physiological stress and lower anxiety when interacting with an African American than White participants without such prior contact experiences. Among White and Latino participants who initially demonstrated intergroup prejudice, those paired with a cross-group partner for a series of friendly interactions showed less physiological stress and a greater willingness to initiate future cross-group interactions.

Meta-analytic research further corroborates these findings, with data pooled across many studies. Greater intergroup contact typically reduces intergroup anxiety, and lower intergroup anxiety typically predicts reduction in intergroup prejudice. Moreover, the mediating role of anxiety reduction tends to be stronger than the mediating role of knowledge in the contact–prejudice association. Early theorists reasoned that contact with outgroup members should enhance one's knowledge about other groups and learning more about other groups should in turn help reduce one's prejudices against them. Meta-analytic findings do show that intergroup contact can lead people to gain greater knowledge about other groups, and this greater knowledge contributes to prejudice reduction. However, this work also shows that psychological factors such as anxiety reduction are especially important in the contact–prejudice association. Specifically, greater intergroup contact reduces our anxiety about interacting with members of other groups, and contact tends to be more strongly associated with reduced anxiety than with increased knowledge; reduced anxiety also tends to be more strongly associated with lower prejudice than increased knowledge, demonstrating the special role of anxiety reduction in the contact–prejudice association.

Additional work shows that contact's positive effects may be due not only to anxiety reduction but also to its ability to promote empathy among members of different groups. Beyond any effects of intergroup contact, inducing empathy has been shown to improve people's attitudes toward members of disadvantaged groups and to enhance people's willingness to take action against derogation of those groups. Within intergroup contact research, there is a growing recognition that contact, particularly that which involves close cross-group relationships, can enhance people's willingness and ability to empathize with groups beyond their own.

Indeed, Pettigrew and Tropp's meta-analytic work reveals that empathy, like reduced anxiety, mediates the relationship between contact and prejudice such that greater intergroup contact predicts greater intergroup empathy and greater empathy in turn predicts lower intergroup prejudice. An illustrative example is provided by Rhiannon Turner, Miles Hewstone, and Alberto Voci, who show that greater self-disclosure during contact with Asians predicts lower anti-Asian prejudice among White British students, which is largely due to increases in empathy that the students felt toward Asians. It should also be noted that this mediating role of empathy functions separately from the role of anxiety reduction. In the small subset of studies in which both mediators were tested, anxiety reduction and empathy each independently and significantly contributed to predicting the contact–prejudice association.

Further theorizing suggests that anxiety reduction and empathy may also function sequentially, such that reducing anxiety may be most crucial during the initial stages of contact and greater empathy may be cultivated once anxiety has been reduced. It is plausible that intergroup anxiety must first be reduced for people to become more open and willing to take the perspectives of others and empathize with their concerns. This possibility is supported by broader theorizing in psychology suggesting that once our needs for safety and security are gratified, we often become more motivated to seek out experiences through which we can grow, such as through feeling connected with others and exploring interests in the world beyond ourselves. By contrast, anxiety in intergroup settings can induce greater reliance on negative stereotypes, while the expectation or experience of rejection can diminish willingness to participate in cross-group interactions. Thus, anxiety reduction may play a critical role in the early stages of intergroup contact, to set the stage for greater openness and willingness to engage in subsequent intergroup encounters.

As suggested by the research summarized above, it is important to take into account both objective features of contact situations and subjective responses to contact situations when seeking to understand and foster the potential for intergroup contact to reduce prejudice. In addition to establishing optimal conditions in the contact situation (e.g., equal status, cooperation, common goals, institutional support), researchers and practitioners should work to develop strategies through which intergroup anxiety and negative expectations of contact can be minimized as people approach cross-group interactions. To the extent that individuals are able to alleviate people's anxious expectations and concerns, the more likely they are to realize the potential of intergroup contact to reduce prejudice and promote empathy and continued engagement among members of different groups.

Linda R. Tropp

See also Anxiety and Uncertainty Management; Empathy; Ingroup/Outgroup; Integrated Threat Theory; Intergroup Dialogue

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Intergroup Dialogue

Intergroup dialogue is a deliberative and structured process for enhancing understanding, promoting empathy, and dealing creatively with differences between conflicting groups. By bringing the disputing parties together in a safe space, channels of communication can be opened across the psychological, social, and/or physical divides that separate the groups. Intergroup dialogue is often facilitated by a neutral third party, someone who is not a member of either group and who is able to guide the process in an unbiased and fair manner. By coming together for facilitated discussions, participants who otherwise live in disconnected worlds can develop personal and working relationships, and they can explore possibilities for cooperation and reconciliation.

This entry describes the key aspects of intergroup dialogue, first by providing an overview of the concept of dialogue and various approaches to intergroup dialogue. This is followed by an examination of key characteristics of successful intergroup dialogues. Finally, there is a discussion of the significance of intergroup dialogues in a world where conflict between groups is all too common.

Dialogue

Dialogue has become a common term in both everyday usage and the language of various fields, such as communication, social psychology, education, and international relations. However, dialogue is more than everyday talk; rather, it is a specific type of interaction having defined qualities. From a communication perspective, *dialogue* represents a form of discourse that emphasizes listening and inquiry, with the aim of fostering mutual respect and understanding. Dialogue allows communicators to become aware of the different ways individuals interpret and give meaning to their experience. Dialogue is a dynamic, transactional process, and the quality of the relationship between participants is given special focus. It is important to note that dialogue does not preclude disagreement; rather, it offers an opportunity for individuals to navigate their differences in ways that can help them better understand the complexities of their perspectives.

Although dialogue has potential for transforming human relationships, it requires special attitudes and hard work on the part of those involved. First, individuals must be willing to take risks, particularly the possibility that their perspective might be altered or changed. Of course, change is often threatening, especially when people have become comfortable with the status quo. Second, it is important for dialogue participants to realize that engaging in dialogue can affect their identity, as their view of self that they carry *into* dialogue and the views of self that *emerge* during the interaction may not always coincide. Dialogue can challenge how people see the world, along with their place in it. Third, participants should take into account the unpredictable nature of dialogue. Because it is a nonlinear, emergent process, meanings are constantly revised. Fourth, those engaging in dialogue need to keep in mind that tension is unavoidable. As ideas, values, and interests bump up against one another, individuals in dialogue will invariably struggle to cope with the tension. Fortunately, all of these aspects of dialogue, even though they may be unpleasant at times, can lead to creative ideas or new ways of approaching problems, helping groups achieve a synthesis of positions that serves the needs and interests of the participants, in most cases better than their initial stance.

A number of different methods have been developed for promoting intergroup dialogue. Some of these methods focus primarily on content, taking a more structured, *rational approach* to analyze the sources of the conflict and develop possible solutions. Other methods are less structured, taking a more *psychodynamic approach* to ease tensions and improve relations by helping participants learn about one another, develop better communication, and establish working relationships. In recent years, scholars and practitioners of intergroup dialogue have emphasized a *transformative approach*, which focuses on the larger social system within which the conflict is embedded. The goal is the long-term transformation of a society caught up in war into a society characterized by political and economic participation, peaceful relationships, and social harmony. Recognizing that decades, or sometimes even centuries, of enmity cannot be eliminated overnight, transformative approaches emphasize a systematic, prolonged set of dialogues that may continue over many years.

Characteristics of Successful Intergroup Dialogue

The act of bringing together individuals from the opposing sides of a conflict is insufficient, in and of itself, to promote the type of dialogue described previously. Without careful attention to how the dialogue is designed and facilitated, it is easy for the discussion to reflect the dynamics of the conflict rather than the potential of dialogue. The most successful intergroup dialogues usually have the following seven qualities.

Inclusiveness

Dialogues are more likely to have meaningful outcomes if they are inclusive of voices and perspectives from all sides of the conflict. This means that all the major stakeholders are represented in the discussions and, once the participants are in the room, they all have a chance to offer their ideas. It is important, in successful discussions, that the group members listen with respect to the contributions of each participant, even if they disagree with what they are hearing. Intergroup dialogues that are inclusive help ensure that a broad array of perceptions, ideas, and proposals are considered.

Openness

Successful dialogues allow participants to experiment with ideas, treating them as provisional thoughts that are subject to change as the participants learn from one another. When groups resist a search for certainty and closure in their discussions and instead maintain a sense of open-endedness, they can move further away from the dysfunctional discussions that have held them back for so long. By holding perceptions, issues, and proposals as provisional, participants will find themselves literally playing with ideas, giving rise to creative outcomes that could help break the deadlock and move toward more productive discussion.

Focus

Dialogue can take a group further when the discussion is kept moving in a purposeful direction. Although the search for inclusiveness and openness allows exploration of new territory, it is important not to get hopelessly lost. To counterbalance the tendency to wander too far afield and end up astray, successful groups structure their discussion in a way that allows them to determine which ideas are most relevant and which need to be set aside temporarily in order to advance the dialogue. They avoid premature closure by sorting through ideas and identifying those that are most relevant to their purposes. In this way, they avoid the tendency to drift aimlessly across a broad landscape.

Connectedness

Dialogue is more powerful when it helps participants explore the linkages between different aspects of a conflict. It is easy for the discussion to get bogged down by focusing on one or two issues without exploring the larger environment of which they are a part. Since conflicts are embedded in cultural, social, historical, and political contexts, attempts to resolve them without an adequate grasp of the background factors and how they relate to one another are likely to fail. On the other hand, if participants can map the relationships among the issues that are driving the conflict, they will be better positioned to grasp the bigger picture. By understanding the larger conflict system, participants are more likely to be able to identify the points of commonality in their positions and recognize the effects of potential actions.

Dynamism

Dialogue is more productive when participants let go of attempts to control the content of the discussion or its outcomes. Instead, they should allow the dynamic and emergent nature of the conversation to lead them to unexpected places. Dialogic outcomes are rarely instantaneous; rather, they evolve, sometimes slowly, over the course of interaction. Interaction is a constantly changing dynamic, and understandings are a product of the meeting between individuals. In successful intergroup dialogue, individuals give as much attention to the process as to the content of their discussions. They listen to one another respectfully, pose questions that seek more information, and reflect and respond during a back-and-forth process.

Commitment

Intergroup dialogues are likely to continue through difficult times when those involved are dedicated to the process and stay with it through all the inevitable setbacks. Getting past cultural misunderstandings and developing meaningful intercultural relationships requires considerable tenacity and reflexivity, and a willingness to learn. Without sufficient commitment, it is easy for participants to decide that the potential benefits are not worth the necessary effort. Meaningful dialogue demands active engagement, which includes following closely the ebb and flow of discussion and genuinely listening to others. It necessitates a willingness to keep trying even when the prospects for success look bleak, pushing forward to move past breaking points that could halt interaction. It means regrouping when things fall apart, finding ways to revive the dialogue when it has broken down or when external events have cast a shadow over the desire to talk.

Sustainability

Finally, dialogue can make a greater difference in the conflict when it expands beyond a single group that meets for a limited number of sessions. Because most intergroup conflicts are embedded in historical, political, and social circumstances that do not change easily or quickly, those intergroup dialogues that engage in a sustained effort over a long period of time are more likely to achieve their full potential. And to achieve truly lasting effects, intergroup dialogues almost always expand to include a critical mass of people working for change.

If intergroup dialogues are characterized by these seven qualities, they have an opportunity to bring about meaningful change in conflicted societies. In the long term, however, it is necessary for dialogue to become entrenched in the very fabric of everyday life. Ideally, dialogue becomes the modus operandi for a society, entrenched in schools, communities, business organizations, and political campaigns. There are significant challenges to moving even part of the way toward that goal, but each successful intergroup dialogue keeps alive that ideal.

The Significance of Intergroup Dialogue

One of the most important arenas in which intergroup dialogues have been widely applied is interethnic/international conflict. Since the 1960s, the United Nations, various international nongovernmental organizations, the international diplomatic community, and numerous academics have been actively bringing together representatives from different ethnic or identity groups for structured discussions designed to promote mutual understanding, better communication, and positive relationships, as well as to produce ideas for resolving conflicts. Usually assisted by a neutral third-party facilitator, these groups engage in dialogue that seeks to bridge the divide that exists within their society. The conflict in which they are caught up has typically been a lengthy one, sometimes part of a decades-long cycle of violent clashes in which many atrocities have been committed by each side against the other. Efforts to engage in intergroup dialogue in these situations are extremely challenging, but their value has been demonstrated through many successful projects in some of the world's most intractable conflicts, including Israel/Palestine, Iraq, Colombia, Cyprus, Sri Lanka, and Northern Ireland, to name a few.

The vital role played by dialogue in transforming intergroup conflict has been recognized by numerous international organizations, including the United Nations, which has passed resolutions that call for efforts to prevent conflicts and solve problems through dialogue and negotiation rather than through violence and force. There are several reasons why dialogue has become a significant means for promoting peace in conflict regions.

First, intergroup dialogue is often one of the few means available for communication across the divide that separates communities in conflict. In many cases, there is little or no contact between the conflicting groups, which may be separated by a buffer zone or checkpoints that keep people apart. This division further reinforces and promotes the biases and prejudices that each side holds against the other. When people are brought together in a structured setting for meaningful exchange of ideas and perceptions, the ties that have been severed by the conflict are reestablished, providing hope for the future. Of course, contact alone is insufficient for making progress toward conflict transformation, but with properly designed and facilitated dialogue groups, many constructive changes can take place, including the development of intercultural competence in their interactions.

Second, by coming together in a safe space, participants from the opposing sides of a conflict have the opportunity to positively alter the quality and nature of their relationship. The deep-seated hostility that often exists between conflicting groups can be reduced as they encounter each other on a human level. By dealing honestly with the past, participants can move toward collective healing and restoration of neighborly relations. Intergroup dialogue can help participants gain respect for one another, even though they may not agree with the other's positions, a hallmark of intercultural competence. They may not gain sympathy for the aims of the other, but by developing mutual recognition of each other's humanity and legitimacy, rivals can become legitimate partners in the pursuit of peace.

Third, intergroup dialogue can play an important role in promoting a new narrative in society, one that is built on hope and peace rather than a climate of negativity. Stories of past atrocities by the other side typically permeate conflictual societies, resulting in collective emotional orientations of fear, anger, and hatred. Generally, there are low expectations about the possibility of resolving the conflict, and a sense of pessimism about the future can easily prevail across society. Intergroup dialogue can pave the way toward reducing the mental and emotional burdens of the past, offering the hope that is necessary for peaceful coexistence.

Finally, intergroup dialogue can help build the communication links that are necessary for cooperation between the conflicting groups. And it is through dialogue that suitable tasks can be identified for restarting cooperation after a period of conflict. It is critical, especially in the early stages of rebuilding trust, for groups to have successful experiences in cooperative endeavors. Through experience in intergroup dialogues over a period of time, participants gain the necessary contacts with the other community for cooperative ventures, and they become sensitive to the concerns of the other community that might affect the success of joint projects. Collaborative projects across community lines require determined initiative by individuals who understand their importance, are aware of the potential difficulties, and are committed to the success of the projects.

Benjamin J. Broome

See also Identity and Intergroup Communication; Intercultural Conflict Transformation; Peacebuilding

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International Communication

International communication is an interdisciplinary field of study where scholars seek to explain the relationship between communication and international relations from the interpersonal to the global level. At many universities, there are courses in international communication in different departments or schools, particularly journalism or mass media. However, international communication as a field of study is much broader, with greater depth of analysis. It is primarily concerned with the ways and manner in which people communicate with one another and how that communication affects, and is affected by, culture, media, and public policy.

To describe the interdisciplinary nature of international communication, this entry reviews a brief history of the field, defines a set of terms used in the field, describes the multiple disciplines that contribute to the field, and provides examples of applied areas, including conflict, mass media, and the global generation.

As an academic area of study, international communication is usually found within departments or schools of international relations or political science. Most degrees in international communication are at the graduate level and include diverse areas of research and practice such as public diplomacy, intercultural negotiation, cross-cultural adaptation, public policy and communication technology, diversity management, international education and the exchange of scholars, cross-cultural counseling, intercultural public health, and both national and international economic and political development.

The first master's degree program in international communication was offered in 1969 by the School of International Service at American University in Washington, D.C. Today there are dozens of major universities around the globe that offer courses and degrees in international communication, at least half a dozen professional and academic organizations that include international communication scholars and practitioners, and four renowned scholarly journals.

An Interdisciplinary and Applied Field of Study

Although academic degrees in international communication are often awarded by schools and departments of international relations, this field is completely interdisciplinary and draws from diverse areas such as international relations, political science, economics, communication, cultural anthropology, sociolinguistics, psychology, and a wide variety of other social and behavioral sciences.

This is also often viewed as a professional area of study, and graduates find a wide variety of jobs in the public sector serving as diplomats or working with international organizations. They also work with nonprofits that deal with international education, the exchange of scholars, community development, and conflict resolution. Many have careers in the private sector in international companies. They are often employed in the international human resources arena, providing diversity or multicultural management training, preparing employees and their families for relocating overseas, or serving as resources in international negotiation.

This diversity of disciplines partly stems from the fact that it is also very much an *applied* area of academic inquiry dealing with international, intercultural, and interpersonal relations and fundamental issues such as the causes of war, interethnic conflict, and the impact of cultural differences on negotiation or conflict resolution. The core of this field is best understood as an attempt to understand the mechanics of not only how people *communicate* with one another but also how we *understand* one another or why we fail to understand one another. Theory and research have led to the accumulation of a large body of literature in this field, the result of trying to explain the dynamics of human interaction and conflict and to develop ways to overcome barriers to effective communication between people of various cultural and national backgrounds.

Of course, there are great similarities between people in all cultures, but there also exist significant differences in their values and beliefs or the ways they perceive reality and solve problems. Differences in food, customs, or dress are very apparent and fairly superficial. The more hidden or internal differences in backgrounds are much more profound and underlie our ability to communicate with one another and contribute to conflict both between and within nations. The first step, then, is to recognize these internal cultural differences rather than focusing on the more overt or external similarities. To understand and overcome the barriers to effective international and intercultural communication, thus, requires a multidisciplinary approach.

A Brief Academic History of International Communication

The ideas on which the theories of international communication and its associated disciplines are founded are as old as those advanced by Socrates and Confucius. These philosophers sought to understand human nature—why human beings act as they do, for good and for ill, and how that *nature* can be influenced to achieve particular ends. This influence might be as simple as getting someone to agree to buy a weaving in the market or as ambitious as convincing a nation to go to war. Ibn Khaldun, the 14th-century Tunisian historian and father of sociology, was perhaps the first scholar to systematically consider that conflict between urban and nomadic peoples might be caused by cultural differences, not just competition for resources. The early-20th-century German philosopher and sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies also observed this conflict between modern urban multicultural societies and more traditional, rural, homogeneous communities. The stress produced by rapid urbanization and globalization in the world today can still be explained with the writings of these great seminal thinkers.

In the modern era, this scholarship grew out of research during World War II. Scholars sought to better understand the psychological and cultural bases of that war and the vital role of mass media in the development of the attitudes that led ultimately to the killing of millions of Jews, political dissidents, Roma, and other minorities by the Nazi regime. They asked questions such as the following: What role did ideology, extreme nationalism, anti-Semitism, and racism play? How can this be prevented from happening again? For the first time, radio and film were intentionally and systematically used on a large scale for propaganda and persuasion to perpetuate international conflict and create national, ethnic, and even religious enemy images. Scholars explored the impact of this new media on the war and its aftermath.

Although international communication studies first focused on the causes and dynamics of international conflict, it also has led to ways of overcoming or even resolving these conflicts and furthering the economic and political development of nations. After World War II, communication and national development became major areas of research for international communication scholars. They explored questions such as the following: How could modern communications technology help devastated nations and newly emerging nations build, or rebuild, their economies and political systems? How could nations come together in regional and international organizations to maintain the peaceful development of countries around the world?

International communication studies have also led to new ways to prevent conflicts between nations and between ethnic and cultural groups through peaceful negotiation. This requires an in-depth understanding of not only the interests of people from different cultures but also how they perceive themselves and others in the international arena and how they interact with those of other cultural backgrounds. With a strong understanding of the role of culturally shaped values, beliefs, and perceptions, people can overcome obstacles to more effective intercultural relations. This is not to say that better intercultural relations can remove all obstacles to peace or that conflict is simply a matter of cultural misunderstandings—quite the contrary. There are genuine conflicts of interest between nations, and threats to the very existence of a nation can be very real. But if one can understand the culture and worldview of others, one is much more likely to be able to find, and address, the real sources of conflict, which may stem from a failure to understand the deeply rooted interests of another people or how they view others and themselves in an increasingly interconnected world.

One of the key areas of study in international communication, as mentioned above, is mass media. Mass media can be used to create and perpetuate images of "the enemy," affecting how groups perceive one another. These images and messages can then be used to create and sustain conflict between groups. However, these same media can also be used to bring about greater understanding and cooperation between groups, cultures, and even nations. But to do either of these, individuals must first understand the values and worldview of the people to whom they are speaking through these media, bringing us once again to international communication as an inherently interdisciplinary undertaking.

International Communications and Intercultural Relations

Intercultural relations is one of the most important fields of study within international communication, and it brings together cross-cultural communication and intercultural communication competencies. The overarching question faced by international communication scholars and practitioners is "What happens when people of different cultures interact on the interpersonal, national, and international levels?" To answer this question requires first an understanding of the cultures involved, both their similarities and, more important, their differences, and then examining what happens when these groups, or individuals from these groups, come together.

When cultures are compared and contrasted, the focus is on *cross-cultural communication and cultural competence* (e.g., comparing how people educate their children in one culture compared with another; or an individual may have culture-specific expertise in a region such as Latin American or Europe). Cultural competence is the ability to put oneself in the psychological and cultural frame of reference of people from another culture to understand how they perceive reality, how they think, and how their cultural values and beliefs affect their behavior. This is done without denying one's own culture or losing one's identity in the other culture. In fact, there is a continual contrast and comparison between aspects of one's own culture and those of the other culture. This skill or attitude has often been referred to as *cultural empathy.* Cultural empathy is mostly cognitive and a matter of understanding the ways in which people in another culture perceive and organize their worldview and how they solve problems within that worldview.

Cultural competence is a matter of understanding the dynamics of another culture and how the culture-specific basic values, beliefs, thought patterns, and worldviews of its people shape their behavior. *Intercultural competence* means knowing what happens when people of different cultural backgrounds *interact* on the personal, organizational, regional, or national level. *Intercultural competence* is defined as the cognitive, affective, and behavioral skills and characteristics that support effective and appropriate intercultural interactions in a wide variety of cultural arenas. This is basic to the study of intercultural communication because here the process and nature of the interaction are important, building on an understanding of the individual cultures. The level of analysis could range from the individual adjusting to another culture, and consequently going through the psychological stress of *culture shock*, or someone negotiating an agreement between people from different nations or cultures to the psychological and cultural bases of conflict such as interethnic war. This is an examination of the interplay of cultures and the competencies needed to facilitate these interactions. These interactions also run the gamut of possible forms of communication, from the interpersonal conversations between individuals to the dissemination of messages through mass media.

Cross-cultural communication and intercultural communication studies are major academic components of international communication studies. International communication can be perceived as the overarching academic umbrella that includes both cross-cultural and intercultural communication and relations. It is more broadly placed in the context of international relations and media. However, all of these disciplines integrate their perspectives in international communication. The depth and breadth of analysis in international communication studies rely on many more disciplines, and its scope is more global or international. Although it includes the interpersonal, this is but a small part of international communication research.

International Communication: Information and Communication Technology and a Global Generation

A person cannot be considered well educated or competent to work in the contemporary world without an understanding of the Internet, social media, and the use of modern information and communication technology, the very focus of international communication. Most jobs now require the ability to use electronic media. The same is true regarding understanding international communication and intercultural relations. Given the technological ease of communicating with others from around the globe, and even among people of diverse cultural backgrounds within their own national borders, young people today are developing beginning cross-cultural communication skills simply by using the newest forms of media.

Their exposure to other cultures is unprecedented in human history. Many university students and young adults travel overseas to study or work, and many grew up in a multicultural social environment. Just as a minimal level of education that includes the use of contemporary communication and information technology is expected of college graduates and employees, most organizations assume that their employees will understand the dynamics of human interactions among people from different nations and cultures. The ability to communicate effectively with people across vast cultural differences and to understand the impact of the rapidly changing nature of communications technology is an essential skill in almost any profession or occupation.

It is highly unlikely that young people today will end up in careers where they deal only with people of their own cultural or even national background. Cultural diversity is dramatically increasing within national borders even in many of the most remote areas of the world. A part of this diversity is the unique nature of individual cultural identity. Every individual is different and belongs to various cultures at the same time. Although everyone is born into a particular primary culture, they are unique in that each person belongs to numerous secondary cultures: identity groups based on religion or region, organization cultures, generational cultures, and so on. These cultures provide a sense of belonging and a way of looking at the world. This is especially true of the current generation of young people around the world; no adult grew up in the international and intercultural world that is open to young people today.

The multicultural or global person is becoming more common in all societies, especially among current youth, who are more frequently multilingual and raised in many cultures during their formative years. They are often the children of diplomats, international business professionals, military personnel, and educators who move from one country to another with their families. They engage in international and intercultural communication in their everyday life, and along with academic study in these areas, they often become professionals in some area of international and intercultural relations.

Gary Weaver

See also Cross-Cultural Communication; Culture Shock; Empathy; Global Citizenship; Intercultural Communication, Definition of; Intercultural Competence Development

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International Education

Scholars, theorists, researchers, teachers, and practitioners have during recent decades been framing international education in two very different ways. Until recently, the dominant account for both secondary and higher education closely associated the term with internationalization, describing how cross-national activities and strategies (education abroad, international student advising, international exchange agreements, etc.) provide students with structured opportunities to learn the knowledge and acquire the skills they will presumably need to compete in an increasingly globalized world. A second account is supplanting the first, challenging the assumption that internationalization activities and strategies, in and of themselves, adequately prepare students for life after graduation. This newer account, self-reflective and epistemological, positions *internationalization* as the second of three paradigms that have informed international education theory and practice during the past century. It promotes the notion that, living and working in an increasingly diverse and interconnected world, students, faculty, and staff need to make intentional efforts to develop the intercultural knowledge and skills that will allow them to interact effectively and appropriately with culturally different others.

After briefly discussing the nature of paradigms and master narratives, this entry identifies the core assumptions of the three paradigms and then discusses how these assumptions have differently informed international education theory and practice during the past century.

The Evolution of International Education: Paradigms and Master Narratives

Contrasting approaches to international education and the accelerating movement from a traditional to a contemporary perspective of international education recall Thomas Kuhn's *paradigm shift*, the process by which a community transitions from a once dominant to a newer worldview about the nature, origin, and limits of knowledge. The shift that higher education is now experiencing is not unique to international education; it represents a much broader shift in the ways educators in many countries and in many disciplines are coming to new understandings about how humans learn and develop.

Secondary and higher education has, during the past century, experienced two paradigm shifts that have profoundly affected the framing of international education. The first paradigm, positivism, was already the dominant worldview in the Western world when international education emerged in a formal way with the establishment of academically credited student exchange and study-abroad programs just prior to and after World War I. The second paradigm, relativism, emerged during the decades following World War II as educators came increasingly to understand that students were not learning merely through coming into contact with the new and different while studying in another country. They therefore developed strategies and activities that would immerse students in international experiences, a process that by the 1980s was coming to be called *internationalization*. The third paradigm, experiential/constructivism, emerged during the final decades of the 20th century. With this paradigm, international educators are increasingly framing international education as a manifestation or expression of interculturalization. Building on insights from a wide range of academic disciplines and research on student learning at home and abroad, these educators urge that students, faculty, and staff do not learn simply through being immersed in cultural differences but through developing the competencies that allow them to reframe their perspectives and to adapt their behavior to different cultural contexts, whether those contexts are international or domestic.

The unfolding, over time, of these three paradigms points to the very different ways that educators have been responding to a series of questions: What is meant by *learning*, at home or abroad? What are students typically learning through participating in the wide array of international activities that their institutions design and promote? That is, what do students know and understand and what are they able to do that they would not know, understand, or be able to do had they not participated in these activities? What evidence exists that these activities are helping students, faculty, and staff learn to interact more effectively and appropriately with culturally different others?

Do some activities promote intercultural development more successfully than others? What do faculty and staff need to know, and what do they need to be able to do, in order to be responsible international educators?

International education scholars, theorists, researchers, teachers, and practitioners are increasingly turning to critical theory's master narrative as a model for identifying and organizing the core assumptions that guide educators to respond in different ways to these questions.

Master Narrative 1: Learning Through International Exposure

Students learn through being exposed to an external, objective, and largely stable world, which is the primary agent of learning. The meaning of things is to be found in this external world, and students come to know things about it in many ways, especially in two related ways. First, they acquire knowledge through their physical senses—a process known as experience—which all humans share. Second, they learn from teachers as they transfer knowledge about the world to them, in the form of lectures or readings. When encountering new and different ideas, objects, behavior, events, institutions, and so on, fragments of these unfamiliar experiences are imprinted on and stored in the student's memory.

The early narrative on travel abroad embraced the idea that students would acquire desirable social skills as they come into contact with knowledgeable and well-informed people in "civilized societies" and that they would acquire valuable universal knowledge through attending institutions of higher education in these privileged places.

International educators embraced these assumptions as they established the first formally organized student exchange and education-abroad programs at prestigious universities in a handful of western European countries just prior to and after World War I. The 19th-century Grand Tour tradition offered these educators a list of desirable travel and study destinations and gave shape to the development of early program models. The Junior Year Abroad sought to season students socially as they traveled to the cultural capitals of Europe and to also provide them direct access to renowned professors who delivered valuable knowledge about the universe through lectures or readings.

Narrative 2: Immersion in the New and Different Abroad

In contrast to the previous narrative, this viewpoint considers that all cultures are different and no single perspective is inherently superior to any other. Each culture's members have over time come to respond uniquely to a common set of human needs and desires. Humans learn through being exposed to new and different ideas, behavior, objects, events, and institutions that they encounter in the objective and external world. They often find it challenging, though, to deal effectively with the differences they encounter in unfamiliar cultures. When students study abroad, for example, they often move about in groups, avoiding the sort of engagement with difference that naturally leads to learning.

Educators therefore need to take steps to structure and channel learning through implementing activities that are designed to immerse students in difference, on and off campus, thereby increasing the likelihood that they will engage and learn through these differences.

Internationalization strategies are working as intended when students return home from abroad and report that being abroad has transformed them or has changed their lives.

The second narrative's signature assumption, the one that most clearly differentiates it from the first, is that educators need to take steps to immerse students in the new and the different. This assumption is a response to an unmet expectation established through the assumptions of the first narrative. The recognition is that students too often fail to engage with difference when they are merely exposed to it, especially when they are exposed only secondhand, through readings and lectures at home. The core internationalization activities that higher educational institutions around the world have relied on for decades are deeply embedded in this second narrative.

On campus, educators take steps to immerse students in the culturally new and different by bringing international students to study. Institutions hire international faculty and staff with the same assumption in mind as when they hire national faculty and staff who have had experience living and working abroad and when they ask faculty, domestic and international, to incorporate international content into their courses.

Off campus, educators increase students' exposure to difference by encouraging or requiring them to study and participate in experiential learning activities abroad (e.g., internships, service learning, fieldwork), and institutions urge ever greater numbers of students to study abroad. Institutions encourage or require students to achieve a reasonable degree of proficiency in the local language prior to departure since the more linguistically proficient they are, the more they will engage in the new environment abroad.

Institutions and associations, national and international, continuously expand the number of international possibilities available to their students and faculty by adding new institutional exchange partners and by building international education networks.

Narrative 3: Immersion, Meaning Making, and Cultural Mentoring

The meaning of things is no longer to be found in an objective and external world. Now a learner creates and, with members of other cultures, co-creates the world as the learner perceives it. Learning does not occur as the environment imprints itself on the mind; it occurs as a continuing series of transactions between the individual and the environment. The meaning of an event is not in the event itself but in the humans who perceive and act on it. Humans, not the environment, are the principal agents of their own learning.

Learning is experiential and holistic. What a learner brings to an event—habitual ways of perceiving and behaving that have been informed by genetic makeup, prior experience, and present needs and requirements—determines capacities and plays a fundamental role in shaping the learner's experience.

Learning is developmental. When students learn, it is because they come to develop the intercultural competencies that are needed to shift perspective and adapt behavior to new cultural contexts. Acts of shifting and adapting are cognitive, affective, perceptual, and behavioral.

Some individuals arrive in new cultural contexts with the intercultural competencies to learn on their own, but most do not. Most develop only when an educator or cultural mentor intervenes, teaching them key intercultural concepts and training them in foundational intercultural skills.

While it is important, then, to take steps to immerse students in different cultural contexts, educators do so in order to give them opportunities to develop basic intercultural competencies: (a) increasing their own cultural and personal self-awareness, (b) increasing awareness of others within a variety of contexts, (c) learning processes for bridging cultural gaps, and (d) learning to identify, manage, communicate, and apply emotions effectively and appropriately.

The third narrative is rapidly supplanting the second as research findings provide evidence that students are all too often not transformed while exposed to difference in ways that educators thought they were. Several decades of experimentation with intercultural training and the use of assessments to establish the effectiveness of these approaches are allowing educators to intervene in ways that help their students develop through their experiences in other cultural contexts, national and international.

Michael Vande Berg

See also Assessments of Intercultural Competence; Co-Creation of Meaning; Constructivism; Cultural Relativism; Cultural Self-Awareness; Developmental Theory; Developmentally Appropriate Pedagogy; Dimensions of Diversity; Interventionist Models for Study Abroad; Training for Education Abroad

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International Health Organizations and Relief

Cultural competence is a vital necessity in the context of international relief and healthcare because cultural miscommunication based on differing cultural norms and expectations can be disastrous in a crisis. Cultural competence is required for working with patients, local leaders and organizations, international coworkers, government, and military officials. It is also beneficial for one's personal survival through coping with culture shock and maintaining psychological wellness.

This entry discusses the unique cultural competency that is needed for making international health and relief missions successful.

Currently, globalization of health is increasingly perceived as a shared right across cultures. David Law and Mila Versteeg compared national constitutions across periods of time and across countries and found out that the right to a healthy environment was not articulated in any national constitution worldwide in 1946. However, by 2006, 63% of all constitutions worldwide had explicitly included that right for all their citizens.

Types of Organizations and Assignments

Michael VanRooyen, Raghu Venugopal, and Paul Greenough outline the context for humanitarian relief assignments. International health and humanitarian relief organizations provide assistance for victims of natural disasters, such as earthquakes, droughts, floods, and hurricanes. They also offer services in politically insecure environments and catastrophic public health emergencies. These conflict-related emergencies often happen in settings where the danger of violence is common, ethnic or religious persecution may take place, and areas might be flooded with refugees. International health workers may be faced with a nonfunctional or absent healthcare infrastructure in areas of high population under stress and without necessary resources. International relief organizations, based on their specialization, provide (a) initial assessments, (b) water and sanitation, (c) food and nutrition, (d) shelter, (e) health services (both emergency medicine and preventive care, e.g., vaccinations), and (f) logistics and security, as well as (g) human resources and training.

VanRooyen, Venugopal, and Greenough categorize humanitarian aid and international health services into five main categories. The United Nations and international organizations (the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, the World Health Organization [WHO], the United Nations Children's Fund, the International Red Cross) and many governmental organizations (e.g., the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Canadian International Development Agency) provide funding and coordination for the actual program implementers. Nongovernmental and private voluntary organizations implement the relief and international health services based on their expertise. Private consulting firms and academic organizations are also associated with humanitarian relief work. Many medical universities send their faculty members, staff, and residents to global health missions. Also, various military groups (e.g., peacekeepers) have provided the logistics, security, and communications needed for humanitarian aid operations.

Cultural Competency Defined

The WHO addresses cultural competence in its Global Competency Model, which defines it as a demonstrated ability to work constructively with people across differences. WHO staff are expected to understand and respect differences and apply this understanding to their daily work and decision making. Interculturally competent personnel relate and work well with people of a different culture, gender, and background. They constantly examine their own behavior and attitudes to avoid stereotypical responses. They also consider issues from the perspective of others and draw on the diversity of skills, backgrounds, and knowledge of their healthcare workers to achieve more effective results.

Intercultural competence in a healthcare context is often referred to as *cultural competence*. Alex Campbell, Maura Sullivan, Randy Sherman, and William Magee, in describing the American Medical Association's definition of the culturally competent physician, suggest that healthcare professionals consider the interrelationship between the emotional, cultural, social, and psychological issues and the actual medical condition while making a diagnosis or a treatment plan, adjusting their own behavior to meet the needs of the patient.

Rohini Anand and Indra Lahiri expand the cultural competence concept to include the physician's awareness of the power dynamics in the physician–patient relationship. This requires self-reflection and humility. The cross-cultural healthcare field often prefers to use the term *cultural humility* instead of cultural competence. Cultural humility is required to counter medical ethnocentrism. This can occur when providers make a diagnosis or treatment plan based purely on their own cultural perspective and may have been influenced by inaccurate stereotypes or assumptions about the patient's culture.

A reality that makes global health work different from providing healthcare in a domestic context is the more obvious dangers of humanitarian work. Preparedness is essential. This suggests that professionals in line to respond to humanitarian crises may require advance intercultural preparation since there is typically little time in an emergency for such training. VanRooyen and colleagues recommend that aid workers receive training on a region's culture, history (and the causes of the recent conflict), values, health beliefs, healthcare infrastructure, and political environment. Intercultural educators would also add that learning the communication styles, facework strategies, conflict styles, and cognitive styles of the culture is equally important. Extreme culture shock and potential physical, emotional, and psychological problems during and after the mission can be expected. Aid workers are urged to invest in their personal preparedness and learn necessary self-reflection skills so that they can be effective in their challenging work environment.

Working proficiency in the local language(s) and access to trained interpreters will improve the quality of the service provided. Mini Jose suggests that the use of nonverbal communication, diagrams, images, drama, and storytelling methods can help patients understand the services and treatment. It is also important to understand the impact of the complex relationships between local ethnic, tribal, and religious groups while making care and resource allocation decisions. Applying cultural competence and ethnic neutrality may prevent further cultural clashes from occurring in a disaster area.

Wei-Wen Chang studied the cultural competence of international humanitarian workers. Chang's cultural competence model has three levels: (1) peripheral, (2) cognitive, and (3) reflective. At the peripheral level, people encounter a new culture. Humanitarian workers are able to describe the situation that surprised them and how they feel; yet they may not be able to analyze the reasons behind their feelings. Participants reported that at the beginning they were shocked by the extremely different environment and food, the isolation, the slow medical procedures, and the rough ways dead bodies were handled. They did not have adequate time to process these issues and were overwhelmed by the unfamiliar stimuli.

At the cognitive level, workers become comfortable with the differences in the new culture and start to adapt their behaviors. In Chang's study, the workers tried to adapt so that they could perform more effectively and appropriately, at least from their personal perspective. During this process, they developed a capacity to analyze their existing knowledge and apply it in a new cultural situation.

At the reflective level, humanitarian workers start to explore their ways of thinking and interpreting the world around them. According to Chang, the shift of awareness about one's endemic viewpoints is required so that the cultural competence process can begin. In this study, participants learned to make critical comparisons about the positive and negative aspects of various cultures and finally transitioned out of the cycle of unconscious ethnocentrism.

Jose points out that culturally sensitive care becomes exponentially more complex when there is an increase in the geographical distance between the provider's culture and the humanitarian aid location, because the healthcare provider may not be familiar with the local cultural practices and norms. During disasters, the biggest clashes between patients and providers are based on differences in end-of-life values and practices, pain management, and perceptions of uncaring behaviors. Healthcare providers have to be nonjudgmental and respectful to all patients regardless of cultural background in order to build trust with the community they serve. Participation and input from the community, especially women and elders, are paramount for the success and sustainability of the health or relief initiative. It is important to invest in relationship development with local doctors as they have the richest knowledge about the healthcare-related issues in the area. Local doctors can teach international workers how best to treat local diseases. Through this relationship, international medical workers can learn what resources are available, where to get affordable care, how to co-identify the problems with host nationals, and what works well in this environment. It is important to be able to suspend one's own judgment and observe, while being mindful of one's body language. Nonjudgmental curiosity will help these professionals learn from their host nationals. The global healthcare provider has to be creative and not rely on resources that are not readily available in the context. Creativity is also required for routine needs such as electricity (always have more than one generator so you can perform C-sections), transportation (how to transport a woman who is in labor on a motorcycle over mountainous terrain), and distribution of medications (people may not be able to read and may not have access to running water or a stove for sanitizing water).

Diana Simkhovych found in her study of international development professionals that the cultural empathy dimension plays the most significant role in this relationship between intercultural effectiveness and team performance. Also, DeWan Gibson and Mei Zhong's study identifies empathy as a primary component of intercultural communication competence in the healthcare environment. Listening skills and the ability to place oneself in the patient's position are relevant skills when serving vulnerable populations. Patients are seeking hope after exhausting their self-care methods. Many patients also experience high levels of anxiety because of the emotional and financial toll their medical condition has caused.

Health workers also have to be spiritually competent to deal with their patients' losses and grief and the impact that a disaster has on the local community. Spiritual care can be considered as a complementary therapy. Responding to the needs of patients can be psychologically taxing; therefore, international health and relief workers have to be emotionally intelligent and be able to manage their emotions. Healthcare workers should never violate a victim's autonomy and vulnerability by proselytizing religious tenets in the name of spiritual care.

Culture Shock and Adjustment

According to Suzanne Sarfaty and Jeffrey Arnold, the extreme conditions can cause international health workers to experience strong culture shock. The symptoms include irritability and withdrawal, hostility toward the local community, and a desire to return home early, collectively resulting in the international health worker's inability to work effectively. In addition, when the caregivers return to their home countries, they may experience extreme symptoms of reverse culture shock. Frustrations related to excess resources and unnecessary waste in the home country after working in areas with limited resources is a frequent reaction. They may not be able to adequately describe the intensity of their experience or to find a venue to share their experiences. Intercultural reentry initiatives that integrate opportunities to talk about the international humanitarian assignment can help address the reentry adjustment difficulty and enhance the intercultural sensitivity of the international workers and the sending organizations.

Chang views cultural competence as an interplay between self-discovery and adjustment to an external environment. When interacting with a new environment, caregivers discover cross-cultural similarities and differences and adjust their actions, behaviors, interpretations, and mindsets to adapt. Chang proposes a systematic cognitive learning method for cultural adjustment that would allow international workers to compare their expectations against the local reality and then adjust their behavior based on their previous experiences. This learning can take place only in a safe environment that allows dialogue about positive and negative emotions, facilitated by experienced intercultural professionals.

Alan Richter and Riikka Salonen

See also Cultural Humility; Culture Shock; Intercultural Competence in Healthcare; Nongovernmental Organizations; Reentry

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International Negotiation

There are a variety of situations or contexts in which it is necessary to negotiate with people from different international cultures. When such negotiation occurs, there are two major complex systems coming together in a particular set of actions: (1) culture and (2) negotiation. *Culture* can be thought of as a socially constructed set of beliefs, values, rituals, experiences, systems, institutions, and so on, that a group of people created and by which they live. *Negotiation* can be thought of as a joint decision-making process in which two or more parties in relationship may bargain or resolve a problem and come to an agreed course of action.

Negotiations across cultural boundaries are increasing in frequency as there are more opportunities for diplomacy, business, peace building, development, and education, each of which has cultural influences that require intercultural competence to be effective.

This entry explores different types of international negotiation, cultural orientations of framing and purpose in negotiation, and the flow of preparing for and conducting international negotiation, as well as other related considerations.

Types of International Negotiations

Cultures are interlinked and interdependent, so that people are connected to one another in a variety of ways. This global system supports what is known as the *butterfly effect*, which suggests that if a butterfly flaps its wings in one part of the world, the effects are felt in another—such as the global influence of the weather. These interconnections include, but are not limited to, interlinked economies, in that an economic downturn in one country or region affects the global banking system; climate impact—if a volcano erupts and spreads ash, it grounds flights thousands of miles away; fighting, violence, and coups causing refugees to flee into neighboring countries, with widespread local, regional, and global effects that reach beyond where the actual skirmishes are taking place; and efforts to control the spread and use of nuclear weapons when the technology and materials required to build these components are traded and spread beyond the reach of monitoring.

Five Categories of International Negotiations

Diplomacy

Diplomacy is one of the prime processes and often the first type of approach to influence international events and negotiation. Diplomats work with one another to build relationships, and part of their focus is to keep the lines of communication open. Cultural sensitivities, when handled appropriately, are an important element in how negotiations are conceived and conducted. Diplomats need to consider the framing of the negotiation, how it will be arranged, who will be present at the table and behind the scenes, how the process will be facilitated, who will follow up, and how the media will be managed. Diplomacy also influences how the finalized decisions will be communicated and implemented. When respect is shown and felt, trust can be fostered. In the case of diplomats, when there is a high level of trust, relationships are conducive to constructive and sustainable outcomes.

Business Negotiations

In this interlinked global economy, business negotiations are conducted across national and cultural boundaries. Companies, for example, may be founded in one country, yet the scope of where they operate, obtain raw materials, manufacture finished goods, market their products and services, and distribute and sell these products and services can be much broader. Multinational businesses partner across cultures and work virtually anywhere across the globe. They can call people to negotiate deals, work out all the arrangements, discuss business practices, and develop talent. In addition, in any given business context, the workforce is multicultural. People from different cultural orientations with culturally laden meanings of work, teams, leadership, and professionalism come together in a working environment to achieve a shared goal. The style in which ideas are communicated, decisions are made, and disagreements are handled differs widely among people. When professionals fail to attend to these differences, conflict can result. Intercultural sensitivity is critical for the success and sustainability of these businesses, and culturally appropriate behaviors and practices can make all the difference.

Peace Building

In the world of peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peace building, support from the international community is critical. This means that there are cultural differences inherent in the planning and implementation of these initiatives because they are coming from outside of the cultural context in which the violence takes place. There are different reasons for insurgency, civil unrest, violence, and war. In many cases, it requires a third-party intervention to negotiate with the engaged parties to end the violence and rebuild infrastructure for a safer environment. These negotiations are more effective and sustainable when the negotiators take into consideration the cultural factors of the parties involved. The long-term effects need to be considered, and the more culturally attuned the resolutions are, the more likely they will be followed, without unintended consequences stemming from cultural differences or inappropriateness. Often, there are periods of transition in leadership and governance, from the ending of the violence to the advent of a more democratically elected government. These transition periods also need to be addressed with culturally appropriate measures so that they are received well and proceed smoothly.

International Development

Development aid is given to those countries and groups of people who need financial and technical assistance to build their own societies. These aid dollars and initiatives come from the more economically developed countries, which may have different cultural norms, practices, and expectations. This may lead to placing expectations on the receiving countries about how they should use the funding, how they deliver on established criteria and benchmarks, and how they implement the improvements. In addition, there may be expectations regarding how countries and organizations monitor, document, and report on the use of this funding. This may cause frustration and the loss of funding if it is not carried out according to established protocol. Cultural values and practices of both donors and recipients need to be considered to avoid causing offense or becoming subjugated in the process. It is counterproductive to the projects if the aid is given in a context of criticism, micromanagement, and loss of face.

Educational Negotiation

Educational access has expanded across national borders, through exchanges, online learning, and international education. In some cases, children attend international schools in countries where their parents have relocated for work. There are different cultural practices, beliefs, and expectations across cultures about education and learning. This influences the behaviors of both students and teachers. For respectful learning exchanges to take place, learners and educators need to understand their roles in multicultural contexts. The ways in which individuals communicate new ideas and engage with them differ dramatically. For example, for younger children, parents are more directly involved, and expectations as to the nature of the relationships between parents and teachers, and parents and school administrators, are culturally influenced. High school students (and older), when engaging with other students and faculty from different cultures, learn how to operate in these new educational settings in real time. They are directly involved in adapting and shaping their educational success.

Cultural Orientations

Cultural lenses influence how situations are viewed, what is valued, how others are understood, how decisions are made about what is negotiable and nonnegotiable, and the roles that people play when interacting with others. Values are explicitly and implicitly taught by families, communities, educational institutions, and the media, to name a few sources. They formulate beliefs, determine behaviors, and guide individuals in deciding right from wrong, good from bad.

When core beliefs and values are violated and basic human needs are not satisfied, powerful issues and concerns arise based on deep cultural values. How individuals choose to engage in conflict has cultural sanctions. There are issues that are addressed directly, some disclosed indirectly, and also those that do not get addressed at all. Once the content is defined, people need to determine how it gets addressed in culturally appropriate and effective ways. For example, who is involved and how the issues are negotiated are guided by culturally influenced protocols.

Negotiation Flow

Preparing for a negotiation and allotting time to pay attention to intercultural attributions increase the chances for these considerations to be incorporated into the negotiation flow. This means that cultural influences will shape the way the negotiation is arranged, opened, and closed, and the transitions between stages. Careful preparation will guard against automatically assuming an ethnocentric position. The more skilled people are at identifying the cultural importance of the different items that are being negotiated, the better they will be at assessing the sincerity of their counterpart.

Cultures have different ways of framing the negotiation process: who is to be involved, what topics are conducive to negotiate, where the negotiation will take place, and which process will be implemented. It is important to know this information because it helps frame the negotiation, how it will be arranged and conducted.

Factors to Consider

Emotions incorporate both individual and cultural norms. All humans have emotions, yet culture determines which emotions are expressed and how they are shown in public. Emotions in negotiation can be used both as a strategy and as a planned tactic. Emotions reveal information. If an individual wants the information to be known or if someone wants to mislead an opponent, it can be relayed through the expression of emotions. At the same time, an intended meaning may not be understood the way it was intended because there are different cultural ways of interpreting and making meaning of emotional expressions.

If there is a concern that people's emotional expressions will relay information that they do not want shared because it will disadvantage them, they will attempt to suppress them. Regardless of one's efforts, however, sometimes there is emotional leakage, and more is revealed than one intended. The issues being negotiated may be culturally influenced, especially if they are closely associated with values or identity concerns, and thus will have stronger emotional impact. Some of these issues may fall under the category of *nonnegotiable*, and the outcomes are better aligned for success if the parameters of what is and is not negotiable have been identified in advance by all parties.

Needs may be considered universal, yet the ways in which these needs are expressed, communicated, and fulfilled differ from culture to culture. Cultures place higher value on certain needs over others, and therefore, the importance of which needs get satisfied vary from culture to culture. Goals are aligned with one's cultural values because what is deemed important is influenced by one's values and identity. People strive for certain goals depending on the social and cultural influences around them.

Beth Fisher-Yoshida and Ria Yoshida

See also Conflict Management; Cross-Cultural Communication; Identity Negotiation Theory; Intercultural Conflict Styles; Mediation; Trust; Workplace Conflict

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International, Transnational, Global

International, *transnational*, and *global* are adjectives that are foundational to the discussion of intercultural competence. They describe the relationships and activity among world entities, encompassing both organizations and people. These three terms are often used interchangeably despite differences in meaning, because the meanings are so similar and the usage is not always clear. A clarification of these terms is important to the discussion of intercultural competence because the intercultural field is interdisciplinary and all fields may not use the same interpretation. Context is important; usage is also evolving to reflect the changing world that the terms are used to describe. This entry explains how the terms *international*, *transnational*, and *global* are used, with some guidelines for different contexts.

International

Of the three terms, *international* has been in use the longest, and it was the most widely used until the mid-20th century. It refers to that which takes place between countries and the interactions between representatives from two or more nation-states. In international interactions, country borders are generally clear and intact.

The term *international* can be applied to an extensive number of situations and topics, including international law, international business, international study and travel, international conflict, and international organizations. International law refers to a framework of accepted rules of conduct between nations. It also encompasses legal means to resolve disputes between nations. International organizations have a presence in multiple countries and are usually outside the scope of any one country's government, such as the United Nations or the Red Cross. International study often involves exchange programs arranged between schools in different countries.

International business refers to those that operate beyond national boundaries. In the early stages of international expansion, corporations might have international business divisions separate from their domestic operations. Headquarters would be centralized in the corporation's home country, and international activities would relate largely to import and export of goods and materials related to the business. As the markets in other countries expand, supporting functions would also be developed in those countries. These businesses operate in one or more markets outside their home country, in a neighboring country or region, or in many far-flung countries. Such attributes characterize traditional international corporate operations.

Basic levels of intercultural competence are necessary for international organizations to function, and higher levels of competence enable them to function more effectively, although widely varying levels of intercultural competence are often found in these organizations.

Transnational

The term *transnational* describes organizational interactions that transcend borders. Several countries are generally involved; however, the organizations may or may not be associated with nation-states. Transnational law may also include laws between individuals and countries and may address the differences as legal implications of increased activity in the global arena. Of the three terms discussed in this entry, the use of the term *transnational* varies the most based on context, and it has the least commonly understood definition. Business scholars have not agreed on a lasting definition, and the terms *transnational* and *global* have been used interchangeably, or their definitions have overlapped or been reversed.

Transnational business organizations are more complex than traditional international business organizations. Headquarters are not necessarily found in one location; the central corporate headquarters can be blended with decentralized operations or another structure that is appropriate for its operations. The term has also been used to describe terrorist organizations operating across countries with no singular "home." When it is used in this way, there is the additional implication of evading government controls. More generally, the term implies decentralization, the blurring of borders, and organizations that are not necessarily rooted in one country.

Global

The term *global* has long been understood to mean "worldwide," and it describes entities spanning the globe with coordinated activities across dispersed locations. With increased usage and its association with the term *globalization*, the term has taken on new connotations. It now implies a mind-set, a worldview with few limitations, one that is holistic in nature. People and organizations not only act globally but also have a global outlook and a global framework within which they operate. While global organizations are sometimes also described as international or transnational, describing an organization as global sets it apart from these other organizations. It implies a movement beyond physical structure to include an outlook and orientation that is less centered in and around one country.

Organizations often take on new characteristics reflecting this shift in mental framework. Businesses and other organizations become more decentralized as power is shared. As with transnational organizations, global headquarters are not necessarily centralized in one location or country. While managing, understanding, and making the most of cultural differences are important and helpful in international and transnational organizations, these abilities become critical in global organizations.

Higher education is also being transformed by globalization. Online courses offered by universities began to transform the educational process some time ago, and massive open online courses are now being offered on a global basis, facilitating unprecedented sharing of information and global perspectives. This development represents a significant shift in higher education's mind-set to a global perspective.

International, Transnational, and Global in Context

The language surrounding global interaction is evolving nearly as rapidly as the technology that enables it to take place. The terms *international*, *transnational*, and *global* have distinct attributes and nuances depending on the context in which they are used, and their meanings may reflect the time period in which they are rooted. There is little dispute that although many organizations are international or transnational, they must be global to succeed in the future.

Allison Gundersen

See also Corporations in a Globalizing World; Global Organizational Cultures; Intercultural Relations and Globalization; Nongovernmental Organizations

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INTERNET IDENTITY

In social science, "Internet identity" refers to the infinitely changeable online representations of individuals and groups using words, pictures, and other images, and music and other sounds, which can be outside the control of the actual person or group being represented. Internet identities may even represent an entirely virtual person or group inasmuch as the person or group does not exist in any physical way offline or outside the Internet. While the social science concept of Internet identity is constantly evolving with the development of new technology, this entry describes some of the more salient aspects of Internet identity in terms of how these identities are constructed. It begins, however, with a more general discussion of identity construction as it pertains to both online and offline selves.

Online Versus Offline Identities

The "how" and "why" of identity construction are central components of sociology, anthropology, and intercultural communication and stem largely from the work of the sociologist Erving Goffman, who was a pioneer in the field of microsociology and the study of face-to-face interaction. In his most famous work in this area, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, he identifies "stage performance," or *dramaturgy*, as a key metaphor to help explain identity production. He argues, and *symbolic interactionist theory* has taken up the concept, that humans generally present themselves like stage actors, performing front stage to project their desired identity to the world, while they keep a more personal or private set of backstage behaviors only for themselves.

During the early years of computer-mediated communication, the utility of Goffman's theory for analyzing online identities was frequently quesioned. Even Goffman himself thought that communications technology—telephones in his day—provided only a limited view of the self and thus could only be considered marginal in terms of identity construction and management. However, recent studies on computer-mediated communication and identity construction, especially since the development of Web 2.0 technology, with its focus on dynamism and the open sharing of information (rather than the more static model of earlier web functionality), have looked back to Goffman and found that his ideas are equally important for analyzing both online and offline identities and communities. This includes the idea that identity is

- informational (i.e., created by the sharing of information between individuals and groups),
- social,
- neither bounded nor static, and
- emerging between individuals or in communities.

Another similarity between online and offline identity construction is that both occur through a constant borrowing and reformulating of ideas and images. In analyzing offline identities, social scientists have used metaphors such as *bricolage* or *pastiche* to describe the process of piecing together ideas and images from diverse sources to create new representations of the self and others. This process is central to the construction of online identities as well, where an even greater diversity of borrowings is available for the construction of front-stage (and backstage) representations of the self.

However, when thinking about this process of cultural borrowing and reformulation in either online or offline communities, we must always remember that both communities are sites of complex power relations. In both our online and offline worlds, we all occupy various positions of relative dominance and relative nondominance. And in general, we can say that the more culturally normative the borrowings, the more power that individual or group will have. Identity construction and management therefore require us to maneuver in, around, and through established power structures, and this is as true online as it is offline.

While these are some of the most striking similarities, there also exist very significant differences between the construction and management of identity online and offline. Arguably, the most significant of these differences is that online identity is not limited by physicality, time, space, or geography. Online, we are capable of "being" in many places at the same time and thus capable of inhabiting communities that have no physical parallel. Conversely, offline identities are limited by physicality, time, space, geography, and our inhabitation of bricks-and-mortar communities. We experience a degree of fragmentation in our offline identities; for example, who we are with our mothers may be very different from who we are with our friends. Online, however, this fragmentation can occur simultaneously: I can "be" a nonhuman avatar in a gaming environment at the exact same time as I am blogging as myself to a professional community of interculturalists and posting photos on Facebook of a weekend party with friends. In fact, the number of identities I can perform and communities I can inhabit at any one time online are limited only by my Internet speed and computer memory, as well as my own interest and imagination.

This difference also affects the relationship between online identities and culturally normative power structures. Whereas offline we are fairly limited to the normative principles of the time and space in which we are located, online we are capable of much greater intercultural borrowing through access to an almost unlimited range of virtual communities. What this means is that those who occupy nondominant or even marginal identities offline—for example, the young and the elderly, sexual and gender minorities, nondominant language speakers and ethnic groups—are able to situate themselves, however temporarily, in a more accessible culturally normative community online. It is important to keep in mind, however, that power remains an important factor in this arena also, as there will always be those who are dominant in a community, even in a community of like-minded nonnormative identities online, and those who have less ability to exert power over others.

While the specific kinds of online identities people can perform are vast and continue to multiply with every technological advance, there are two sets of identity categories that are easily defined at the present time. First, there is a distinction between online identities meant to represent some aspect or an edited version of an offline identity and those intended to hide or replace an offline identity. Second, online identities can be self-created or created for you, with many online identities occupying a hybrid space between these two extremes.

Edit Versus Hide or Replace Offline Identity

There are numerous examples of online identities that are created to represent an edited version of an offline identity. For instance, especially in the beginning, profiles created on social networking sites such as Facebook, MySpace, and Renren (a Chinese social networking service) were usually either edited or select representations of personal lives led offline. Even today, despite the presence of a significant number of commercial pages, much of the traffic on these and similar social-oriented sites concerns the construction of personal online identities from a pastiche of posts, photos, music, group membership, games, friend lists, and much more. Similarly, sites such as LinkedIn, Plaxo, Tianji, and Ushi allow the creation of online professional identities through résumés and work experience lists, recommendations and endorsements, connections with others, and various supplementary types of professional information. Additional examples of this kind of online identity may be seen on blogs, Blackboard and other educational sites, interactive fan sites, Internet dating sites, and much more. All of these types of identities aim to represent portions of people's offline selves and thus support and add to offline experience. While they may expand people's social and professional networks exponentially, and allow for interactions across time and space that are impossible in the offline world, they are identities with roots in offline experience.

The opposite of this kind of identity is online identities that are constructed specifically to hide the creator's offline self. This may be as simple as commenting on a blog or news item under a pseudonym to maintain offline privacy. A somewhat more complex version of this kind of identity requires the individual or group to create an entire online profile to hide one's real, offline identity. For example, in 2010, the British historian Orlando Figes created an Amazon.com profile under a false name to post positive reviews of his own books and negative reviews of his rivals' work. Similarly, e-mail money scams are perpetrated by people who create e-mail and other online identities specifically to hide their offline selves and intentions. Also included in this category are sexual predators who pose in chat rooms or on social networking sites as someone other than their offline selves for the purpose of attracting others, either online or offline. In addition to spamming and scamming, there are also completely legitimate online identities that individuals construct to hide their offline selves—for example, the creation of avatars for gaming or role-playing online, which allows people to construct completely virtual identities that may not even be human or entirely human.

Self-Created, Created for You, and Hybrid Identities

Unlike offline identities, some online identities can be self-created without input from others (e.g., blogs, web pages, networking profiles), all of which can be created and managed solely by one offline person, as long as he or she maintains very strict privacy settings. However, this kind of online identity was much more common prior to 1999, the year most commonly identified as the start of Web 2.0, when static pages were the norm. Today, the norm is for much greater interactivity in online identity construction, whereby an individual can control only a portion of the information that contributes to his or her online identity. For example, a person may have created a Facebook page and posted photos, "Likes," interests, and events to the timeline, but over time, others have had the ability to comment on the postings and even to post images of—and stories about—the online self. Together, all these bits of information have contributed to this specific online identity. In today's Internet environment, most online identities are this kind of hybrid, with the entire "community" able to contribute to each individual identity construct.

There are also online identities that are entirely the creation of someone other than the offline person they are meant to represent. For example, in sites such as RateMyProfessors, TripAdvisor, and the many others that permit people to post reviews or information about other individuals or organizations, identity construction is largely (or in some cases even entirely) out of the hands of the person or organization being represented. This has resulted in the common experience of cyber bullying, especially of those with limited power in their offline and online existences. It has also resulted in the practice by human resources employees of doing online searches for every job application they receive, to see not only the identities the person has constructed for himself or herself but also, more important, what others have said about that person. In response, an entire industry of online reputation management has emerged to assist people in "cleaning up" their online identity or, as usually happens, merely pushing bad news off the first search page.

The Significance of Online Identity

By June 2012, more than 34% of the world's population (nearly 2.5 billion people) was using the Internet on a regular basis, including nearly 79% of North Americans, more than 63% of Europeans, and 28% of Asians. These numbers are increasing at such a rapid pace that by 2020 worldwide Internet penetration may reach 70% to 80%. All of this traffic points to the ever-increasing importance of our online identities, both in conjunction with our offline identities and as separate from them. As a result, to understand the human condition today and into the future, the whole of social science must look very seriously into the ways identity performance is managed online.

Barbara West

See also Identity; Media in a Globalized World; Online Global Communication; Social Identity Theory; Social Media and Networking; Visual Intercultural Communication

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Interpretive Research Methods

Interpretive research methods are methods or ways of collecting and analyzing data that examine culture in context, with the goal of understanding the behaviors and values of people from that cultural context. These methods reflect a set of underlying assumptions about the nature and purpose of research. First, the interpretive perspective views research as inherently subjective as it involves human researchers. Instead of trying to be artificially objective, interpretive researchers see themselves as inextricably involved, but they reflect on the role that their own identities may play, encouraging or inhibiting the research participants. Second, interpretive researchers believe that research should focus on understanding the cultural dynamics they study, rather than working to change those dynamics. While some research approaches investigate a perceived problem with the goal of solving it (or perhaps improving conditions), interpretive researchers focus on deep understanding and what is called *thick* description of what they find. Interpretive research methods are vital for researching intercultural competence, as they allow researchers to study a phenomenon without imposing previous theories and concepts. This entry discusses the goals (as compared with other approaches), the methodological tools used for data collection and analysis, both the benefits and the limitations of this approach, and examples of how research on intercultural competence can be studied from this perspective.

The Goal of Interpretive Research Methods

Interpretive researchers are guided by questions about the culture and context that they study. The goal of interpretive research methods is an in-depth understanding of a particular cultural context. Researchers who use an interpretive approach pose research questions about the values, norms, and worldview of cultural group members, with the recognition that culture is socially constructed and, thus, subjective. Culture is not something that can be fully understood through study in laboratory settings. While not everyone in a culture behaves in the same way, by looking at patterns of behavior, the researcher can gain insight into the cultural norms and how they are negotiated.

Interpretive research methods are often compared with social scientific/functional research methods, which use quantitative measures (surveys, experiments) and inferential statistics to predict behavior based on knowledge of a number of variables, including cultural group membership. From that perspective, culture is one variable that can be used to determine behavior in an objective manner, often through surveys or experiments. By comparing cultures, differences between how individuals from different cultures behave, the influence of those cultures can be compared. However, interpretive scholars focus on behavior in a natural setting, arguing that the objectivity of *scientific* studies oversimplifies culture and that people may behave differently in real settings. They also question the value of objectivity that functionalistic researchers hold; when studying human phenomena, it is impossible to be strictly objective as even decisions about what variables to include are made by human researchers.

Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, and other researchers from the 1960s through the 1980s, rejected the idea of studying human behavior in laboratory settings as artificial and out of context. Rather than having theorists predicting relationships and then testing their hypotheses, these researchers and others advocated for grounding analysis in the real-world experiences of those being studied. While cultural anthropologists had been doing this type of naturalistic research since the development of their field, the other social sciences, beginning in the early to mid-20th century, tried to be as much like the natural sciences as possible. They embraced the use of the scientific method and objectivity. The emergence and establishment of the interpretive perspective was challenged by scientific thinking; however, the interpretive researcher has come to be respected for the depth of understanding that can be gained through these methods.

Tools for Gathering Interpretive Data

A number of specific methods of data collection are used from an interpretive perspective, but all are designed to collect data that show the ways participants make sense of the world. Four primary categories of data are used in interpretive analysis: (1) people behave in a particular way, (2) people react to violations, (3) people describe the phenomenon in a particular way, or (4) institutions (rules, laws, handbooks) support a particular view. One or a combination of these types of data can be used in a study; however, each has advantages and disadvantages that help construct a full picture. For example, participants may either consciously or unconsciously want to portray their culture in a positive light, or they may have never given thought to a particular phenomenon and have difficulty describing it to an outsider. However, behavior may not be insightful without their interpretation. Ideally, a combination of types of data is used to ensure that findings are sound. Some specific methods include observation (with various degrees of participation), interviewing, and analysis of artifacts. Each of these is described in further detail in the following sections.

Observation

Observation allows a researcher to see what people from the culture really do as they interact with others, rather than what they believe they do. Often observation is part of an ethnographic study. Ethnographic methods also include participation in the cultural context. The role of the researcher may vary from a strict observer to participant-observer to full participant. Ethnographic immersion allows the researcher to observe members of the cultural group in a naturalistic setting, where the participants are doing normal tasks and interacting in their regular surroundings, although it is possible that the presence of an outsider may make the interaction different. Conversely, if the researcher is a member of the culture, the individual may not notice some behaviors because they are seen as *normal*. However, participant observation allows the researcher to observe regularities in behavior as well as reactions to violations. Participant observers can see the ways in which children or newcomers are taught to behave, what is viewed as rude or unacceptable, and how they are encouraged to modify their behavior. Ethnographic researchers can also ask questions (informal interviews) to gain more clarity and depth. The major limitations to observation include the challenge of gaining access to the context and the extensive amount of time needed.

Interviewing

Interviewing is another major tool for data collection from an interpretive perspective. Interviews may vary in terms of how structured they are, but they allow space for the interview participants to share their experiences in their own words. A skillful interviewer will ask for examples and get a deep understanding of the participants' experience and values, while keeping in mind that their own sense making about their behavior may be biased.

Interviews are usually structured with an opening, main body, and closing. The opening is where the participant is oriented to the process and becomes comfortable with the interviewer. The main body of the interview is when the researcher asks primary and follow-up questions to gather data related to the research goal. Participants may be asked to describe a typical day or a typical event, draw or graph a relationship or a series of events, provide an overview of a relationship or a place, or remember a past experience. Finally, the closing gives the participants a chance to share anything that they have not been asked about and gives them an idea of how the data from the interview will be used.

In some cases, and for some research questions, interviews alone might provide enough data to understand particular phenomena. For example, if a particular set of individuals have been identified as being very good at interacting interculturally, an interpretive researcher might use interviews to ask them how they developed those skills and their motivation for using them. The benefit of using interviews is that in a relatively short time the researcher gets insight into the individual and how the person frames the phenomenon under study. The limitation is the reliability of individual recall and communication. Although most people are truthful, participants may be less likely to open up about difficult or embarrassing topics or ones that are sensitive within their culture.

Texts and Discourse

The third major kind of data are in the form of texts or discourse. For example, one might examine written documents related to the research question, archival materials, transcripts of media interviews or court cases, comments on a news story or online video, or websites or blogs by individuals from the target culture. This type of data may be evidence of institutional support but also may be evidence that people describe a phenomenon in a certain way or even that they react to violations. Some texts may be carefully prepared and edited and as a result lack spontaneous insights. However, they still can be used to understand norms. Transcripts may provide relatively unrehearsed exchanges between individuals and extensive insight into interaction. The benefit of this type of data is that it provides unsolicited material, but it may be challenging to find data that specifically relate to one's research question. In addition, some cultures may produce and make available more data than others.

Tools for Analyzing Interpretive Data

To answer the research questions, interpretive studies use a variety of tools to analyze data. However, all of these methods of analysis focus on looking for patterns. Constant comparison of data allows the researcher to find answers that are grounded in the experiences of the participants. Thematic analysis, discourse analysis, and qualitative content analysis are all ways of analyzing interpretive data, but ultimately the researcher is the analyst and makes a case for why the specific tools chosen are appropriate.

Benefits and Limitations of the Interpretive Perspective

The major benefit of interpretive research methods is the ability to develop a deep understanding of the cultural group being studied, from the members' perspective. This depth of understanding is not possible with other research approaches. However, the challenge to the interpretive perspective is the inability to generalize to a larger population, the inability to predict behavior, and the amount of time required to really understand. The question of generalizability is an important one. A study may reach conclusions about one specific community, but other communities that share that same cultural identity may not necessarily respond in the same manner. While the findings may still provide insight into these other communities, care should be taken not to *essentialize* by assuming that all groups and contexts within the same culture are the same. Yet, in spite of the challenges, interpretive research methods are vital for understanding a phenomenon.

Studying Intercultural Competence Using Interpretive Research Methods

From an interpretive perspective, studying intercultural competence is a process of developing an understanding of that concept in a specific setting. For example, to study intercultural competence in an organizational setting from an interpretive perspective, a researcher might use specific methods of data collection that would allow in-depth understanding of a group of leaders who have been identified as being very competent. By interviewing these leaders and observing them as they interact, the researcher could develop a list of skills and attributes that the leaders possess. This could then be helpful in developing training for other leaders; however, the focus of the interpretive approach is merely understanding. Conversely, by studying an individual, group, or organization that has been identified as not competent in intercultural interaction, the researcher could analyze what is problematic in their interactions, without a prior checklist of behaviors to compare. This allows the research to be focused on what is seen and heard, keeping true and close to the data, and perhaps finding unanticipated results.

Mary M. Meares

See also Critical Research Methods; Positivist Research Paradigm; Qualitative Research Methods; Quantitative Research Methods

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Interventionist Models for Study Abroad

The 21st century has seen significant growth in the body of theoretical and empirical knowledge regarding the impact of study abroad on intercultural competence. These theoretical insights and research findings shed new light on the ways in which intercultural development occurs and on the role of various agents and experiences influencing that development. This entry examines the interventionist framework and discusses in detail the factors that have been shown to have a direct impact on intercultural competence, beginning with an examination of the different frameworks or paradigms that have influenced the nature of study-abroad programs.

Paradigms of Learning in the Study-Abroad Context

A *paradigm* is defined by Thomas Kuhn (1996) as a set of "universally recognized scientific achievements that, for a time, provide model problems and solutions for a community of practitioners" (p. 10). It is a theoretical structure that has achieved widespread acceptance and guides research and practice in a given field. The strength of a paradigm, according to Kuhn, derives from its explanatory power, its capacity to link cause and effect. A study-abroad learning paradigm would generate assumptions about how students learn, what factors affect that learning, and how study-abroad programs can be organized to support desired learning outcomes such as intercultural competence.

In *Student Learning Abroad*, Michael Vande Berg, R. Michael Paige, and Kris Hemming Lou examine three paradigms or *master narratives* of study abroad. A *narrative* may be thought of as the ways in which the members of a community of practitioners speak to one another about their shared learning assumptions, how programs should be constructed, which learning outcomes matter, and what study-abroad arrangements bring about those types of learning. The three study-abroad paradigms/narratives are *positivist*, *relativist*, and *experiential/constructivist*.

Positivist Paradigm/Narrative

In the positivist paradigm, learning occurs through experience and basic exposure to an external and objective world. In the modality of the European Grand Tour, the external world they will be experiencing is chosen in advance and will represent the sites, knowledge, and products of civilization. Put another way, they will be exposed to what is being privileged at that point in time: what has been determined by others as important for a learned person to know. *Experiencing* means that students are using their physical senses to take in and learn about the world to which they are being exposed.

For study-abroad professionals, operating in this paradigm has generally meant selecting appropriate countries for the students, providing language training so that they can interact and communicate with host country nationals, and structuring their learning excursions to specific sites where they can observe the masterpieces of art, architecture, theater, music, and so forth. The culture that is taught is what might be referred to as *high culture* or the products of an advanced, so-called civilized society.

In the positivist paradigm, intercultural competence would be thought to occur naturally, derived from whatever experiences students might be having with host country persons. Neither would there be a specific curriculum for intercultural learning, such as deep culture immersions, or a culture course, nor would intercultural competence necessarily be an important learning outcome. Being given the opportunity to be in a new country, students are left to their own devices to develop their intercultural competence.

The Relativist Paradigm/Narrative

Viewed through the lens of the relativist paradigm, learning comes through immersion in new and different environments. The strong emphasis here is on immersion, having students engage as much as possible with the host culture and persons; this represents a major departure from the positivist paradigm. Moreover, cultures are now seen as essentially equal, neither inferior nor superior, and what students are supposed to learn is not privileged knowledge but greater cultural understanding. The central proposition is that the greater the immersion, the greater the learning.

In the relativist paradigm, study-abroad professionals will structure programs to have students deeply involved in the host culture through means such as homestays; taking university courses alongside, and in the language of, host country students; spending a longer period of time abroad (from one semester to an entire academic year); and interacting extensively with host country nationals outside class.

In this paradigm, intercultural competence is enhanced through immersion. Culture learning and intercultural development are significantly more important program learning goals than they are in the positivist study-abroad program. While students are still mainly responsible for their own intercultural learning, the immersion activities designed into the program provide the opportunities for learning. The assumption is that deep immersion is essential for culture learning and that through engagement students will enhance their intercultural skills and knowledge.

The Experiential/Constructivist Paradigm/Narrative

In the experiential/constructivist paradigm, learning occurs through immersion and mentoring by someone from either the home or the host culture. In this paradigm, meaning does not reside exclusively in the environment as a given to be discovered (positivist) or in a set of immersion activities to be experienced (relativist) but rather in the provision of intercultural *learning interventions*, a cultural mentoring process that guides and supports the students in developing their intercultural competence. The learning assumption is that students gain more from the study-abroad experience when they are provided with intercultural expertise along the way than they can on their own. Cultural mentoring emphasizes reflecting on intercultural experiences and thinking beyond the lens of understanding provided by one's own cultural background. The longer term goals are to learn how to shift perspective to more closely approximate that of the host culture and to adapt behavior to the new cultural context. Immersion remains a key component, but cultural mentoring is now added to the process.

The experiential/constructivist version of a study-abroad program includes interventions such as the following: (a) the provision of culture content (e.g., cultural-general patterns); (b) guided cultural immersions and opportunities to engage with the host culture; (c) ongoing, regularly occurring reflection on the lived experiences of being in a new culture; (d) an intercultural course or seminar; and (e) regular use of the host country language. All of these interventions represent ways in which intercultural expertise is used to support the intercultural learning experience. All of them require an interculturally knowledgeable cultural mentor, a person who may be serving in a formal role as a course instructor or informally in group or individual meetings with students. Through these processes, students construct meaning through interactions with one another, their hosts, the culture, and their mentors. This process of experience and reflection leads to making meaning that is increasingly more intercultural and better aligned with the meanings the host culture people would hold of their own culture. Intercultural competence is an explicit and central goal of study-abroad programs conducted in the experiential/constructivist framework.

Research on Developing Intercultural Competence in Study Abroad

Research on the impact of study-abroad programs has grown rapidly since 2000, and much has been learned about the efficacy of different types of programs and factors in recent years. The experiential/constructivist paradigm is based on empirical research that demonstrated the limitations of study-abroad programs in the positivist and relativist traditions. The body of knowledge that has emerged has provided substantial evidence in support of the experiential/constructivist approach to study abroad.

A seminal study on the impact of study abroad on intercultural competence (and second language development) was the Georgetown Consortium Study. Conducted over a period of 4 years (2004–2007), this research looked at 1,159 college students enrolled in 61 different programs, as well as a control group of 139 students who did not study abroad during the same time period. The Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), developed by Milton J. Bennett and Mitch Hammer in 1998, was used to assess intercultural development at three points in time: before, shortly after, and 5 months after the program. Among other things, the study was designed to test the immersion hypothesis by examining commonly used immersion practices. The results were striking: For 60 of the 61 programs, the IDI gain on a 90-point scale metric was a very small 1.27 points; this did not represent a meaningful change. However, in the one and only program that used a comprehensive intervention approach, the gain was 12.47, almost 1 standard deviation from the mean. The study also showed that two common immersion practices, homestays and direct enrollment in host university courses, did not predict intercultural competence. On the other hand, cultural mentoring, or helping the student learn about the cultural experience through guided reflection, proved to be an important factor. The more frequently students received cultural mentoring in country, whether in groups or individually, the higher their gain scores on the IDI.

The Georgetown Consortium Study was the first to provide a large-scale examination of different immersion practices. In so doing, it provided evidence that the immersion approach had serious limitations, that cherished assumptions needed to be revisited, and that the intervention model, at least in one program, showed itself to be significantly more predictive of intercultural development. Since then, research on other study-abroad programs—the University of Minnesota, the American University Center of Provence, the cooperative program run by Willamette University and Bellarmine University, the University of the Pacific, the Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE), and the Scholar Ship—has shown the powerful impact of interventions associated with the experiential/constructivist paradigm. Comparisons of intercultural learning outcomes across these programs have been made possible by the use of the IDI. The IDI measures intercultural sensitivity or competence on five levels that correspond to five of the six intercultural orientations originally posited in 1993 by Milton Bennett in his Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity. It has been shown to be a highly valid and reliable measure of intercultural development.

Intervention Approaches: Building Intercultural Competence in Study Abroad

In this section, intervention approaches will be discussed in greater detail with references to programs that exemplify a particular practice. Based on their analysis of the research findings, Michael Paige and Mick Vande Berg present seven intervention approaches: (1) cultural mentoring, (2) cultural content, (3) reflection, (4) engagement, (5) learning throughout the study-abroad cycle, (6) online and on-site learning, and (7) comprehensive intercultural interventions. These might also be seen as programmatic principles for facilitating intercultural development in study-abroad programs.

Cultural Mentoring and the Cultural Mentor

The process of cultural mentoring and the role of the cultural mentor are central to the experiential/constructivist intervention model. In this model, the cultural mentor needs to be a person with significant intercultural knowledge and skills, a person who is interculturally competent. The cultural mentor helps organize and drive the intercultural learning process. This is done in a number of ways.

First, the mentor provides ongoing support for intercultural development. Learning activities are designed such that they are systematic, developmental, deliberate, and intentional. In the CIEE program, for instance, students have the option of taking an intercultural "Living and Learning" seminar, where teaching is done in a manner that is *developmentally appropriate* to the learner's level of intercultural competence. The seminar provides numerous opportunities for students to reflect on their intercultural experiences, and the instructor provides regular feedback regarding their cultural observations.

Second, the mentor provides culture concepts and ideas to anchor the learning. In virtually every on-site or online course, students are introduced to a variety of culture-general concepts, such as value patterns or communication styles that they can use to explore the patterns or styles that are specific to their host culture.

Third, the cultural mentor suggests strategies that can be used to learn a culture. These can include learning from a host culture resource person, from the media, and from observing how people interact and communicate. In the Maximizing Study Abroad/Global Engagement course, University of Minnesota students take the Culture-Learning Strategies Inventory at the beginning of the term. They discover new culture learning strategies that they might not yet be employing, as well as approaches that they are already using. This process helps students become more strategic and mindful of how they can learn about the host culture.

Fourth, the mentor provides opportunities to put learning into practice. For example, students can be asked to attend and observe a cultural ritual such as a wedding or a national holiday, reflect on the experience, and draw provisional lessons from it. The point here is that in addition to the everyday experiences of the student, the mentor is setting up directed learning opportunities with specific lessons to be gained from the experience.

Fifth, the mentor provides structured opportunities for students to reflect on their intercultural experiences. This can be done through reflection assignments, maintaining reflection journals, and meeting together with students to discuss what they have been experiencing and learning.

Sixth, the mentor helps the students connect what they are learning to their future: professional, educational, and personal. These conversations and activities are particularly helpful just prior to departing from the host country and during the reentry phase of the cycle. At the University of Minnesota, students explore the requirements of the employment positions they are seeking and practice articulating how what they did and learned abroad might be relevant to that particular position.

It is worth noting that several of the remaining themes are very similar to one or another dimension of the cultural mentor's role mentioned above. Here, though, the concept is elevated to the larger institutional level as a program design principle.

The Provision of Cultural Content

The second principle based on the research is that culture content needs to be provided to the students in the design of the program and the mentoring associated with it. In the American University Center of Provence (AUCP) and Willamette-Bellarmine programs, students discuss culture concepts, on-site in the case of AUCP and online in the intentional, targeted intervention model employed by Willamette and Bellarmine.

Reflection on Intercultural Experiences

Virtually every program identified in the research literature as being effective in helping students develop their intercultural competence embraces reflection as a key principle of learning. Reflection is embedded into the fabric of the program and is a key aspect of cultural mentoring. In the design of the program, through assignments, journals, and meetings with mentors, students reflect on their daily, lived intercultural experiences.

Cultural Immersion and Engagement With the Culture

The relativist, immersion-oriented paradigm and the experiential/constructivist intervention approach both emphasize the importance of immersion in and engagement with the culture. The two paradigms diverge, however, in their assumptions about how learning will proceed.

The relativist approach relies on the students to use the opportunities provided by immersion to direct their own culture learning and intercultural development, whereas the experiential/constructivist intervention model emphasizes the importance of providing support and guidance for intercultural learning. In the latter model, immersion in the culture is seen as a necessary but insufficient condition for maximum learning. In the former model, some proponents argue, any interventions beyond the immersion experiences themselves would intrude on the learning and are unnecessary. Even though research strongly supports the intervention approach, the debate has not entirely subsided.

Intercultural Learning Throughout the Study-Abroad Cycle

Several of the programs mentioned, most notably the University of the Pacific, provide predeparture and reentry learning opportunities for their students. At the University of the Pacific, formal academic predeparture and reentry courses have been developed. In this way, intercultural learning begins well in advance of the students' sojourn abroad and continues well past their return. Students can review predeparture assignments and see more clearly what they have accomplished, what they have learned, how their original expectations may or may not have been met, and what the unanticipated learning outcomes were for them.

Using Online and On-Site Interventions

For study-abroad professionals working within the experiential/constructivist framework, there has been much discussion about the efficacy of online versus on-site intercultural coursework and mentoring. Two programs that have been heavily involved in online intercultural learning are the University of Minnesota and the intentional, targeted interventions employed by Willamette University and Bellarmine University. In the early iterations of the Minnesota online course, the model provided culture content and had students do relevant reading and write a set of reflection papers while abroad. This approach, which initially did not involve cultural mentoring, proved to be less effective than the mentored approach to online learning described by Lou and Gabriele Weber Bosley. Research on the AUCP, CIEE, and University of the Pacific programs, which utilize on-site courses, suggests that all other things being equal and for reasons that are still speculative, the on-site, in-person approach to learning has a somewhat greater impact on intercultural development than does the online model. But substantial intercultural learning can clearly occur in both.

Comprehensive Intercultural Interventions

What the research shows is that programs that do the most in terms of intercultural interventions accomplish the most intercultural development. The University of the Pacific and the AUCP are two excellent cases in point. Not only does the University of the Pacific require students in certain disciplines such as international relations to study abroad, but those students also take the required predeparture and reentry courses. Moreover, in internationalized disciplines such as international relations, the culture conversations occur very early on, long before the students go abroad or take the predeparture course. For students in intercultural relations, the intercultural development gains over a 2-year period that includes the study-abroad cycle are among the highest yet observed for study abroad. What this suggests is that when intercultural learning is integrated into the academic program and supported by study abroad, learning is enhanced.

Conclusions

As Milton Bennett observed, *intercultural sensitivity* (what is also referred to as *intercultural competence*) is not the normal condition of human beings. Rather, individuals are more likely to be and remain ethnocentric, viewing the world around them through their own cultural lens. The corollary to Bennett's observation is that intercultural development does not occur as a normal or natural consequence of being immersed in a new and different culture, though that is a precondition for learning. Rather, this entry described and discussed the intervention models that derive from the emerging experiential/constructivist paradigm of intercultural learning in study abroad. It has been suggested that these interventions substantially enhance intercultural learning and development and that the more comprehensive these interventions are, the greater the gains. It is a fascinating and exciting moment in study abroad and other venues for intercultural learning. Because of what has been learned from a decade or more of relevant research and theory, there is a much better understanding of how to support learners in developing their intercultural competence.

R. Michael Paige

See also Culture Learning; Developmentally Appropriate Pedagogy; Intercultural Communication, Definition of; Intercultural Competence Development; Intercultural Sensitivity

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K

Knowledge, Skills, and Attitudes in Intercultural Conflict

Intercultural conflict occurs when there are real or perceived incompatibilities of values, norms, beliefs, goals, orientations, styles, processes, and other factors that are rooted and embedded in different cultural systems. These cultural systems can be defined by many characteristics, such as those attributed to national, ethnic, religious, gender, age, professional, and other groups. Therefore, individuals are simultaneously part of more than one cultural system, and the various identities intersect.

This entry explores intercultural conflicts and the competencies needed to address them. There are countless situations in which intercultural communication is constructive and effective, enhances the quality of relationships, and builds strong communities and social worlds. When communication goes astray, misunderstandings can occur. When identities are threatened and there are feelings of losing face and being disrespected, intercultural conflict may happen. The focus of this entry is to identify ways in which this type of communication can be managed well and how failure to do so may lead to destructive outcomes. Following is an overview of reasons for intercultural conflicts, conflict characteristics, and ways in which conflict can be addressed, constructively managed, and resolved. This especially pertains to the knowledge, skills, and attitudes required to manage conflict successfully.

Sources of Intercultural Conflict

Conflict originates when needs are denied, ignored, or left unfulfilled. This can be an actual occurrence or the perception of an occurrence. People live by their perceptions, so what is perceived becomes the reality they live in. They generally act accordingly.

Intercultural conflict, as compared with resource-based conflict, usually takes place at the core level of one's being. It is deeply connected to feeling offended based on violations of values, beliefs, and behaviors. This often results in a threat to an individual's identity. The customs and traditions used to address these conflicts may vary with different rituals, styles, behaviors, and communication processes. Various types of conflict have different degrees of intensity and violation, and the subsequent characteristics associated with them. Likewise, there may be variations in how these conflicts are addressed depending on the level of offense taken. For example, in some cultural contexts, conflicts can be managed directly between the engaged parties, while in other contexts, depending on the nature and degree of the conflict, it may be mediated by a senior family member, the chief of a clan, the head of a tribe, or an impartial third party or addressed in the judicial system.

Characteristics of Intercultural Conflict

There are sets of cultural values that are learned by being raised in the culture from a young age. They become second nature, and sometimes individuals do not even realize what their values are until they are violated. Often, disrespect is not intentional in an intercultural conflict, yet regardless of the intent, having one's values violated may feel disrespectful.

There are expectations that accompany people's values and can be taken for granted in their assumptions and behaviors. For example, cultures vary in how they treat senior citizens. In some cultures, seniors are revered for their wisdom, and in others, they are considered less vital because they are not active producers. Some cultures have a *high power distance* in the workplace, where people have access solely to their direct supervisor and not to the levels above. At home, the senior person makes the decisions. In *low power distance* cultures, there is access to multiple levels in a flatter, less hierarchical workplace, and at home, there may be conversations seeking the input of all family members before making decisions. When encountering a situation where patterns of behavior are rooted in different cultural value systems from one's own, intercultural conflict may occur if this differs from one's expectations. Furthermore, the way individuals from different cultures resolve the first conflict may in itself evolve into intensification of further conflict, regarding the inappropriate way the person tried to solve the first problem.

Competencies to Address Intercultural Conflict

There are particular competencies associated with being able to manage intercultural conflicts more constructively. A competency may be thought of as consisting of knowledge, skills, and attitudes. These allow people to be appropriate, ethical, and morally sound in the cultural context within which they are communicating; effective at communicating intentions; receptive in accurately understanding the other's intentions; regulated in the type and amount of emotional expressiveness shown; and transformed in their communication—so that all involved parties feel heard and acknowledged. However, one sage suggested that the natural result of human interaction is misunderstanding; it is surely unrealistic to expect that if these competencies are mastered in intercultural communication, intercultural conflicts will forever be avoided. Conflict is a part of life, and there is opportunity for learning and growth when conflict is addressed appropriately. Centered on knowledge, skills, and attitudes, the following competencies reflect how research and practice have defined competencies in addressing intercultural conflicts.

Knowledge

A well-developed sense of cultural self-awareness allows people to access the underlying assumptions and beliefs that govern how they communicate and make meaning. There are values implicitly embedded in cultural knowledge that need to be brought to the surface in order to understand how they shape the way people perceive and judge the world.

It is also important to know *the other* with whom one is interacting. When individuals understand that other parties also have their own cultural assumptions, beliefs, and values that govern how they act and how they make meaning in life, then there is an opportunity for mutual respect and acknowledgment. Understanding the other person's beliefs, patterns, cultural history, and priorities supports a more empathic interaction.

In addition to such individual attributes, there is the context within which conflict takes place, which influences and shapes how the interaction will transpire. This pull can be weak or strong in comparison with the individual attributes; that difference predicts the degree of influence. Contextual influences include but are not limited to history, geography, economic and political status, power, and degree of formality.

The type of conflict shapes the kind of competency needed. Resource conflicts (real or perceived, e.g., a scarcity of resources) are easier to address because they may contain less emotional input than value or identity conflicts. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish one type of conflict from another because the more it is prolonged, the more complex the conflict becomes. This occurs because conflicts become layered, thereby changing the type of conflict taking place. For example, consider a water management conflict between neighbors: On the surface, the conflict is about how to share the available water resources. However, there are other types of interactions between the parties, and if one is more secure economically and wields more political power, the neighbor feels threatened by this, and issues of identity threat may surface. Then the conflict is no longer only about water.

Skills

Communication is a core skill. There is a craft and art to communicating effectively interculturally. People need to listen, acknowledge, and respect the other party in the way they want to be understood, acknowledged, and respected, which may sound easier than it actually is. Furthermore, individuals need to be able to express themselves the way the other person will hear their meaning. This can be challenging if there are competing sets of values, acceptable behaviors, and practices that may not be explicit. Few people start out resolving a conflict by stating that they want the other party to be circular, indirect, restrained, and nonconfrontational, despite the possibility that most of the world likely prefers those styles. These rules remain implicit, presenting the parties with the possibility that interaction styles will prolong or increase the conflict. This is why it is critical to understand one's own and the other party's perspectives. When individuals are unaware that different cultures exist with different sets of norms and values, it is difficult for them to see the world through any other lens but their own. It is a great skill to be able to continue to hold one's own values and beliefs while simultaneously acknowledging and interpreting the values and beliefs of the other party.

In any interaction, there is the exchange between selected individuals. At the same time, those individuals may belong to several groups, with sets of values and histories from multiple contexts. Being able to take a multilevel view, recognizing that this particular exchange is one of many in a series of interactions, helps individuals understand and create shared meaning as they situate the exchange in the context of other conversations. These do not occur in isolation; it is a dynamic process.

Once a deeper understanding is gained from creating co-constructed and shared meaning, one may need to adjust the original framing that there is a conflict with the other person or that this situation is conflictual. Learning more about one's own needs and the needs of the other party, and then putting that into a reframing of the situation and the relationship, expands the range of understanding, relationship, and outcomes.

Attitude

For smooth conflict resolution, both parties should share a motivation to reach shared meaning and should value intercultural relationships and perspectives. If such relationships are appreciated and the individuals manifest intercultural curiosity, those in the conflict will want to gain more knowledge and develop better skills. If there is a lack of desire to engage interculturally, this absence of motivation should also be acknowledged to set appropriate boundaries.

There are different types of approaches to conflict management. Working in unison with others in a cooperative manner by using collaborative conflict management techniques, including the use of third-person intermediaries, will provide more opportunities for mutually beneficial ways of resolving intercultural disputes.

Levels of Learning

Learning takes place at different levels and occurs at different times. *Awareness* is the first level of learning. It is important to become consciously aware that there is a destructive dynamic in a relationship that needs attention. This is a large step and can be emotionally unnerving once there is an awareness that one may have been behaving in ways that ordinarily that person would find distasteful. At other times, there is a conscious awareness that one is behaving disrespectfully and feeling justified, until something changes and the person no longer supports this mind-set.

Next, there is a need for the right *attitude*, to want to make a difference and find ways to gain and use the knowledge and skills needed. This awareness is typically followed by efforts to make a behavioral change. The change becomes operational and eventually in alignment with what could produce a mutually beneficial and co-constructed process of shared meaning making.

Once individuals become more adept and practiced at resolving conflict, they will have *internalized* these skills and attitudes so that they can call on them more easily. The more internalized they become, the more automatic they will be, and the less deliberate and conscious one needs to be in order to enact these more constructive behaviors.

On a larger, more organizational scale, systems and structures can be built to support this internalized learning so that it is *institutionalized*. This makes the environment within which one interacts more interculturally competent, which allows for less intercultural conflict, or at least conflict that is facilitated more constructively.

As the world becomes the forum for increasingly frequent encounters between people of different cultural orientations, not being able to manage these interactions thoughtfully can give rise to serious consequences. Learning how to manage intercultural conflicts creates more compassionate and constructive dialogues that can collectively lead to making better relationships, organizations, and social worlds.

Beth Fisher-Yoshida and Ria Yoshida

See also Acculturation; Conflict Management; Empathy; Intercultural Conflict Styles; Value Dimensions: Hofstede; Value Dimensions: Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck Value Orientations

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L

Language and Identity

Identity is simultaneously one of the most widely familiar terms that appears in this volume and one of the most highly contested terms in an array of scholarly fields, including psychology, sociology, anthropology, cultural studies, sociolinguistics, and education. Personal accounts of those who cross linguistic and cultural boundaries, including travelers, transnational workers, immigrants, and others, frequently suggest that these sojourners lose some sense of who they are. Two iconic examples are both called *Lost in Translation*: Eva Hoffman's 1989 memoir tells of emigrating as a child from Poland to Canada, where she could not even retain the original spelling and pronunciation of her name (Ewa), while the 2003 film with the same name stars Bill Murray and Scarlett Johansson as Americans struggling with feelings of dislocation in Japan.

In both cases, the protagonists feel that their identities are called into question, tested, contested, and shaped by the journey. However, it is unclear whether they are experiencing the loss of one identity, to be replaced by another; if they are escaping former constraints on their identity and gaining access to something or someone more *true* to the actual self; or if the underlying true self is expanding and changing to encompass the effects of the new context.

Scholars in fields that take up issues of identity disagree about whether individuals have a single intrinsic self or a multiplicity of identities that constantly shift and change in response to new contexts and communities. What can be agreed is that the nature of identity is highly subjective and that the fixed categories that have sufficed to describe features of identity in the past are hardly adequate to explain the processes that individuals experience during intercultural encounters of all kinds.

The sections that follow represent a roughly chronological and cross-disciplinary journey from the treatment of identity as a category and exploration of language use within that category to investigations of identity construction. These latter approaches suggest that language learning, which is frequently (though not always) a key aspect of intercultural communication, stimulates processes of identity construction and depends heavily on successful negotiation of these processes. The entry ends with a framework for investigating and understanding identity construction as it relates to the development of multilingualism and intercultural competence.

Identity as a Social Category

Although dictionaries and grammars give the impression that language is relatively fixed and immutable, language in the real world varies based on many different factors. Sociolinguists have investigated this variation as it relates to many different characteristics, beginning with region of origin and expanding to social class, race, age, and gender. This research, of course, depends on the assumption that people from a given region (or class or race or age, etc.) speak in a relatively homogeneous way and that therefore individuals can be reliably placed in a given category based on the way they speak. The researcher must identify a participant as a local or not and then sample that participant's language for comparison with other groups.

Thus, speakers from one region or another have been shown to use not only obvious expressions and pronunciation patterns that can be noted by nonspecialists, such as *y'all*, *yous guys*, or *yens* for the second person plural in the United States, but also a number of less obvious features such as slight variations in vowels or a different tendency to drop a consonant. Likewise, members of different social classes and races have been shown to use entirely different varieties of a given language; men and women use expressions and pronunciations at different rates, though in some languages the differences are more dramatic; and young people have their own distinct patterns.

Constructing Identity Through Language Use

Though language variation across these different groups has been studied extensively, variation happens within these categories as well. Documents like passports and medical forms perpetuate the myth that identity is fixed, as firm as a category on a census questionnaire. On the contrary, identity is constantly constructed through a range of resources. Many of those resources are linguistic, including word choice, pronunciation, voice quality, and even self-referential pronouns, as well as the actual content of the speaker's discourse.

Individuals more or less deliberately seek to borrow the linguistic features of other groups in order to construct their identities. The groundbreaking work of William Labov on social class and people's efforts toward social mobility, John Baugh on race-based discrimination, and Penelope Eckert on the linguistic practices of high school cliques demonstrates this point. Even gender, which might seem to be a clear-cut category based on physiology and biological imperatives, is not at all fixed; it is negotiated using a variety of resources.

Individuals may modify their speech to adopt the practices of groups that seem to have more power or prestige, or they may align with or diverge from their listener to imply that "we are the same" or "we are different," respectively. A given individual might find it much more difficult to establish herself or himself as a member of one group or another, and there are a number of terms in English, most of them derogatory, that are used to mark people who trespass the boundaries of their apparent class, race, gender, or other group. Of these, two of the less objectionable examples are *tomboy* and *climber*. However, people constantly cross these boundaries successfully, for reasons that range from humor to professional ambition. These types of modifications and manipulations are motivated because others' perceptions of difference based on linguistic variation can have tremendous consequences. Nevertheless, the identity thus constructed is open to interpretation and malleable and, for the most part, requires maintenance and engagement with others who share that identity.

Identity Construction in Language Learners

In the same way that individuals may manipulate sociolinguistic variation in their first language, they seek to gain control of additional languages and to convey desired identities through those multilingual resources. Speaking a particular language, as a native language or an additional language, no more binds an individual to a particular identity than being born in a particular country does. To illustrate this point, it may be helpful to consider identity construction among language learners in three different situations, all of whom have been studied extensively by applied linguists, linguistic anthropologists, and language educators: (1) foreign-language learners, (2) immigrants, and (3) heritage-language learners.

Foreign-Language Learners in the Classroom and Abroad

For learners in instructed settings, choosing a foreign language opens up new possibilities for identity construction. Many language teachers choose to assign their students new names—French names in a French course, Russian names in a Russian course. This practice reflects and perhaps even promotes the idea that learning another language allows the learner to take on a new identity. Zoltan Dörnyei and others have more recently suggested that learners are more motivated and successful when they are able to imagine themselves as competent users of the target language and when their vision of themselves as competent users aligns with their overall sense of who they want to be.

Certainly, gaining mastery of a new system of communication offers the learner opportunities to develop relationships that would otherwise have been impossible and to engage in a wider range of intercultural encounters—locally, abroad, and over the Internet. Learners also construct identities and find identities imposed on them in the language classroom itself that may be more or less conducive to learning.

Some learners find the possibility of transforming themselves through language learning exciting, while others find it profoundly unsettling. As foreign-language learners leave the classroom, particularly when they plunge into immersion during study abroad, even those learners who were previously excited by the prospect of self-transformation or self-discovery may struggle with the difficulty of establishing a satisfactory identity in the new environment. Drawing on the journals of an American woman studying abroad in France, Celeste Kinginger provides a vivid, scholarly portrait of the effort to negotiate identity in a foreign language and culture.

Immigrants Learning a Second Language for Survival

For immigrants and others who move across national borders and must develop proficiency in an additional language to survive, the consequences of identity and identity construction may be much more profound than emotional discomfort or changes in motivation. In these cases, the language learner may be forced to leave behind positions of power and expertise and take on identities that are unfamiliar and unwelcome. Perhaps more important, their ability to operate successfully in the new society may be helped or hindered by their ability to take up the linguistic resources that long-standing members of that society have already mastered over a lifetime.

In a study of immigrant women in Canada that has influenced many subsequent studies of identity and language learning, Bonny Norton highlights the relationships between identity, language, and power. She found that these women, despite their great desire and effort to learn English, struggled to gain legitimacy in the eyes of their Canadian counterparts. Without this legitimacy, they could not gain opportunities to speak and thus to learn. Unlike prior studies of similar cases, Norton did not categorize these women based on demographic terms or identify them as motivated or unmotivated learners. Instead, she focused on their *investment*: their deliberate decision to commit resources to language learning, which they hoped would grant them power to determine the course of their own lives. They did not find it easy to construct the identities they felt were powerful, but as they gained linguistic proficiency, they gained the capacity and resources to interact effectively.

Heritage-Language Learners Consolidating an Inherited Identity

The final group of learners to be discussed here in some ways defies the theories of identity that have sufficed to describe language learning and learners in studies of other groups. Heritage-language learners usually either are born in a new country to immigrant families or trace their roots to indigenous populations, such as Native Americans in the United States or Maori in New Zealand. These learners are usually proficient in the majority language; equal proficiency in the heritage language is rare. By choosing to learn the heritage language, though, they can strengthen their ties to their parents, grandparents, or more distant ancestors and to the wider contemporary communities, both local and international, that use that language. In the case of indigenous minorities, language learning on the part of the heritage learner takes on the further significance of maintaining the vitality of the language for future generations, along with the culture and coherence of the community.

Whereas the approaches described above have emphasized the fluidity of identity, most heritage-language learners are striving to consolidate their identities despite changing contexts. At the same time, the heritage learner's emerging proficiency may affect the identity construction of his or her parents or members of local groups who are bound by that shared language, as the learner demonstrates commitment to the community and gains a greater capacity to participate in and perpetuate that community. Thus, the process of identity construction is much less individual in these cases than is usually assumed. In short, language learning often triggers processes of identity construction, but these processes vary depending on the background of the learner, the context of learning, and the purposes for which the learner intends to use the language.

Identity, Language, and the Development of Intercultural Competence

In almost every situation described above, what the learner needs to achieve is not only knowledge of a new grammar and vocabulary but also mastery of a new means of communication that will help him or her participate effectively in a new context. From this perspective, language learning is virtually inseparable from the development of intercultural competence. Likewise, intercultural competence can be taught in and through language-learning courses, particularly when facilitators help learners reflect on their own identities. This final section describes a way of viewing and developing identity that may promote intercultural competence.

Reflecting on Identity as a Nexus

The language learners described above throw a revealing light on two important issues that resonate throughout the literature. One issue is the question of whether identity is unitary and stable, with many facets, or multiple and inevitably fluctuating in response to changing contexts. The other issue is the relationship of identity construction to participation in particular communities. Identity is not constructed in isolation but rather through interaction and participation with others who have the power to recognize or reject an individual's bid for a particular identity and who can induct a newcomer into the practices of a desired community.

An approach to identity that reconciles both of these issues is Etienne Wenger's theory of *communities of practice*, which in turn is grounded in his work with Jean Lave on *situated learning*. These perspectives see learning as synonymous with participation in a community. Over time, learners gain control of the practices that define that community, of which linguistic practices are an essential component, much like an apprentice gains increasing control over the skills of his trade until he finally becomes a master artisan. The resulting identity as a master artisan is both the result of gaining skills and a symbol of that mastery that can be conveyed to others. Any individual must engage in this process over and over across time and contexts and in many communities at once. Identity lies at the intersection, or *nexus*, of these communities, defined by this multiple participation but relatively stable in itself.

Developing Identity as an Intercultural Broker

This perspective opens up useful ways of analyzing the connections among language, identity, and intercultural competence. Wenger speaks of individuals he calls *brokers* who serve important purposes by crossing between communities, conveying meanings and practices across their boundaries to support the intentions of both groups. Developing intercultural competence may equate to cultivating an identity as a broker, an expert in crossing linguistic and cultural boundaries.

According to the model of intercultural competence developed by Michael Byram, Geneviève Zarate, and their collaborators, self-awareness, openness to others, and skills of discovery and engagement are essential components of this expertise. Learners can thus develop intercultural competence by reflecting on their own constellation of communities. This exercise can help them understand the complexity of their own identity and thus appreciate the multiplicity of others, whom they might otherwise reduce to a fixed and unitary cultural identity. Likewise, developing learners' awareness of their own identity nexus may help them see their changing participation as expansion rather than loss. This perspective can help learners engage in an active process of developing expertise in the practices of a new community or communities while resisting the sense of dislocation that can affect intercultural sojourners.

Reflecting on one's own identity and identity construction is foundational to understanding others' identities and how they are constructed. As individuals increase their awareness of the ways people, throughout their lives, learn to operate in multiple communities, cross boundaries, and shift the ways they interact and use language to fit those different communities, it becomes clear that developing intercultural competence is an extension of a lifelong identity construction process.

Amanda Lanier Temples

See also Applied Linguistics; Communication Accommodation Theory; Constructivism; Cultural Self-Awareness; Gender as Culture; Gender Theory; Identity; Intercultural Competence Development; Social Identity Theory; Sociolinguistics

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Language, Culture, and Intercultural Communication

Language *and* culture? Many people will say the two are so closely related that individuals should rather speak of language *in* culture and culture reflected *in* language. However, the theme of *language and culture* has been both foundational for the field of intercultural communication and a contentious issue with an even longer history. This intimate connection has been important for interculturalists because the argument centers on a notion, dating back centuries, that the language one speaks influences how one perceives, thinks, and acts.

This entry examines the interface between language and culture, providing an overview of specific controversies in viewing that contested territory. Highlighting key figures in the theoretical debate, the entry addresses the perspectives assumed by Edward Sapir, Edward T. Hall, Benjamin Lee Whorf, Noam Chomsky, George Lakoff, and other writers. It further explores how the field of intercultural communication has been influenced by theories of language use.

Sapir, a founder of linguistic studies in the United States, said that language is a *map of culture* for what is talked about and how it is said and that language reflects both the cultural history and a shared cultural outlook or *worldview.* Every language serves the needs of those who speak the language; languages change, with new words entering the vocabulary, often from intercultural encounters with speakers of other languages. Changes in usage are often the sign of a vital language. When there are no more speakers of a particular language, lost with that language are implicit ways of perceiving the world that were the legacy of knowledge, a vital resource of those speakers. Lakoff, a linguist who sees each language as a conceptual system, compares the loss of language with the loss of natural resources and collective wisdom about the use of such resources, as when a rain forest disappears.

Yet there are also ways in which at least some languages transcend the boundaries of their native speakers. Throughout much of history, there have been languages introduced by religious proselytizers, colonial administrators, or academic institutions, and now more than ever through those in popular culture and international commerce, that reach far beyond a single locale. In ancient times, Sanskrit as well as Greek and Latin served some of these functions. Today, English occupies such a place. Now one may refer to *World Englishes*, as there are more people who speak English who are not native speakers than those who are. Many groups are concerned about the extent to which aspects of the cultures identified with English are conveyed with its usage all over the world. This can weaken the salience and use of local languages, so that there are warnings about *killer English* displacing other languages.

There have been efforts to create a culture-neutral language to serve international and intercultural needs. Esperanto is one such example. Though created with the inclusion of words from many languages, its structure and vocabulary favor the languages that have been centered in Europe. Some might joke that another disadvantage of Esperanto is that one can never speak it like a native.

Universals and Particulars

The age at which children begin to speak and the stages through which they become more adept in speaking appear to be the same the world over, irrespective of their particular language. Mastering the extensions of speech, such as writing, signing, and digital forms that may include icons and images, is a more varied process. Furthermore, it takes longer to be considered fully literate in some writing systems, such as the logographic writing systems of Chinese and, as adapted from those characters, Japanese *kanji*, than in many others.

The human capacity for language is universal. Yet it can also be said that *nobody speaks a language.* Individuals each speak a particular variety, or dialect, and it is difficult to imagine someone who would know and use the full lexicon and idioms of a language. Taking this further, each speaks in a particular way (*idiolect*). In this respect, there is a parallel between language and what is said regarding *culture*: (a) each individual is like everyone else (as human beings, there is the same capacity for learning and using language); (b) individuals are like some people in how they are encouraged to think and act (and in the language or languages used with other people); and (c) each individual is like no one else (and nobody speaks exactly as another person does).

It is in that *shared* aspect that the *language and culture* topic has influenced intercultural communication theory. This may be put in the form of a question: To what extent, if any, does a particular language influence the perceptions, thinking, and actions of its speakers?

The early theory that language influences how one perceives, thinks, and acts has been known in various forms as the *linguistic relativity hypothesis*, the *Sapir-Whorf hypothesis*, and the *linguistic Weltanschauung hypothesis*, among others. The common notion is that perceived reality is, in part, relative to the categories and grammars one's language allows or imposes. In Europe, this idea is often identified with the German naturalist Wilhelm von Humboldt and is therefore called a *neo-Humboldtian* theory. In the United States, and its influences in the intercultural field, it is more often identified with Sapir, also from Germany and influenced by Humboldt. Sapir emigrated to the United States, where he taught languages and linguistics and exerted a major influence in anthropology, since for many decades *linguistics* was treated in the United States as a branch of anthropology. Not surprisingly, the linguistic relativity hypothesis has received more support in the area of anthropological linguistics than in most other areas of linguistics, where it is has been largely dismissed out of hand or simply ignored.

One of Sapir's nondegree students was Whorf, who was working as a fire prevention engineer at a major insurance company when he attended Sapir's classes. Whorf went on to do his own linguistic research, mainly in the southwestern United States and in Mexico, and wrote a number of articles that would come to attract considerable attention before he died at the age of 44. The linguist Lakoff calls Whorf the most interesting linguist of his day. Whorf's writings, mostly published after his death, along with the work of his mentor Sapir, influenced the *constructivist* perspective of the intercultural communication field. That viewpoint regards one's perceptions of the world and the meanings identified with those perceptions as, to a great extent, the product of cultural influences, including the influence of language.

Native American languages in their cultural contexts have exerted a special influence in anthropology, in the development of linguistic relativity theories, and in the intercultural field itself. American Indian languages were a motivation for influential anthropologists such as Franz Boas to come to the United States. Sapir studied with Boas, and Whorf, who took a special interest in the Hopi language, studied with Sapir. Gary Witherspoon wrote about the Navajo (now *Diné*) language as it mirrors the Navajo worldview, arguing that the Navajo see the world as one in constant motion. This is reflected in the Navajo language, where most words are derived from verbs or adverbs and the principal verb is not *to be*, as in most Indo-European languages, but an equivalent of the verb *to go*.

The radical idea that language helps shape one's perception of the world was fundamental for E. T. Hall, who is widely credited with inadvertently founding the field of intercultural communication. Central to Hall's theories is that individuals project what is in their mind onto the world they experience. Intercultural communication anticipates that people whose cultural backgrounds differ are likely to have different ways of looking at the same situation, with correspondingly different behavioral responses.

Before considering the more interesting, important, and much more disputed linguistic relativity theory, it is helpful to note what is usually not disputed with regard to language and culture but, nevertheless, is relevant to intercultural communication.

There is general agreement that one's spoken language will reflect aspects of the culture or cultures in which it is spoken in its vocabulary, as an inventory of what is important to the speakers, including cultural values. For instance, thousands of years of agriculture-based Chinese culture encouraged large families, and hence a large population that gave rise to an extensive vocabulary regarding family because specific familial relationships were crucial. A single word *uncle* or *aunt* in English is vague compared with the Chinese translation, where one must choose among separate words for the relationship, coding in each word whether the aunt or uncle is a maternal or paternal relationship, is an older or younger sister or brother, and is related by blood or through marriage. In English, we could be as specific, but not without a series of modifiers: "my father's younger brother's wife," for example. But English speakers don't typically say so because, unlike in China, it is usually not very important in the cultural web of family relationships.

Another example is the Japanese word *karoshi*, which means "death through overwork." It became more widely used in the 1980s due to the sudden deaths of several prominent business executives who had shown no previous health risks. Today, the term in Japan has legal, insurance, explanatory, and ethical significance. In English, people can speak of some persons *working themselves to death*, but it is not concretized in a single word that then finds a place in a network of cultural systems. If someone says, "John worked himself to death," there is no implicit cultural connection with, say, the company where John worked, the responsibility that might be borne by his manager and by his company, the likely response of his labor union and the insurance company, and the response of John's family and friends. The language link with culture lies in those features of subjective, internalized culture that are so familiar that in the appropriate context, that language comes to mind.

Vocabulary is the easiest reflection of the cultures of the speakers of a language, and is most quickly learned; it is also the least controversial and the least important consideration to a language and culture connection. It is also the part of speech about which individuals are most self-conscious when hearing or reading new words, and they are often aware when the new words are introduced into speech.

The gist of the *language and culture* theme is more subtle and less recognized by individuals: It is more about the *process* of how one speaks than about a particular *content*, and so it is more about grammar than nouns and adjectives.

A recurring theme in the intercultural field is a variation of *what differences make a difference versus what difference does it make?* Hall's work appeared when the *differences matter* theme was ascendant, but soon thereafter, various theories argued that there were underlying universals across languages and that the apparent differences observed at the surface were, indeed, superficial. Among the best-known critics of linguistic relativism were Chomsky and, decades later, Stephen Pinker. At the same time, others have countered that the critics overlooked the everyday experience of bilinguals, who often say that they feel they are different people or living in different worlds depending on the language they speak. Names associated with this language and culture view include Lakoff, Anna Wierzbicka, and Lera Boroditsky.

Although many interculturalists may refer to *the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis*, neither Sapir nor Whorf, individually or collaboratively, proposed a theory. Each did, however, present arguments of linguistic relativism that have been taken as a whole as a hypothesis. Some of what is included suggests an overwhelming influence of language on thought; other statements are more tempered to suggest that language *predisposes* individuals to think in a particular way. These alternate choices are sometimes called the *strong version* and the *weak version* of the hypothesis. But in either case, a scientific hypothesis must be something that can be proven or disproved, and it seems likely that a Sapir-Whorf kind of hypothesis, that language influences perceptions, thoughts, and actions, is not one that can be proven or disproven. That in itself does not make it unworthy of consideration. As Mark Twain, in a different context, wrote, "Hmmm—Interesting if true—and interesting, anyway!"

Linguistic distinctions for the color spectrum have inspired some experiments to test whether speakers who do not distinguish linguistically between, say, blue and green give the same responses to a color test as speakers who do make that distinction. The Kay-Kempton study may be the best known of the experimental efforts to demonstrate the influence of language on perception.

Lakoff offered one of the most thorough discussions of Whorfian theory. His well-known book *Metaphors We Live By*, coauthored with Mark Johnson, is very much in the Whorfian spirit, although it makes no specific reference to Sapir or Whorf. Lakoff devotes a chapter to "Whorf and Relativism" in his *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind*, noting that for Whorf it was grammar and grammatized words that were crucial. Thus, while there is a wide range of adjectives and nouns to describe or name something, and people can invent new words, people are more or less stuck with the features of their grammar, such as the tense system and pronouns. While it was relatively easy to add an alternative to *Miss* and *Mrs.* that did not code for marital status (*Ms.*), English grammar presents a challenge when wanting a third-person singular pronoun that includes both genders; instead, we are largely compelled to choose between *she* and *he*, and *her* and *him*.

Whorf stressed language habits—not what is possible to say but, rather, the way people normally talk, unselfconsciously, effortlessly, automatically. It is axiomatic in translation that anything that is said in one language can be said in another, but the form may be different.

For instance, it may take more words (or fewer) to convey something that approximates the original. But for Whorf, Hall, interculturalists, and others who were influenced by Sapir and Whorf, it is that feature of an individual's most routine behavior, largely outside of conscious awareness, that comes into play when engaging with others that is the crucial connection between culture and communication.

John Condon

See also Hall, E. T.; Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

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Language Use and Culture

The intersection of language and culture is a crucial site for the study of social life; it is, moreover, a rich site for the study of intercultural communication, international relations, and cross-cultural studies of communication in general. Of special concern to interculturalists is the variety of ways in which language can be used, differences in the conceptions people hold about language itself, culturally distinctive vocabularies, culturally distinctive forms of expression, and the unique role of language as a means of communication in one setting or cultural scene relative to others. The latter concern brings into view other possible cultural means of communication, such as silence, nonverbal expressions, and nonhuman agents of communication, each of which can help place language use, generally, in its place within a culture's expressive system. Cultural analysts of language use explore these dynamics in multiple ways, including attention to culturally dense language, such as linguistic forms, which identify action, identity, emotion, social relationships, and dwelling.

In this entry, the six uses of language and culture are discussed. These are dense cultural terms and are examples of linguistic usage concerning action, identity, emotion, social relations, and dwelling. Each is explained with reference to various languages, with a special focus on Bulgarian, so as to add some cultural meat to the bones of language use.

Culturally Dense Language

All known languages contain lexical items, words, or phrases that are locally dense with meanings. These are sometimes conceptualized, for example, by Brad Hall as *kernel images*, by David Schneider as *epitomizing symbols*, by Sherry Ortner as *key symbols*, and by Michael Agar as *rich points*. For example, the chief executive officer of Nokia, the cell phone company, was asked by the American journalist Diane Sawyer to account for the success of Nokia as a worldwide company. He explained it to Sawyer with one simple Finnish word, *sisu*. This term is steeped in Finnish history. It resonates with various forms of Finnish actions, ranging from steadfastness to perseverance against all odds, all the while saying something important to Finns about a particularly Finnish mind-set. It is, in a word, a Finnish linguistic badge of identity and honor.

In Russian, one will hear explanations given of Russianness via the linguistic term *dusha*, often translated as "the Russian soul" and/or "a transpersonal plane of moral energy." However, this informal translation will immediately be elaborately developed, as will all such rich cultural terms, by native speakers. The Austrian word *schmah* expresses an Austrian state of affairs where things are not quite as they seem and actually are much worse, so the only thing you can do is laugh it off! The French anthropologist Hervé Varenne, in his book *Americans Together*, has argued that American English contains rich terms that revolve around the words *love* and *happiness*, and their ability to hold together the individual self and a community.

Culturally dense terms such as these are rich and steeped in meanings. As such, they often house a bright semantic radiance in multiple directions, including words and linguistic forms or sequences pertaining to action, identity, emotion, social relationships, and the nature of things. Because of this, they are in need of careful, rigorous, and systematic interpretation and translation.

Cultural Terms for Pragmatic Action and Talk

Cultural terms for *pragmatic action* and *talk* identify for people forms of conduct that are, typically, morally infused. *Moral infusion* means that the action is heard to carry weight along a dimension of actions that run from those that are highly valued to those that are actively disvalued. Of course, these can vary by place and by people. This point will be briefly illustrated with culturally dense Bulgarian terms, which carry a deep range of meanings for Bulgarians.

Several Bulgarian terms for talk and action are anchored in the lexical item *oplakvane*, a term for specific as well as more general actions. One such Bulgarian usage, translated into English, is this: "Surely you'll say again, that we only *se oplakvame* and we don't suggest anything, but when we do it, does anyone hear us, huh?" *Oplakvane* can be translated into English here as "complaining, lamenting, and mourning," according to most Bulgarian–English dictionaries. However, a crucial part of the definition of *oplakvane* is the root of the word, *plach*, which means "to cry," moving the discussion to the interlingual and intercultural realm. For this reason, *oplakvam* is often translated, with great semantic complexity, as "lament," "bemoan," "weep," "complain," "account," "bewail," "wait," "grumble," and "grievance."

All culturally dense language, then, creates considerable translation difficulties, as each is caught within and between such linguistic and cultural worlds.

Culturally dense language, as cultural terms about pragmatic action, can be used to describe particular communication practices—in this case, a way of speaking or a specific communication style. As such, this linguistic action refers in Bulgarian to the exchange of stories and finding problems. *Oplakvane* is recognized and labeled as such by Bulgarians only when a legitimate reason for complaining is recognized or the behavior is socially legitimized. When this term is used, people become a part of the situation in Bulgaria, telling stories of how different things are in Bulgaria (in comparison with other countries) and, finally, evaluating how things in Bulgaria will not change. In this way, terms like this identify cultural actions that not only refer to a specific cultural practice but also offer insight into premises about proper action itself, including political action. In fact, this type of Bulgarian complaining implies political inaction, or the claim is made that "no action will save us Bulgarians," and thus the intricate symbiotic connection is linguistically being woven about a Bulgarian reality and situation through *oplakvane*. The main purpose of *oplakvane*, then, becomes the release of anger and frustration, all the while recreating the cultural conditions for continued frustration. This illustrates how dense cultural terms in a language can be carriers of meanings about action, emotion, and identity itself.

Cultural Terms for Identity

Every language has a set of linguistic items that identify people and types of people. As part of its meaning, each act of identification typically says something about how people are located socially, how they are related, and whether institutions are active when one is identified as such. Stephen Hester and Peter Eglin have examined these terms as *membership categories*. These terms also invoke, through shared knowledge, a class of actions salient to the identity, as when a pastor, through an understanding of a role within a religious institution, is expected to preach, counsel, and console.

Continuing the exploration of Bulgarian terms, there are specific words for being a Bulgarian, including the folk figure *Bai Ganio* and *terikatluk*. *Terikatluk* is a derivative from the word *terikat*, which is a dialectical form that refers to a young man from a small village who makes a living by scamming people for profit. He is usually described as sleazy, dirty, sneaky, and untrustworthy and would even sell his own family for money. The term is connected to the Bulgarian antihero *Bai Ganio*, a fictional character created by the Bulgarian satirical writer Aleko Konstantinov in the 1890s. This character is the epitome of everything to be ashamed of within a national identity, described as vulgar, impudent, opportunistic, uncivilized, an unscrupulous profiteer, a womanizer of the worst kind, and a crook, even though he can be a very skillful tradesman who is ingenious, energetic, and pragmatic.

Those two images, and the terms of identity they provide, offer insight into the identity struggles Bulgarians experience as the nation makes its way from a past of communism, agricultural socioeconomic focus, and the cultural consequences of Ottoman dominance into a European, modernized future. The concepts of *terikati* and *Bai Ganio* emerge as they link the agricultural and slave-based Ottoman past of Bulgaria (the East) with the European, contemporary future (the West) Bulgaria is struggling to enter. In this way, the understanding of Bulgarian-ness is defined by and through a specific Bulgarian mentality (a way of thinking and behaving), which is shaped by a particular historical context, whereby Bulgarians understand and make sense of their behaviors only within the particular Bulgarian situation of a socioeconomic dysfunction. Language of identity demonstrates its roots in the cultural conceptions of identities, actions, and emotion vocabulary.

Cultural Vocabulary for Emotion

Every known language includes a vocabulary for not only conceiving of but also expressing emotion. While it has been suggested that some emotions are universal, a careful look at language use and culture reveals a more complex picture. One finds, counter to the perspective of many people, that love is not the same everywhere, nor is happiness. Placing emotion language in a cross-cultural perspective reveals different conceptions, uses, and meanings. Unsuspecting young lovers may exchange what passes for romantic dialogue with little or no understanding of the connotation the terms used have in the culture, despite a literal translation of the word *love*.

Cultural Terms for Social Relationships

Specific uses of language make persons aware of how they are related to one another. This is often conveyed elegantly through terms of address, personal reference, titles, honorifics, kin terms, clan identities, and other means of referring to persons, as Karen Tracy and Jessica Robles have recently reviewed. Following is an illustration of some of these with reference to Bulgarian uses of language and its cultural meanings.

Among the top results of an Internet search for the topic "emigration" in Bulgaria is a popular blog spot where the terms and opinions shared by the blogger known as Hikari are highly representative of the general discourse on emigration available in Bulgaria. It draws on the larger, very specific cultural symbols and meanings as to what it means to "be a Bulgarian" or to share in the "Bulgarian mentality." A segment of the blog post addresses practices of corruption as one reason why even Bulgarians who want to come back from abroad do not do so. The author presents an example from "a dozen local universities" where students who tried to transfer from a university abroad had to pay "additional" fees under the pretext of a "sponsorship" since they would count as "international" students. Such behavior, the author emphasizes, amounts to "flagrant stealing," something "unique in the thinking of a society," a unique and predatory "national hyenism," and "Anti-Bulgarianism," in which the country devours its own children.

Verbal interpretations such as these show a kind of social relationship and the disassociation of Bulgarians from their own children who are studying abroad. One site of meanings at play here is the person and action link, through the word *child*, as one whom adults traditionally should care for, but here the child educated elsewhere is deemed "insolent," and thus, to follow the metaphor, the pack of Bulgarians turns predatory toward this group of its own young. This example is intended to show how language concepts such as these weave culture into language use through terms about social relationships, identities, emotions, and actions. These terms, these linguistic items and forms, together create a cultural scene of dwelling, often invoked through a minimal linguistic form, such as a place name.

Cultural Terms for Dwelling

Place-based language, or any place-based terms active in this cluster, provides for its users a sense of where they are. Local terms of this kind carve the linguistic map into a geographic scene, from local places to global phenomena. Reflecting on the illustration above, terms are found for dwelling that cast Bulgaria into a non-European realm or a place somehow opposed to traditional (Western) Europe. Place-based conceptions like these are invoked and used in communication practices broadly, such as in direction giving, tour talks, responses to questions of where one originates, or grander narratives of history.

Conclusion

Language use is tied to culture as its terms and sequential forms both presume and create dense cultural meanings. Interculturalists, especially those focused on competence, would do well to explore linguistic constructions and cultural meanings as each provides deeply distinctive bases for understanding conduct, such as competence and its ties to identity, emotion, relations, and dwelling.

Donal Carbaugh and Nadezhda Sotirova

See also Applied Linguistics; Cross-Cultural Communication; Pragmatics; Sociolinguistics

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Lay Theory of Race

The lay theory of race refers to beliefs about the nature of race and racial categories. It is important for intercultural competence because it sets up a framework within which individuals interpret and organize information related to race, ethnicity, and culture. This entry examines the essentialist and constructivist theories of race, explores how these theories influence perception and cognition, and suggests the limitations imposed by the essentialist theory.

In many societies around the globe, there are social disparities that are linked with groups of people with distinct outer physical characteristics (e.g., skin tone, hair texture, nose shape, body type, etc.), behavioral tendencies, performance, and personality traits. To understand these disparities and make sense of the social world in general, people, as though they are naive scientists, come up with explanations or theories of why certain racial groups behave in certain ways.

This is a basic cognitive process through which humans learn and acquire knowledge and make predictions about future events. For example, we learn that aspects of the natural world (animals or elements), such as "tiger" and "gold," are defined by some core essence or properties that are independent of human perception. However, human artifacts, such as "chair" and "table," are categories that do not possess unalterable, inherent properties (e.g., an overturned crate can be considered a chair) but are created by human perceivers to simplify their observations or for other goals.

Ying-yi Hong, Melody Chao, and their colleagues examined the lay theory of race that people widely hold and found two opposing beliefs of race often contested in social discourse and scientific debates. One theory contends that race is determined by some nonmalleable, deep-seated essence, defined as something genetic or otherwise biological, or by other "essence placeholders," such as ancestry or normative cultural practices. According to this theory, termed the *essentialist theory of race*, racial essence gives rise to personality traits and abilities that are stable over time and across situations, such that race not only is "real," and not only has a material basis, but also is diagnostic of a multitude of human characteristics.

The opposing theory discussed in their work, termed the *social constructionist theory of race*, denies the "real" existence of racial essence—in fact, scientists have not found genetic markers for race in the human genome. For some people endorsing this theory, racial taxonomies are invented (often by members of the dominant group) to justify and rationalize the existing inequalities between groups. For others endorsing this theory, racial taxonomies are just convenient labels people use in certain societies or cultures. As such, a person may be categorized differently depending on where he or she goes in the world (e.g., the United States vs. Brazil), and the meaning of the racial categories to which he or she belongs can be altered when social circumstances change. In both cases, race is a social construction that is arbitrarily created for social and political reasons in historical contexts. Because racial categorization is conceptualized as fluid, any differences observed between racial groups do not reflect deep-seated differences between the groups.

Which of these two lay theories holds more truth? That is, is the essentialist or the social constructionist theory of race better supported by objective evidence? This question is hard, if not impossible, to answer because all human behaviors are arguably the result of the complex interaction of nature and nurture. Despite this, many people do believe more in one of the lay theories than in the other. For example, Ying-yi Hong, Sun No, and colleagues have designed an eight-item questionnaire in which participants are asked to rate their degree of agreement with statements such as "To a large extent, a person's race biologically determines his or her abilities and traits." Using this questionnaire, the researchers examine whether holding the essentialist versus social constructionist theory of race leads to different consequences in interracial/intercultural settings. Indeed, the lay theories set up different lenses through which people see the social world. Major findings include (a) race-based categorization and cognition, (b) identification with the mainstream culture, (c) switching between cultural frames, and (d) that the essentialist theory of race dampens creativity.

Race-Based Categorization and Cognition

Individuals holding the essentialist theory of race are more likely to use race to categorize others than do those holding the social constructionist theory of race. For example, in one study, Chao, Hong, and colleagues asked the participants to pick two out of three things that they thought were closely related, such as "Jimmy Carter," "Martin Luther King," and "Barack Obama." People holding the essentialist theory of race were more likely to pick "Martin Luther King" and "Barack Obama," suggesting that they focused on race rather than the alternative, U.S. president, to categorize. In other studies, these individuals also showed higher efficiency in learning race-related categories (in an implicit learning task), greater sensitivity in discerning phenotypic racial differences when performing racial categorization, and a greater tendency to adhere to the hypodescent principle in perceiving racial groups (i.e., they excluded targets from the White category when they showed any, even minimal, features of Blacks).

Identification With the Mainstream Culture

Holding the essentialist theory of race influences racial minority members (e.g., Asian Americans) to perceive a more rigid, impermeable, interracial boundary than does holding the social constructionist theory of race. Under the essentialist theory framework, racial minority members feel that they can never become full-fledged members of the mainstream, host cultural group (U.S. American) and thus would show a lower identification with the mainstream culture.

Switching Between Cultural Frames

Bicultural individuals holding the essentialist theory of race find it hard to switch between multiple cultural frames because they think of the two cultures as separate entities with impermeable interracial and cultural boundaries. This perception makes it difficult for minority group members to switch to the mainstream cultural frame and would eventually affect real-life outcomes, such as expatriates' adaptation to their adopted culture and cross-cultural management, in which bicultural managers adjust their management practices in different cultural contexts.

Essentialist Theory of Race Dampens Creativity

Individuals holding the essentialist theory of race tend to rely on a rigid categorization process, which is a strong obstacle to creativity. Researchers have induced participants (temporarily) to believe in the essentialist theory of race and found that as a consequence, participants showed a rigid-categorization mind-set, which in turn dampened their creativity.

To achieve intercultural competence, individuals need to acknowledge the complexity of their views on race, ethnicity, and culture and cultivate the capacity to shift their frames of reference in order to avoid rigid perspectives.

Ying-yi Hong

See also Acculturation; Assumptions and Beliefs; Biracial Identity; Constructivism; Essentialism; Prejudice, Bias, Discrimination

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Leading Global Teams

Global teams are groups of individuals who interact around a common objective and who represent a number of geographies across the globe. Such teams often arise because the people with the best expertise, knowledge, or access to resources do not necessarily originate from the same geography. For example, a software development team may need the expertise of a designer from India, a systems expert from France, and a hardware specialist from the United States. There is a need for the members to work together, even though they are not from the same place. As a result, many global teams are also geographically dispersed, meaning that their members reside in and work from very different locations. They often communicate electronically rather than by meeting face-to-face in the same room.

Leading a global team is the process of establishing direction and influencing others in such teams. This task may be more challenging in a global team than would be the case in a team composed of members who all originate from the same geography and reside in the same location. This entry describes the key elements in leading global teams, provides an overview of success factors, and examines the significance of such leadership in the global environment.

Leading Global Teams: Core Elements

Global teams come in a variety of shapes and sizes and are implemented for many different purposes. They can occur in almost any industry or sector, including technology, natural resources, entertainment, healthcare, education, the military, or government. A global team may exist, for example, to provide emergency aid to stranded tsunami victims and may consist of local ground personnel at the site of the disaster, volunteers raising funds or providing resources from another continent, and transport and logistics experts assisting the team to get the resources to those in need. Or a global team may consist of pharmaceutical production specialists in four different business units of a multinational firm. Scholars have proposed a number of typologies and dimensions that capture the ways such teams may differ. These models are useful for understanding the leadership of global teams because they highlight the key elements that need to be addressed, which may be different or unique in global teams. Four such dimensions are cultural diversity, geographic dispersion, reliance on electronic communication, and structural dynamism.

Cultural diversity refers to the number of different cultural affiliations represented on the team. By definition, affiliations in a global team are often to differing national culture groups (e.g., Germany or Australia), but they may also be to ethnic, regional, or even professional groups. Furthermore, scholars recognize that each individual member likely has multiple cultural affiliations, with nationality being only one of the identities that have meaning for the member. Cultural diversity may complicate team processes, as it may lead to conflicts among the team members due to different cognitive styles, cultural values, and allegiances. For example, team members from different countries are likely to have different communication styles, different ideas of what a team is and how it operates, as well as different values regarding the best type of leadership or what role work should play in one's life. Even norms around knowledge sharing are different in different cultures, which may impede team effectiveness.

Geographical dispersion refers to team members being located in different places. In a global team, members often span different country locations, but some members could be in different cities or regions of the same country. Communicating across distances and time zones makes it more difficult to share knowledge and coordinate tasks. Since members are located in different places, they may be less aware of what those in the other locations do not know and may neglect to share or explain this information.

Sharing contextual or "situated" knowledge—such as information about local holidays, festivals, rituals, the weather, culture, politics, and sports events—is more difficult because members often take it for granted or find it difficult to articulate. In addition, there are shorter windows of time for meetings in which all members can participate together when they are spread over different time zones, and meetings may have to be held very late at night or very early in the morning for some members. Team members at remote sites may be inadvertently left out of decision making, or those joining conference calls at inconvenient times may be less engaged.

Electronic dependence refers to team members' reliance on technology to communicate. Global team members may rely on e-mail, teleconferencing and videoconferencing, smartphones, collaborative software such as SharePoint, Intranets, and new social media tools like wikis and social network sites to collaborate and share knowledge. Although these technologies make it possible to communicate and conduct work across distances, if members do not see each other face-to-face for physical meetings or interactions, they may miss the subtle gestures, expressions, or other nonverbal cues that team members display. These nonverbal signals through gestures and body language are absent in much electronic communication, making understanding and interpretation of meaning more difficult. Communicating electronically may restrict spontaneous and unplanned communication, and this may reduce the creative synergy that is more easily established when team members have the opportunity to meet face-to-face.

Dynamic structure refers to how often members leave the team and new ones join and to how stable or changeable members' roles are. Rather than having stable membership, many global teams are short-term and project based or involve frequent member turnover through either temporary subcontracting or hiring people to do specific tasks. Increased turnover among team members also makes it hard to develop strong relationships and trust among members who do not interact frequently. It is difficult to preserve the ideas, information, knowledge, and ways of doing things that the team develops as members work together when members are always coming and going. Finally, lack of knowledge of what each member can contribute makes it harder to assign responsibilities and coordinate around novel ideas.

Key Success Factors

Despite the inherent complexities in leading global teams, the elements reviewed above provide clues as to how best to facilitate their success. In general, these practices pertain either to the behavior of the leaders themselves or to the processes they can facilitate within the team to ensure effectiveness. Successful leadership behavior is highly situation dependent, with some circumstances requiring decisiveness and others best suited to a collaborative, consensus-based approach. However, what seems to be most critical in global teams is the extent to which the leader demonstrates *intercultural competence*, defined as a set of cognitive, affective, and behavioral skills and characteristics that support effective and appropriate interaction in a variety of cultural contexts. Leaders who are interculturally competent recognize the subtle cues that indicate that the members may be deploying different worldviews or cognitive styles. They suspend judgment as to which might be "the best" way, observing and listening so as to learn as much as possible from the members. They can then adapt their own behavior to build strong social interactions and relationships with, and among, the members, be sensitive to emotional reactions and particular member needs, and help ensure that these needs are met. The leaders are aware of how their own behavior affects others, and they work to enable the success of others. Finally, they are able to manage their own workloads, the uncertainties they may face (in not necessarily knowing the one best way to lead), and the anxiety or stress that may accompany the complexity of the global team. Each of these behaviors on the part of the leaders themselves can facilitate the effectiveness of the team.

With regard to team processes, what seems to be particularly important is that the leader should help develop a *psychologically safe communication climate* characterized by support, trust, openness, mutual respect, and risk taking. Such a climate encourages members to speak up, engage in spontaneous and informal communication, provide unsolicited information, bridge differences by suspending judgment, be open to different ideas and views, and engage in active listening.

When members engage in active listening, they provide their full attention and show that they are listening. Then, they ask questions to clarify anything they don't understand or ask the speaker to provide more details about his or her ideas. The listeners may even repeat what they think they heard the speaker say, to check whether they have indeed heard the speaker correctly. This makes the speaker feel comfortable that the message is getting across and that the ideas are respected. It is important to note that listeners do not have to always agree with the speaker. But even if they don't, communicating that they are listening and that the ideas expressed are respected is important. If members feel that they will be heard and respected, they are more likely to share ideas, particularly if these ideas are different, unusual, or risky.

Psychological safety has been found to be important for team learning and innovation as it helps mitigate interpersonal risks and encourages members to admit mistakes, question practices, and ask for help and feedback. It promotes open sharing of information and situated knowledge across geographic locales and contexts. It may also increase informal communication and feedback to overcome the problems resulting from reduced face-to-face interaction and the lack of social cues in electronic communication. Members may feel comfortable with being more spontaneous and "improvising" rather than hesitant and restricted by protocol or past routines. This can help strengthen relationships in teams with high turnover by building trust and reducing perceptions of risk, as well as providing incentives to build a shared history, which contributes to the work flow.

Finally, a psychologically safe communication climate can help bridge cultural differences, as team members who communicate supportively are more likely to develop shared understanding and integrate new knowledge to reach new solutions. In these ways, a psychologically safe communication climate can help reduce the challenges due to cultural diversity, geographic dispersion, electronic dependence, and dynamic structure.

The Significance of Leadership in Global Teams

The current popularity of global teams makes leading such teams critical for the success of many endeavors, from new product innovation to human service delivery, in profit and nonprofit environments all across the world. This places a premium on training and developing global leaders, both in the universities and in the organizations that deploy such teams. Fortunately, educators and scholars have identified a number of skills and processes that appear to facilitate their success, hence providing a mandate for global leadership development. It is likely that these skills will become a basic foundation for all leaders as collaborative efforts more often become global than local.

Cristina B. Gibson and Jennifer L. Gibbs

See also Assessments of Intercultural Competence; Intercultural Communication, Definition of; Intercultural Relations and Globalization

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LEARNING COMMUNITIES

Although the term *learning community* sounds somewhat self-explanatory, the concept has special qualities that set it apart from the various communities where learning may take place—from the classroom, to the institution, to the larger sense of where people live and work. Then, within the context of the intercultural perspective, the concept takes on yet more vital qualities that differentiate it from many learning environments and approaches. It is critical to note from the beginning that multiple definitions of what a learning community is exist in the many contexts in which they function. The term will appear or change depending on the context and the users, for example, professional learning communities, dynamic learning communities, or communities of practice. This entry presents a definition and the history of learning communities and outlines 12 fundamental characteristics of learning communities, followed by a discussion of learning communities in the intercultural context. An explanation of transformational learning concludes the entry.

Historical Perspective

Regardless of what they are called, learning communities have been around for many years. In the past 40 years, for example, the use of learning communities has proliferated in colleges, universities, and K–12 schools, and local communities have used the model of learning communities to help them meet their goals. The roots of the concept, however, reach back to the 1920s, when the University of Wisconsin created the short-lived Meiklejohn Experimental College. Later, at institutions such as the University of Minnesota and Syracuse University, experiments were conducted to serve the specific needs of students who typically sought greater involvement in their own education and whose interests often spanned the curriculum. In the late 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, more colleges and universities sought to create special learning opportunities for individuals. Smaller groups of students were brought together in learning communities as experiments in higher education were encouraged.

This innovative method became well-known in the mid-1980s through the commitment of Barbara Leigh Smith and Jean MacGregor at Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington, and through their focus on educational leadership. From that point on, the model extended into many aspects of higher education as well as into other professional environments. Newly arrived students at large universities participated in programs for first-year students, online learners joined learning groups that made them feel less alone and more productive, professors crossing disciplinary lines used the tool to help integrate knowledge and place greater responsibility for learning on students, and cohort-based models were developed in many programs for adults and other nontraditional learners. At the present time, learning communities exist in hundreds of institutions of higher education in the United States and other countries.

Fundamental Characteristics

Given the development of this concept and the various permutations that have taken place, what are the qualities and characteristics they hold in common?

A learning community typically involves the following dimensions:

1. A small group of learners with an interest in a common topic or subject join to achieve a shared learning goal.
2. Participants agree on general goals and objectives and typically on values as well.
3. The members of the learning community share responsibility for their own learning and the learning of their colleagues.
4. Members bring knowledge and skills that allow them to teach the other members and learn from and with one another.
5. Learners not only gain knowledge and skills together but also create new knowledge as a group.

6. There is a natural tendency to reach out to bring together people with diverse backgrounds in order to increase the resources of the community.
7. Faculty, mentors, and other experts within the learning community function as facilitators, guides, colleagues, or partners in the learning/teaching process.
8. A sense of mutual support exists to help meet both task and social dimensions.
9. An atmosphere develops that encourages active learning, collaboration, curiosity, inquiry, and reflection as essential elements.
10. By their very nature, the groups produce a reduction in the sense of isolation often found in large educational settings as well as independent learning.
11. A fundamental assumption is cultivated that participants will learn more, teach more, and create more knowledge than by working alone or in traditional group settings.
12. Members assume that the concept is applicable to multiple environments: online (synchronous or not), in person, or in a combination of settings.

Other characteristics may seem obvious to a variety of those working with learning communities, but this list represents an overview of recent perspectives.

Learning Communities Within an Intercultural Context

One could argue that by their very nature, learning communities are and always will be intercultural. In pulling together a group of disparate individuals and asking them to bring their own knowledge, skills, and values to the table to help achieve new learning, one is operating with an intercultural perspective. And while this view may indeed be accurate and meaningful in the long run, it avoids the specifics of examining learning communities through the intercultural lens.

For a learning community to be called intercultural, it is apt to have one or more of the following characteristics:

1. The topic of the learning community focuses on a variety of issues such as domestic diversity, advising international students, preparing employees to work abroad, reducing racism, marketing across cultures, healthcare for different cultures, and teaching in the intercultural classroom, to name a few.

2. Typically, in keeping with the topic, the learning community attempts to include diverse voices that reflect the many cultural perspectives that are relevant to the topic of concern and to the larger environment in which the learning community operates.

3. Beyond fundamental growth in knowledge and skill that is true of all learning communities, a foundational goal is to achieve a change in the mind-set of all concerned by welcoming, encouraging, and honoring multiple cultural perspectives. The development of the Intercultural Communication Workshops in the late 1960s and early 1970s is one example of creating an intercultural learning community.

Although learning communities encourage a diversity of views and as such promote an intercultural perspective, they are learning strategies that have grown from the U.S. American culture in many ways. They are based on the assumption that the locus of knowledge, or more specifically the avenue to accessing knowledge and understanding, lies within each individual and is somehow revealed when learners come together in an attempt to grow, develop, and learn through group efforts. Rather than believing in the specific value of the group, the collective, learning communities are based on the belief that by bringing diverse individuals together, greater learning will take place. The emphasis is on the characteristics of the individuals, not on the specific value of the group in and of itself. Furthermore, they are often based on the idea of agency, that individuals can make a difference by acting to create change, a viewpoint that is far from universal. The very idea of individualistic personal development and growth may be a very culture-specific concept.

Intercultural Learning Communities and Transformative Learning

While not always present in the language of learning communities, the notion of transformative learning often arises, especially when the discussion concerns an intercultural topic or an especially diverse learning community. The very thought of learning with and from *others* seems to stimulate the processes necessary for transformative learning. Embracing new perspectives, discovering new ways to think or feel, and welcoming differences and those who think differently or look different are all ways of promoting transformative learning in interculturally transformative learning communities. Reconciliation efforts in countries torn by war and hatred, the gay–straight alliance network, and Meetups in Seattle, Washington, are also ways to learn about one another and participate in antiracism efforts. In the final analysis, it appears that most learning communities present the possibility of becoming both intercultural and transformative, regardless of their original goals.

As with any reform in higher education, learning communities are not without detractors or the challenges of time and change. Will faculty members be trained to use this tool? Will the demands of the disciplines cause interdisciplinary perspectives to lose credibility in education? Will institutions find a way of maintaining such intensive learning opportunities at a time when the reduction of costs is becoming mandatory? Will online learning become a style unto itself and thereby lose the practice of uniting online learning with learning communities? Will learning communities become integral to nonacademic settings? Will they transform into communities of practice, as found now in Australia? Will the loss of the reformers who created and built learning communities cause them to disappear over time?

These questions are not easy to answer; it is known that many educational reforms have come and gone. Yet learning communities have a quality that begs their continuation. Their ability to encourage a diversity of voices with respect and appreciation is central to their active continuation. Likewise, their potential as tools for transformation makes them critical tools for the future of education.

Kent Warren

See also Cultural Self-Awareness; Developing an Intercultural Vision; Intercultural Communication, Definition of; Intercultural or Multicultural Classroom; Intercultural Service Learning; Learning Styles Across Cultures

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Learning Styles Across Cultures

One of the sources of the difficulties and misunderstandings that can arise in intercultural communication and collaboration lies in the differences in the way people from different cultures learn and understand one another. In the multicultural American college classroom, for example, American students can be talkative in class and willing to challenge the professor, while Asian students are often reflective, respectful listeners, which comes from their higher power distance cultural background. Many professors have class participation count as a part of the grade students receive—a practice that many of the Asian students think is unfair. In this case, differences between *active* and *reflective learning styles* create misunderstanding and confusion.

Another source of misunderstanding arises from the differences between *abstract* and *concrete* learning styles. Edward T. Hall described the differences between *high-context* cultures, such as those in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and South America, and *low-context* cultures, such as those in the United States, Germany, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries. In high-context cultures, knowledge is created primarily by concrete experiences in the immediate context, while low-context cultures rely on generalized knowledge created through abstract concepts. Contextual learning and conceptual learning are both essential for the successful application of knowledge. Contextual learning is necessary for applying generalizations to a specific situation, and conceptual learning extends knowledge beyond the limited horizon of a specific context.

Research on cultural differences in learning style provides a framework for understanding these differences. While a number of learning style typologies, including the VARK (Visual, Aural, Read/Write, and Kinesthetic) and the MBTI (Myers Briggs Type Indicator), have been used in this research, the most widely used instrument is the Kolb Learning Style Inventory (KLSI), based on experiential learning theory (ELT), which defines learning as the process by which knowledge is created through the grasping and transformation of experience. The KLSI describes the different approaches that people use to learn from their experience based on the two dimensions of learning style described above:

- The grasping or taking in of experience through concrete sensation and feeling or through abstract ideas, theories, and concepts
- The transformation of experience through active experimentation in the world or by internal reflection

These differences are salient not only from person to person but also from one culture to another. Understanding differences in learning styles across cultures is important to establish successful intercultural communication and collaboration. The following sections describe ELT and the nine learning styles and provide a summary of the known cultural differences in learning styles.

Experiential Learning Theory

ELT builds on the foundational works of prominent scholars such as Kurt Lewin, John Dewey, William James, Jean Piaget, Lev Vygotsky, Carl Rogers, Paulo Freire, and Mary Parker Follett. ELT is an integrative theory that conceives of learning as a dynamic and holistic process that involves the integrated functioning of the whole person—acting, reflecting, thinking, and feeling. When a concrete experience is enriched by reflection, given meaning by thinking, and transformed by action, the new experience created becomes richer, broader, and deeper. Altogether, these four modes constitute the experiential learning cycle (Figure 1), which emphasizes a cyclical, dynamic learning process.

ELT is based on six basic assumptions that are shared among foundational experiential learning scholars:

1. Learning is best conceived as a process, not in terms of outcomes.
2. All learning is relearning.
3. Learning requires the resolution of conflicts between dialectically opposed modes of adaptation to the world.
4. Learning is a holistic process of adaptation to the world.
5. Learning results from synergetic transactions between the person and the environment.
6. Learning is the process of creating knowledge.

The Kolb Learning Style Inventory and the Nine Learning Styles

Even though learners go through all modes of the experiential learning cycle, each person has a different entry point and and a different emphasis on learning modes in the learning cycle, depending on the person's unique life experiences and situational demands. Some rely on abstract knowledge and information, while others may prefer concrete experience to be the main mode through which

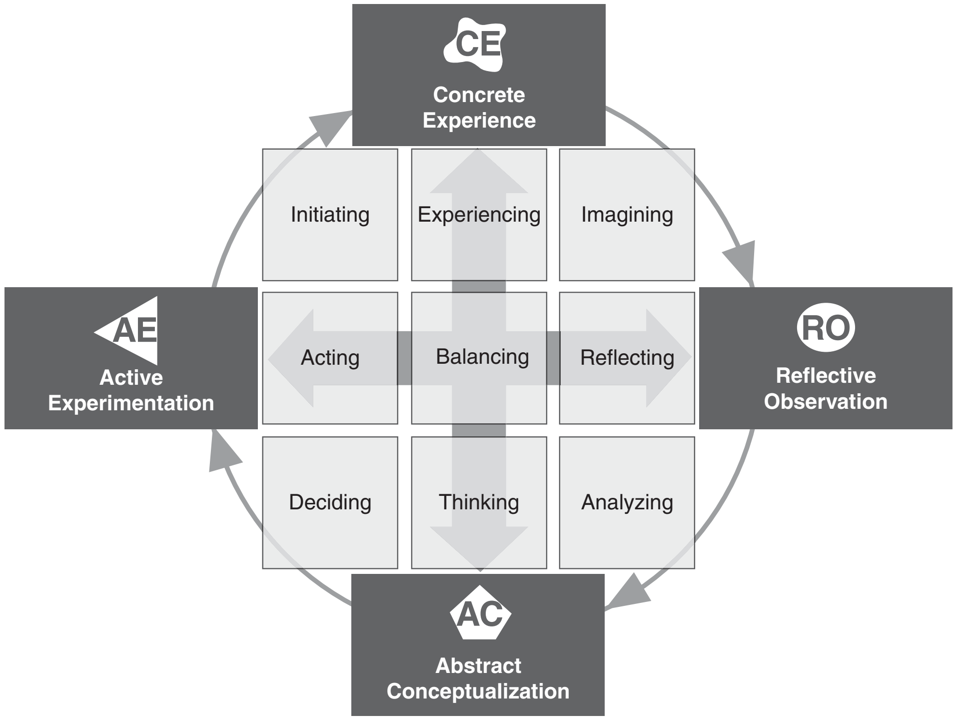

Figure 1 The Experiential Learning Cycle and the Nine Learning Styles

they gather information. Likewise, when transforming their experience, some may watch, observe, and reflect to understand the meaning of an experience before taking the time to act, whereas others like to experiment and try things out until they find an approach that is the best fit for them. The term *learning style* thus refers to the individual differences in approaches to learning based on an individual's preference for using a combination from these dialectic modes: *abstract conceptualization* (AC) versus *concrete experience* (CE) and *active experimentation* (AE) versus *reflective observation* (RO). Learning styles are neither a fixed psychological trait nor a stereotype but rather a dynamic state resulting from the synergistic transactions between the learner and the environment. It is an individual's comfort zone to learn. It could change depending on the demands of the surroundings, significant life experiences, learners' intentional development, and other factors. Understanding their learning style helps learners utilize their preferences to maximize their learning; strengthen and develop their learning styles; apply what they learn about themselves in life, in problem solving and decision making; and deal with conflicts and disagreements, teamwork, communicating at work and at home, and career development.

Individual learning style is measured by using the KLSI. The KLSI is an instrument designed to measure the degree to which an individual prefers a certain learning mode to the others, consisting of 12 items that require respondents to force-rank four sentences that correspond with the four learning modes—CE, RO, AC, and AE. Based on the calculation of the relative preferences among the dialectic modes, an individual could be grouped under one of the nine different learning styles (see Figure 1):

1. The Initiating style, combining concrete experience with active experimentation—initiating action to deal with experiences and situations
2. The Experiencing style, building on concrete experience while balancing reflection and action—finding meaning from deep involvement in experience

3. The Imagining style, involving concrete experience and reflective observation—imagining possibilities by observing and reflecting on experiences
4. The Reflecting style, delving into reflective observation while balancing concrete experience and abstract conceptualization—connecting experience and ideas through sustained reflection
5. The Analyzing style, focusing on abstract conceptualization and reflective observation—integrating ideas into concise models and systems through reflection
6. The Thinking style, emphasizing thinking while balancing reflection and action—disciplined involvement in abstract reasoning and logical reasoning
7. The Deciding style, preferring active experimentation when combined with abstract conceptualization—using theories and models to decide on problem solutions and courses of action
8. The Acting style, prioritizing action while balancing both concrete experience and abstract conceptualization—a strong motivation for a goal-directed action that integrates people and tasks
9. The Balancing style, having roughly equal preference of all modes around the experiential learning cycle—adapting by weighing the pros and cons of acting versus reflecting and experiencing versus thinking

Each of the nine learning styles has its own learning strengths and challenges. There is no one learning style that is better than another. The KLSI 4.0 also measures an individual's learning flexibility—the ability to use different learning styles as the situation requires. Opportunities for learning effectiveness come from being flexible to adapt to learning styles other than the primary preference and learning to work with people with different learning styles.

Differences in Learning Styles Across Cultures

Learning styles, or the way individuals prefer to learn, differ not only from one person to another but also across cultures. Over the years, researchers have found several differences in learning styles. Simy Joy and David A. Kolb examined the influence of culture on learning style in comparison with some of the other factors known to influence an individual's approach to learning. The results of the study indicated that culture as measured by the Global Leadership and Organizational Effectiveness (GLOBE) country clusters and by the representative countries from each cluster does indeed significantly influence learning style, particularly the extent to which individuals rely on concrete experiences versus abstract concepts in the way they learn. On the AC-CE dimension of the KLSI, in both samples, educational specialization accounted for the most variance in AC-CE, and culture ranked second, ahead of gender, educational level, and age. Analysis of the GLOBE country ratings on individual cultural dimensions suggests that individuals tend to have abstract learning styles in countries that are high in uncertainty avoidance, future orientation, performance orientation, and institutional collectivism. Individuals from Italy and Brazil had the most concrete learning styles, and those from Singapore and Germany had the most abstract learning styles.

On the AE-RO dimension of the KLSI, in the cluster sample, only age had a significant influence on individuals' emphasis on action versus reflection in learning. In the country sample also, age had the most influence, followed by educational specialization. The influence of culture was only marginally significant. Analysis of the GLOBE country ratings on individual cultural dimensions suggests that individuals tend to have reflective learning styles in countries that are high in uncertainty avoidance and active learning styles in countries that are high in in-group collectivism. Individuals from Germany had the most reflective learning styles, and those from Poland had the most active learning styles.

Other research has shown that people from cultures with high institutional collectivism are more likely to prefer abstract conceptualization to concrete experience. In a study of learning styles of accounting students from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Australia, researchers found that the Asian students were more abstract and reflective, as well as less concrete and active, while the Australian ones were more concrete and active, as well as less abstract and reflective. They suspected that these differences might be due to the institutional collectivism of Hong Kong and Taiwan as compared with the individualistic nature of Australia. Yet another study revealed that Japanese managers preferred a more concrete and reflective approach, while American managers tended to be more abstract and active. Full-time and part-time U.S. Master of Business Administration students also preferred the abstract to the concrete approach to learning. These different findings suggest that cultural elements as determinants of AC-CE preference are not conclusive. Furthermore, cultures high on uncertainty avoidance have been shown to display greater preference for abstract conceptualization than for concrete experience. People also favor abstract over concrete knowledge in cultures with more future orientation and more gender equality.

On the other learning dimension, less cultural difference has been found in the preference for reflective observation or active experimentation. Cultures high in uncertainty avoidance have a stronger preference for reflective observation than for active experimentation; the same is true for those who are more assertive, compared with the less assertive ones. There is no difference in the preference for action or reflection based on the degree of power distance within cultures or the level of humane orientation. In other research studies, French, Québécois, and German students did not show any significant difference in reflective observation. No differences in learning style were found among Middle Eastern and American computer programming students. Researchers have attributed the lack of difference to education and training, suggesting that academic specialization might have a bigger impact on learning and learning styles than national culture.

All in all, these research results offer a perspective for development of higher cultural sensitivity and intercultural competence. Learning styles have been shown to be influential not only in the way people learn but also in the way they live, interact with others, and approach problems. Understanding one's own learning style as well as others' can help distinguish the source of differences when working with someone—their personality or their cultural and training background. It helps reduce prejudice that might be unconscious and lets individuals utilize one another's strengths to the fullest while avoiding weaknesses. It supports more compassion toward others and increases the chances to build lifelong bonds beyond simply transactional communication.

Mai P. Trinh and David A. Kolb

See also Assessments of Intercultural Competence; Cognitive Styles Across Cultures; Culturally Appropriate Instructional Design; High-Context and Low-Context Communication; Intercultural Communication, Definition of; Value Dimensions: GLOBE Study; Value Dimensions: Hofstede

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LINGUACULTURE

Linguaculture (or *languaculture*) is a concept that focuses on culture in language or the cultural dimensions of language. It has been developed to contribute to a more differentiated conceptual frame in the interface between studies of language and studies of culture.

Development of the Concept of Linguaculture

The American linguistic anthropologist Paul Friedrich introduced the concept *linguaculture* in an article in 1989, in which he argues that the many sounds and meanings of what we conventionally call "language" and "culture" constitute a single universe of its own kind. He stresses that the concept of linguaculture does not encompass all of culture but only the verbal aspects of culture, and he argues that this terminological innovation can help us gain a clearer understanding of what aspects of language are related to culture and what aspects of culture are related to language.

The American linguistic anthropologist Michael Agar borrowed the concept from Friedrich in a book in 1994 but changed it to "languaculture" to bring it in line with the more commonly used word *language*. Agar presented the linguistic and anthropological basis for ideas about the relationship between language and culture, especially in connection with the discussion of linguistic relativity—that is, the discussion of the extent to which language determines or influences thought (also called the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis). Agar takes a discourse-oriented point of departure and stresses that the *langua* part in "languaculture" is about discourse, not just about words and sentences. And the *culture* part in "languaculture" is about meanings that include, but go well beyond, what the dictionary and the grammar offer. Agar focuses on the misunderstandings and cultural awareness that can arise in connection with conversations, both when it is a question of the *same* language and when it is a question of *different* languages. He introduced the concept of *rich points*, meaning the places in conversation where people misunderstand one another. In these rich points, there is the opportunity to glimpse culture, to become conscious of cultural differences. One of his metaphors is the "Whorfian Alps" in linguistic communication: Between people who have different languacultures (which ultimately everyone has), a number of cultural differences rise up, and it is a question of bringing these out in the open and trying to go beyond them.

Transnational Linguaculture

Whereas Agar focused on ethnographic studies of languaculture in local settings, in 2006, the Danish sociolinguist and cultural educationalist Karen Risager introduced a transnational perspective. (Risager has used the term *languaculture*, but in her recent writings, she says that she prefers *linguaculture* as a perhaps more straightforward term for linguists.) The transnational perspective refers to and extends the theory of the Swedish social anthropologist Ulf Hannerz on transnational cultural flow and cultural complexity. In Hannerz's theory, the world is characterized by cultural flows, that is, flows of meaningful forms like images, music, food, clothing, and architecture, and Risager argues that these include linguistic flows: flows of English, Danish, Chinese, and so on, including varieties and mixtures of these. Language is thus seen primarily as language practices flowing (spreading) in social networks across national structures and communities in the world. The linguistic flows are embodied in people moving, and when people move or migrate, they carry their (personal) linguacultures with them to new places. In this view, the concept of linguaculture is used as a term that, on the one hand, emphasizes that language always has cultural dimensions and, on the other, shows that a language and its linguaculture can be dissociated from one cultural context and integrated into a new one.

Dimensions of Linguaculture

Risager widens the scope of the linguaculture concept by analyzing it in three interconnected dimensions (concerning both oral and written language): (1) the *semantic–pragmatic dimension*, (2) the *poetic dimension*, and (3) the *identity dimension*—all representing well-established but separate academic fields. The semantic–pragmatic dimension is the one that is primarily associated with the linguaculture/languaculture concept, and it links to linguistic anthropology, including the Whorfian and the German Humboldtian traditions, as well as to cross-cultural semantics and intercultural pragmatics. The poetic dimension has to do with the aesthetic uses of language in play, ritual, and art, and it links to studies of literature. The identity dimension of language has to do with the social and cultural significance of the choice of language or variety of language, and it links to sociolinguistics, especially to studies of social meaning and the relations between language and identity.

Linguaculture and Intercultural Competence

Risager stresses the importance of studying the linguacultural profile of the subject. The linguacultural profile is developed as an integrated part of the whole life history of the subject. In the formative years of childhood, linguaculture constitutes the cultural dimensions of the language(s) acquired in the family, and maybe also in the neighborhood and school (perhaps the majority language of the country). But if the subject learns other languages later on, the linguaculture linked to the first language(s) encountered is transferred to these new languages and may be more or less modified and enlarged along with the growing awareness of the perspectives and cultural experiences of speakers of these languages. So the linguacultural profile of the subject—an important part of his or her intercultural competence—is related first and foremost to the childhood language(s) but also to a certain extent to languages learned later in life.

Many linguists are working with linguaculture (or languaculture) without actually using either term, including in cross-cultural semantics (e.g., A. Wierzbicka), intercultural pragmatics (e.g., S. Blum-Kulka), and multilingualism in an intercultural perspective (e.g., C. Kramsch).

Karen Risager

See also Sociolinguistics

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Locus of Control

Among the various taxonomies that are employed to compare or differentiate cultures, one of the early dimensions suggested was Rotter's conceptualization of *locus of control* (LOC). LOC is a way of looking at how individuals make decisions about their behavior based on their perception of positive or negative rewards guided by either (1) forces or factors around and outside one's self (external LOC) or (2) self-guided inner motivations or attributes (internal LOC). Since its inception in the 1960s, LOC has become an important topic for scientific investigation and in some intercultural training designs. Cross-cultural research has shown that LOC has implications for understanding cultural differences, intercultural adaptation, and intercultural training. This entry describes the dynamics of how LOC was identified as a factor, how it works in affecting the perception of our own and others' actions, how it has been initially researched and studied cross-culturally, and how it has been explained and applied in training.

History and Explanation of the LOC Concept

LOC was first developed by the psychologist Julian Rotter, who posited that individuals' learning history leads to their generalized expectancies, which in turn govern their actions. These expectancies form an internality–externality continuum. On one end, an individual's reward or sense of success depends on his or her own actions; on the other end, an individual's reward or social recognition is determined by forces that are beyond his or her control.

At the most basic operational level, individuals with internal LOC orientations attribute success to their own capabilities, efforts, and failures. They feel that it is important to take personal responsibility for their actions and expect others to do so as well. Individuals with external LOC orientations attribute success to luck and failure to lack of luck. They view fate, chance, or powerful others as the defining forces that shape their actions rather than their own attributes or engagements.

Therefore, compared with people with an external LOC, those with an internal LOC are more likely to modify their behavior after a reward is offered because they view such benefits as being under their control and more rewards can be expected when their behavior is further improved. In contrast, people with an external LOC are less likely to change their behavior because they see rewards as beyond their control. They are generally more likely to credit outside factors with affecting the outcomes and may avoid taking personal responsibility.

To test these dispositions, Rotter developed the initial I-E Scale in 1966 to measure LOC. The scale consisted of 23 statements with forced choices between internality and externality. The choice of more internality items indicates a stronger tendency toward an internal LOC. Factor analysis of the data showed that LOC is a one-dimension construct, suggesting that a single score should be able to reflect an individual's balance between internality and externality.

Research on the LOC Construct and Its Influences

To further explore the implications of LOC, Hanna Levenson divided the domain of externality into *chance* and *powerful others* (political leaders, parents, or God) and developed the 24-item IPC Scale using Likert's rating scheme. More such scales followed, for example, the Reid-Ware Three-Factor Internal-External Scale and the Multidimensional Multi-Attributional Causality Scale. Each of these scales was designed to measure an individual's general tendencies regarding LOC.

With the advancement of domain-specific research since the 1990s, various measures were created, covering areas such as work (Spector, Work Locus of Control Scale), health (Wallson, Multidimensional Health Locus of Control), and education (Crandall, Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Questionnaire).

LOC has since been found to be associated with a number of variables. Internality is linked with academic success, higher self-motivation, lower incidences of stress and depression, and higher subjective well-being. In contrast, externality has been shown to be associated with poor academic achievement, a sense of helplessness, inability to cope well with stress, low levels of self-control, and a disposition toward depression. From a psychological point of view (in Western research settings), it appears that individuals with more internal LOC orientations are better off. However, research also shows that overly internal individuals can be psychologically unhealthy. They may be constantly under the pressure of matching their capability and effectiveness to the task at hand to be able to excel. This pressure may lead to extra stress and anxiety. There is no evidence yet to suggest that higher internal LOC is more socially desirable or that greater external LOC is undesirable. Social context surely plays a role, as noted below.

Instruments such as the I-E Scale measure individuals' perceptions (usually by self-report measures) of their generalized expectancies, such as the degree to which they tend to assume or think that they have control over their actions and outcomes. Rather than being linked to a fixed personality trait, one's orientation to LOC is largely acquired through social learning. Despite the probable desirability of a moderate tilt toward internality on the LOC continuum in Western societies, research has shown that U.S. college students have become increasingly external in their LOC since the 1960s, posing a need to account for such change from a cultural perspective (e.g., to what degree are shifts from modernism to postmodernism, from a melting pot to greater multicultural diversity influencing this change?).

Cross-Cultural and Domain-Specific Research on LOC

The construct of LOC has undergone decades of extensive cross-cultural and comparative ethnic research, and culture clearly has a role both globally and domestically in the formation of general expectancies of a cultural group. For instance, within the United States, it has been repeatedly found that African Americans are more external than European Americans. This difference remains even when the socioeconomic variable has been controlled. In cross-national comparisons, a recurring question is whether LOC is related to the cultural dimension of individualism–collectivism. Cultures that promote individualism encourage their members to value and pursue a sense of responsibility, independence, and individual achievement, suggesting a tendency toward personal control and initiative. Cultures that affirm collectivist orientations socialize their citizens to pursue interdependence, group solidarity, interpersonal harmony, and shared achievements, suggesting an inclination toward group control and social management.

In early cross-cultural research, although it was found that collectivist countries like China and Japan are more external in LOC than individualist countries like the United States and New Zealand, inconsistent results also surfaced, casting doubt on the reliability of general measures like the I-E Scale. One challenge is that within all societies, it has been inadequately clarified in which specific contexts one might be more individually motivated or which individuals have a more collective orientation. (There are few people or cultures that are purely individualist or collectivist.) Consequently, later researchers have resorted to domain-specific instruments, yielding robust findings on the relationship between individualism–collectivism and LOC, especially in the world of work. It has been found that work internality is usually strongly correlated with high individualism.

In cross-cultural adaptation research, there is evidence that sojourners' LOC tendencies affect their psychological adjustment. Studies show that people with an internal LOC orientation tend to participate more actively in intercultural communication and as a result maintain better psychological health in the course of their transitions than those with an external LOC. Externalized sojourners generally find it more difficult to adapt to a new culture or effectively communicate in the everyday life of their new context. External people are more likely to hold firmly to their own culture's values and be less capable of finding new ways to deal with psychological distresses than internal people. No matter what the cultural context, adaptation research has shown that willing, open, and more flexible orientations mediate both adjustment outcomes and psychological well-being during cultural transitions.

Training and Applications of LOC

LOC has also been a useful concept in cross-cultural training. Craig Storti highlights LOC as one of the building blocks of culture. Based on his research, Storti placed the United States on the internal end and Africa on the external end of the continuum. He cautioned that this assignment of culture is for a heuristic purpose rather than to be taken literally, but awareness of where one's culture might fall on the LOC line can help a person's overall cultural awareness.

LOC has also been considered in cross-cultural training as a motivation factor. Since those with internal control orientations believe that their own actions and abilities can determine personal success or event outcomes, it follows that they would tend to have higher attentiveness and efficacy expectations. Thus, internalized people generally come with more motivation to attend to and learn from training content. Internal people are also more likely to pay close attention to new or ambiguous situations, which better equips them to deal with the often confusing new cross-cultural environments. Thus, LOC possibly affects the degree to which individuals attend to or benefit from intercultural training and, consequently, the degree to which such training can be effective.

LOC research may not be as active as it once was, partly due to globalization and the effects of multiple levels of cultural hybridity blending some of the previously noted broad cultural dimensions or distinctions. Yet as a factor in helping intercultural sojourners better understand themselves or the diverse social contexts they might encounter, LOC remains a worthwhile concept to understand and consider as a motivational orientation toward self or society.

Liping Weng

See also Cultural Self-Awareness; Hybridity; Individualism and Collectivism

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M

Measuring Values

A famous quote from the world of business states, "What you can measure, you can manage." This popular truism asserts that measurement allows people to make sophisticated decisions with considerable ease and precision. When something is measured, like cultural values, the measurement takes abstract ideas or concepts and turns them into numbers (also referred to as *data*), which can then be put into computer software programs like Excel, IBM SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), or SAS (Statistical Analysis System). Once that is done, these software programs can be used to evaluate and analyze all sorts of interesting questions, like whether certain values are present among a group of people, whether members of one group hold those values to a greater or lesser degree than members of another, and whether or not those values can help predict interesting outcomes, such as important behaviors among members of a group that is under study.

This entry discusses how values are measured. The importance of reliability and validity is explained, and the entry describes the ways reliability and validity are enhanced or threatened, based on the research design. The entry concludes with five of the more commonly considered aspects of validity: (1) content validity, (2) predictive validity, (3) convergent validity, (4) face validity, and (5) differential (or cross-cultural) validity.

Measuring abstract ideas such as cultural values is an appropriate choice when the goal is to understand, predict, and empower people to shape important outcomes in meaningful ways. The role of measurement helps advance understanding because turning abstract concepts into numerical data is a powerful way of testing whether basic theories and definitions are valid. For example, if individuals wish to understand the importance of collectivism as a core human value, they would first come up with a definition based on theory and then look for ways to confirm the definition's accuracy (or validity) by measuring it in different ways and by looking for expected consistencies and patterns in the measurement results.

Then, when satisfied that the definition of collectivism is reasonably accurate, understanding could be expanded by looking to see if collectivism scores predict levels of employee satisfaction with work done in teams (or *teamwork satisfaction*). The prediction can be tested by running experiments that measure both collectivism and teamwork satisfaction. Then, one can verify if high collectivism scores tend to be present in employees reporting high teamwork satisfaction, while low collectivism scores tend to be present for employees reporting low teamwork satisfaction. By measuring both collectivism and teamwork satisfaction and putting the measurement data into a spreadsheet, the relationship between collectivism and teamwork satisfaction can be empirically tested. This would be an example of *hypothesis testing*.

Finally, if the prediction that higher collectivism leads to increased teamwork satisfaction holds true, then this knowledge could empower people to make decisions about designing work that employees would do in teams, which would better equip them to achieve greater success through employee job satisfaction. This is the basic process by which scientific inquiry advances an understanding of the world. It is also the basic logic behind the saying "What you can measure, you can manage."

Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that all measurement is not created equal. That is, just because measurement is used to turn an abstract idea or concept into numbers, it doesn't necessarily mean that the resulting data are valuable. To draw the conclusion that the measurement data are valuable, one would need to know whether they are both reliable and valid. These concepts, reliability and validity, are therefore central to the question of considering if one's data are worth collecting and paying attention to. The remainder of the entry will turn attention to these two concepts.

Measuring Reliability

Reliability is the foundational concept of all measurement, including the measurement of cultural values, like collectivism. *Reliability* describes the degree to which a measure is free from random fluctuations (this is also referred to as random error). For example, a typical bathroom scale is a measure—it measures weight, usually in pounds or kilos. If a person stepped on a given bathroom scale five times in a row and the weight was exactly the same each time, one would expect to get the same result (or *score*) each time. The degree of consistency, or stability, across each of these five times someone stepped on the bathroom scale would indicate how reliable it is. A high level of agreement across the five attempts, assuming one's weight was constant for each attempt, would indicate a highly reliable bathroom scale, which is the same as saying that the scale is free from random errors and random fluctuations.

As with bathroom scales, the same notion of reliability holds true when measuring human values. For example, suppose a researcher had a self-report survey that is supposed to measure collectivism. (A self-report survey is a questionnaire on which people are asked to indicate what they think about each of the survey questions.) If people are allowed to take this survey on five different occasions, then, assuming that they remain constant in their attitudes for collectivism, the researcher would expect to get the same score on the collectivism survey each time it's taken. The degree to which there is stability and consistency in the scores over these various attempts at taking it is the degree to which it is a reliable measure that's free from random fluctuations and random error.

Measuring Validity

The concept of reliability is fairly simple and straightforward, whereas validity is a concept that has multiple meanings. *Validity* is the degree to which the measure is accurately assessing what is intended, and whether or not it's doing so in ways that are useful and meaningful for the researcher. Reliability indicates a measure's freedom from random error, but validity focuses on a measure's freedom from systematic error. In this sense, reliability and validity indicate different things about the quality of the measure, but they are nevertheless related in a very important way. Specifically, a measure must always be reliable for it to be valid, but reliability by itself is not enough to ensure that a measure is also valid.

One way to think of this is to imagine the speedometer in a car. A speedometer provides a measure that shows how fast the car is traveling at any given moment. One can imagine an antique car that uses a needle to show speed, but suppose the needle bounces around wildly and randomly no matter how fast or slow the car is traveling. In this case, the speedometer in the antique car is not reliable owing to these random fluctuations; and furthermore, there is no way such an unreliable speedometer could ever be valid in giving an accurate reading of the car's speed. On the other hand, one can imagine a new car that also uses a needle for the speedometer but it is smooth and gives clear and precise readings without the wild bouncing of the antique car's speedometer. However, suppose also that the new car came from the factory with a defect that causes the speedometer to give a reading that is always 10 miles per hour faster than the actual speed. In this case, the speedometer is reliable but not valid. Or to summarize this relationship differently, reliability is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for a measure to be valid.

Just as one can think of the reliability and validity of a car's speedometer, one can also think of reliability and validity when measuring cultural values. In this way, for a self-report survey measuring collectivism to be worth using, it would have to be both reliable and valid. That is, it would have to be free from random fluctuations (e.g., it would have to give the same score for people who take the survey repeatedly and remain constant in their opinions about collectivism). Also, it would have to be free from systematic error (it would have to in fact measure collectivism and not, say, power distance or tolerance for ambiguity). Only when a measure is both reliable and valid is it worth using.

Five Aspects of Validity

While determining reliability is relatively simple and straightforward, validity on the other hand can be thought of in a variety of ways. In this sense, there are different types or aspects of validity. Following is a review of only five of the commonly considered aspects of validity: (1) content validity, (2) predictive validity, (3) convergent validity, (4) face validity, and (5) differential (or cross-cultural) validity. These are all different ways of evaluating the usefulness and quality of any given measure, and each is briefly described below.

Content Validity

This type of validity refers to the degree to which a measure is free from both contamination and deficiency. For example, a midterm exam is supposed to measure how well students have learned the assigned material. If the instructor prepares an exam intended to cover the first five chapters of a textbook, then for the exam to be content valid, it should include questions covering the full range of material in chapters 1 through 5 and only from those chapters. However, if the exam included questions on material from, say, chapters 6 or 7, then it could be said that the exam's content validity is *contaminated* (i.e., there were questions in it that should not have been included). Whereas if the exam failed to include questions on the material from, say, chapters 1 and 2, then its content validity is *deficient* (i.e., it failed to have questions in it that should have been included).

Likewise, if a survey designed to measure collectivism included questions that asked about power distance, then its content validity would be contaminated, whereas if it failed to ask questions about important aspects of collectivism, then it would be concluded that it is deficient. Invariably, when considering the quality of a measure of cultural values, the first step in evaluating its worth is to ask, "What was it intended to measure?" The answer to this question is what is called the *content domain*. The best way to make certain that any measure of values is content valid would be to ensure that it is designed based on a good theory. By having a good theoretical foundation, one will know the content domain of interest that is to be targeted when designing the measure. With a clearly defined content domain, based on good theory, one can then check the content of the measure for the degree to which it overlaps the full scope of the content domain of interest. It should not include extraneous content from outside the domain of interest, nor should it be deficient by not including important content from inside the domain. Failure to clearly specify the content domain of a measure means that the researcher can't really be sure, one way or another, that it is content valid and is measuring what it's supposed to measure. Or to put it another way, if individuals are not clear about the content domain they want to measure, then any assessment will do just fine.

Predictive Validity

This type of validity refers to the capacity of the scores derived from one measure to help predict scores on another measure (or some other phenomenon of interest). For example, a person's weight on a bathroom scale can help predict a range of possible heights the person may also have, not with exact precision, but lacking any other information, knowing a person's weight can at least provide a general estimate of a person's likely height. In a similar manner, if someone's score on a measure of intercultural empathy is known, recent studies have shown this to be a very good predictor of the person's capacity to learn a foreign language. In this sense, knowing the predictive validity of a measure can be a useful way of anticipating the likelihood that other phenomena of interest are more or less likely to occur as well.

Convergent Validity

This is another way of evaluating the usefulness and quality of a given measure. It helps when considering the question of whether a measure gives scores that are consistent in expected ways with other measures of the same thing (or roughly similar things). For example, several good measures of intercultural empathy exist and have been shared in published research studies. Since this is the case, if a researcher decided to develop a new measure of intercultural empathy, then she or he would need to demonstrate that her or his new measure generates scores consistent with the other already existing measures of intercultural empathy. This would be similar to a company that developed a new bathroom scale. For this new bathroom scale to be convergent valid, it would have to generate scores of a person's weight that are the same as what's generated by other bathroom scales that are already known to be reliable and accurate. If a measure can be shown to have convergent validity, then it can be concluded that it is a good measure and is worth adopting for use.

Face Validity

This particular type of validity is different from the others in the sense that it is less about the actual reliability, validity, and accuracy of the measure and, rather, is more about whether the measure appears *at face value* to be an appropriate assessment of what it purports to measure. For example, an assessment that measures a person's vocabulary of a foreign language would likely have high face validity as a measure of a person's potential to learn new languages, whereas a measure of intercultural empathy would likely have less face validity as a measure of a person's potential to learn new languages, even though intercultural empathy has high predictive validity for learning foreign languages. This essentially means that the question of whether a measure has face validity or not is really more about perceptions of the measure's appropriateness (i.e., it has more to do with *marketing*) than it is about the intrinsic quality of the measure's reliability and validity. Nevertheless, face validity can be an important consideration when trying to address the concerns and reluctance that managers, researchers, or instructors might have, for instance, when they are trying to decide which measures of cultural values they will select for use in a given project.

Differential (or Cross-Cultural) Validity

When a measure of cultural values is developed, it is often the case that it is intended for use across a variety of national, ethnic, or other demographic subgroups. In such situations, researchers invariably will want to consider the question of whether the measure gives them scores across all the relevant subgroups that are free from any potential bias that might arise due to a person's membership in any one of those various possible subgroups. The degree to which a measure gives scores that are free from subgroup membership bias is the degree to which the measure has differential validity (or is cross-culturally valid). For example, if Japanese respondents, as a group, demonstrate a full range of scores (from very high to very low) on a measure of intercultural empathy that is essentially equal to the full range of scores (from very high to very low) for North Americans, then it could be concluded that the measure is free from cultural bias because the Japanese scores reflect who they are as individual people and not the fact that they are Japanese. Visually, this would be represented by two highly overlapping bell curves (or frequency distributions), one for the Japanese respondents and one for the North Americans. Verbally, this would be described as having relatively high *within-group variance* (i.e., a wide range of scores, from very high to very low, within a given subgroup), whereas the *between-group variance* (i.e., the difference between the group averages) would be relatively very low. When a measure of cultural values is free from subgroup bias, then one would conclude that it can appropriately and readily be used for respondents from all national, ethnic, or demographic subgroups, making it a good measure that can be universally applied.

Conclusion

In summary, although it may appear daunting, the challenge of measuring cultural values is a relatively straightforward and well-developed empirical science. In the end, for a measure to be worth one's time and effort to use, it must be both reliable and valid. Reliability refers to the degree to which a measure is free from random fluctuations and error, whereas validity refers to the degree to which a measure is free from systematic errors and biases. Only when the measures are both reliable and valid can one hope to advance the objective of gaining a better understanding when working with cultural values. This is true whether people are striving to advance theoretical understandings, conduct hypothesis testing via empirical data and evidence gathering, or develop programs and interventions for practical application. In the end, there indeed appears to be much wisdom in reliably and accurately measuring what an individual wishes to understand and manage.

Michael J. Stevens

See also Assessments of Intercultural Competence; Qualitative Research Methods; Quantitative Research Methods

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Media in a Globalized World

For thousands of years, as hunters and gathers, our ancestors had no great need to consider the behavior and feelings of individuals outside their group since they lived in tight-knit bands of low density. In an agricultural society, hunters and gatherers had to forage for roots, berries, nuts, and other foods, and they were fairly dependent on individuals close to camp for their survival. Within their habitat, hunters and gatherers laid the foundation necessary, although rudimentary and highly localized, for thought, reason, language, and culture, as noted by James Burke and Robert Ornstein. Technologically, minds and cultures have been keenly altered since humans trekked across the planet millenniums ago using basic tools as their chief vehicles for meaning making.

Today, the virtual world of the Internet, Google, Facebook, iTunes, chat rooms, bulletin boards, websites, e-mails, portals, smartphones, tablets, Twitter, blogs, and YouTube has changed the very nature of culture, its salience and substance, creating unintended consequences. Although the great media revolution has changed the most fundamental aspects of culture, and although the ways in which media and culture intersect are complex and various, the key relationships between media and culture may be grouped into four broadly significant areas covered in this entry: (1) relationships between the near and the distant; (2) a redefinition of community, cultural producers, and consumers; (3) the democratization of values; and (4) a heightened resonance of popular culture. All four areas are central to understanding the relationships between media *meanings*, *messages*, and *people* in the 21st century.

Media Influences: Connecting Near and Distant Cultures

Thinkers as far back as the Stoics have posited a doctrine of the relationship between the near and the distant. Stoics called this mode of thinking and behaving *oikeiosis*, that is, the notion that we prefer those closest to ourselves to those farthest away. Similarly, Allan Octavian Hume promoted the concept of concentric circles of reducing loyalty, which posits that human beings love and are loyal to their families first, and then their loyalty diminishes as they move from the center to the periphery. The Internet and social media have succeeded in bringing most cultures in from the periphery, placing them at the very center of human consciousness, where they reside in *a faraway nearby* world, to borrow language from a Georgia O'Keeffe painting. In the 21st century, the structural imperatives of media technologies, both implicitly and explicitly, have become major vehicles for connecting disparate cultures, creating an awareness that promotes cultural mindfulness.

Ellen Langer suggests that *mindfulness* involves being open to new information, as well as an awareness of multiple perspectives. According to Langer, focusing on the process of communication (how people communicate) forces individuals to be mindful of their behavior in the situation in which they find themselves, whether virtual or nonvirtual.

In the new virtual world, humans are in a situation where it is increasingly difficult to deny the presence of the cultural other. This inability to deny the presence of the other creates a spatial vehicle for generating economic, linguistic, artistic, political, and sociocultural knowledge and information about other global citizens. Because ideas, products, and messages are extending beyond specific borders, such forceful changes undoubtedly challenge deeply held cultural values and beliefs worldwide. Through life in this social space, the ongoing, dynamic flow of ideas and meanings across borders clearly disseminates cultural norms and value orientations about what it means to share the planet communally.

Redefinitions of Cultural and Social Community

Alan C. Purves refers to the vast networks of interconnectivity as *the virtual community*, which consists of the flow of ideas, meanings, and information that circulate globally. Benedict Anderson uses the term *imagined communities* to refer to new associations and ideologies that have sprung up internationally. Once connected to the Internet and other forms of media, all sorts of cultural possibilities are open to users, including the transformation of human communities. Universal access to information means that currently people are united around the world in what Marshall McLuhan terms the *global village*. McLuhan is not referring to *village* in the traditional sense of a charming little town square; rather, the term *global village* means that although people are separated geographically, they are connected to an electronic world. This means that one can communicate with someone in Bangladesh as readily as someone in Cheyenne, Wyoming, in the United States. Because of global media, individuals do not have to live in particular *spaces and places* within circumscribed walls of mortar in order to bring meaning to their lives. Culturally, this matters a great deal because humans no longer have to share a specific geographical site in order to call a place home.

Perhaps the single most important aspect of *imagined communities* is that humans have reconfigured the boundaries between what is permitted in the public domain and what is permitted in the private sphere. Content that was once reserved for the architecture of the home has spilled over into virtual spaces on Twitter and Facebook, changing not only how messages reach people but also what is permitted in such virtual arenas. In the virtual world of social media, humans can tweet about the taste of delicious durian in Thailand and then broadcast their gustatory experiences continents away. Because Google, Twitter, and Facebook are bringing people closer together, the sheer scales of media forms open to individuals signify a redefinition of what constitutes a community. And it poses some messy questions about who belongs to what community, the order of the rules and relationships that pertain, and, most critically, how one translates orders of meaning from the local to the global in fostering community.

Cultural Producers and Consumers and the Democratization of Values

Another way in which the media have influenced culture is in the realm of distinctions that are being made between producers and consumers of information. Users of the Internet are both producers and consumers, which grants a greater degree of freedom to individuals who were once the recipients of information as opposed to the producers of information and social activities. Facebook and Twitter are the 21st-century versions of the 18th-century town crier. As a consequence, savvy people worldwide are using social media to structure relationships. This huge paradigmatic cultural shift also helps explain why manifold movements for freedom have sprung up in places such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Syria and why, at this writing, citizens are protesting in places such as Brazil and Turkey. Such cataclysmic cultural changes, which run counter to the old model of who gets to decide the distribution of ideas and concepts, are creating sharply different models for democratic practice, ones immensely different from the traditional model of top-to-bottom information flow and decision making.

Because cultural values like human rights are most resonant in the 21st century, it is increasingly more difficult for power to be centralized in the state, carrying with it the dictatorial norms that apply to how one should behave in virtual civic space, with implications for social action and the public good. Public debate; the absence of direct state control over the relationships among people, meanings, and messages; different orders of hierarchical relations; what constitutes cultural authority; and the realigning of time and space have all spun around the cultural world. Thomas Friedman posited that individuals now have more power to engage their leaders in dialogue and to organize with like-minded others to hold flash protests.

The democratization of the content of what is valued culturally is truly a paradigmatic shift that is occurring worldwide. As a result of the compelling power of the media as a vehicle for circulating cultural norms, one could declare that we are living in an age of the democratization of culture marked by fierce alterations in universal values such as conversational freedom, liberty, justice, openness, and compassion, as well as a strengthening of the bonds of empathy.

The Heightened Resonance of Popular Culture

Changes associated with shifts in values are also evident in the generative nature of popular culture. The term *cultura popular* is the Latin term for the *culture of the people*. As James Lull notes, popular culture is created by the people rather than being given to them. Popular culture stands in great contrast to elite culture. Advertisements, situational comedies, reality television, YouTube, made-for-television movies, and other popular forms are extending the boundaries of what constitutes culture. Because the media are the most potent carriers of information, people are viewing their worlds in dynamically different ways. Gay and multicultural marriages, greater acceptance of difference, the blurring of social roles, as well as the narrowing of divisions between so-called races are redefining what it means to be a citizen of the world. Substantive changes in popular culture have enlarged the realm of the permissible and opened up whole new attitudinal and value-laden arrangements along axes of sameness and difference, inclusion and exclusion, inside and outside, and visibility and invisibility. As a consequence of these masterful conceptual stirrings, elites no longer get to define what counts as the *content* of culture. This may be the most potent impact that popular culture is having on human behavior. Clearly, the world at the beginning of the 21st century is no longer the same in this domain of human influence-making behavior.

The impact of popular culture on the fabric of world culture is striking and meaningful. Reality television shows, as well as dramatic, attention-arousing individual events posted on YouTube, such as performer *PSY* Gangnam Style, (intentionally or not) sell values of materialism, achievement, and consumption. Although change is evolutionary, it is the case that the media are defining new terrains of what is permitted and/or disallowed culturally. People worldwide think differently about Asians, gays, African Americans, Latinas, and other ethnic groups because normative judgments, what is supposed to be said, how, and with what effect, are changing. Today, popular culture is not only resident within the *domain of spectacle and celebrity* but it is also the cultural courier of values. Although popular culture may be viewed as entertainment, it extends far beyond merely an escapist route for individuals. Because the media are carriers of popular culture, the latter can and does provide individuals with a powerful, virtually interactive way of looking at their world. This does not mean that everyone in a particular culture subscribes to such norms. However, it does mean that the media are changing culture in unprecedented ways. In the coming years, it remains to be seen where human thought and behavior will take cultures. But inevitably, one will have to grapple with heady media and their cultural consequences for humankind.

Carolyn Calloway-Thomas

See also Online Global Communication; Social Media and Networking

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MEDIATION

Mediation as a general term stands for any form of conveying or communicating something from one person to another or from one place to another. This entry, however, refers to *mediation* as a standardized and method-driven tool for the management of conflicts and disputes between individuals or groups. More specifically, mediation is a conversation-based technique that is carried out by a third person (the mediator) helping two other persons (i.e., the clients of a mediation) to manage their conflict in a constructive way. More than one mediator can carry out mediation, and there can also be more than two clients. Clients may be individuals, groups, or institutions. Very often, mediation is considered a method that is particularly suited for the management of conflicts in intercultural settings. From this perspective, the competence of carrying out and of participating in mediations can be seen as an additional attribute of intercultural competence.

This entry first introduces the general features of conflict mediation. It then focuses on the distinct aspects of conflict mediation in intercultural contexts. In research as well as in practice, there are numerous notions of what may be unique about intercultural mediation in particular and how intercultural mediation is supposed to be carried out. Different disciplinary approaches, as well as different approaches from cultural theory, may lead to completely different, sometimes even contradictory, notions of intercultural mediation. This entry presents a short review of the most common perspectives.

Basic Principles of Conflict Mediation Practice

In most cases, mediation in Western societies is rooted in the American movement of Alternative Dispute Resolution founded in the 1970s. Following Alternative Dispute Resolution's creed, conflict resolution by mediation is presumed to result in creative win-win outcomes for all clients, and it is expected to restore and consolidate interpersonal relationships for ongoing cooperation and peaceful coexistence. A number of general principles are thought to support achieving these goals:

Party autonomy: Clients are considered to be the best experts on their own needs; it is their responsibility to develop solutions.

Mediator neutrality: Although mediators control the conversational structure of the mediation process, they neither control its content nor take sides.

Parties' voluntary participation: During the mediation process, clients should keep checking whether they feel comfortable or whether they prefer to quit the process. Only voluntary participation can ensure the clients' full commitments without reserve.

Confidentiality: Whatever clients or mediators do or say in mediation must not be used outside the mediation setting.

To put these principles into practice, the process of conversations in mediation is described as a linear series of stages the mediator passes through. A prototypic stage model, for example, may consist of an introduction, the clients' narrations, an exploration of the clients' needs, a search for solutions, and a final agreement.

Preferred fields of application for mediation are family issues, neighborhood and community disputes, and conflicts inside and between companies or institutions. Today's mediators in many cases are lawyers, social workers, or psychologists who have undergone practical training in mediation. When mediation was rediscovered in the United States in the 1960s, it was used as a cheap and fast tool to reach solutions outside the courts. Today, these early forms of mediation are being criticized for their straight-solution orientation, which was often a strong obstacle to principles such as mediator neutrality or creative win-win orientations. In contrast to this, today the most widespread concept of mediation that is practiced in North America, Europe, and Australia is based on the ideas of so-called transformative mediation. Instead of directly focusing on solutions, mediators should focus on *empowerment*; that is, encouraging their clients to constructively handle their conflicts by themselves. Additionally, in terms of *recognition*, parties should identify their counterparts as upright individuals with legitimate needs. On this basis, clients should be enabled to solve their conflicts by themselves.

Mediation and Intercultural Communication

In academic discourse, the fields of intercultural communication and mediation feature several points of contact:

- People from different cultures meet in mediation sessions.
- People from different cultures dispute in different ways.
- Forms of conflict management differ among cultures.
- The Western tool of mediation is applied to non-Western contexts.
- Western practitioners of mediation enlarge their portfolios by adopting non-Western techniques.
- Intercultural communication, that is, communication between or among people with different values, beliefs, and behaviors, is often regarded as being especially prone to generating conflicts, so a mediation tool is needed.

Intercultural communication research looks back at a fine tradition of identifying the difficulties and challenges of miscommunication, but in the highly interdisciplinary field of intercultural competence, there is not yet a hands-on tool that may help solve these problems. In contrast, mediation is a skill from the neighboring field of conflict management that is transferrable to the management of problems arising from intercultural communication.

Still, this transfer cannot solve all of intercultural research's problems. Mediation is a technique for the management of conflict escalations and disputes. In contrast to this, for decades, intercultural communication research has focused on the description of subtle misunderstandings arising from communication. Here, third persons as laypersons need to identify misunderstandings arising in their surroundings, to initiate an intervention, and then to help solve the misunderstanding.

Mediation and Intercultural Competence

Intercultural competence applied to mediation in culturally relevant settings can be specified for any of the three positions in mediation. Mediators' intercultural competence may be seen in their abilities to conduct mediation in culturally relevant contexts. Intercultural competence in mediation can be considered to be the competence of a third person as an external moderator for two or more others who are involved in the actual interaction that is at issue. Intercultural competence in mediation can thus be seen as a responsibility not only for oneself and one's own immediate problems but also for the concerns of third persons. Part of the skill in intercultural mediation is the ability of all parties to recognize the opportunities to open themselves to the process and the interaction and to contribute to designing the mediation setting in a way that suits them.

How Cultural Theories Influence Intercultural Mediation

Underlying cultural theories largely determine the ways in which the perspective at hand defines the influence of culture on mediation. As a result, definitions of intercultural competence in mediation may differ widely across disciplines. In addition, the interplay of culture and mediation is of different significance for various stakeholders, resulting in even more complex interactions. Interculturalists, mediation practitioners, and cultural anthropologists are the major groups involved in this conversation. The following sections provide a few examples of how culture, intercultural competence, and mediation can be integrated to develop more culturally responsive conflict interventions.

Universalist and Relativist Positions

From a universalist perspective, culture is a rather minor factor in a world in which humans are seen as equal. Correspondingly, culture is considered as being of minor influence in mediation. It is thus assumed that mediation as a tool can be found in similar forms all over the world and that mediation can be applied to people from any culture. Besides, it is thought, mediation is a tool that is flexible enough to adapt to these minor cultural particularities.

A relativist perspective, in contrast, will argue that cultures differ widely, that many cultures are not compatible, and that, therefore, a single tool for constructive conflict management in all cultures cannot exist. While triadic conflict management tools can be found in all cultures, they cannot automatically be geared to the Western principles of mediation. Instead, each conflict case will require its singular and culture-specific tool.

Most research on mediation and culture has been written from a normative perspective. As a result, most of these approaches produce implicit notions of what intercultural competence is supposed to be in relation to mediation, although these orientations may differ widely.

Disciplinary Perspectives on Mediation and Culture

The following sections will briefly distinguish between essentialist and constructivist notions of culture. Essentialist approaches take culture as a given that has existed prior to research. From this perspective, cultures are something that can be described and compared with other cultures. Constructivist approaches, in contrast, claim that culture does not exist prior to actual interactions of human beings. Here, culture is something that is produced when people are interacting. Thus, culture is not a thing but rather a dynamic and changing process.

Interculturalists

Interculturalists claim to provide mediation practitioners with adequate descriptions of how culture influences interaction. From a culture-essentialist perspective, interculturalists, for example, found that people have different needs for saving face in interaction and that they have different facework strategies across cultures. As a consequence, conflicts may arise from diverging needs in intercultural situations, and competent mediators will need to consider this divergence. A constructivist view on culture in conflict and in mediation may shed some light on the ways in which people create culture-bound behaviors in social groups to legitimize social and cultural boundaries. Being culture bound can be used as a tool in such interactions for social cooperation or avoidance. Competent mediators will need to identify these strategies and cope with them in positive ways.

Mediation Practitioners

Practitioners in mediation participate in the discourse on intercultural mediation claiming that they have brought the tool of triadic mediation to the field of intercultural research. Mediators sometimes complain that conflict theories from cultural anthropology neglect the real challenges in conflict management. Mediators can provide cultural anthropologists with certain insights into intercultural conflicts.

From an essentialist perspective on culture, practitioners assume that people from different cultures will prefer different mediation styles or may even completely reject mediation as a tool to diffuse conflict. Since transcultural mediators are hard to find in practice, two or more mediators from the different cultural backgrounds may provide culture-sensitive mediation service.

Culture-constructivist mediators will acknowledge that conflicts as well as conflict mediation are cultural constructions. Consequently, people can always change the ways in which they deal with conflicts, unless they are not ready or willing to do so. Competent mediators may encourage clients to transform their conflicts in a peaceful and positive way. Furthermore, mediation itself is changeable as well. Non-Western techniques may thus enrich Western forms of mediation.

Cultural Anthropologists

Cultural anthropologists claim to provide interculturalists and mediation practitioners with notions of culture that are consistent with contemporary cultural theory. From an essentialist perspective, cultural anthropologists support mediators' insights into the strong culture boundedness of the notions of conflict and conflict management. From a constructivist perspective, cultural anthropologists point to the fact that culture is strongly tied to language. It may be true that different forms of cultural knowledge do exist. However, the participants in a given interaction decide whether they will resort to selected aspects of culture-specific knowledge or not. In this situation, competent mediators would encourage their clients' cooperative behavior regarding the activation of shared aspects of knowledge.

Culture as a Matter of Social Discourse

This summary shows that notions of intercultural mediation as well as notions of intercultural competence in mediation differ significantly according to their underlying notions of culture. Furthermore, the triad of (1) intercultural researchers, (2) mediation practitioners, and (3) cultural anthropologists claim their positions and their stakes in defining what intercultural mediation is supposed to be. This interdisciplinary debate is a valuable contribution to all three fields concerned, and it produces a positive transdisciplinary and transcultural discourse on mediation and culture.

Dominic Busch

See also Conflict Management; Intercultural Conflict Styles; Intercultural Conflict Transformation; Intercultural Sensitivity; Peacebuilding; Power

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Meta-Ethical Contextual Position

In any push-and-pull intercultural ethical decision-making situation, we often have to make difficult choices between upholding our own cultural beliefs and values and considering the values of the other culture. We also have to ponder intention, behavior/process, outcome, and larger consequence issues on the individual, community, and global levels. *Ethics* is defined as a community's perspective on what is good and bad in human conduct, which leads to prescriptive norms that guide behaviors or actions in a system. Ethics is a set of standards that upholds the community's expectations concerning "right" and "wrong" conduct. To be a competent intercultural communicator, mastering the standards of right and wrong conduct is an essential feature that undergirds cognitive, affective, and behavioral competence in a particular cultural context.

However, the concept of ethics becomes more problematic and bewildering when the issue involves the struggle in the interplay of global (or predominantly Western) standards and local justice, corporate responsibility and local practice, and value clash and communication preference issues. This entry is organized into two sections. First, three intercultural ethical positions, namely, ethical absolutism, ethical relativism, and ethical universalism, will be explored briefly. Second, a social ecological perspective on the study of a meta-ethics contextual position will be elaborated.

Three Intercultural Ethical Positions: Pros and Cons

Much of the complexity of an intercultural ethical decision-making process derives from the tension between whether ethics is a culture-bound concept and whether ethics should be understood apart from the culture. To be a competent intercultural communicator, the component of intercultural ethics should underscore cognitive, affective, and behavioral communication competence as individuals learn to make sound choices in terms of how to think about an ethical dilemma situation, how to react or respond affectively, and how to engage in appropriate and effective actions to deal with the problematic ethical situation.

As addressed in Paul Pedersen's work and Stella Ting-Toomey's books, the three ethical positions in the intercultural field are (1) *ethical absolutism*, (2) *ethical relativism*, and (3) *ethical universalism*. This section defines each position and considers the merits and limitations of each.

Ethical Absolutism

Ethical absolutism emphasizes the principles of right and wrong in accordance with a set of fixed standards, regardless of cultural differences. Under the ethical absolutism position, the importance of cultural context is minimized. Ethical absolutists believe that the same fixed standards should be applied to all cultures in evaluating *good* and *bad* behavior. Unfortunately, the dominant or mainstream culture typically defines and dominates the criteria by which ethical behavior is evaluated. Distinctive cultural or ethnic differences between member groups are often minimized.

For example, a dominant culture may view Western medicine as the most "civilized" way of treating a patient and thus impose this view on all groups. If a Hmong woman, for example, gives birth to a baby and requests the nurse or doctor to give her the placenta, a Western doctor may find this request to be odd, strange, or bizarre and will likely refuse such an "uncivilized" request. However, within the Hmong culture, the act of burying the placenta has extremely important cultural significance and is related directly to the migration of one's soul and also to matters of life after death.

The positive aspect of ethical absolutism is that one set of fixed standards is applied to evaluate a range of practices, thus preserving cross-situational consistency. The negative aspect is that ethical absolutism is a culturally imposed perspective that oftentimes reflects the criteria set forth by members of the dominant cultures or groups. The ethical absolutism approach often results in marginalizing or muting the voices of nondominant groups in both domestic and international arenas. It pushes a colonial ethnocentric worldview. According to Debashish Munshi, it is critical to create an "in-between space" for authentic dialogue of all indigenous groups to take place so that the space can facilitate and give voice to the values and practices of all peoples and so that multivocal standpoints are included, respected, and legitimized.

Ethical Relativism Position

A second approach, *ethical relativism*, emphasizes the importance of understanding the cultural context in which the problematic conduct is being judged. Under the ethical relativism position, the critical role of cultural context is maximized. It is important to elicit interpretations and understand problematic cases from the cultural insiders' viewpoint.

Ethical relativists try to understand each cultural group on its own terms. They advocate the importance of respecting the values of another culture and using those value systems as standards for ethical judgments. They emphasize that *ethical* and *unethical* practices should be understood from a cultural insider's lens. The positive implication of this approach is that it takes the role of culture seriously in its ethical decision-making process. It takes into account the importance of ethnorelativism rather than ethnocentrism. Evaluative standards of ethical behavior are related closely to the conventional customs in each cultural context.

The danger, however, is that this view, when pushed to the extreme, encourages too much cultural flexibility and leniency and ignores ethical principles that are developed beyond each cultural context and on a global humanistic interpretive level. Furthermore, ignorant laypersons (or cultural resource power holders) often use the excuse or guise of ethical relativism and continue to tolerate or perpetuate intolerable cultural practices (e.g., female genital mutilation or honor killing). Dominant groups in a society are often the ones that preserve cruel or intolerable cultural practices for their own gratification. They also perpetuate those practices that reinforce the status quo, which maintains their one-upmanship and keeps nondominant groups in a subservient, powerless position.

Derived Ethical Universalism Position

A third approach, a derived ethical universalism position, emphasizes the importance of deriving universal ethical guidelines by placing ethical judgments within the proper cultural context. Evaluations about good or bad behaviors require knowledge about the underlying similarities across cultures and about the unique features of a culture. A derived ethical universalism approach highlights an integrative culture-universal and culture-specific interpretive framework. Unfortunately, this is easier said than done.

Although a derived universalistic stance is an ideal goal to strive toward, it demands collaborative dialogue, attitudinal openness, and hard work from members of all social class, gender, ethnic, and cultural groups. It demands that all voices be heard and affirmed. It also demands equal power distributions among all groups that represent a diverse range of cultures. Most of the current ethical universalism approaches, unfortunately, are imposed ethics that rely heavily on Eurocentric moral philosophies to the exclusion of many co-culture or minority group ethical philosophies or voices. Beyond the Western codes of ethics, such as virtue ethics, natural laws ethics, and utilitarian ethics, and the occasional inclusion of feminist ethics, ethical codes from other cultural regions, such as Confucian ethics, Taoist ethics, Buddhist ethics, Hindu ethics, Jewish ethics, Islamic ethics, Hispanic/Latino ethics, and pan-African ethics, are seldom seen in the mainstream ethics readings. Ethical universalism is an ideal goal to strive for—especially when efforts have been made to include representative members from all disenfranchised groups to share their visions, dreams, and hopes.

An inquiry-based analytical perspective for guiding our ethical struggles in contemporary society may be that of the meta-ethics contextual position as proposed in Stella Ting-Toomey's work.

Multilayered Meta-Ethics Contextual Position

This approach emphasizes the importance of understanding the problematic practice from a layered, contextual stance. A *multilayered meta-ethics contextual position* means that the application of ethics can be understood only through a systematic analysis of the multiple layers of the ethical dilemma—using in-depth, case-by-case understanding; layer-by-layer, 360-degree analysis; person-by-person consideration; situation-by-situation probes; intention-and-consequence comparative viewpoints; and integrative inclusion of macro, exo, meso, micro, and chrono viewpoints.

Multilayered Meta-Ethics Contextual Lens

A *multilayered meta-ethics contextual lens* refers to the cultivation of an ethical way of thinking about the principled decision-making process and a systematic, inquisitive process in our everyday lives when making hard choices. The term *multilayered* refers to understanding the problematic practice from the five social ecological layers of macro-, exo-, meso-, micro-, and chrono-level system analysis—in accordance with the work of Uri Brofenbrenner, Ting-Toomey, and John Oetzel. The *macrolevel analysis* refers to the larger sociocultural contexts, histories, worldviews, beliefs, and values that shape the practice. The *exo-level analysis* refers to the formal institutions (e.g., courtroom, healthcare system, school system, or semiformal media system) that hold power resources to create or enforce agendas and policies. The *meso-level analysis* refers to the immediate units' influence, such as a workplace or an extended-family unit that has some impact on the developmental ethical case. The *microlevel analysis* refers to the intrapersonal-level (i.e., identity-based issues, emotions, and meanings) and interpersonal-level features (e.g., the ongoing practice, communication, and the involved actors) in the problematic situation. Last, the *chrono-level* analysis refers to the temporal evolution phases, patterns, transitions, and consequences of developmental changes of the questionable cultural practice over time.

Thus, a multilayered meta-ethics contextual lens is really a broader, critical inquiry approach on how an intercultural ethical dilemma should be envisioned and approached. It emphasizes the importance of systematic data collection from a wide range of sources at multiple social ecological levels and the importance of taking the total person, the total situation, and the total cultural communication system into account—and in interactive, embedded sociohistorical contexts. It also takes into serious consideration the importance of balancing the deliberation of cultural context and global humanism. Global humanism means freedom from the conditions of human suffering—such conditions can include material/survival resource issues and also psychological, communicational, and physical violence and nonviolence issues.

Meta-Ethics Contextual Inquiry Questions: Final Guidelines

To engage in a mindful meta-ethics analysis, here are five final inquiry questions or guidelines to help frame the intercultural ethical stance:

1. Who or which group perpetuates this practice within this culture and with what reasons? Who or which group resists this practice and with what reasons? Who is benefiting? Who is suffering? Does the practice cause unjustifiable suffering to an individual or a selected group of individuals at the pleasure of another group?

2. How should I serve as an effective change agent in the local cultural scene and the global advocacy arena? What is my role, and what is my deeper "voice" in this ethical dilemma? Should I condemn/reject this practice publicly and withdraw from the cultural scene? Or should I stay actively engaged and find a solution that reconciles cultural differences? Who are my allies, and who are my opponents?

3. Can I or we visualize alternative solutions or creative outcomes that can serve to honor the cultural traditions and, at the same time, get rid of the intolerable cultural practice? What systematic changes in the culture are needed for the creative solution to sustain itself and filter through the system? At what level can I or we as a team implement this new resolution in the most effective manner and with a strong bottom-up and top-down buy-in?

4. If you are dealing with a global organization ethical case, are you ethically confident in defending your ethical struggle in both private and public sectors? Would you want your significant others—your partners, children, and parents—to know about this choice? Would you be proud of seeing your own name on CNN or BBC in affiliation with your decision and that you can explain your choice ethically with full personal accountability?

5. Would the resulting consequences be beneficial to the larger community or society on both tangible and principled ethics levels? Would you be comfortable teaching your children to act the same way and see you as a role model in the next 50 years? Are there better creative alternatives that rest on firmer ethical principles?

Many problematic cultural practices perpetuate themselves because of long-standing cultural habits or ignorance of alternative ways of doing things. Education or a desire for change among the people in a local culture is usually how a questionable practice is ended. A meta-ethics lens calls for the empowerment of the self and others to seek multiple truths, the courage to dialogue side by side with culturally unfamiliar others, and the wisdom to make a principled decision once all the social ecological layers from multiple voices are known and are respectfully being acknowledged.

Stella Ting-Toomey

See also Ethical and Moral Reasoning; Ethical Universalism; Identity Negotiation Theory; Universal Human Rights; Worldview

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MIGRATION STUDIES

Migration is the spatial change of a person's residence. If this change of residence is between different countries, it is called *international migration*, while a change of residence within a country is defined as *internal migration*. With the focus of the definition on the change of residence, the term *migration* is a specific form of the more general term *mobility*, which includes spatial movement in general, such as to commute from the residence to the workplace.

The United Nations reported that in 2013 the world's population of migrants totaled around 232 million. However, defining what it means to be a migrant is complicated for several reasons. How long does a person need to have been in a country before he or she is no longer considered a migrant? The usual definition is that a migrant is a person living outside his or her country of origin for more than 1 year, but this technical definition does not provide information about any causes of migration or the experiences, social backgrounds, or identities of the migrants. By grouping completely different social groups of people such as refugees and migrant professionals under this general term, any differences are leveled. For instance, what does a Chinese internal labor migrant working as a construction worker in Beijing have in common with a French bank manager working in New York or a Philippine maid in Singapore? Therefore, when migration and the migrant are the focus of social research, this is typically conducted with a specific perspective on particular social groups of migrants with reference to dimensions such as nationality, ethnicity, class, and gender and their specific patterns of migration.

In general, migration studies aim to analyze the reasons for, processes of, and outcomes of migration. The experience of migration is followed by intercultural encounters between different social groups in the destination country. The following sections focus on the history of migration and its current state, on different theories of migration, and finally on the specifics of some groups of migrants and some conditions of migration.

History of Migration and Its Current Relevance

Some would suggest that migration became relevant when people became sedentary in the Neolithic Age (10000–2000 BCE). From a more contemporary perspective, others point to the rapid increase in migration during the Industrial Revolution, with new workplaces and modes of transport, such as trains and ships. People migrated from rural areas to urban industrial centers. In the era of colonization, migration and forced migration (e.g., slavery) were important means of obtaining labor for mines and plantations, or as servants. In the 19th century, more than 50 million Europeans left Europe, and 38 million migrated to the United States of America for economic and political reasons.

In the 20th century, the importance of migration increased in the context of two world wars and with the displacement of people in several nation-building actions and military conflicts. Recent researchers speak of an "age of migration" to characterize that era today, noting that international migration has become much easier and more people than ever have become migrants. But despite the scale of migration, it is more the character of migration that became specific in the 20th and the beginning of the

21st century. This is because nearly every country became a destination and a host for international migrants. Today, the most important destinations for migration are North America, Western Europe, the Arab Gulf States, Australia, and nearby regions during war or civil war crises.

Due to harsh restrictions, migration is forcefully directed with respect to political regulations, enforced by border patrols and deportation. Whether or not migrants are considered welcome is related to the economic and political needs of the destination country and the migrants' social characteristics, mainly with respect to education, occupation, and national, ethnic, or gender identity.

Theories on Reasons for Migration

There is often the misleading assumption that it is especially the very poor who migrate. But to migrate, financial investments have to be made by the migrants, including payment for transport, accommodation, and administrative fees. So why do people migrate and make these investments?

The Push-and-Pull Model

The *push-and-pull model* is based on putting two countries or regions into a relationship. Hereby, the host country has "push" factors sending the migrant to another country, while the country of destination has "pull" factors attracting them there. A main push–pull factor is the unequal situation in the employment market with respect to job vacancies or income differentials.

The starting point of this model requires viewing the decision to migrate as a rational consideration of costs and benefits on the basis of a comparison of economic factors in two regions. But it is also argued that the bases for the decision to migrate are not the factors as such but how they are perceived. Besides economic factors, other push factors can be identified, such as war, displacement, natural catastrophes, ecological destruction, and the contrasting situations in the region, which pull migrants toward the destination.

World System Theory and Global City Theory

World system theory analyzes the hierarchical relation between industrial countries and developing countries as the center, periphery, and semiperiphery within a dynamic world system of capitalism. Economy and migration are related. Migration is considered as accompanying the global flow of goods and capital. As these flows are today concentrated and controlled in global cities such as London and New York, these cities have become some of the main destinations of international migration. Due to the specific needs of global cities for highly qualified service personnel, as well as relatively low-paid service workers, such as office cleaners, maids, and au pairs, low-skilled and high-skilled migrants are especially concentrated in global cities. Thus, migration often follows the long-lasting connections first established in the colonial period and reestablished today by foreign direct investments in developing countries.

Migration Systems and Social Networks

Economic differences are not sufficient for explaining why people migrate. Otherwise it is hard to explain why not all poor or unemployed people migrate to more economically prosperous regions. The concept of a migration system puts a focus on the linkage of two or more regions through migration flows. The existence of information about the destination is a prominent factor in migration. This might refer to specific knowledge about the destination country from previous migrant experiences conveyed by friends or by narrated family history. Also, social networks of friends or family members can provide easier access to the job market or accommodation and can help acquire useful everyday social relations within the destination country. With ongoing migration, the demand for specific goods and services, such as food or entertainment, at the migrants' destination also emerges. Following migration, these needs can be fulfilled, and social networks can act as a self-reinforcing process.

Transnational Migration, Home, and Hybridity

The concept of transnational migration places specific focus on migrants' incorporation into social networks beyond a locality, especially into networks that span the country of origin and the destination.

The central position of transnational migration is that with a rise in mobility, a specific type of migration has gained in significance, a form of migration different from a single movement to a destination. This migration is characterized by a circulation of people between the host and destination countries, or by return migration. Both spatial settings are connected not only by such movements but also by financial remittance or frequent communication. It has been argued that these connections in a newly established transnational space that stretches across spatial and national borders have led to a loss of relevance for national states.

Due to such a transnational migration, new forms of identity and senses of belonging were established, with more mixed elements and with multiple belongings. Thus, the home of the transnational migrant is no longer considered a particular place but as several. The identities of transnational migrants are considered to be hybrid identities that are not monocultural but rather a mix of different identities from the region of origin and the destination. It is seen as a creation of a new multicultural identity, an identity illustrated in novels by Salman Rushdie and Hanif Kureishi. When asked who they are and where they belong, transnational migrants are not likely to answer by naming a single country or a single national or ethnic identity, but rather, they will describe an identity constructed of elements mixed from the region of origin and the region of destination, and convey a sense of belonging to more than one spatial setting, social group, or national state.

Types of Migration

Due to extreme dissimilarities in the kinds of migration and characteristics of the migrants, different types of migration can be identified. A general difference is between those forced to migrate and those who migrate voluntarily. *Refugees* are those who are forced to leave a region, and they often risk their lives to migrate to another country. Many regions, such as the European Union (EU), the United States, and Australia, have established a border system with walls, fences, or military patrols that allows them to admit only those immigrants who are welcome. For example, the EU border security agency, Frontex, blocks migrants—including asylum seekers—from entering the EU with surveillance by land, naval, and air patrols. Human tragedies of migrants who drowned in the Mediterranean attempting to reach the EU or who died trying to cross the U.S.–Mexico border demonstrate that migration is forcefully controlled. Migrants are selected based on their passport, their qualifications, and the need for those with such qualifications in destination countries. For instance, people within the EU or the United States are allowed to migrate within these regions. Migrant professionals with formal higher education and a position in the service sector are actively recruited or handled relatively liberally by entry requirements.

People migrate not only for work but also for quality-of-life reasons. This is relevant for lifestyle migrants and retirement migrants, who are mostly well-off people leaving their country of origin and work to live their retired life in better conditions in a new country.

Lars Meier

See also Acculturation; Cosmopolitanism; Diversity and Inclusion, Definitions of; Expatriates; Hybridity; Intercultural Relations and Globalization; Mobility in a Global Era; Third-Culture Kids/Global Nomads

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Military and Armed Forces Training

Regardless of where they are found, military organizations comprise myriad interacting individuals, teams, and systems that must function effectively on multiple levels across time, space, and culture. The U.S. military alone includes more than 1.5 million personnel within its active, reserve, civilian, and contractor components. Increasingly, these people are required to interact in intimate ways with others whose backgrounds differ significantly from their own. This is of concern to domestic national forces, which must integrate people from diverse ethnic, religious, socioeconomic, and gender groups, in addition to preparing them to work across international boundaries.

This entry describes various contexts in which the acquisition of intercultural competence is an increasingly essential dimension of military practice, provides a brief look at how the U.S. military and others address this on the domestic front, and explains why it is becoming an important element in the training of key military personnel serving in international and cross-cultural contexts.

Addressing Domestic Diversity in Military Operations

Understanding and managing cultural differences among soldiers in any military unit is essential to achieving cohesion and an effectively functioning group. In the United States, such attention can be traced back to efforts to fully integrate Blacks and Whites in the various military divisions immediately following World War II. Soon after this, the Women's Armed Services Act of 1948 was passed, opening up opportunities for women from which they had previously been barred, and opportunities have continued to expand over the years. Throughout the Civil Rights Movement and on into the Vietnam era, greater attention was given to the inequities that many continued to face in the military, thus prompting the establishment of the Defense Race Relations Institute, which was later renamed the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute, referred to today as DEOMI. While each branch of the military is ultimately responsible for developing its own directives and training programs, since 1971, DEOMI, located at Patrick Air Force Base in Florida, has served to provide training for trainers in the Department of Defense (Army, Marines, Navy, and Air Force) and the U.S. Coast Guard.

Addressing issues of domestic diversity within military operations is not only a U.S. phenomenon. South Africa was faced with the challenge of integrating armed forces from seven different political and military backgrounds into one new organization, the all-volunteer South African National Defense Force, following its first democratic elections in 1994. Similarly, the New Zealand Defence Force and the Canadian Forces are each working to integrate their indigenous people into their respective armed forces.

Moving Beyond the Domestic Front

Terminating one's service prematurely is usually not possible for military personnel as it might be for the businessperson, international student, or Peace Corps volunteer. Soldiers must remain on active duty; they cannot simply return home. Building interpersonal relationships across cultural boundaries becomes critically essential to a military leader's ability to feel comfortable in an overseas setting, which is ultimately critical to a mission's success. Acquiring intercultural competence has assumed a far greater role in the preparation and training of personnel at many levels and in many contexts.

Modern multinational peacekeeping missions that increasingly involve the coordinated efforts of military forces from two or more nations can be traced back to the League of Nations after World War I. In recent years, multinational force operations, usually under a mandate from the United Nations, have been used for defensive, aggressive, or peacekeeping missions. Peacekeeping troops, for instance, have been used in a variety of contexts, such as the multinational force of U.S., Italian, Belgian, French, and British soldiers called to Lebanon in the early 1980s; the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation)-led Implementation Force, deployed in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the mid-1990s, which involved troops from more than 30 nations; and the Coalition Forces in Iraq and Afghanistan, made up of troops of more than 30 nations led by the United States from 2003 to 2011.

In joint multinational military missions, even though a common military culture is assumed to exist, significant differences are often encountered when soldiers must work with peers from other countries, which has surprised even those working within the NATO countries. Relationships between the soldiers making up these multinational forces, as well as relationships between soldiers and local populations, become increasingly ambiguous and stressful as the context changes from hostile to more friendly, supportive, and constructive nation-building relationships. The multifaceted nature of these operations, the emerging concept of integrated missions, and the challenging and violent environments in which these forces operate have highlighted how important it is to identify elements that are critical to mission success, including the attainment of intercultural competence.

The fall of communism and the opening up of Eastern Europe in the early 1990s forced the German armed forces to make the transition from a strictly national defense force to one that has since been engaged in a range of international missions in nations such as Somalia, Cambodia, Bosnia, Kosovo, and Macedonia. In response to this, the German Ministry of Defense funded an initiative to develop an intercultural curriculum to train German soldiers for international assignments. It focused on interactions with civilians of the host country, soldiers from other nations, and officials from the host country. A three-part Intercultural Toolkit was developed for this initiative, which consisted of (1) a handbook addressing concepts from intercultural psychology, (2) a culture-general assimilator, and (3) a set of live-action scenarios presented via a CD-ROM.

Recent Developments That Address Intercultural Competence

In the U.S. military, issues of intercultural competence have recently gained greater attention, particularly as a result of the events of September 11, 2001, and the increasing U.S. involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan. Although language proficiency, intercultural understanding, and geographic/regional expertise were often stated as the key elements in cross-cultural training and discussions of cultural readiness throughout the military prior to 2007, most of the attention was given to language acquisition, with minimal attention to intercultural competence. After 2007, there was an increased understanding of and greater attention given to the importance of culture, and particularly cross-cultural competence, within U.S. military operations. Referred to in recent military communications as 3C, *cross-cultural competence* is typically defined as a set of culture-general knowledge, skills, and attributes that enables leaders to act appropriately and effectively in a culturally complex environment to achieve a desired effect, without necessarily having prior exposure to a particular group, region, or language.

The army and other military services responded by increasing the availability of language and regional training. While these efforts may develop the knowledge and verbal communication skills needed to understand and interact with a particular population in a particular location, operations demand a much broader cultural capability that enables military leaders to be successful in any cultural setting. This supports culture-general cross-cultural competence, which contributes to intercultural effectiveness.

The training division of the U.S. Army, TRADOC (U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command), for instance, has taken a key step in developing methods to address intercultural competence by separating intercultural competence and regional expertise within the new Center for Languages, Cultures and Regional Studies at West Point. This moves the army toward the teaching of culture as a generic construct having certain themes that are common across various cultures.

New cultural training programs are designed to complement the existing language courses to improve the U.S. military's capabilities and readiness in theater when engaging potential enemies or allies. Each service of the U.S. military has a department required to offer regional and cultural skills, knowledge, and competencies to officers in different ranks and grades. The different services also employ experts across academia and the think-tank community to give regular lectures or offer training courses in language and culture to help the military effectively communicate with foreign populations and understand cultural protocol.

Similarly, an initiative in 2007 led by the U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, an organization that has long recognized the role of research in furthering the military's missions, asked the National Research Council to provide an agenda for basic behavioral and social research for the future. The committee considered a wide range of topics in the behavioral and social sciences, focusing on their applicability to military needs in the areas of personnel, training and learning, leadership, and organization. Four of the six research topics identified as ones likely to be applicable to military needs at that time directly or indirectly addressed intercultural issues: (1) intercultural competence (including second-language learning), (2) teams in complex environments, (3) nonverbal behavior, and (4) emotion. The committee recommended at least doubling of the current budget for basic research related to these issues, to provide funding for approximately 40 new projects a year across these research areas.

Addressing the intercultural competence of military personnel is moving in a direction where it is understood, taught, and assessed in three domains: (1) academic knowledge that stresses an interdisciplinary definition of culture, focusing on how cultures evolve both spatially and temporally; (2) developing the capacity to use cultural knowledge to help the military think from the perspective of other cultures, thus allowing for more effective communication and smooth operations; and (3) developing the skills that allow soldiers to succeed in a variety of intercultural environments.

In recent years, training for intercultural competence has particularly focused on Transition Team Advisors, whose primary mission is to advise and train the security forces of host national countries in areas such as intelligence, communications, fire support, logistics, and infantry tactics, providing a crucial link between host nation forces and the forces, agencies, organizations, and institutions supporting broader stability efforts. Soldiers serving in such advisory roles and working intimately with host nationals, while typically receiving ample technical training in Armed Forces and survival skills, have been critical of the quality of cultural training they had received in the past. Recent efforts that more strategically address the attainment of intercultural competence or cross-cultural competence have been welcomed and have had a positive impact on issues such as perspective taking, reading nonverbal communication, and teaching and learning across cultures. Intercultural competence is now often seen as a critical skill both domestically and globally in many areas of the modern military.

Kenneth Cushner

See also Benchmarks in Diversity and Inclusion; Essential Principles for Intercultural Training; Intensity Factors; Intercultural Conflict Transformation; Training Intercultural Trainers

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MINDFULNESS

The roots of *mindfulness practice* are common to both Eastern and Western spiritual contemplative traditions. It is at once a spiritual, meditative, reflective, psychological, and applied way of intentional living and communicating. As defined in *Communicating Across Cultures* by Stella Ting-Toomey, as an Eastern Buddhist spiritual practice, *mindfulness* means attending to one's own internal assumptions, arising emotions, intentions, cognitions, attitudes, and behaviors. Mindful reflexivity requires us to tune in to our own cultural and personal habitual assumptions in scanning a communication scene. It also means "emptying our mind-set" and de-cluttering the internal noises so that we can listen with an in-the-moment pure heart. According to the writings of Buddhist philosophers such as Thich Nhat Hanh and Jon Kabat-Zinn, mindfulness means tracking an unfolding communication episode with one-pointed wakefulness and watchfulness.

From a Western psychological perspective, mindfulness means attuning to the other's communication assumptions, attitudes, perspectives, and communication styles. Ellen Langer's concept of mindfulness includes learning to

- see the unfamiliar behaviors presented in the communication situation as novel or fresh,
- view the interaction situation from multiple viewpoints or angles,
- attend holistically to the communication situation and the person with whom we are interacting, and
- create new categories through which the unfamiliar behavior may be understood.

Applying this psychological mindfulness orientation to intercultural interaction situations, the perspective suggests a readiness to shift the frame of reference from an ethnocentric lens to an ethnorelative viewfinder and the possibility of interpreting events from the other person's cultural frame of reference.

This entry discusses the role of mindfulness in fostering intercultural communication competence from the five intersecting components of being present in the immediate time and space, (1) metacognition, (2) cognitive knowledge, (3) affective monitoring, (4) pragmatic metacommunication, and (5) a mindful inquiry practice framework (i.e., mindful observation, mindful listening, empathetic attunement, and artful reframing). The core ideas in conceptualizing the mindfulness theme in this essay are derived from an integration of three strands of research studies: (1) research on mindfulness, (2) research on cultural intelligence, and (3) research on intercultural conflict competence.

Mindfulness and Intercultural Communication: Five Components

Being-Present Component

The key to cultivating mindfulness is being fully present to attend to the self, others, and the communicative situation within a multilayered cultural system. On the microlevel, there are two foci of practicing "being present": (1) in-the-moment orientation to experience and (2) in-the-moment self-regulated judgment. In-the-moment orientation to experience means developing an acute sense of awareness of one's bodily and emotional reactions to the problematic intercultural encounter situation. According to Adair Nagata's work on *bodymindfulness*, the concept refers to the ability to tune in to one's own state of being and the ability to manage one's own energy via conscious breathing. In-the-moment orientation to experience connotes sustained awareness of and attention to the ebbs and flows of emotional states, bodily sensations, moods, and behavioral swings.

In-the-moment self-regulated judgment means being aware of one's own ethnocentric judgments and intentionally shifting focus so that the reactive lens becomes instead an ethnorelative viewfinder. Countless intercultural studies have provided evidence that open-mindedness, cultural curiosity, and high tolerance for ambiguity are some of the key features of an ethnorelative mind-set. According to a mindfulness scale development study (the Kentucky Inventory of Mindfulness Skills) by Ruth Baer, Gregory Smith, and K. B. Allen, mindfulness has four factors: (1) observing internal and external stimuli, (2) describing and labeling phenomena nonjudgmentally, (3) acting with awareness and undivided attention, and (4) accepting events and experiences without judging them. In another scale development study on mindfulness (the Mindful Awareness Attention Scale), the researchers, Kirk Brown and Richard Ryan, also emphasize sustained attention to the present moment as a core component of mindfulness. Thus, the radiant component of *being fully present and observing without judgment* may undergird all other mindfulness components.

Metacognition Component

David Thomas uses the concept of mindfulness as the metacognitive strategy that links metathinking, knowledge, and behavioral flexibility. The cultural intelligence research team (Linn Van Dyne, Soon Ang, Kok Yee Ng, and colleagues), for example, also emphasizes the concept of metacognition as a higher order cognitive process of *thinking about thinking* (i.e., awareness, planning, and checking) and the importance of monitoring and modifying reactive cognitive schemas to understand the new cultural environment.

Awareness in this context refers to the real-time consciousness of understanding how culture influences one's own and others' mental processes and behaviors, in association with the actual cultural situation. Planning refers to thinking ahead strategically and being aware of the short-term and long-term implications of such behaviors. Checking connotes the intentional review of mental maps and adjusting habituated mental maps based on new cultural inputs.

Cognitive Knowledge Component

The cognitive knowledge component refers to the mastery and deep understanding of the macro and micro layers, complex identity diversities, value contents, norms, and interaction scripts of the unfamiliar cultural system. Stella Ting-Toomey's research writing on intercultural competence suggests that the following knowledge elements should constitute the baseline cognitive knowledge structures of a competent intercultural communicator: (a) developing deep knowledge of the cultural worldviews and value variation dimensions, (b) understanding cultural/ethnic and social/personal identity issues, (c) mastering language and distinctive verbal styles, and (d) appreciating the commonalities and differences of cross-cultural nonverbal codes.

In addition, the following intercultural knowledge structures also are critical: (a) comprehending culture shock and adjustment/reentry issues, (b) recognizing the complex acculturation processes of immigrants and refugees in a diverse society, (c) realizing the filters of ethnocentrism/stereotypes/prejudice/power dynamic issues between co-culture groups, (d) practicing flexible intercultural conflict styles and collaborating on common-interest goals, (e) grappling with diverse forms of intercultural intimate relationships, and, last but not least, (f) developing a meta-ethical principled stance.

Affective Monitoring Component

According to the work of Robin Nabi, human emotion is a psychological construct with five defining characteristics: (1) a subjective feeling state, (2) the physiological feature of arousal, (3) cognitive appraisal or assessment of a situation, (4) a motivational feature (including behavior intentions or action readiness), and (5) motor actions. There are also generally two dimensions that undergird the motivational base of human affective experience: (1) the emotional arousal dimension (intensity: high/low activation) and (2) the valence dimension (direction: pleasure/displeasure, approach/flee). Paul Bolls (2010) also noted that emotion is "the fuel that energizes human communication" (p. 146) and that our brains are equipped with an embodied affect system that codes the encounter episode as a high or low emotional arousal episode and a pleasant or unpleasant interpersonal experience.

When an emotional arousal episode is triggered, such as in a problematic intercultural encounter, emotions such as surprise, fear, anger, or contempt may be aroused and experienced and particular patterns of thoughts are instantaneously recalled or formed. Such patterns of thoughts and reactive emotions are usually subconsciously acquired from our everyday social surroundings, social media, peer-group influence, and family socialization upbringing. This quickstep social cognitive appraisal process also primes our motivation to activate certain verbal and nonverbal behavioral tendencies.

Thus, galvanization of the mindful affective monitoring component is critical to the emotional arousal and emotional reactive process in the intercultural encounter. For example, in an emotionally frustrating intercultural situation, the conflict communicators can easily slide into their default parameters of mindless stereotypes or biased attributions in appraising the intercultural or intergroup conflict scene. When emotions are tense and escalating, both conflict parties are not interested in listening to the other's conflict story. They are actually engulfed in their own reactive emotions, internally and externally.

Internally, one possible strategy to mindfully monitor one's own arising emotions may be the unconditional acceptance of one's own emotional state without judgment. Practicing unconditional acceptance of and watchfulness over one's own arising emotional state as part of the field of experience may help tone down the escalating internal stress. Externally, cultivating emotional attunement with the other person's affective states—learning to notice the other's arising emotions and responding appropriately to his or her affective states without judgment—may help create some constructive space between the two intercultural conflict negotiators.

According to Cookie Stephan and Walter Stephan's work, *integrated threat theory* fuses various affective theories in the intergroup social identity literature and emphasizes one key causal factor in prejudice and intergroup conflict—namely, feelings of fear or perceived threat of the unfamiliar. According to the integrated threat theory, there exist four basic identity threat types that lead to increasing prejudice and an upward spiral of intergroup anxieties between the two polarized cultural groups: (1) intergroup anxiety/anticipated consequences, (2) negative or rigid stereotypes, (3) tangible/realistic threats, and (4) perceived value/symbolic threats.

Intergroup anxiety and fear can color our biased expectations and intensify our perceived identity threat levels in dealing with culturally dissimilar strangers or whoever we consider as our "enemies." By becoming more aware of the different affective threat types that exist on both the macrocultural and the microcultural level, mindful intercultural communicators can slow down the emotionally agitated experience and incorporate more neutrally toned attributions, such as viewing the problematic encounter as possibly unintentional, situationally induced, unstable, or particularized.

Pragmatic Metacommunication Component

The pragmatic metacommunication component refers to communication about communication itself and sensitivity to the "when, what, to whom, and how" situational factors. Understanding when to say what and to whom under what particular situational contexts and selecting the most appropriate and effective messages to adapt to the situation are highly dependent on the moment-to-moment unfolding intercultural process. Thus, the cultivation of mindfulness is an art of reconciling several communication paradoxes: being strategic versus being spontaneous, being focused versus being expanding, and digging in versus reaching out. Harnessing mindful communication practice relies heavily on intersubjective perceptions: from reflexive self-perception, to introducing perception shifts about others, to being aware of how one is perceived by others. Intersubjective competence/incompetence perception is often formed on the basis of criteria of perceived communication appropriateness, effectiveness, and adaptability, as indicated by the work of Daniel Canary, Sandra Lakey, and Alan Sillars.

Communication appropriateness criterion refers to the degree to which the exchanged behaviors are regarded as proper and match the expectations generated by insiders of the culture. To behave "properly" in any given cultural situation, competent cultural negotiators need to have the relevant knowledge schema of the culture-based norms that guide the interaction episode. They also need to acquire the specific cultural knowledge map of what constitutes appropriate communication style patterns that can promote constructive rather than destructive interactions.

Communication effectiveness criterion refers to the degree to which communicators achieve mutually shared meaning and integrative, goal-related outcomes in the problematic interaction. To engage in effective communication strategies, intercultural negotiators need to have a wide-ranging verbal and nonverbal repertoire to make mindful choices. Individuals also need to master strategic negotiation skills to integrate divergent goals constructively.

To behave both appropriately and effectively, an individual needs to be mentally and behaviorally nimble and adaptive. *Communication adaptability criterion* refers to our ability to adapt our interaction behaviors and goals to meet the specific needs of the situation. It implies mental, affective, and behavioral flexibility in dealing with the problematic intercultural situation. It signals our willingness to see things anew and extend our beam of attention to fully understand the other cultural stranger's standpoint, underlying unmet needs, and constructive conflict potentials.

Cultivating Intercultural Competence: A Mindful Inquiry Practice

Mindful intercultural communication practice is a being-in-the-moment-now practice, a developmental journey, and an ever-expanding discovery course. The overall process and goal of a mindful inquiry lens is continuous commitment to understanding the self, the unfamiliar others, the communication process, and the new macro–micro cultural system. This section identifies four inquiring skills that are critical in cultivating intercultural communication competencies, especially during conflict encounters: (1) mindful observation inquiry, (2) mindful listening inquiry, (3) empathetic attunement inquiry, and (4) artful reframing inquiry.

Mindful Observation Inquiry

Mindful observation inquiry involves the practice of the *O-D-I-S method*, which refers to mindful *o*bservation, *d*escription, *i*nterpretations, and *s*uspending ethnocentric evaluations. Rather than engaging in hasty, negative evaluations, O-D-I-S analysis is a slowing-down process that involves learning to *observe* with one-pointed watchfulness and wakefulness—observing the verbal and nonverbal signals and the underlying meanings that are being constructed in the communication process. Skipping the mindful observation process when confronted with different patterns of behavior often leads to unconscious, incompetent behavior.

After slowing down the mindful observation process, we should then try to *describe* mentally and in behaviorally specific terms (e.g., "He is not making direct eye contact with me" or "She is standing about 6 feet away from me while we're chatting") what is going on in the intercultural scene. Description is a *clear* report of what we have observed, with a minimum of distortion. It also means refraining from adding any evaluative meaning to the observed behavior. Next, we should generate *multiple interpretations* (e.g., "Maybe from his cultural value framework, avoiding eye contact is a respectful behavior; from my cultural perspective, this is considered rude") to make sense of the behavior we are observing and describing. Interpretation is what we think about what we see and hear. The important thing to keep in mind is that there can be multiple interpretations (e.g., "She is shy," "She is just doing her cultural thing," or "She just got Lasik eye surgery") for any description of an observed behavior.

We may then decide to respect the differences and *suspend* our ethnocentric evaluation. We may also "intentionally mind our mind-set" and engage in an honest acknowledgment of our evaluative statement inside our cognitive appraisal frame (e.g., "I understand that eye contact avoidance may be a cultural habit, but it makes me feel uncomfortable"). Evaluations are positive or negative judgments concerning the observed behavior (e.g., "I like the fact that she is keeping part of her cultural norms" or "I don't like it because I've been raised in a culture that values the use of direct eye contact"). Additionally, learning to mindfully observe a wide range of people in a wide range of situations in the new cultural setting is critical to activating the O-D-I-S method.

Mindful Listening Inquiry

Mindful listening is a face validation and power-sharing skill. In an intercultural conflict episode, the negotiators have to try hard to listen with focused attentiveness to the cultural and personal assumptions that are being expressed in the conflict interaction. They have to learn to listen responsively or *ting* (the Chinese word for listening, which means "attending mindfully with our ears, eyes, and a focused heart") to the sounds, tone, movements, and nonverbal nuances in a given conflict situation. In mindful listening inquiry, conflict negotiators have to practice dialogic listening instead of monologic hearing. By listening mindfully, conflict disputants can learn to create new categories in interpreting the unfolding conflict sequences. They can learn to struggle *with* each other, not *against* each other. They can also practice mindful listening by engaging in culture-sensitive paraphrasing and perception-checking skills.

Mindful listening involves a fundamental shift of our culture-ingrained communication perspective. It means taking into account not only how things look from one's own standpoint but also how they look and feel from the stranger's standpoint and horizon. Over time, mindful listening can lead to the development of cultural empathy.

Empathetic Attunement Inquiry

Empathetic attunement inquiry has two layers: (1) culture-sensitive empathetic understanding and (2) culture-sensitive empathetic responsiveness. *Cultural empathy* is the learned capacity of participants to understand accurately the self-experiences of others from their own lived experiences and spatial bubble and, concurrently, the mindful capacity to convey one's own understanding and emotional resonance responsively to reach the "cultural ears and hearts" of the unfamiliar others.

Cultural empathy involves being able to do the following:

- Ask for clarification with a commitment to learn and a willingness to strive for deep understanding while avoiding pretending to understand
- Use reflective time and appropriate silence to gauge understanding of the other's conflict communication perspective
- Notice the complex conflict emotions arising in one's self and others
- Nurture a sense of emotional resonance for the other person's pains, dilemmas, and sufferings
- Respond with cultural and interpersonal sensitivity, knowing that sometimes the power of silence may mean more than words

To further engage in an empathetic response with the polarized cultural others, interculturalists can consider the following questions: What are their underlying intentions and unfulfilled yearnings? What are the emotional roadblocks here? What are the affective filters and blind spots that exist between us in the here-and-now? How can we synchronize our own rhythms, gestures, and breaths to match the other's heaving rhythms, gestures, and breaths so that we can fully listen to each other with luminosity? How can we "hold our stillness" and "be fully present in the moment" with a pure heart? How can we reach out responsively with unconditional compassion?

Artful Reframing Inquiry

Artful reframing inquiry is a highly creative, mutual face-honoring skill. It means creating alternative contexts to frame our understanding of the conflict behavior. Just as in changing a frame to appreciate an old painting, creating a new context to understand the conflict behavior may redefine our interpretation of the behavior or conflict event. *Reframing* is the mindful process of using language to change the way each person defines or thinks about experiences and views the conflict situation.

This skill uses language strategically for the purpose of changing the emotional setting of the conflict from a defensive climate to a collaborative one. Through the use of neutrally toned (to positively toned) language, reframing can help soften defensiveness, reduce tension, and increase understanding. The following are five specific suggestions for an artful reframing practice:

1. Restate the conflict positions in common-interest terms.
2. Change complaint statements into requests.
3. Move from blaming statements to mutual-focused, problem-solving statements.
4. Help those in conflict recognize the benefits of a win-win synergistic approach.
5. Help the conflict parties understand the big picture.

Artful reframing is a critical intercultural competence skill because how a person *frames* the problematic event may change how the individual responds to it. In conjunction with the artful reframing practice, conflict negotiators can also apply productive intergroup dialogue skills. Including multiple voices, a forward-movement-focused direction, and a genuine humanistic connectedness with others are some key features of a transformative dialogue session.

Overall, a mindful intercultural communicator is an adaptive individual who has a strong present-in-the-moment orientation with cognitive, affective, and behavioral flexibility. The person is highly aware of the internal jumbled emotions, reactive lens, and behavioral tendencies in a polarized intercultural situation. The interculturalist is also highly attentive of and attuned to the other's conflicting emotions, cognitions, and behavioral dialectics. A competent intercultural communicator can flow between communication complexity and one-pointed gracefulness. The person is keenly aware that the mindful communication skill practice is a developmental journey and not a destination. The interculturalist remembers the following with a sense of playfulness:

> "**M-I-N-D-F-U-L**" stands for **M**indfulness **I**n the Moment **N**ow with **D**eepening of the **F**ive Senses to **U**nderstand and to **L**earn and Relearn.

Stella Ting-Toomey

See also Description, Interpretation, Evaluation; Developing an Intercultural Vision; Identity Negotiation Theory; Ingroup/Outgroup; Intergroup Dialogue; Meta-Ethical Contextual Position

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Missionaries

Until the 1950s, the concept of missions referred almost solely to a Western Christian organization sending missionaries into the foreign *mission field* to grow the Christian faith, to expand God's reign by converting non-Christians, and to establish new churches. Thus, missionaries, willingly or unwillingly, often became closely connected with colonial expansion. By its very nature, the missionary enterprise is cross-cultural. In fact, it could be argued that missionaries have struggled with issues of cultural competency in profound ways.

This entry provides a brief history of that enterprise, including the paradigm shift in the latter part of the 20th century that markedly expanded the need for cultural competence; it explores significant challenges requiring cultural competence for missionaries and reflects on how cultural competence relates to the success or failure of a particular missionary venture.

The apostle Paul, arguably the first Christian missionary, traveled throughout Asia Minor taking his message about Jesus to far-flung communities, establishing churches, and returning to these fledgling communities to deal with religious and cross-cultural issues. His missionary efforts in the latter part of the 1st century BCE, described in the New Testament, were clearly an example of cross-cultural evangelism. Paul, a Roman citizen, met and embraced cross-cultural challenges through his willingness to adapt his behavior, asserting that he became a Jew to win the Jews (ethnic) and becomes as a weak person (social class) to win the weak. Paul was clear about his goal; he was doing this to win people to Jesus.

Paul's approach can be seen as a template for missionaries as well as for raising ethical and religious challenges embedded in such cross-cultural engagements. Starting with Paul, missionary efforts in many different forms have continued until today. The intent of this entry is to explore and analyze cultural competency experiences and challenges for Protestant Christian missionaries in the 21st century.

The term *missionary* conjures up many images, negative and positive, such as evangelist, colonizer, judgmental, rigid, humanitarian, compassionate, dedicated to human rights and justice, community developer, cultural imperialist, committed in faith and for humanity, sacrificing, and faithful. In today's secular postcolonial society, missionaries often describe their ministry in nonreligious terms, aware of the negative stereotypes that abound. It is not the intent of this entry to explore the history of missionary efforts. Suffice it to say that these negative stereotypes, like all stereotypes, are limited and at the same time have an element of truth, growing most especially from colonial times and a theology that insists that the only way to salvation is through Jesus, the Christ.

Paradigm Shifts in Missions

Following World War II, the world was in convulsions. Colonies were fighting for liberation; displaced persons were on the move trying to find a new place to call home; the previous hegemony of the West was forcefully resisted. The world was fundamentally different from that which missionaries had previously encountered since the inception of Protestant missions in the mid-16th century. Vatican II (October 1962 to December 1965) saw the Roman Catholic Church examining itself and opening up to the world's realities in ways not seen before. The witness and spiritual energy emanating from Vatican II had a significant influence on Protestant denominations. They, like the Roman Catholics, engaged in critical self-analysis; grew in sensitivity to the charge of cultural imperialism; and actively shifted to a contextualization/enculturation approach to mission. Emphasizing and valuing local cultural norms and working closely with local partners, often under their supervision, required a significant adjustment in the expected role of a missionary. Cultural sensitivity and cultural competence had always been important; now as missionaries aimed to balance power and work interdependently, the importance of such cultural skills increased exponentially.

Important disagreements regarding goals, theology, and polity relative to missions came to a head in 1968, leading to a split into what can generally be described as differing understandings of the proper goal of missionary efforts. Many missionaries, knowing that evangelism must be contextual, as well as theologically and biblically sound, had to decide where to put their focus, their commitment. Making new converts and growing the church was and is the intent of the more theologically conservative mission-sending bodies; improving the quality of daily life for all persons and witnessing to one's faith through service in solidarity with the poor and disadvantaged, through being a change agent, was and continues to be the focus of what one might call more theologically progressive missionaries. Even with this, all missionaries would assert that their primary goal is the well-being of the people whom they serve, albeit understood differently, though all are motivated by their understanding of the demands of the Gospel.

Although the particular cultural challenges depend on one's mission goals, all long-term missionaries face cultural challenges and opportunities emanating from the expectation that they will live among, identify with, and become effective members of a particular community or culture for an extended period of time, as exemplified by missionaries living in China or India for 30 to 40 years. Currently, a renewable time of 3 to 5 years is often the norm, but the expectation of intense, sustained engagement is the same.

Missionary work, highly complex with many twists and turns, is most often with the poor, the vulnerable, the disadvantaged. Flexibility, fortitude, commitment, and compassion frame the many challenges. Cultural competence is a requirement. The following sections present some, but certainly not all, of the cultural challenges.

Theological Cultural Challenges

Given the long-term, embedded nature of missionary responsibilities, extensive language training coupled with cultural education is necessarily shaped by the goals of the sending mission society and the receiving church. If one's primary aim is making Christian converts, communicating theological and biblical concepts is central. How does one communicate the Christian faith through the categories and worldview of the local culture? Some theological concepts may not be understood conceptually in the native language. How does one meaningfully convey the concepts of sin and salvation if the worldview of a people does not evaluate behavior as sin and does not understand what salvation would even mean? Can the Christian message incorporate with integrity the importance of ancestors in making decisions? What words in the local language might be used to convey "God" with the same essential meaning as in the missionary's faith and home language? Underlying specific words, if the local worldview is that there is no distinction between humans and all other forms of life, how can a distinction be made between God and humans?

Those whose primary goal is conversion also face a major, worldview challenge. In the West, most people understand conversion as an individual's change of belief system. In a culture where a whole community converts based on the leader converting, individual conversion doesn't exist in the Western sense. Another example of a conundrum is experienced in cultures where there are major value conflicts, such as in India, with its rigid caste system, oppressive to those of lower caste. Here also, conversion is not necessarily changing one's belief system. Conversion is experienced in personal affirmation and a change in social status, resulting in respect for one's humanity and dignity. It is not surprising that the majority of Indian Christian converts come from the lowest castes, the Dalits. For the Hmong from Laos, whose understanding is a world filled with and shaped by spirits, conversion does not necessarily mean that the need to care for the souls of the departed is abandoned.

A parallel challenge is discerning how to relate to rituals, rites, and customs embedded in the lives of people. Rituals typically express significant life experiences, reflecting deeply held beliefs. How can the missionary relate to the various initiation rites of a community, rites often involving pain, psychological stress, and physical danger? Or to the rituals to protect from the evil eye or the action of a witch? What about shamanic rituals for healing? How can the missionary relate to the requirement that a woman be married to her uncle's son as soon as she enters puberty? What about polygamy? Are there Christian issues here or not, and how does one decide or prioritize which are core issues in terms of faith?

Cultural Challenges in Being Partners Not Authorities

Being culturally effective requires engaging worldviews, being open to exploring meanings, and trying to understand the values that underlie behavior. If the goal is improving the quality of daily life of individuals and the community, the missionary is a change agent. An effective change agent must engage deeply in the community, and identify and work closely with leaders, accepting that these leaders understand the dynamics, social, political, and economic, of the community. Hence, cultural humility is essential. The missionary needs to be a humble learner, not imposing from the outside but acting subject to the local cultural dynamics, worldview, and values.

When values are seriously in conflict, ethical and religious issues arise. For example, a significant component of progressive missionary work, historically and currently, has focused on alleviating the oppression of women in its various manifestations. To challenge such oppression raises the possibility of being seen as imperialistic, imposing Western values. The result could be that the missionary would have to leave, either because the person becomes ineffective or because he or she is forced out by powerful entities. However, being committed to Christian values but not challenging the unjust behavior, and implicitly the norms that inform the behavior, presents a value crisis. Engaging such challenges can only be attempted when one has built trusting relationships over an extended period of time, has a deep understanding of the power dynamics and norms, and knows how to identify and work in culturally congruent ways with local partners who have similar goals, holding together dialogue and relationships in tandem while addressing injustice through prophetic witness.

Major cultural challenges are encountered with the missionary's engagement in the local expressions of Christianity. In most situations, local Christians are a minority in a dominant culture. There are real concerns regarding the treatment of these Christians in the broader society, how they are treated personally, within their families, and within community structures. How is the missionary to engage, to interpret, and to guide, all with the purpose of strengthening and enabling? Cultural competency is essential to navigate local norms effectively, with no promise of success.

Many societies in which missionaries operate are hierarchal; the power and its benefits are at the top. In institutions such as the church, these norms give extraordinary power to local leaders. Missionaries must operate within these hierarchal systems and are especially affected when they are under the authority and direction of local leaders. Negotiating relationships is delicate, often fraught with tension and requiring heightened cultural competence. One can be agreeable to local leaders being in charge, but if one is prevented from carrying out valued programs or actions, frustration, anger, or a sense of impotence can arise. In addition, suspicion by local leaders about the imposition of Western norms increases both the difficulty and the importance of having trusting relationships enabled by cultural competence.

Missionaries expect to participate in and contribute to the local worshipping Christian community. If Christianity was introduced in the 1800s or early 1900s, the contemporary worship most often reflects the norms of that time, 19th-century small-town worship. Since most missionaries value the indigenization of worship, it is not surprising that they might like to shape worship to be more relevant to local expressions of spirituality or to incorporate traditional elements such as drumming. Typically, experimentation and change are opposed and even understood as being not truly Christian, another expression of the resistance experienced when challenging cultural norms.

Cultural Competency, the Mark of a Successful Missionary

In the swirl of this complexity, successful missionaries become bicultural, to be able to function and work effectively in both home and host cultures. Although existing on the margins of both cultures, they integrate the ways of being in both and can culturally shift almost effortlessly. On the other hand, missionaries who are not successful typically cannot let go of the home culture. Their ties are so strong that they do not identify well with the local situation and the local people. The hallmark of a successful, culturally competent missionary is the ability to form meaningful, trusting, nurturing relationships enabled by cultural flexibility and humility.

Lucia Ann McSpadden

See also Change-Agentry; Class; Intercultural Competence and Clergy; Intercultural Competence Development; Religious Contexts; Spiritual and Religious Diversity

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Mobility in a Global Era

The movement of human beings within and between countries is at an all-time high. Students, asylum seekers, businesspeople, and migrants move around the globe. Some countries have their natural population annually doubled or trebled by tourists. In others, particularly the Arab Gulf countries, *foreign workers* make up three quarters of the semipermanent population. Many universities have as many as a third of their students classified as *foreign students*.

There are half a million international students in America alone. In all, more than 200 million people live in a different country from their land of birth. People move for many reasons. There is a whole raft of *pull* and *push* factors involved in the difficult and complex decision to emigrate or even to experience an extended sojourn. People, thus, move as tourists and adventure seekers, working businesspeople and diplomats, soldiers and missionaries, refugees and new settlers. Some have considerable say in when, where, and why they go; others are sent; and some others flee. Some have considerable support (emotional, financial, informational, social, technical), others very little. Some yearn to return home; others rejoice in their escape, which they attempt to make permanent.

This entry summarizes six primary elements of global mobility. First, people move for different reasons, and those motives affect their adjustment and acculturation. Second, most people experience culture shock to some degree, which for some can be chronic and debilitating. Third, three sets of factors predict acculturation: (1) individual differences (ability, temperament, and values, as well as personal history), (2) social factors (training and support), and (3) cultural factors. Inevitably, some people adapt, adjust, and acculturate more quickly than others. Fourth, astute and informed selection, briefing, and training can and do help the process, though there are various caveats as to how, when, and where they take place. Fifth, problems can occur with every move, even if it is of limited duration or involves a return to one's point of origin. Sixth, psychological adjustment has immediate scalable costs for employers, as it affects newly arrived workers' productivity.

Classification of Sojourners

Various attempts have been made to classify or categorize travelers, using different dimensions. For instance, Stephen Bochner classified expatriates (expats) and sojourners according to their psychological response to the host culture. This divided people into four groups: (1) *passing* (rejecting own culture, embracing second culture), (2) *chauvinistic* (rejecting second culture, exaggerating own culture), (3) *marginal* (vacillating between cultures), and (4) *mediating* (synthesizing both cultures). The last response is essentially the bi- or multicultural response, which allows the individual to accept both cultures and translate the values and behaviors of one culture into the other. It represents culture learning and integration.

While this is clearly a useful way of distinguishing expats, it tends to concentrate on *reactions* to new settlement. More fundamental perhaps are the *motives* for migrating. Motives are complex, numerous, and not always explicit. Some have categorized them into *pull* and *push* motives. Some features of the second country or culture, such as the climate or a higher standard of living, pull one to that culture. On the other hand, certain factors, such as discrimination or political uncertainty, push one away from one's country of origin. It seems implicitly the case that expats who are pulled would adapt more readily than expats who are pushed. Furthermore, there is evidence that new settlers who are pulled are more likely to adapt to local conditions than new settlers who are pushed; that is, *free-choice* new settlers seem more eager to acculturate than those who are pushed to leave their native country by various pressures.

In 1986, Adrian Furnham and Stephen Bochner suggested various dimensions by which groups of expats could be classified. These include the following:

Geographical distance: This is the distance between home and the second culture, implying various climate and cultural differences.

Amount of change required: This is both qualitative and quantitative and suggests behavioral plus cognitive aspects of adaptation.

Length of time spent: This can be categorized into specific time categories, like 3- or 5-year periods.

Voluntariness of the move: This implies that the move itself may not be voluntary but may be the result of various constraints and prescriptions.

There are some other useful factors that may be used to distinguish one type of expatriate move from another. These include the following:

Distance: how far a person is transferred

Country: whether the move involves leaving one's own country, continent, or linguistic area or not

Job: whether the person is expected to do much the same or a different type of job at the same or a different level

Social support: whether the person moves alone, with others from the workplace, and with or without family

Time: how long the person is likely to spend in the new culture and when he or she can expect to return or move to another posting

Returns: the benefits and costs of the move, including the possibility of being dismissed or demoted if not agreeing to the transfer

Volunteering: to what extent the individual believes that he or she had a choice in the move

Typically, there are three categories of travelers: (1) *new settlers and refugees*, who often move permanently; (2) *sojourners*, such as diplomats, missionaries, soldiers, or students, who go for a fixed period; and (3) *tourists*, who spend relatively short periods abroad. These three groups tend to be studied by psychiatrists, psychologists, and sociologists, respectively.

One approach to understanding the adaptability of new settlers/travelers is based on cultural comparison. There are different theoretical frameworks that permit, indeed encourage, it. One of the most widely used is Geert Hofstede's theory, which examines differences on dimensions such as individualism–collectivism. Using country-based scores, it is possible to calculate a general index of difference and similarity, which broadly suggests the amount of culture shock, surprise, or discomfort a traveler going from one place to another may experience, recognizing that individual experiences and contexts are rarely generalizable. Thus, moving from a masculine, collectivistic country like Japan to a feminine, individualistic country like Norway might foster considerable culture shock and misunderstanding.

Culture Shock

The famed anthropologist Kalvero Oberg was the first to use the term *culture shock*. In a brief and largely anecdotal article, he mentions at least six aspects of culture shock, which others have teased apart:

- *Strain* because of the effort required to make the necessary psychological adaptations
- *A sense of loss* and *feelings of deprivation* with regard to friends, status, profession, and possessions
- Being *rejected by* and/or *rejecting* members of the new culture
- *Confusion* about roles, role expectations, values, feelings, and self-identity
- *Surprise*, *anxiety*, even *disgust* and *indignation* after becoming aware of cultural differences
- *Feelings of ineffectiveness* because of being unable to cope with the new environment

Many writers still examine the meaning of culture shock. Culture shock occurs when people no longer understand otherwise shared cultural symbols and social knowledge due to being faced with a cultural reality that differs from their own. Most studies of culture shock have been descriptive, in that they have attempted to list the various difficulties that sojourners experience and their typical reactions. Many studies are interested in what factors (e.g., high levels of intercultural perceptiveness and sensitivity) lead to adaptation in long- and short-term stays abroad. Less attention has been paid to explaining if the shock will be more or less intense for particular people, such as the elderly or the less educated; what determines the reaction a person is likely to experience; how long a person remains in a state of shock; and how culture shock can be prevented or overcome. The literature suggests that all people, to some extent, will suffer culture shock, which is always thought of as being unpleasant, stressful, and disorienting. However, this assumption needs to be empirically supported, as some people may not experience any negative aspects of shock. Instead, they may seek out these experiences for their own enjoyment.

Since Oberg, it has been common to describe culture shock with stage theories. These attempts have all been descriptive and tend to overlap. In 1960, Oberg listed four stages of shock:

1. *Honeymoon stage:* This refers to an initial reaction of enchantment, fascination, enthusiasm, admiration, and cordial, friendly, superficial relationships with the hosts.
2. *Crisis:* The initial differences in language, concepts, values, and familiar signs and symbols lead to feelings of inadequacy, frustration, anxiety, and anger.
3. *Recovery:* The crisis is resolved by several methods, such that the person ends up learning the language and culture of the host country.
4. *Adjustment:* The sojourner begins to work in and enjoy the new culture, although there may be occasional instances of anxiety and strain.

One of the more consequential of these stage theories, the U- or W-curve, has spawned an ongoing debate. The idea of the U-curve has been attributed to the Norwegian sociologist Sverre Lysgaard. He concluded that people go through three phases: (1) initial adjustment, (2) crisis, and (3) regained adjustment. He implied that the period of adjustment took about 20 months, with some point between 6 and 18 months being the bottom of the *U*. If one traces the sojourner's level of adjustment, adaptation, and well-being over time, a U-shape occurs, such that satisfaction and well-being gradually decline but then increase again. The W-curve is an extension of the U-curve by J. T. Gullahorn and J. E. Gullahorn. They found that once sojourners return to their home country, they often undergo a similar re-acculturation process, again in the shape of a *U*, hence the W-curve (double *U*). Furnham and Bochner pointed out various problems with this literature, notably the vagueness of the description and definition, asking when is a *U* not a *U*?

In a comprehensive review of the U-curve literature, A. T. Church reported seven studies that found some evidence for the hypothesis but a similar number that did not. He concluded that support for the U-curve hypothesis is weak, inconclusive, and overgeneralized. The reentry U-curve can be derived from the notion of contradictory role demands. For instance, Kevin Gaw looked at reverse culture shock in American students returning home, finding that many felt alienated, lonely, depressed, and confused.

There is limited literature on repatriation and the particular adjustment difficulties workers have when they come home. One recent study by M. Vidal, R. Valle, M. Aragon, and C. Brewster suggested nine possible factors that influence readjustment: (1) duration of the expatriation, (2) repatriates' self-efficacy beliefs, (3) homecoming work expectations, (4) autonomy in the new workplace, (5) promotion on return, (6) being assigned a mentor, (7) frequency of communication with the home office when abroad, (8) training after repatriation, and (9) increase in social status after return. They found that four factors (self-efficacy, autonomy, expectation accuracy, and social status) predicted adjustment after 2 months, while two factors (self-efficacy and expectation accuracy) predicted adjustment at 9 months. It is interesting to note that repatriation has not attracted nearly as much attention in the mobility literature as expatriation, although it is clearly an important issue.

Furnham and Bochner have maintained that the advantage of the social psychological model of temporal adjustment is that it can predict and explain different adjustment profiles as a function of quite significant determinants.

At the heart of the culture shock literature are attempts to provide theories or models for the process of cross-cultural adaptation. Miriam Sobre-Denton and Dan Hart suggest that the literature is dominated by four models: (1) the U-curve model, (2) an anxiety/uncertainty model, (3) a transition model, and (4) a stress–adaptation–growth model. They note that each points to a different manner of approaching predeparture training. They also favor the anxiety/uncertainty model, which emphasizes the sojourner's feelings of lack of control and poor ability to predict behavior, leading to ambiguity and uncertainty/anxiety.

Adaptation and Adjustment

Furnham and Bochner offered eight different explanations for culture shock and evaluated the power of each *theory* to explain the phenomenon. Briefly, the eight explanations are as follows:

- *Culture shock* is the *psychology of loss*, and the phenomenon is akin to that of grief or grieving; therefore, it is experienced by most people but depends mainly on how much one loved one's mother country.
- *Locus-of-control* type of beliefs in fatalism or agency best predict culture shock. The more fatalistic people are, the less adaptive they will be.
- *Social Darwinism* or selective new settlement forces are some of the best predictors of culture shock; that is, the more carefully new settlers are self-selected or selected by other forces (economic) for their ability and strength, the better they will be able to adapt.
- *Realistic expectations* about what will be encountered is the most important factor in adaptation. The closer sojourners' expectations about *all* aspects of their new life and job approximate to reality, the happier they will be.
- Culture shock should be seen as, and calculated by, *negative life events*, such that the more actual change people experience and have to adapt to, the more likely it is that they will experience culture shock. The sheer number of major life differences experienced is a useful (negative) predictor of adaptation and happiness.
- The better, both quantitatively and qualitatively, *one's social support network* of friends, family, and conationals is, the better will be one's ability to overcome culture shock.
- *Value differences* between the home and the foreign culture are the most powerful predictors of whether a person experiences adaptation and shock.
- The *social skills* one possesses in dealing with people from the indigenous culture are clearly related to adaptation to the new culture.

Marcia Ward, Harold Javitz, and Edward Yelin noted three theoretical approaches to culture shock. The first approach is the *culture learning perspective*, which stresses the importance of acquiring culturally relevant social knowledge to cope with, and thrive in, any new society. This involves knowledge of social etiquette, conflict resolution, nonverbal communication, rules and conventions, forms of polite address, and so on. To minimize culture shock, sojourners need to become communicatively competent in the new culture. They need to master the subtleties and nuances of the *hidden language* of cross-cultural interaction in order to prevent friction and misunderstanding. This communicative competence is core to intercultural competence.

The second approach is the *stress*, *coping*, *and adjustment process*, which focuses on the coping styles of sojourners as they attempt to adjust to the new culture. Thus, their personality, social support network, knowledge and skills, and personal demography (age, sex), together or in part, predict and explain how quickly and thoroughly they adapt.

The third approach focuses on *social identity* and *intergroup relations*. How people see themselves and their group affects how they deal with those from a different group. Stereotypical attributions for the causes of behavior, and discrimination against *outgroups* in favor of ingroups are all seen to be functions of a person's self-identity. It is argued that various individual and social forces influence people's sense of themselves, which in turn influences their adaptation to and acculturation in the new society.

Adrian Furnham

See also Acculturation; Anxiety and Uncertainty Management; Assimilation; Culture Shock

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Motivation and Culture

Motivation is the natural human capacity to direct energy in pursuit of a goal. Human beings are purposeful. People are constantly learning, and when they do, they use their energy through attention, concentration, action, and imagination to make sense of the world. Most learning in schools, work, and social life is active and volitional, constructing meaning from experiences and the information available, such as when solving a problem or engaging in a conversation. There is substantial evidence that motivation is consistently and positively related to educational achievement. Motivation is important because throughout life, the motivated person will surpass the less motivated person in performance and outcomes, even though both have similar capability and the same opportunities.

Who one is culturally and how one interacts with the world reflect a deep connection between language, values, beliefs, and learned behaviors as they pervade every aspect of life and the experiences at hand. Perspectives on learning in school and how the roles of teacher and student are viewed are culturally transmitted through personal history, religion, the media, family, and political orientation. Every learning situation is mediated by such cultural influences. If reasoned debate, impersonal objectivity, and competitive testing and grading procedures are preferred, a distinct set of cultural norms and values are being represented.

This entry discusses the links between motivation, culture, and learning, and it outlines the Motivational Framework for Culturally Responsive Teaching, which examines four conditions that act individually and in concert to enhance the intrinsic motivation to learn.

Inseparability of Motivation and Culture

Attention is to learning as heat is to fire. It begins the process, and as focus intensifies, it enables deeper and more complex learning. Individuals are induced to pay attention to the things that matter to them. What matters is determined through one's cultural perspectives; what families, peers, beliefs, and values indicate is important and relevant. Goals such as success or achievement, and personal traits such as ambition or initiative, have different meanings to people with different backgrounds. In this way, group norms have a powerful motivational force. Faced with a difficult choice between striving for individual success in college or working full-time to contribute to the economic welfare of one's family, people often will determine such incompatible possibilities based on ethnic and familial norms.

In accessing and directing energy in moment-to-moment situations, motivation is governed to a large extent by emotions, which in turn are socialized through culture. Emotions influence task engagement, whether it be solving a math problem, baking muffins, or texting a friend. Frustration is a good example of this phenomenon. When people become frustrated during the learning process, some stop what they are doing and come back to it later, some stop only momentarily and renew what they were doing with greater determination, while others stop altogether. The list of possibilities goes further because what frustrates people is likely to be learned in different families with different reactions modeled within those families.

In terms of communication, the energy and desire to speak, write, self-express, and contribute information or opinions adheres to cultural influences. When to speak, when to interrupt, and when to disagree and with whom are significantly determined by what has been learned within one's culture. For some, challenging the opinion of their elders would be a serious transgression, while for others it would be quite normal. Feeling unthreatened and respected is often a necessary environment for communication among people with different cultural backgrounds. Even under such circumstances, immediate emotions still influence the energy to communicate. When people find another person or topic interesting or relevant, they are more likely to converse. If the response to the circumstances or the topic is boredom, indifference, or embarrassment, individuals are less likely to become involved.

People represent their own reality based on a unique history of learning and experience and their beliefs about them. Their internal logic about why they may want to learn (or not learn) something may not correspond to their own set of assumptions and values but is present nonetheless. The same is true of people's willingness or unwillingness to communicate. Being an effective teacher, leader, or communicator requires an openness to understanding differing perspectives and the desire to construct a mutually respectful situation.

The Power of Intrinsic Motivation

Since the brain has an inherent propensity for knowing what it wants, relevance guides its inclinations. When people see that what they are learning makes sense and is important according to their own perspectives, their motivation emerges as a physical energy, an emotional state to support learning. What is culturally relevant to individuals evokes an *intrinsic motivation*—acting or responding for the satisfaction of what one is doing (solving an important problem, e.g., budgeting money for food and rent) or the value of what one is doing (learning how to care for children, friends, or family). All people want is to be effective at what they value. What individuals value engages them emotionally.

The more powerful the feeling that accompanies an experience, the more likely it will be remembered. Strong emotions release hormones, including adrenaline and cortisol, that heighten alertness and enhance the memory of the experience. These hormones are likely to be present while some of one's strongest memories, like deep joy and romance, are being made.

What is personally relevant to people is understood by the degree to which they can identify their own perspectives and values in the topics, discussions, and methods of learning. Relevance while learning means the learning process is connected to who the people are, what they care about, and how they perceive and know. For example, if an individual wanted to learn about the economy, one of the following topics might be most relevant: home mortgages for low-income borrowers, credit card interest for college students, or employment opportunities for African American college graduates. To gather more information about one of these topics, the individual might read about it online, view a television special, surf the Internet for information, or interview local bank representatives. Relevance is present when learning is placed within personal and cultural meanings as well as the learning orientations of the individual.

Relevance is just as important for communication because it stimulates natural curiosity, one of the most potent intercultural competencies. Individuals want to make sense of the things that matter to them and so are prone to discussing relevant topics to further their understanding. At such times, one feels interest, which is the emotional nutrient for a good conversation. People *want* to talk.

Learning to be effective at what is valued is called *competence*. It is part of the human will to matter and to have dreams that can be reached. People are genetically programmed to explore, reflect, and change things in order to have a more influential interaction with their environment. The desire to be competent extends across all cultures. That is why something as elemental as playing with building blocks evokes positive emotions among infants everywhere. As people grow older, socialization and culture largely determine what they think is worth accomplishing. When learning and communicating, individuals are attentive and responsive to feedback about anything they are doing that matters to them, because it provides evidence for the quality of their understanding and clues for making progress toward valued goals. Without the need to be competent, trial-and-error learning would be impossible, as would success in school or the simple advancement of a score in a video game.

A Macrocultural Model for Engaging Intrinsic Motivation

The impact of culture on the human perspective is a complex interaction. Through cultural experiences individuals form complex identities and personal histories within distinct living contexts. For example, a person is not only older or only Mexican or only female; she is older *and* Mexican *and* female. But this example is still too simple because it does not include spiritual beliefs, sexual orientation, income status, or profession, among other possible cultural characteristics. Culturally, every person has a variety of identities that are woven into a personal history and lived in an individual context. Therefore, there is no single way for a teacher or a leader to view people in their work based *only* on the limited aspects of their culture.

In terms of education, the foremost challenge, at every level and in every venue, is to create equitable and successful learning environments for *all* learners. Realistically, accomplishing this goal means respecting the cultural integrity of every learner while enhancing their motivation to learn and communicate. Responding to the intricacy of every individual's multiple cultural identities is an enormous challenge. To arrive closer to meeting this challenge, a macrocultural pedagogical model was developed: The Motivational Framework for Culturally Responsive Teaching. Instead of using a microcultural perspective that, for example, identifies a specific ethnic group and prescribes particular approaches to teaching according to the assumed characteristics of that specific ethnic group, this motivational framework is built on principles that apply within and across cultures, creating a more pluralistic approach that can potentially elicit the intrinsic motivation of all learners.

One reservation about microcultural models is that they may work well with one ethnic or racial group but may not be effective with another group. However, microcultural approaches to teaching and communicating offer effective complementary models that can be used in tandem with the Motivational Framework for Culturally Responsive Teaching.

The model is based on the understanding that it is part of human nature to be curious, to be active, to initiate thought, to make meaning from experience, and to be effective at what is valued. These primary sources of motivation reside in people across all cultures. When people can see, from their points of view, that what they are learning is important, their motivation emerges. This motivational framework has been field tested and used nationally and internationally. There is evidence that when this model is used for designing educational experiences, it is capable of creating a common culture that most learners can accept.

The motivational framework systematically and dynamically represents four motivational conditions, namely, (1) inclusion, (2) attitude, (3) meaning, and (4) competence, which act individually and in concert to enhance intrinsic motivation to learn.

Inclusion

The criteria for establishing inclusion are *respect* and *connectedness*. In respectful environments, people can self-express without threat or blame and know that their perspectives matter.

Connectedness for people is a sense of belonging, knowing that they are cared for by at least some of the group, caring for others in turn, and sharing a common purpose. Their intrinsic motivation emerges because they feel safe, can be authentic, and can voice their opinions.

Attitude

The criteria for developing a positive attitude are *relevance* and *volition.* Relevance and its relationship to intrinsic motivation have been well discussed earlier in this entry. People feel a sense of volition when they can personally endorse their own participation or learning to others. If they were given a choice, they would want to do what they are doing. When individuals are in a situation that matters and they want to be there, they are willingly motivated to communicate and to make sense of what they are experiencing.

Meaning

The criteria for enhancing meaning are *engagement* and *challenge*. Engagement means a person is actively involved in a task such as constructing or changing an idea, solution, or decision. Challenge occurs when present knowledge or skills have to be further developed into a new idea or a better decision. Challenge is the available learning opportunity, and engagement is the kind of action a person takes to meet it. Acting purposefully to meet a challenging, or important, goal is intrinsically motivating because it is the essence of human existence.

Competence

The criteria for engendering competence are *effectiveness* and *authenticity.* Due to survival and evolutionary instincts, people naturally attempt to be effective, that is, to strive toward having a useful influence on their environments, for example, solving problems and learning skills to make themselves more capable. Authenticity means that for learning to be more effective, it should be connected to one's actual life circumstances and values. These criteria elicit intrinsic motivation because when people see that they are grasping important knowledge that can be applied to their real lives, they naturally feel more capable and less vulnerable.

To construct an intrinsically motivating and culturally responsive learning environment, a teacher or leader would create in collaboration with the students or participants these four intersecting conditions from the beginning to the end of a lesson plan, learning unit, or meeting. Such a learning situation would be characterized by respect for diversity, engagement of all learners, and a safe, inclusive, and respectful climate with practices that cross cultures and are integrated for equitable learning for all.

Margery B. Ginsberg and Raymond Wlodkowski

See also Co-Creation of Meaning; Cultural Patterns; Culture Learning; Learning Styles Across Cultures

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Multicultural Counseling

Multicultural counseling refers to counseling that considers the various cultural identities of the individual present in the counseling session. Traditionally, this type of designation referred to counseling that occurred when there were obvious cultural differences between the counselor and the client, such as racial and ethnic differences. More recently, as the discussion on cross-cultural matters has expanded, there is recognition that all counseling encounters are cross-cultural and therefore multicultural. This entry begins with definitions of basic concepts and goes on to discuss the ADDRESSING model as a way of operationalizing people's various cultural identities. Case studies of how the counseling process is affected by cultural differences are explained, and the entry concludes with some final observations about counseling and intercultural communication.

Basic Concepts

Let us begin by defining several terms underlying the concept of multicultural counseling. *Race* refers to the socially constructed groupings of people based on their physical characteristics. In the past, these differences were believed to be biologically based; however, science now refutes the idea that these are biologically based differences and recognizes these differences as socially constructed. *Ethnicity* refers to membership in a group of people who share a common ancestry; *culture* refers to the attitudes, beliefs, and customs associated with different groups. Traditionally, the term *culture* was used to refer to the attitudes, beliefs, and customs of different racial and ethnic groups, but as the discussion on cultural matters has evolved, there is now increased awareness that there are myriad cultural categories or groupings in addition to race and ethnicity, including sexual orientation, military branch, and religious affiliation, to name a few. For the purposes of this entry, this expanded definition of culture will be used.

One cannot consider cross-cultural experiences without being mindful of the context in which these experiences occur. Specifically, cross-cultural experiences occur within the context of *power*, *oppression*, and *privilege*. *Power* refers to the fact that historically there are certain groups who have access to political, social, and economic power and resources. *Oppression* refers to the history of groups who have access to power and work to prevent other groups from acquiring this power. Last, *privilege* refers to benefits granted to individuals based solely on group membership. Those who have access to power and privilege can be described as the *oppressors* and are typically referred to as being part of the dominant culture, while those who do not possess such attributes are referred to as being part of the nondominant culture. In the history of the United States of America, this distinction of dominant versus nondominant culture often occurs along racial and ethnic lines, where White individuals have traditionally had access to power and privilege and have oppressed individuals from ethnic minority groups.

Recently, discussions have expanded to recognize the diversity within groups. For example, there is recognition that within the dominant White culture, those who are more educated and from higher socioeconomic backgrounds have power and privilege and can oppress White individuals who are less educated and come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. One way to operationalize the various cultural identities that individuals have is by using the ADDRESSING model (Table 1).

One final construct that is essential to the understanding of multicultural counseling is *cultural humility*. *Cultural humility* recognizes the fact that one will never know everything there is to know about all cultures, and in fact, that is not the goal. It suggests an approach to multicultural counseling in which the counselor seeks to learn about his or her client's culture from the client. Rather than striving for competence, the counselor adopts a stance of humility and seeks to learn from his or her clients about who they are, what

Table 1 The ADDRESSING Model

A	Age
D	Disability—developmental
D	Disability—acquired
R	Religion and spiritual orientation
E	Ethnic and racial identity
S	Socioeconomic status
S	Sexual orientation
I	Indigenous heritage
N	Nationality
G	Gender

Source: Hays (2008). Copyright © 2009 American Psychological Association. Reprinted with permission.

Note: This model helps illuminate the many different parts of people's identities. Please note that this model is not where the discussion about different aspects of identities ends but rather a starting point for a rich dialogue about the many intersecting cultural groups to which individuals belong and that contribute to who they are. The reader is invited to consider other cultural groups that are not listed here but to which individuals may belong, such as college students, cancer patients, veterans, Alcoholics Anonymous, and so on.

experiences they have, and how these experiences affect them. This is a dynamic process that happens all the time with all clients; the dialogue and learning about the client's cultural identity never stops.

The Importance of Multicultural Counseling

By using this common vocabulary, one can begin to understand why multicultural counseling is important. The definition of multicultural counseling offered earlier in this entry refers to counseling that recognizes the various cultural identities that are present in the counseling session. When applying the expanded definition of culture, it is easy to see how all counseling interactions are multicultural. If this is the case, the question can arise as to why there is a need to focus on these cultural identities since they are ever present. There are various answers to this question. For individuals from nondominant cultural groups, internalized oppression may prevent them from recognizing the role that their different cultural identities play in their lives. Additionally, owing to differences in the level of power and privilege in the counseling session, nondominant culture individuals may not feel comfortable addressing these issues with counselors who may have more power and privilege. Alternatively, because of their own privilege, dominant culture individuals may not typically be accustomed to recognizing cultural identities. They may therefore fail to understand the importance of these constructs in their own lives and in the lives of their clients. However, failure of either nondominant or dominant culture individuals to recognize their cultural identities can interfere with the counseling process.

One reason why the recognition of these cultural identities is important is that these various cultural identities inform the experiences individuals and groups have, including how others respond to, perceive, and treat them, as well as how they view themselves. Thus, these identities can be important contributing factors to the reasons why individuals seek counseling (e.g., stress, low self-esteem, sadness). For example, consider the experiences of ethnic minority individuals who are told that they only got their job because of affirmative action; the recent shootings at a Jewish community center in Kansas City, Missouri, where the shooter reportedly targeted the center because it was Jewish; or lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transsexual individuals, who cannot marry their partner and are denied access to basic legal rights such as insurance and medical information about their partner because they are not recognized as a spouse in many states. Whether one agrees with the politics behind these issues or not, in a counseling environment, it is important to consider the emotions underlying these experiences, which can affect individual and group functioning. Multicultural counseling allows counselors to more adequately treat their client's distress by targeting the underlying emotions that contribute to this distress.

Recognition of these various cultural identities is also important because they inform experiences in the treatment room, which will in turn influence the work of counseling. Consider the following example. A White female psychologist is working with a client who is from an ethnic minority group. The psychologist has privilege as it relates to race, ethnicity, and education, and the client holds privilege in the area of socioeconomic status. At the end of the first session, the psychologist asks the client how the racial and ethnic differences between them might affect their work together. The client responds, "I am OK that you are White; however, I notice that you have a wedding ring on, and I worry about your ability to relate to me as a single woman." This case highlights two important parts of multicultural counseling. First, cultural differences in the counseling room can affect the counseling relationship. Second, salient cultural identities are not always obvious. In this case, the psychologist focused on the obvious racial and ethnic differences between her and her client, while the client was more concerned about cultural differences as they relate to relationship status.

Applying These Constructs in the Counseling Session

Once the importance of tending to cultural identities in the counseling session is recognized, the next question is "How can counseling professionals make sure these important cultural factors are integrated into multicultural counseling work in a way that is respectful and meaningful?" There are numerous models for integrating culture into the work of counseling professionals, and they typically address three areas: (1) awareness and knowledge as it relates to self, (2) awareness and knowledge as it relates to others, and (3) an awareness of what happens when these different cultural groups meet, including how to respectfully address these differences.

Ways to respectfully address the cultural differences that exist in the counseling session depend on the construct of intercultural competence, a part of which includes cultural humility. In this model, the counselor enters the counseling session with a respectful curiosity and a desire to learn more about the client in his or her cultural context, while also being mindful of his or her own (the counselor's) cultural context.

In practice, this suggests that counseling professionals need to recognize their own cultural identities and how these shape and influence their work. Specifically, it is essential that counselors consider their own worldviews, values, and beliefs, as well as the issues of privilege, power, and oppression, and consider and how these shape their work. For example, consider the counselor who comes from a culture where family closeness is a cultural value and is manifested by emotional expression within the family, physical affection, and geographical proximity. Failure to recognize these as their *own* values and beliefs could contribute to the imposition of these values on their clients. This could result in the pathologizing of other cultural groups that do not share these values or that define family closeness differently. This, in turn, can lead to erroneous and damaging assumptions. For example, if counselors do not recognize that family closeness is their own cultural value, they could view clients who come from families that are not emotionally expressive as unhealthy, not close, and not loving. They could also then assume that a reasonable goal for treatment would be to help clients become more emotionally expressive and physically affectionate with their families. However, culturally informed counselors come to the counseling session with cultural humility and awareness that their client may have different cultural values from their own. They can then ask clients about their family dynamics and what *their* cultural values are and how they define family closeness (if this is deemed to be a cultural value for them).

This is exemplified as follows. Imagine a counselor and a client who share the same cultural background. For the counselor, this cultural background includes cultural values of family closeness as discussed above. In session, the client discusses difficulties with his family, who live many miles away in another state. He also shares that they do not speak often and never say "I love you." Due to the shared cultural heritage between client and counselor, it may be tempting for the counselor to think that the client's distress is associated with the fact that he is not very close to his family in the way the counselor values being close: living close by and being emotionally expressive. The counselor could then consider whether a treatment goal should be helping the client feel more connected to his family, including visiting more often and working toward saying "I love you." However, if during the intake the counselor asks questions about the *client's* cultural identity and family values and discovers that few people in his family live close to one another and he was raised not to share his emotions, this counselor would realize that such a treatment goal would be culturally incongruent for the client. It is possible that the client's distress is associated with how his family is not supportive of him and is actually harmful. Consequently, one focus of treatment could be helping the client keep safe boundaries with his family rather than helping him get closer to his family.

Another important part of considering what happens when different cultural identities meet in the counseling session is related to power, oppression, and privilege—for example, in the first case, when in the counseling session the context of power and oppression is considered as it relates to the history of White people and ethnic minorities. Additionally, as a White woman who is married, the psychologist's race and relationship status would be considered areas of privilege (as is her level of education). As mentioned above, the client had concerns about whether the psychologist would understand her. Consequently, the psychologist would do well to pay careful attention to make sure she demonstrates that she understands her client's distress about being single and also that she is sensitive to the ways power and oppression can influence the therapeutic relationship. To do this, the counseling professional can reflect on her own experiences of feeling how the client feels when she describes various situations (lonely, sad, worried about her future). These are shared human experiences that everyone has throughout life. The counselor can then demonstrate appropriate empathy, validation, and support. It would also be beneficial to work with the client on her own self-defined treatment goal to be in a relationship. It is necessary to make sure this is the client's goal and not one that the counseling professional imposes on the client. Last, counseling professionals can use good supervision and peer consultation to regularly review treatment progress and make sure that the focus is on the clients' treatment goals for themselves and not ones that counseling professionals are imposing on them based on their power and privilege.

One final aspect of multicultural counseling that is crucial to consider is the importance of integrating clients' cultural values into treatment. This can mean helping clients who value religion cultivate their relationship with the higher power; looking for cultural sayings that can be helpful to clients—for example, when working in Spanish, *dichos* ("proverbs") such as *No hay mal que por bien no venga* ("Some good comes from all bad things") and when working with Christian clients, the serenity prayer; and helping clients engage in culturally meaningful activities, such as participating in family gatherings and important community events or attending a spiritual place of worship of their choice.

Final Thoughts

The past several decades have seen an explosion in the literature about the need for culturally informed and culturally relevant services. Since all interpersonal interactions are cross-cultural, all counseling situations are multicultural and require intercultural competence. If this expanding demand for culturally responsive services is to be met, it is important to understand the role culture plays in the counseling session. By using an expanded definition of culture, one is not limited to race and ethnicity, and by coming from a place of cultural humility and curiosity, counselors can assess their own cultural values and those of their clients, and address what happens when those two cultural worlds meet. By doing this, counselors can try to address the ways power, oppression, and privilege influence their work in the counseling arena and take steps to limit the role these pernicious forces play in cross-cultural work. In this way, counseling professionals can strive to be effective as multicultural counselors.

Shahana Kolfosky

See also Assumptions and Beliefs; Class; Counseling; Cultural Humility; Cultural Self-Awareness; Disability as Culture; Empathy; Gender as Culture; Intercultural Competence in Healthcare; Sexual Orientation

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MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

The educational philosopher John Dewey (1859–1952) may rightfully be credited with laying the foundation for what we know today as multicultural education in the United States. In his classic 1916 essay "Democracy in Education," Dewey put forth the idea that all children should receive an appropriate and equitable education and that the public school was the ideal place to learn democratic practice. Education, for Dewey, should be inclusive, participative, and experiential, thus fundamentally considering cultural diversity. Education, he surmised, should lead to an integrated society where people would not have to renounce their own values but could share them within the society at large.

This notion, that one of the major goals of education is to achieve an inclusive community where all have equal access to the benefits of society and an appropriate education, is fundamental to what is commonly referred to as multicultural education in the United States, Canada, and Australia, or intercultural education throughout much of Europe. This entry provides a brief overview of the field of multicultural education, its major principles, how it is evolving in a global society where the development of intercultural competence is an increasing necessity, and the impact of multicultural education in practice.

Origins of the Field

The National Association for Multicultural Education finds the foundation of multicultural education in various documents, including the U.S. Declaration of Independence, the constitutions of South Africa and the United States, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations as a philosophical concept built on the ideals of freedom, justice, equality, equity, and human dignity. In the United States, concerted efforts to integrate a multicultural perspective in education can be traced back to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and the recognition of the need for all to more fully understand and integrate the experiences and contributions of the many diverse groups that make up the fabric of U.S. society. Efforts to integrate multicultural education in Canada and Australia go back to the 1970s, in response to a variety of social concerns regarding indigenous, minority, and new-immigrant affairs. In Europe, efforts at *intercultural education*, the term in common use throughout the European community, can be found as far back as the 1950s, in response to a surge of immigration, with particular emphasis on linguistic issues faced in an increasing number of communities and schools. Use of the term *intercultural*, focusing on the interpersonal dimensions at the interface between people of different backgrounds as they work toward cooperation and solidarity, rather than focusing on relations based on domination, conflict, rejection, and exclusion, has only recently entered the conversation in the United States, in the past six decades.

Major Principles

Multicultural education is neither an academic discipline nor a subject, per se, that is taught or learned in the traditional sense, and thus, it presents a challenge in establishing any agreed-on definition. This is evidenced by the fact that countless definitions of multicultural education have been put forth by scholars, researchers, and professional associations over the past 40 years, demonstrating the dynamic nature of the field.

Common to most understandings of multicultural education are at least three aspects. First, multicultural education is a philosophical concept that influences how one understands and, therefore, interacts with and educates others, stressing that all students, regardless of their gender, social, ethnic, racial, or cultural characteristics, should have an equal opportunity to learn in school. Alternatively, it is seen as an educational reform movement whose aim is to facilitate change in schools, other educational institutions, and, ultimately, society at large. Finally, it is construed as a comprehensive, dynamic, and ongoing process designed to engage all constituents at all levels of an organization in the process of change. The underlying goal of multicultural education is to effect change through the combined transformation of both students and teachers, by thoughtfully examining how biases inform their interactions, and schools and schooling, by critically examining all aspects of schooling, including pedagogy, curriculum, staffing, media, and assessment, and ultimately to contribute to the greater society through the application and maintenance of social justice and equity.

Evidence of a multicultural orientation in education can be seen in a variety of programs and practices that address issues related to educational equity, women, ethnic groups, sexual orientation, language minorities, low-income groups, and people with disabilities. There is no "one-size-fits-all" approach, with such efforts resulting in a modification of the curriculum in one school, a transition in administration in another, integration of a culturally responsive pedagogy in another, or a combination of all of these. Some discuss multicultural education as a shift in curriculum, perhaps as simple as adding new and diverse materials and perspectives to be more inclusive of traditionally underrepresented groups. One of the initial challenges facing the implementation of a multicultural perspective in schools is helping teachers understand the distinction between the relatively easy surface-level attempts to address cultural pluralism in education and the more complex change required. For instance, quick fixes in the curriculum, often referred to as the "tourist" curriculum, focusing on heroes, holidays, and food, address more superficial learning than the more subjective and deeply held elements of peoples' experiences around cultural difference, including issues of prejudice, power, and privilege.

Approaches to multicultural education that have greater impact aim at improving the classroom climate or a modification of instructional styles. Others focus on institutional and systemic issues such as tracking, standardized testing, or discrepancies in funding. Some go further yet, insisting that educational change is part of a larger societal transformation in which the discriminatory foundations of institutions are altered and showing how education might serve to maintain an oppressive and exploitive status quo. When grounded in critical pedagogy—that is, an approach to teaching that connects knowledge to power and guides students to take social action to transform discriminatory practices—multicultural education promotes the democratic principles of social justice and transformation. Effective multicultural education permeates the very way schools conceptualize teaching and learning, addressing the curriculum and instructional processes used in schools as well as the interactions among teachers, students, parents, and, increasingly, the community at large.

Growing global interdependence and the shifting international balance of power draw special attention to intercultural competence and the importance of multicultural education. These developments have led to the recognition that we live in a world that faces a wide array of problems that cross national boundaries and that these problems will be solved only if people from many different cultures, speaking many different languages, and holding many diverse beliefs learn how to communicate, understand one another, and collaborate. Successful interactions and relationships now extrapolated to the global community require the use of knowledge, attitudes, and skills regarding cultural diversity within a global context. It is here that attention to the attainment of intercultural competence becomes increasingly critical. However, such attention to multicultural issues within the global sphere is not without its critics. Some are concerned that teachers, as well as teacher-educators, subsume the teaching of multicultural education under the guise of global education, and while this may perhaps seem safer because it uses international cultures, it may actually result in avoiding the more challenging and painful domestic realities of individual prejudice and institutional racism.

Impact of Multicultural Educational Practice

Empirical research provides sufficient evidence that implementing multicultural educational practice has positive impacts on the academic outcomes of all students, regardless of their ethnic or racial background. We know, for instance, that negative racial and ethnic attitudes toward others can be changed through deliberate intervention, but the process is developmental and evolutionary, thus requiring long-term commitment. Essential to achieving these outcomes seems to be the adoption of a strategic and careful effort to avoid teaching in a "color-blind" way. That is, attention must be given to issues of race and ethnicity and the intersection of issues of status and power.

Although we know that some instructional techniques that work well for students of color (a term used in the United States to describe diverse culture groups) generally benefit majority students as well, the converse is not always true—educational interventions that are successful with majority students may have negative consequences for some students of color. Thus, establishing a closer fit between teaching style and culturally different learning styles may have positive social and academic consequences.

A strong, positive racial or ethnic identity is associated with higher levels of academic performance, a greater commitment on the part of students of color to academic work and the educational setting in which they are working, and a greater ability to remain committed to one's academic goals despite experiencing racial discrimination. Those with a positive ethnic or racial identity are more likely to remain in school longer, graduate from high school, and enroll in college than their peers for whom ethnic identity is not positive.

Probably the most thoroughly studied aspect of multicultural educational practice has been prejudice reduction and efforts to improve intergroup relations, going back more than 75 years. When heterogeneous cooperative learning groups are organized in such a way that they meet the psychologist Gordon Allport's conditions for intergroup contact, they are more likely to lead to more significantly improved intergroup relations. In such classroom settings, students interact over an extended period on an equal-status basis, fostering positive interactions between group members with a common goal in mind, and with the support of one or more authority figures.

Finally, an empowering school culture is one in which all students feel welcomed and valued and in which all are seen as contributing members of the community. Sufficient evidence suggests that the goals of improved academic performance of students of color and good interethnic relations are inextricably connected, in that improvements in one lead to improvements in the other. Presently in the United States, there is an imbalance in the demographic makeup of teachers and students, with students of color making up approximately 40% of the student body while teachers are close to 90% White. Efforts by individual teachers to create more positive relationships with students of color can have a marked effect on student motivation, achievement, and educational persistence, suggesting that it is increasingly essential that the development of intercultural competence become an even more essential element in teacher education.

But perhaps most fundamental from this examination is the recognition that multicultural educational practices benefit all students, thus suggesting that we talk about these approaches as good teaching, not practices that are suitable or necessary only for certain subgroups of students, teachers, and administrators interested in working with particular populations.

Kenneth Cushner

See also Critical Pedagogy; Critical Race Theory; Disability as Culture; Teacher Education

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Multicultural Organization

While some define multicultural organizations as those whose membership merely includes people from multiple cultural groups in one organizational context, Taylor Cox and others describe multicultural organizations as those that also (a) have a commitment to engaging members from all cultural backgrounds and fully including all in both formal and informal networks, (b) value differences, and (c) have management systems in place that are not biased against any cultural groups. These cultural backgrounds can include race, class, gender, religion, national origin, nationality, sexual orientation, age, ability, or any other salient factor, and they vary based on location and context. In the United States, race and gender are most often the focus. For an organization to be successful as a multicultural organization, it must have members and leaders who are interculturally competent, as well as having effective ways to select and train new employees to develop their competence in interacting with those from other cultural groups. In this entry, the motivations, challenges, and relationship to intercultural competence are discussed.

Motivations for Valuing Diversity

Organizational leaders may have various reasons for working to fully embrace multiculturalism. The business case for diversity emphasizes the economic advantages of having employees from different cultural backgrounds. These advantages include access to diverse markets and increased creativity. Research shows that diverse groups not only produce more and better ideas but also need more time to learn to work together. Other organizations may be motivated by a desire to reduce discrimination and be fair to all employees, either proactively or in reaction to past problems. Rarer are organizations that as their main purpose focus on learning about culture, sometimes at the expense of economics. For example, some nonprofit and educational organizations see creating true multicultural organizations as part of their mission and identity.

Challenges to Becoming a Multicultural Organization

Even organizations whose members and leaders are committed to creating a multicultural organization face challenges. One challenge, depending on location, is recruiting skilled employees from a variety of backgrounds for positions at all levels. Relying on word of mouth to spread information regarding open positions results in recruiting a workforce that resembles the existing workforce. Employees from minority groups should not be concentrated in certain areas (e.g., marketing and selling to their own cultural group) but should have the opportunity to contribute in any area. This is important for all positions in the organization, including the leadership level.

Another challenge is socializing new members and new managers to the expectations of a multicultural organization. Orientation and mentoring of new employees is also an important step in helping members adapt to the organizational values and expectations regarding diversity, while recognizing that their internal expectations may be biased toward the dominant culture. Mentoring relationships often develop informally, but multicultural organizations ensure that all employees are given support via mentoring from organizational veterans. New managers may also need mentoring and training to effectively manage and support a diverse set of employees without expecting all to behave in a way consistent with the dominant societal culture.

Multicultural organizations also examine opportunities for diversity in all aspects of their operations. While a major focus may be developing the competence of employees to work together and with customers or clients, they may be challenged by encouraging diversity in suppliers. By providing opportunities for minority or female-owned suppliers, these organizations can extend their influence and support their values. In community outreach programs as well, multicultural organizations can look for opportunities to introduce future employees from diverse backgrounds to their values.

Intercultural Competence in Multicultural Organizations

Intercultural competence is a matter of great importance for multicultural organizations because it is vital that employees be able to work together effectively. Employees need to be able to interact one-on-one and in groups with peers who have communication styles different from their own in order to achieve basic tasks. They need to be able to show respect and develop rapport with those from other cultures, as well as be able to defuse potentially challenging situations or conflicts. They need to be able to use these skills to communicate effectively with customers and clients from other cultures as well.

Competent employees are important at all levels but especially in managerial positions and in human resources. Managers have a major role in establishing and maintaining an organizational culture that values input from employees from all cultural backgrounds. Managers in a multicultural organization need to be able to facilitate interactions between employees and intervene when necessary. It is also vital that managers frame diversity as an asset for the organization.

In addition to the human skills required, multicultural organizations need to have appropriate policies and procedures in place, free from bias toward specific groups, to support employees in acting competently. For example, managers need appropriate human resource policies to support, or at least not restrict, them in managing employee evaluation and promotion. If a procedure rigidly enforces a standard that is culturally biased, employees from other cultural backgrounds are either forced to assimilate or are restricted in their ability to excel. While productivity and efficiency are needed in every organization, policies and procedures play an important role in how much employees are allowed to use and develop their individual intercultural competence.

Multicultural organizations value differences in culture and, as a result, develop the potential of all employees. They view culture as a resource that contributes to the mission of the organization. While working toward the organizational goals (e.g., productivity, profit), they maximize opportunities for all to be included, to develop the individual competence of members and managers, and to create structures that support diversity.

Mary M. Meares

See also Benchmarks in Diversity and Inclusion; Diversity Return on Investment; Global Diversity Management; Global Leadership; Human Resource Management; Intercultural Competence in Organizations; Military and Armed Forces Training

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MULTILINGUALISM

Research on *multilingualism* has been growing over the past two decades in the field of applied linguistics. It is now a widely used term that describes the use of more than one language by an individual or a specific community. In a broad sense, the term can be understood to refer to the language that a social group or community uses as a habitual communication code, with regional languages, minority languages, migrant languages, sign languages, and dialects included.

Multilingual competence is the subject of this entry, which will define a variety of terms related to the concept, discuss changing attitudes related to the capacity of multilinguals to code shift, and, finally, connect intercultural competence to multilingualism.

Monolingualism, or the ability to use only one language, was once seen as a widely accepted norm and a natural human phenomenon in many parts of the world. What used to be seen as the problems of multilingualism are to a very large extent the result of monolingualism fostered by the nation-states in Europe and the dominant monolingualist language ideology espoused by them. However, most of the world's population today speak more than one language, and monolingual communities are rare, let alone monolingual countries.

The growth of multilingual communities around the world can be explained by various reasons, including voluntary or forced migration, movement of people from small towns to large cities, and incorporation of different speakers of different languages in a single country or political unit. Today, with the rise of English as a global language, many people around the world speak English in addition to their mother tongue, thereby making multilingualism all the more common around the globe. In short, multilingualism is now considered the norm in today's world, whereas monolingualism is viewed as the exception.

Multilingualism, in contrast to monolingualism, refers to the use of more than one language by an individual or a community, and a *multilingual* can be defined as someone who has the ability to use more than one language, either separately or in the form of code switching, such as alternation between different languages. Apart from the term *multilingual*, *plurilingual* is used by some researchers to differentiate individual multilingualism from societal multilingualism, and *multilinguality* is used to describe the state of knowing more than one language. However, some researchers specifically define *multilingualism* as the use of three or more languages, to differentiate it from the term *bilingualism*, which describes the use of two languages.

It is also important to note that multilinguals' use of their languages in their everyday life is complex. For example, their use of different languages may be explained by the fact that they reside in a multilingual community, or overlapping bilingual communities, or often have regular contact with several monolingual communities. For multilinguals to function effectively on a daily basis, they may use a number of languages for many different social, cultural, and economic reasons and in different contexts, as these languages may serve different roles and functions in the person's life. The term *polyglossia*, in particular, is used to refer to situations where a number of languages or varieties are used by individuals within a particular community, where these languages play different roles.

It should also be noted that multilinguals' competence in each language may vary according to factors such as occupation, education level, and age of acquisition. Their proficiency in each of their languages is likely to vary over time. Indeed, it is uncommon to find multilinguals to have balanced, or native-like, command of all the languages in their repertoire, and it is common that such speakers have different degrees of command of the different languages. The differences in competence in the different languages can range from command of a few words, phrases, or formulaic expressions, such as greetings, and basic conversational skills all the way to excellent or native-like fluency in the grammar and vocabulary and in specialized registers, genres, and styles. Typically, most multilinguals develop competence in each of their languages in their repertoire to the degree that they require for using it and for the contexts in which it is used.

Whereas early researchers defined multilingual speakers as people who have native-like competence in different languages, researchers who subscribe to the recent multilingual paradigm tend to take a holistic view of all the languages within a multilingual speaker's system and do not expect multilinguals to be proficient to the level of a native speaker in all their languages. Specifically, it has been argued that multilinguals' linguistic ability should be understood with reference to the concept of *multicompetence*, which refers to the knowledge of more than one language in one person's mind. From the multicompetence perspective, the different languages a multilingual speaks are seen as one connected system, rather than each language being a separate system. In other words, people who speak a second or third language are viewed as unique multilingual individuals rather than people who have simply added another language to their repertoire. In addition, multilingual speakers are seen as having more than the sum of the languages they speak. Compared with monolinguals, multilinguals are also believed to possess a larger overall linguistic repertoire and the ability to participate in a wider range of language situations. This ability can be seen as the multilingual art of balancing different communicative demands with their language resources drawn from different languages or language varieties.

In sum, multilingualism is now understood as a natural but complex phenomenon that needs to be seen in relation to issues such as individuals' proficiency and functional capability in different languages and the role of different languages in identity construction. In more recent studies on the language practices of young people in urban settings, researchers have discovered the emergence of new forms of multilingualism, as many young people create meanings with their diverse linguistic repertoire. In particular, these young people are found to be using their varied array of linguistic resources to create, parody, contest, evaluate, challenge, and negotiate their social worlds.

Chit Cheung Matthew Sung

See also Intercultural Code Switching; Intercultural Communication and Language; Language and Identity; Language, Culture, and Intercultural Communication; Language Use and Culture

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MUSEUMS

The museum is a recognizable feature of almost everyone's experience in a developed society, and yet its definition and function are only dimly comprehended. For many people, the concept conjures up associations of a dusty, worthy, vaguely imposing institution founded sometime in the 19th century by either an idealistic learned society or an equally idealistic and well-meaning civic philanthropist. But, in fact, 95% of the world's existing museums have been established since 1950, and their numbers are increasing significantly. This entry explores the role of the museum in an interculturally competent society, demonstrating the importance of developing what may be termed *museological literacy*.

Definitions of Museum

Most formal definitions of the museum, such as the 1974 version of the International Council of Museums, emphasize the functions of acquisition, conservation, research, and display of material evidence of humans and their environment, for the purposes of education and enjoyment. Unexceptional though this formulation seemed in the 1970s, it is challenged in almost every particular today. What should be acquired, and by whom? To what extent should material objects be preserved beyond their natural lifetimes? How can such objects, necessarily extracted from their original context, be meaningfully displayed? Is the museum primarily an educational institution or an entertainment facility? Is it a repository of knowledge or a forum for dialogue? Should its principal function revolve around objects or visitor experiences? How should museums be differentiated from zoos, interactive science centers, heritage institutions, fine art collections, and theme parks? Such questions are essentially political in nature. Their investigation helps uncover some of the assumptions that the term *museum* unthinkingly evokes, especially in the context of history or ethnology museums, which is the focus of this entry.

The modern idea of the museum as a place for the display of material items has evolved from the medieval European idea of the *curiosity cabinet*, a collection of diverse objects, natural and artificial, valuable and worthless, assembled by a nobleman or his agents to display his (rarely her) wealth, taste, and travels: the world, in miniature, revolving around his potent person. Little attempt was made at classification or understanding, although the stories associated with the items' acquisition, related to impressed visitors by the owner, were a large part of the collection's appeal. Over time, the forces of democratization and rationalism influenced the conversion of these private collections into public institutions. The British Museum, arguably the world's first public museum, was founded on the collection of Sir Hans Sloane, just as the Smithsonian Institution was the bequest of James Smithson, who explicitly stated his desire that knowledge be diffused more widely. Such knowledge, however, was assumed to be entirely within the purview of the institution, the epistemological authority of the museum unquestioned. The fact that many people's first experience of a museum today is in the context of a school visit tends to reinforce this enduring aura of educational omniscience.

Exhibition Strategies

Clearly, museum visitors are not passive receptacles for curatorial manipulation, intended or not, coming instead with their own individual sets of experiences and expectations. Museums, however, through the selection and arrangement of the items on display, together with the narratives and languages with which they are presented, can nevertheless exert significant influence over the propagation of meaning. Many state museums, particularly in newly independent countries, have openly drawn on the authority of the institution as a component of an ideological agenda, designing their exhibits accordingly, with museum visits as a required part of the educational curriculum.

Exhibition strategies have evolved from the early, private, cabinet-of-curiosities model, which essentially shows an appropriative attitude toward other cultures, and while vestiges of it remain in the form of tourist souvenirs and "exotic" markets, museums today have moved beyond this undifferentiated display approach. By the second half of the 19th century, the first public museums had come into being, with professional staff and systematized collections. Simultaneously, anthropology was emerging as a distinct discipline in universities, and collections were being divided into natural history specimens and ethnological artifacts. Since "primitive" cultures, however, were still considered part of the natural world, close indeed to the animal kingdom, the classification principles underlying taxonomy and display were essentially *comparative*. Material culture objects were grouped and classified according to physical similarities or geographical origins and ranked on supposed scales of cultural evolution. A positivist, rationalist, teleological perspective on the part of the exhibitors assumed an absolute knowledge of where cultural objects belonged in the glorious story of human development, culminating, of course, in the civilization exemplified by the exhibiting institution.

Although few serious museums today adhere openly to the old classificatory scheme by which societies evolve from savagery through barbarism to civilization, and mount their exhibits accordingly, hints of such attitudes persist. The British Museum, for instance, still features the "great civilizations" of Mesopotamia, Greece, Rome, Egypt, China, and Japan in its imposing Bloomsbury edifice, while the cultural legacies of other societies are displayed in the ethnological department, a much smaller building in a backstreet halfway across the city. And the Pitt Rivers Museum at the University of Oxford remains, as its statutes dictate, a perfectly preserved example of the comparative approach to ethnological display.

The anthropologist Franz Boas, who had a great influence over museum development in the late 19th century, stressed the importance of *contextualizing* objects to give them more of the meaning they held for the society of origin. That is, objects should be placed in fabricated settings and groupings that replicate their use in the cultures they were from, to communicate effectively their meaning in that context. Part of the mission of anthropology, for Boas, was to render other cultures accessible to museum visitors and to present those cultures from the native point of view. This contextualist approach seems on the face of it more respectful of the integrity of other cultures and is still very widely adopted in ethnology museums around the world. By means of artful dioramas and, more recently, increasingly sophisticated audiovisual and computerized media, museums attempt to give a broader, more inclusive cultural frame of reference to material artifacts, thus leading, it is hoped, to a fuller understanding of or insight into the culture as a whole.

A fourth approach to exhibiting cultural artifacts, *formalism*, also owes its inspiration to Boas, although in many respects it is in direct opposition to the contextualist approach. Boas had argued that many objects from other cultures were not merely interesting or exotic but showed the same level of craftsmanship and aesthetic sensibility as items exhibited in fine arts museums. While this was a necessary corrective to the elitist attitudes then prevailing, it resulted in decontextualized objects being exhibited for their aesthetic qualities, irrespective of their original function. In Stephen Greenblatt's terms, the item is exhibited to evoke wonder rather than resonance, with the attendant risk of at least simplification, if not "Disneyfication."

Weaknesses of Exhibition Strategies

All four of these approaches to exhibiting cultural material, in spite of their obvious differences, share characteristic weaknesses. First, they are all based on a comparative, evaluative outlook in which individual objects are placed in a specific context with its attendant set of taxonomic assumptions and expectations. A second, related characteristic shared by all four approaches is that of incompleteness. If the ethnology exhibition is essentially a metonymic or synecdochic conception, in that it attempts to represent a complex whole by means of constituent parts, then it is necessarily flawed, since no selection can ever successfully replicate the totality of the represented culture. The third shared characteristic, and the most ideologically pertinent, is that all the above perspectives are those of outsiders to the culture being represented. Even contextualism, which would seem to be the most respectful to the culture of origin, can be criticized for its assumption that a nonindigenous curator can successfully communicate the nature of a different cultural reality—or, indeed, is justified in attempting such an undertaking.

The display of other cultures, no matter how skillfully done or how well intentioned, is in essence a demonstration of a power relationship. And while the use of cultural insiders has mitigated the last of these criticisms, it does little to address the issue of incompleteness, since the totality of a culture cannot possibly be fully replicated or represented. This, however, is a failing inherent in the ethnographic enterprise itself. All exhibition strategies are essentially artificial in that they take objects out of their original setting and attempt to make them carry and convey modified meanings. That is to say, curators and museum authorities even with the most benign intentions have a definite aim in mind when mounting an exhibition and conceive of an ideal interpretation on the part of their visitors. At best, this may be a naive expectation.

Many museums around the world are now taking tentative steps in the direction of an inclusive, respectful approach, an important example having been set by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, in which the exhibits are co-curated by multicultural, multidisciplinary teams. Not only are the resulting displays labeled in both English and Maori but explanations and taxonomies of natural phenomena are presented according to indigenous knowledge as well as Western scientific principles. A similar approach is noticeable in the Asian Civilisations Museum in Singapore and the Museum of the Filipino People in Manila, both of which attempt to treat their featured ethnic groups with comprehensiveness, fairness, and a sense of balance, qualities not always apparent in postcolonial state museums and still rarely to be found in the more economically developed countries.

Richard Harris

See also Co-Creation of Meaning; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Anthropology; Underrepresented Groups

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N

NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

The term *nongovernmental organization* (NGO) has multiple meanings. It is often used as a synonym for humanitarian, nonprofit organizations, though NGOs can also be for-profit. Some NGOs can be large, highly polished organizations like Oxfam International and World Vision, while others are quite small and are focused on purely local issues that will never reach the mainstream. To add to this complexity, the name *NGO* implies a *nongovernmental* approach, though some are largely funded through government donors, such as the United States Agency for International Development or the United Kingdom's Department for International Development. Additionally, the scope and mission of NGOs can vary dramatically. Although the landscape of NGOs is incredibly diverse, most NGOs are private organizations that focus on improving the quality of life of the poor and disenfranchised; they strive to promote socioeconomic, political, and environmental change. *International* NGOs, or INGOs, pursue the same purpose but at a global level. The remainder of this entry focuses on INGOs.

INGOs, by their very nature, are *global* organizations. Because INGOs are so diverse in their structure, mission, and approach, the intersection with cultural competence also ranges substantially. The following sections explore that connection at three levels: national, local, and individual.

What Do INGOs Do?

INGOs focus on an extremely wide range of topics, including emergency response, the environment, gender equality, social services, civil rights, healthcare, and economic development, to name a few. They also operate on a number of different levels in society, from the governmental to the individual. At the most macrolevel, some INGOs (such as Amnesty International) work with national governments to influence national and even global law and policy. Others operate at a local governmental level, promoting issues such as good governance, anticorruption, voting rights, and gender equality. Still others function at a community level, promoting social behavior change, such as personal hygiene and safe sex practices, or conflict mediation; providing healthcare; or building systems for clean water. Finally, some provide basic human services to individuals, such as distributing aid and providing housing in response to emergencies or providing psychosocial support to those affected by war.

INGO Cultural Competence at the National Level

When INGOs enter a country, they always enter into a political context. To operate most effectively (and safely), INGOs must have a deep understanding of both historical and current political relationships between the nations and regions involved. An example can be seen in the Egyptian crackdown on INGOs in December 2011. The Egyptian military raided 17 INGOs on the premise of their not having proper permits, engaging in sabotage, harboring hidden agendas, or illegally using foreign funds. To stay safe and continue to have maximum impact, INGOs operating in Egypt at that time absolutely needed to understand the degree of suspicion and distrust held by the Egyptian authorities toward foreign organizations.

INGO Cultural Competence at the Local Level

INGO support has historically been from wealthier countries to less wealthy and developed nations, sometimes referred to as the *Global North* supporting the *Global South*. Under the best circumstances, while the funding may be coming from the North, INGO work is driven by local needs and performed in partnership with in-country staff and beneficiaries, local NGOs, and local governments. INGO workforces therefore often comprise a mixture of expatriates and local staff. To be most successful, INGO staff require the capacity to interact effectively with the local community. As an example, some international aid NGOs have a *no weapons* policy when it comes to local security. This means that their fieldworkers, drivers, and even security guards will not carry weapons. How do INGOs in militarily unstable areas maintain security for their teams and beneficiaries? By building strong relationships with the local community, these INGOs have an attitude of respect, practices of hiring locally, and policies based on community engagement.

Cultural competence at the community level even comes into play with the local law. For example, INGOs often have to navigate to abide by the legal practices of the local Human Resources, especially when the local law and custom contradict the INGO's policy (e.g., nondiscrimination against gays and lesbians in countries where homosexuality is illegal and punishable by death). To be successful in such environments, INGOs must develop organizational cultures that nurture curiosity, creativity, openness, flexibility, and respect.

INGO Cultural Competence at the Individual Level

Clearly, at the individual level, successful INGO workers have a great deal of cultural competence. INGO teams can be incredibly multinational. For INGOs to thrive in the local context, foreign INGO workers must learn and adapt to local cultural norms. Similarly, local INGO workers must learn to work effectively with their expatriate coworkers. Below are just three examples:

- An American INGO manager in Iraq gave an Iraqi employee a performance review. It was fairly typical, describing areas where the employee had performed well and areas for improvement. That night, the manager found two bullets on his pillow, essentially a death threat. For the American manager, the performance review was business as usual. For the Iraqi, the review violated cultural norms. It is not culturally appropriate to call out mistakes, and coming from higher up the organizational hierarchy only underscored the loss of face. The global team worked to improve their cultural competence by having conversations around feedback, management structure, and performance.
- At a European INGO in Ethiopia, a group of primarily European managers were concerned with what they perceived as a lack of initiative on the part of their Ethiopian employees. For most of the Ethiopian team, who viewed the organization much more hierarchically, taking action without the boss's approval was considered insubordination. By having conversations about the role of power and authority (and the culture's influence on them), this team enhanced their cultural competence.
- A Dutch manager in a global INGO in Kenya was repeatedly asking her Kenyan team to "get to the point." Most of her Kenyan team members were indirect, high-context communicators. She was an extremely direct, low-context communicator. When this team was introduced to the concept of low-/high-context communication, they were able to function much more effectively as they recognized the way that culture was influencing their interactions.

INGOs are a highly complex, diverse set of organizations. One thing they all have in common, though, is that they work in intercultural settings. INGOs that are the most successful understand the political, historical, and economic contexts they are operating in; nurture organizational cultures that are open, respectful, curious, and flexible; and encourage their employees to develop their personal cultural competence in order to have the most impact in solving the world's toughest problems.

Kristin L. Hibler

See also Global Leadership; Global Organizational Cultures; Human Resource Management; Leading Global Teams

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O

Online Global Communication

The spread of global businesses and the pervasive use of border-spanning digital technologies are transforming how people communicate across cultures. Many human interactions are now mediated through technology. In 2005, 16% of the global population was connected to the Internet; in 2013, that number was 39%. While there are still digital divides, many of us live in an age of *hyperconnectivity*. In 2013, there were more Internet-connected devices, such as smartphones and tablet computers, than there were people on the planet.

Online communication refers to communication via networked computers. Global virtual teams use these networks to collaborate across geographies, time, and organizational boundaries. Individuals use them to communicate, work, foster relationships, shop, research, and share.

This entry first charts the development of online communications and describes the communication media channels made available by the new digital technologies; it then examines some factors for consideration in media selection.

Evolution of Online Communication

The digital revolution began in the 1950s following the Soviet launch of the Sputnik I satellite, the resulting intensification of the arms race, and the development of electronic computers. Its impact is often compared to that of other transformations in human history, such as the agricultural, scientific, and industrial revolutions. The economic, political, social, and cultural spheres of human activity are undergoing profound changes as people come to terms with the digitization and communication of multiple forms of data. Time and space have been compressed, enabling individuals to connect, interact, and collaborate across borders at unprecedented levels and speeds.

A critical date in online history is April 30, 1993. It was on that date that CERN (European Organization for Nuclear Research) announced that the World Wide Web (W3, or simply the Web) technology for accessing the Internet would be available to anyone. The first evolutionary phase of the Web in the early 1990s was known as the "Read-Only" Web. Users could only read static websites presented to them. This limitation was overcome in the late 1990s with the development of Web 2.0, or the Read-Write-Publish Web. Web 2.0 enabled individuals to contribute content and interact with other web users through tools like blogs, wikis, and tagging, and social networking, video streaming, and social bookmarking. Web 3.0 is about websites—and even our appliances (The Internet of Things)—learning about us and providing personalized services.

In parallel with Web evolution have been breakthrough developments in computer processing power, wireless infrastructure, and mobile technologies like smartphones and tablet computers, as well as growing bandwidth and storage capabilities (e.g., The Cloud).

Online Media Channels

Online communications are made possible by a wide range of digital media channels enabled by the Internet and the World Wide Web:

Asynchronous channels: They consist of media enabling nonsimultaneous communications between senders and receivers, such as e-mail, threaded discussions, wikis, and recorded podcasts.

Synchronous channels: They comprise media enabling real-time communications, such as instant messaging, live webinars, live audio and videoconferencing, and web conferencing.

Lean-back channels: These are media that require the user to be a passive listener and/or an observer, a consumer of information in a linear fashion, as with Internet TV and radio.

Lean-forward channels: These are media that actively engage the user in scanning for content, making choices, and even contributing and editing content in a nonlinear process.

Lean channels: These refer to media with a limited capacity for conveying visual, auditory, and social cues, such as e-mail, threaded discussions, and instant messaging.

Rich channels: These channels are media with the capabilities to convey large quantities of visual, auditory, and social cue information, such as body language. The richest medium is said to be face-to-face communication, and to approximate its richness, content will often include multimedia combinations of text, audio, video, animation, and interactivity. Richer media typically increase the salience of other people, that is, their social presence. This increases the likelihood that participants will recognize that they are communicating with real people rather than with a technology. One of the problems of talking about rich channels is the lack of agreement on what constitutes richness. Some early cross-cultural research found that participants in collectivist cultures rated the telephone as less rich and the business memo as richer than did participants in individualist cultures.

The reality is that some online communications will be hybrids of different channels. Also, a particular media channel might appear as asynchronous in one context (e.g., a microblogging service like Twitter in everyday use) but closer to synchronous in another context (e.g., live Twitter conversations in a conference).

Signal and Noise

In simple terms, *noise* (interference) is anything that distorts a message so that the message received is different from the message intended. There is noise in any communication system depending on the context. There is communication noise between two people with the same cultural background in a silent room—for example, the noise generated by class or status differences, educational backgrounds, interests, ages, or personalities. In online cross-cultural communication, the noise is often amplified by differences in language, accents, communication styles (e.g., high or low context), stereotypes, different interpretational frames, behavioral norms (including nonverbal signals), and emotional expressiveness. It is well-known that nonverbal signals, such as gestures and facial expressions, have a very significant impact on the accurate communication of meaning, but these are often absent from online communication. *Paralinguistic cues* (e.g., the amplitude, rate, and tenor of speech) can also be absent.

What can be done to minimize noise in cross-cultural communications?

Media Channel Selection

One of the most important decisions in minimizing noise is *channel selection*. There are no hard-and-fast rules for media selection in cross-cultural communications—one of the reasons being cultural complexity. The traditional way of looking at cultures has been territorial, for example, the nation-state and the similarities of values, interpretations, and practices shared within its borders. This view is too simplistic. We live in a complex world with ongoing demographic shifts as well as global communications. Cultural differences and similarities are more fluid in their territoriality; some argue that the Internet is *disembedding* cultural identities and creating new online cultural territories. Given the increased exposure to different worldviews and lifestyles online, individual identities can be multidimensional, multilayered, and transient. Consequently, we need to be more nuanced rather than absolute and deterministic in our approach to managing culture online. Some researchers recommend focusing first on relating to individual differences before employing cultural group understandings. What is required is context sensitivity and adaptability. This means that an iterative, trial-and-error approach to media selection is often the most rational way forward. Here is a list of some factors to consider.

Audience. Channel expansion theory suggests that media do not have fixed properties, such as high or low richness. Users are more likely to perceive a channel as rich and to use it more effectively if they have had prior experiences with the medium. Four experiences have been identified in shaping an individual's perception: (1) experiences with the channel, (2) the message subject, (3) the organizational context, and (4) the communication partner. Media selection should take into account audience experience levels in these four domains.

Complexity. How complex is the underlying reason for the communication? Paradoxically, the so-called lean media channels like e-mail are often more productive in managing complexity. Writing an e-mail focuses the mind more intently than does a teleconference. Rich media are valuable in building the bonds that collaborative global teams require, for example, to perform over time and space. Rich media are also useful when the detailed work has been done and decisions need to be made.

Cultural orientations. Are different media more appropriate to cultural differences? If status and hierarchy, for example, are important, it is most likely that an e-mail (often perceived as more formal than a telephone call) would be most productive as a first introduction. In group-oriented cultures, a technology like videoconferencing (which can focus on specific individuals) can create resistance because of the fear of standing out from the group and losing face.

Geography and time zones. When geographical distances are large and multiple time zones need to be crossed, it is usually better to rely on asynchronous communications for coordination. Synchronous channels could be applied on a periodic basis to help foster relationships. A detailed e-mail followed by a synchronous web conference can be more productive than either the e-mail or the web conference alone.

Language. What is the fluency level in the language selected for communication? Is there more comfort with text or speech? Machine translators exist, but their quality is problematic. When the channel selected is synchronous and the group is multilingual, different levels of fluency in the chosen language can create noise. Many non-Western people who work with Western companies prefer "lean" e-mail communication because it cuts out the perceived "noise" of nonverbal and paralinguistic cues. E-mail also allows time for reading and thinking about the clarity of a response through checking and editing. The often rapid speed of synchronous voice communications can leave those who are less fluent, less direct, and more unwilling to ask difficult questions feeling confused and excluded. On the other hand, cultures that value relationship building can find e-mail too impersonal; the voice is seen as a far more intimate instrument, and so an audio channel is more desirable, particularly if something is important.

Purpose. What is the communication trying to achieve, and how much time is available? Is the purpose to complete a simple task, coordinate a complex task, create shared norms, communicate the value of a relationship, or build trust and credibility? Social information processing theory and hyperpersonal theory suggest that relationships developed online can exceed face-to-face levels of intimacy, likeability, and sense of belonging, although they typically take longer to build. Channels have different attributes and can be more valuable or less valuable to a given purpose. When relationship issues need to be addressed, a channel enabling a high-level personal touch and a real-time response is most beneficial. For example, it is not usually successful to give personal feedback via e-mail, especially across cultures. Communicating progress on a project often does not require a channel with a high volume of nonverbal signals. When working across cultures, however, those nonverbal signals can prevent a small problem from becoming a big one.

Technology preferences and accessibility. What are the preferred technologies within a culture? Does the culture respond better to oral, auditory, written, or visual communication? What is the technical proficiency of others using different technologies? What type of channel will have the best context fit? Apart from adding potential distractions, rich channels are often expensive, although the use of webcams and Internet telephony has significantly reduced costs. Users of rich channels must also ensure that everyone can access the technology, which is sometimes not the case in remote areas.

It is important in media channel selection to take a holistic view rather than focus on individual channels. Mixing channels is increasingly becoming the norm; it is the complementarity between them that is becoming critical to cross-cultural communication success. For example, in a web meeting, participants will be sharing the same screen and audio channel. At some point, it might be useful to bring up an electronic whiteboard or text-based chat option so that people can "see" questions and "see" their shared agreements, thereby increasing engagement. Written agreements can also be stored for later review. An electronic whiteboard enables people to write anonymously, which can also help levels of participation.

Too much of a focus on technological connectivity can distract from the real purpose of online communication—human connectivity. In a rapidly evolving and complex environment, we should frame online global communication as an ongoing experiment and negotiation rather than as a clearly defined set of if-then rules. If there is one principle to guide our online communications, it is to focus on the quality rather than the quantity of our connections.

Terence Brake

See also Cross-Cultural Communication; Intercultural Nonverbal Communication; Intercultural Verbal Communication Styles; Internet Identity; Social Media and Networking; Virtual Teams

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P

PEACEBUILDING

In reviewing the concept of peacebuilding, this entry will distinguish the term from other descriptors of the peace process and discuss the activities on the *conflict curve* involved in peacebuilding, in particular preconflict violence prevention, postconflict stabilization, revitalizing civic infrastructure, and economic and social development. The entry concludes with a discussion of peacebuilding and the arts.

Definitions and Distinctions

Peacebuilding describes what measures are needed to prevent violence from occurring and also those that can prevent future violence from recurring in postconflict societies. Although there are many definitions that describe particular elements of peacebuilding, all of them focus on the centrality of alleviating human suffering and ensuring human security. The term itself is attributed to Johan Galtung, who sought to codify the particular methods required to create sustainable peace. It was made popular in the 1990s by the then UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who encouraged the postconflict societies to work toward sustainable peace through disarmament, demobilization, reintegration, and rebuilding political, economic, and civic institutions.

The terms *peacekeeping*, *peacemaking*, and *peacebuilding* are frequently confused, and are often misunderstood as interchangeable words to describe the same actions. But in the field of peace and justice studies, there are distinct definitions for each that pertain to particular aspects of the peace process. *Peacekeeping* is the act of ending attacks and preventing the resumption of fighting in the aftermath of conflict, usually by creating a barrier of soldiers. *Peacemaking* is the act of reaching a settlement after conflict has ended, and it usually involves third parties to mediate agreements. *Peacebuilding*, in contrast, takes place before a conflict occurs and/or after the conflict ends. Peacebuilding is the act of normalizing economic, political, and social tensions and fostering reconciliation.

Activities of Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding activities are distributed across four stages of conflict conditions, moving from preconflict to postconflict activities, followed by activities related to rebuilding civic infrastructure and, finally, developing economic and social strength. These steps follow the sequence of the *conflict curve*, a widely used model that describes a bell curve that travels from peace to full-scale violence and back to peace.

Preconflict Violence Prevention

There are many steps and strategies that can be used to prevent an outbreak of large-scale violence, although, sadly, there are no guaranteed methods that ensure its prevention. The primary proven mechanisms for preventing violence include broad political support, adequate institutional capacity, and appropriate means for engaging in communication and understanding. Arguably, the most vital component of effective prevention is for actors to respond to tensions by employing creative strategies to address the unique nature of any high-stakes conflict situations, and to know when and how to implement those strategies. This strategic knowledge, or even just having access to mentors who hold this strategic knowledge, can be instrumental in orchestrating nonviolent change.

Postconflict Stabilization

The first step in stabilizing a society after conflict has abated is to take weapons away from soldiers and civilians. Disarmament and demobilizing, or disbanding the armed forces, are the first steps in postconflict peacebuilding, and these actions provide a clear signal that progress toward peace is under way. Peacebuilding through stabilization also involves reintegrating former combatants into civil society, a process that starts with disarmament and demobilization but often includes additional psychosocial services and support systems (e.g., counseling, dialogue, reintegrative services, and trauma healing).

Revitalizing the Civic Infrastructure

When basic transportation systems, communication networks, utilities, and civic facilities are in place postconflict, the civilian population is reassured that the crisis of conflict is indeed resolving. These are outward indications that the inner workings of civic structure are being revitalized, such as reliable rule of law, standardized public administration protocols, educational and health infrastructures, and legitimate state institutions. This stabilization of infrastructure provides the technical and capacity-building assistance that allows all institutions, from local to regional to international, to reclaim their work and rebuild their social fabric.

Economic and Social Development

Once the infrastructure is in place to provide stability and reliability, economic and social development becomes the work of peacebuilding. Psychosocial services and support, such as counseling, trauma healing, and dialogue among and between groups, are some of the means to redevelop the social fabric of a postconflict society. There are also many transitional justice measures that can be implemented during this stage, including judicial and nonjudicial processes that acknowledge and remedy the harms inflicted during conflict. In addition, national and/or international economic incentives and supports can help jump-start local economies and help stabilize the social fabric. These measures, along with many other possible reforms, provide the foundational support and security that enable civilians to shift their attention toward addressing the importance of and need for human rights protections and to implement actions to address any historic or current abuses.

Peacebuilding and the Arts

There has been an increase in scholarship and practice to explore how the creative and expressive arts, including traditions of ritual and celebration, contribute to sustainable peace. This increase is a response to evidence that linear and rational approaches to peacebuilding have been insufficient to ensure lasting change. In the aftermath of destruction, conflict, and war, artists are uniquely prepared to both bear witness to and widely publicize the resulting suffering, and also the transformation of healing the harms of violence. Engaging peacemakers in the process of creative and expressive peacebuilding can also empower survivors to tell their stories, while simultaneously integrating the complexity of their experience through receptivity, creativity, imagination, and compassion.

Stepping into ritual or ceremonial space can also provide relief to participants experiencing trauma, who benefit from the opportunity to operate within a space that is free from the sensory cues of conflict. Ritual and celebration invite participants into an alternative and liminal space that is distinct from daily reality, where the emphasis is on remembering the value of life, reminding oneself about the morality and compassion that exist within deep-seated belief structures and preconflict values, and reconnecting with the strength that strong community and cross-community relations can provide.

Amanda Smith Byron

See also Conflict Management; Crisis and Conflict Resolution; Intercultural Conflict Styles

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PERCEPTIONS

Perception is the act of cognitively and emotionally recognizing or understanding a stimulus. Thus, perceptions are those patterns of recognition with which people understand the world around them. The way an individual perceives something is influenced by a number of factors, including past experiences, cultural worldview, and the situational context in which the person encounters the particular stimulus, or even the person's state of mind when encountering the new stimulus. Understanding perception is crucial to understanding the nature of intercultural competence since perceptions influence responses to stimuli and the responses in turn indicate the extent to which individuals are competent in an intercultural interaction.

This entry contains an overview of what perceptions entail, a brief discussion of how culture influences perceptions, and an explanation of the relationship between perceptions and intercultural competence.

Overview of Perceptions

Perception involves the selection and interpretation of stimuli. For example, if we go to meet someone at the airport or railway station, we are attuned to look for the familiar features of that particular person, ignoring the crowds of others passing by. At that moment, the relevant stimulus is the person we are there to meet, and we perceive everyone else as ambient noise in the background. Perceptions can also be influenced by our mood at a particular time. For example, if we are in a good mood, even what we would normally find irritating might appear pleasant, and if we are in a bad mood, the most normal things could be irritating.

It is helpful to further break down the process of perception into *description*, *interpretation*, and *evaluation*. Consider the example of a coffee mug. If you were to *describe* it, perhaps you would say that it is a black cylindrical ceramic object with a protrusion on one side and the word "Café Mud" written in white letters on the outside of the cylinder. That is a literal description of the object. However, having seen coffee mugs before and being familiar with their function, you would *interpret* the meaning of that object as a coffee mug from Café Mud. And being a patron of Café Mud and knowing that you enjoy the experience every time you are at that café, you may *evaluate* the coffee mug as a token of the fond memories you have of that café. As adults, we are so used to relying on our past experiences to inform our present perceptions that we are usually unaware of the *description* part of perception. We interpret and evaluate seamlessly for the most part, thus efficiently interacting with the various stimuli in our environment. However, the initial step of description in the perceptual process becomes important when we encounter something that is unfamiliar to us (as we often do in intercultural situations), because it helps us match the new information to familiar patterns from previous experiences in an effort to understand.

A point worth noting is that the only information we have access to is information we receive through our perceptions. In other words, regardless of how someone intends a message, the only message we receive is the one we perceive. And what we perceive is influenced by a number of factors, including our cultural values and beliefs.

Cultural Influences on Perceptions

Our cultural values and beliefs guide our patterns of perception. For example, in a Western context, a young woman wearing a nose ring might be perceived by older professionals as having a nonnormative sense of fashion, while a nose ring on a woman in an Indian context might be perceived as traditional or even conservative. Because we are so familiar with our own social context, we are not always aware that what we consider to be normal is not necessarily so in another social context. Consider the example of polite behavior (or rude behavior, for that matter). Belching loudly at the dinner table would be perceived as rude behavior in some cultural contexts, whereas the same behavior would be considered polite in others. In the latter case, a loud belch would be seen as a sign of satisfaction with the meal and hence a compliment to the one who prepared it. In each case, cultural values influence perceptions.

It is often tempting to see socially constructed rules or norms as naturally occurring ones. Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann note that as people become immersed in a social setting and become familiar with the way things function in that setting, they can mistake social rules for natural rules. In other words, rules of gravity would be considered natural rules, operating the same way in any social context. Rules of politeness, on the other hand, are social rules that are created and implemented in collective agreement by the people who participate in that particular social setting. However, when people are in a familiar social setting, they may assume that the familiar rules of politeness apply everywhere, or that such rules of politeness preexisted in some natural form and they do not contribute to them in any way. They do not see the rules as socially constructed but, rather, perceive them as universal assumptions.

Culture also influences how individuals perceive the "other." That is, the way people perceive who belongs to their own group and who does not is influenced by culture and social context. For example, a boy who grew up in a small rural town in the United States might have been surrounded by European American people all of his life. When he encounters an Asian person, it is understandable that he would recognize this person as different in appearance and different from everyone else he knows. The Asian person in this situation is the "other," someone who is unfamiliar and does not belong to his own group of people. However, if the same boy grows up in the multicultural city of Sydney, Australia, he would have been surrounded by Australians of diverse ancestry from various parts of the world, and an Asian person might look just like his best friend, with whom he feels a sense of belonging. The cognitive sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel observes that human beings are socialized into cognitive norms or patterns of perception by culture and social upbringing. A person who is brought up in a multicultural city might not even notice another person's ethnicity at first glance, while someone who grows up in a culturally homogeneous town might find a person's ethnicity one of the first things that stands out.

Perceptions and Intercultural Competence

Perceptions play a significant role in intercultural competence because, as noted earlier, the only information individuals have access to is the information they perceive. A person's perceptions and others' perceptions of an individual are relevant when it comes to intercultural competence. Perceptions of the unfamiliar and how people react to them, in turn, influence how others perceive.

The process of perception involves matching new stimuli with existing knowledge or familiar patterns. Cognitive psychologists note that humans interact with the infinite complexity of the environment by putting things into broader, more manageable categories. Each time a person encounters something new, that individual can either group it with an existing category of information or form a new category to put it in. The extent to which people are able to deal with new information by forming multiple flexible categories in their minds influences intercultural competence. Cognitive complexity is a core attribute of the interculturally competent individual. The reason for this is best explained through an example of the process of stereotyping.

Stereotypes are rigid generalizations about a group of people, usually referring to their behavior or personality traits and often based on limited information. When an individual encounters someone from that group who does not fit the existing stereotype, the person has several choices. The person can put the outgroup member in a new category, fine-tune the stereotype, discard the stereotype, or simply ignore the disconfirming information. Rigid stereotypes limit our perceptions for the initial engagement with a new person and can be debilitating if we do not allow for variations in the existing stereotype. Approaching others tentatively with a flexible hypothesis, often called a *generalization*, provides an accessible point of reference. A generalization is a lightly held statement of a cultural pattern based on research and on how a majority of people from that culture would describe themselves. A competent intercultural communicator is alert and flexible in noticing information that does not fit into preexisting generalizations and adjusts accordingly. Perceptions are involved because individuals make choices based on whether they perceive something as new information, as important or relevant information, or as a threat or an opportunity to learn.

Furthermore, whether people perceive someone as part of the ingroup (i.e., any group with which people feel a strong sense of belonging or affiliation) or not affects their responses to that person. Research demonstrates that if people perceive someone as part of their ingroup, they are predisposed to viewing that person in a favorable light. This has significant implications for intercultural competence. It can be argued that in intercultural situations, people are most likely to encounter others who are different from them who behave in ways they often do not understand. However, if people are able to perceive some commonalities between them, they are more likely to perceive any ambiguous behavior in a favorable light.

Comprehending how perceptions influence responses to people and cultures is helpful in understanding not only one's own behavior but also the behavior of others. The more people understand how their own cultural values influence their perceptions and how others may perceive behavior based on their cultural values, the more likely they are to engage in competent intercultural communication.

Lily A. Arasaratnam

See also Cognitive Styles Across Cultures; Cultural Patterns; Cultural Self-Awareness; Description, Interpretation, Evaluation; Stereotypes and Generalizations

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Personal Leadership

Personal leadership (PL) is a process designed to help translate intercultural knowledge into intercultural competence. It consists of two principles and six practices and draws from seven core areas of research and scholarship: (1) intercultural communication, (2) leadership development, (3) positive psychology, (4) education, (5) the wisdom traditions, (6) whole-person self-development, and (7) the biological and quantum sciences.

Although well-grounded in theory, PL is rooted in two core questions that arose from the lived experience of developing multicultural teams: (1) Why do people who are educated in intercultural communication, experienced across cultures, and passionate about building effective intercultural relationships still find it difficult to work together under simple everyday stressors such as tight project deadlines? and (2) When they are successful, what are they actually doing? It turns out that what they are doing, whether they name it that way or not, is practicing PL.

One can imagine intercultural competence as three nested spheres. The innermost sphere represents culture-specific knowledge. It is nested within the sphere of culture-general knowledge. Both in turn are nested in the outermost sphere of intercultural practice. Intercultural competence requires all three spheres.

Having culture-specific knowledge means having information about a particular group's cultural patterns, which can then be carefully generalized to members of that group. One may quickly discover, however, that not all members of the group manifest these cultural patterns to the same extent and in the same ways. Equally problematic, an individual may find it impossible to develop culture-specific knowledge about each of the cultural groups making up today's typical multicultural environment.

In turn, culture-general knowledge expands the potential for competence by providing a framework for cultural analysis. Someone's (including one's own) words and actions may be assessed based on contrasting cultural patterns, such as individualist versus collectivist orientations or direct versus indirect communication styles. The limits of the culture-general approach are reached, however, when cultural analysis remains an intellectual exercise. Actual competence requires that individuals use analytical skills to appropriately adapt behavior.

The third sphere—intercultural practice—is thus crucial for competence; it enables one to translate knowledge into competent action. This third sphere emphasizes a whole-person approach to building intercultural competence, for culture is as much an emotional and physical experience as it is an intellectual one.

In other words, turning intercultural knowledge into intercultural competence takes something more than being willing and informed. It takes a structured practice of the kind offered by PL.

The two principles of PL are as follows:

Mindfulness: Paying attention to what is going on in one's thoughts, emotions, and physical sensations; to what is going on in the broader environment and for the people around one; and to what is happening as one interacts with others in myriad contexts

Creativity: Showing up with fresh eyes, knowing that individuals are a creative force in their own lives, and being ready to step forward into each unique moment with a response specific to that moment

The six practices of PL put the two principles into action. The practices are as follows:

1. Attending to judgment
2. Attending to emotion
3. Attending to physical sensation
4. Cultivating stillness
5. Engaging ambiguity
6. Aligning with vision

The first three of these practices begin with "attending to." This terminology acknowledges that judgments, emotions, and physical sensations are a natural part of being human. Intercultural competence requires, first, that individuals notice their natural reactions and, second, that they take it one step further and become curious about the underlying cultural programming that led them to react in those ways. The more persons can attend to their own reactions, the more they will be able to disentangle from automatic habits and open up to the many other possibilities inherent in the current moment.

The second three practices support the process of opening up. As stillness is brought to the busy mind, as one engages ambiguity rather than merely tolerating it, and as individuals align with their vision of themselves at their highest and best, it becomes easier and easier for them to get out of their own way. The more individuals can engage these practices, the more interculturally competent they will be.

Practicing PL is a three-step process. First, the individual recognizes that *something's up*: The person notices that a particular situation or interaction is challenging. Second, the individual becomes curious and makes an effort to *invite reflection*. PL's core process of structured inquiry, *critical moment dialogue*, can be used as a guide through the six practices and to disentangle oneself from automatic reactions. Third, with a new level of clarity, the person is ready to *discern the right action*.

PL is an infinitely repeatable process. It is not prescriptive; rather, it invites the practitioner to engage in a learning experience so that intercultural knowledge, passion, and commitment can be most effectively translated into actual intercultural competence. Ultimately, it is a simple process with profound effects. Many people all over the world practice PL in a wide variety of contexts: in K–12 and higher education, in corporations and not-for-profit organizations, in both local and global government, and by coaches, trainers, and consultants. People of very diverse cultural backgrounds also recognize the power of self-reflection to promote intercultural competence and are currently using PL practice. Intercultural competence as expressed by individuals in groups and teams, in organizations and communities, enriches everyone living in a globalized world.

Barbara F. Schaetti, Gordon Watanabe, and Sheila Ramsey

See also Cultural Intelligence; Cultural Self-Awareness; Culture Specific/Culture General; Global Leadership Development; Intercultural Competence Development; Intercultural Conflict Transformation; Interventionist Models for Study Abroad; Mindfulness

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Personality and Culture

While interacting with someone from a different culture, a person may experience complex differences, differences that are not only unfamiliar but also unidentifiable. Frequently, that individual asks, “Is it culture? Or is it personality?” It may be both.

Moreover, for most people, the need to answer this question about the relative influence of culture and personality does not normally arise except when anticipating or actually engaging in an intercultural relationship. Producing a provisional answer to questions about the role of personality and culture requires a minimum of three steps. Developing a plausible response to each of these steps provides a baseline for enhancing intercultural competence.

1. Recognizing that something in the interaction has called attention to the relationship
2. Identifying likely ways the cultures and personalities involved contributed to what occurred or is occurring
3. Using insights to address opportunities or issues

The time required for these steps depends on how thoroughly the perspectives on culture and personality are understood and the amount of time spent applying them. Becoming more proficient follows the same pattern as most learning: a period of awkwardness, frustration, and self-consciousness in the initial stage of application, followed by a period in which more of the application becomes straightforward and productive. Then, having achieved a high level of mastery of the nuances of the perspective, the process gradually becomes unconscious and effective.

Having the perspectives of culture and personality makes it possible to have a sharper knowledge of the role of each and avoid the mistake of reducing everything that happens in an intercultural relationship to either culture or personality. Each step can unearth information ranging from reasonably simple to quite complex. Predictably, the results of each step will need to be integrated with those of the other two steps to yield anything approaching a coherent answer.

In this entry, these three steps are addressed in a way that is intended to promote the effectiveness of intercultural relationships and contribute to intercultural competence. Defining the difference between *inter*cultural and *intra*cultural relationships, the entry relates culture and personality to these two types of relationships, while illustrating a typical intercultural interaction using a framework of cultural values and a framework of personality for analysis.

Differentiating Between *Inter*cultural and *Intra*cultural Interactions

With globalization proceeding rapidly and various forms of communication occurring through the

Internet, a wide variety of intercultural interactions are standard for individuals around the world. If these and other intercultural interactions, especially face-to-face interactions, are to proceed reasonably well, understanding the relative roles of culture and personality becomes essential. Experience suggests that the classical rule of systems theory applies to the culture-and-personality relationship: There is more variability within systems than between systems. In other words, individuals can expect to encounter greater variability between personalities within cultures than they are likely to find between the cultures.

At the outset, it is important to clarify what kind of intercultural interaction is the focal point of inquiry. Generally speaking, there are two kinds of cultural interactions: (1) *intercultural* and (2) *intracultural*. Culture and personality play an important role in both.

Intercultural Interactions: Culture Before Personality

When two or more individuals from markedly different cultures initially interact, the individuals involved tend to be alert to what is assumed to be an expression of the other's culture. Any discernable differences among the interacting parties normally are attributed to the other person's culture. Any consideration as to how much of the relationship is shaped by personality is usually decidedly secondary and difficult to discern. Each of the parties to the interaction tends to have little or no awareness of how culture and personality are affecting what transpires between the two of them.

Intracultural Interactions: Personality Before Culture

When two or more interacting individuals share the same general cultural background, differences that arise are frequently attributed to the personality characteristics of the other. Even though the cultural background of the individuals is never exactly the same, it is normally quite challenging to be aware of how one's own or the other's personal experience in the shared culture is influencing the relationship.

In the not too distant past, it was easy to experience intercultural interactions in which the respective cultures were markedly different and reflected minimal commonalities. Today, however, the changes mentioned above are swiftly generating more and more commonalities and simultaneously making some differences more starkly apparent. To some, especially individuals who spent significant parts of their childhood living in more than one culture, personality may influence their *intracultural* relationships. To the vast majority of others who live, work, or travel abroad, influenced by culture, their *intercultural* interactions are a key, ongoing feature of life, one that will not go away soon.

Highlighting the Role of Culture in an Intercultural Relationship

Culture and personality are necessarily deeply interwoven. Every distinctive culture exhibits values, beliefs, and modes of expression that generalize widely across the population of its inhabitants, especially those to whom it is the culture of origin. These cultures all have multiple stories of how distinctive personalities, represented by widely recognized heroines and heroes, acted in ways that had a major impact on the particular culture. Since any representation of a culture involves generalizations intended to relate to the majority of members of the cultural system, this is the preferred starting point for inquiry into the relationship between personality and culture. It is possible to identify what may be attributable to personality functioning that complements or contrasts with generalizations about the particular culture.

Choosing a Perspective to Understand Culture

The question at this point is what perspective on culture is to be employed. Many are available. Important contributors to the study of culture would include Sr. Edmond Frazier, Bronislaw Malinowski, Ralph Linton, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Geert Hofstede, and many others. Without engaging the question of when each contributor produced her or his work or how one may have influenced subsequent work, it suffices to say each of these contributors highlighted and explored certain features of a culture and, more often than not, used different variables to portray the culture. Almost all their research and theory building addressed a particular culture or cultures within a circumscribed and typically non-European area of the world.

When faced with the need for a perspective that has generated comparative data about a substantial number of cultures, there are several options. One is Hofstede's cultural research, in which he compares more than 50 cultures using the same cultural variables. Pakistan and the United States provide an example of how Hofstede's work can reflect how two cultures could be influencing intercultural interactions.

Each country represented in his research receives a score on each measure, and that score is placed in a ranking ranging from high to low scores on the particular dimension. Three of these measures will be used to compare cultural characteristics of Pakistan and the United States. These three measures are as follows:

1. *Individualism and collectivism:* This measure examines the extent to which a culture emphasizes that people look after themselves and their immediate family only (individualism) versus a culture that emphasizes being loyal to a group and in return expecting to be taken care of by the members of the group (collectivism).

   How it works: Scores range from 91 to 12. The higher the score, the greater is the emphasis on individualism, and the lower the score, the greater is the emphasis on collectivism. The score for Pakistan is 14, indicating a more collective society, and the score for the United States is 91, the highest score on individualism.

2. *Power distance:* This measure examines the extent to which inequalities in power are endorsed or accepted by the less powerful members of a culture.

   How it works: Scores range from 104 to 11. High scores indicate greater acceptance of power being distributed unequally; lower scores indicate questioning the legitimacy and acts of people in power. For power distance, the score for Pakistan is 55, and the score for the United States is 40.

3. *Uncertainty avoidance:* This measures the extent to which members of a culture regard the unknown or highly ambiguous as threatening and stressful.

   How it works: Scores range from 112 to 8. High scores indicate lower tolerance of uncertainty; lower scores indicate greater tolerance of uncertainty. The score for Pakistan is 70, and the score for the United States is 46 (Table 1).

Examples to Increase Understanding

The following shows the issues that actually arose between a Pakistani middle manager and an American consultant during a planning meeting.

In the Pakistani culture, the manager's actions reflected high collectivism, midrange power distance, and high uncertainty avoidance:

- The manager provided tea to the consultant as a typical way Pakistanis show they care about the other.
- The presence of five individuals arrayed around the manager's desk, each with separate agendas, seemed to suggest a collectivist orientation on the part of the manager and those sitting around the desk.
- The manager focused on those around him while he simultaneously ignored the American consultant, illustrating the Pakistani emphasis on group loyalty.
- By delaying meeting with the American consultant, the Pakistani manager may have been avoiding the risks and uncertainty involved in dealing with strangers from a different culture.
- The manager's inquiry about the consultant's family as a way of opening the conversation revealed the importance of family to Pakistanis.

In the U.S. American culture, the consultant's actions reflected very high individualism, slightly lower power distance, and lower uncertainty avoidance:

- The consultant's need to be on time to the meeting and the expectation that the meeting would immediately begin to address the task at hand is typically American and represents a way of avoiding the risk of being seen as an incompetent individual.

Table 1 Cultural Comparison of Pakistan and the United States

Cultural Measure	*Pakistan*	*United States*	*Implications*
1. Individualism–collectivism	14	91	American culture tends to have you think about yourself as an isolated individual dealing with other isolated individuals, with each person making individual decisions and acting independently of the other.s Pakistanis are loyal and caring members of an extended family or social organization, expect to be cared for by others, and count on others' loyalty to them.
2. Power distance	55	40	Pakistanis are somewhat more accepting of the differentials of power in various social hierarchies than Americans. Compared with Pakistanis, Americans are somewhat more prone to questioning the legitimacy and acts of people in power.
3. Uncertainty avoidance	70	46	Pakistanis can be expected to have an ongoing concern about the well-being of the overall society. Individuals reflect this concern by seeking to minimize risks and wanting reliably structured circumstances. Members of American culture have only mild concern about the overall society, are somewhat more at ease with moderate levels of risk, and need less structure to feel secure.

- The consultant may have been expressing individualism and independence by confronting issues directly.
- Emphasizing efficiency is a prominent value in American culture, used to structure action so that events and relationships mesh with one another much like the gears in a machine. In a certain sense, expecting efficiency in human interaction is a way of trying to avoid the uncertainty of silence and lack of contact between individuals meeting for the first time.
- The consultant was focused on the task to be accomplished rather than their relationship.

Highlighting the Role of Personality in an Intercultural Relationship

How Personality Arises

Personality is formed partly by genetics and partly from life experiences. The exact contribution of each may be controversial, but that both are involved is not. Most people begin life within a family unit that provides their first experiences. Often, children from the same family differ noticeably in how they orient and respond to situations. For example, some are outgoing and focus on the reactions of others around them, while others may be introspective and analytical. Families often acknowledge these observable differences by labeling children with nicknames, such as *the adventurer*, *the clown*, or *the examiner.* It is within the family system that people have their first experiences of culture and the personality differences within it.

Characterizing Personality

Personality refers to the relatively enduring behavioral and cognitive characteristics of an individual. Many theories have been developed to portray personality. Theorists such as Sigmund Freud, Carl Gustav Jung, B. F. Skinner, Hans Eysenck, Albert Bandura, and David Matsumoto have formulated theories about personality functioning. Freud formulated his characterizations based on sexual drives and the interactions of what he theorized as the three divisions of the psyche—the id, ego, and superego—as human development proceeded. Freud and Jung both built their theories on their clinical observations and on what they had learned from reading widely in the fields of history, literature, and contemporary social studies. Much of their quest for knowledge had them reading about or traveling to visit and observe firsthand a number of non-European cultures. Jung's overall framework built on that of Freud, who was his senior. Jung's theory of personality functioning was in part the result of his effort to better understand the differences between himself and Freud. This led to the rupture of their relationship and to Jung's independent quest to better understand the variety of characteristics presented to him by the patients in his clinical practice.

Jung's well-known book *Psychological Types or the Psychology of Individuation* described eight characterizations he called psychological types (Table 2). A popular contemporary interpretation of Jung's theory contains 16 types. Of the two, Jung's original formulation is more flexible because it subordinates more variables within each psychological type and suggests that type is at least potentially dynamic. For the purpose of understanding the role of personality in intercultural relationships, the original Jungian formulation is most useful.

Each of the eight variables of Jung's personality theory is independent of the others. Personality functioning depends on innate abilities and life experiences. Accordingly, the intercultural situation of the Pakistani manager and the American consultant described above has been analyzed to identify the particular personality variables exhibited by each individual (Tables 3–5). An abbreviated definition of each of the eight psychological types follows:

1. *Extroverted sensing:* Using any or all of the senses, smelling, touching, observing nonverbal behavior, seeing details in the environment, hearing, and so forth, to gather information about the present moment in the world external to the individual
2. *Introverted sensing:* Using details of internal awareness such as visual images that arise; using bodily sensations such as tension, stress, or pleasure; or recalling scenes and internal experiences from the past to inform about the present
3. *Extroverted intuiting:* Recognizing the possibilities in the situation by seeing *the big picture* of the various parts
4. *Introverted intuiting:* Having a sense of what might happen in the future
5. *Extroverted feeling:* Formulating relationship-oriented ethical judgments based on values and opinions widely shared by other members of the society, with an emphasis on understanding and caring about what the other experiences
6. *Introverted feeling:* Formulating ethical judgments and opinions that are largely or completely based on personal values, with little or no concern about how others might regard them

Table 2 Jung's Eight Personality Variables

	Perceiving (Gathering Information)		*Judging (Logical and Ethical Conclusions)*	
	Sensing	*Intuiting*	*Thinking*	*Feeling*
Extroverting (externally oriented)	Extroverted sensing	Extroverted intuiting	Extroverted thinking	Extroverted feeling
Introverting (internally oriented)	Introverted sensing	Introverted intuiting	Introverted thinking	Introverted feeling

7. *Extroverted thinking:* Categorizing and analyzing information in a logical, sequential way using ideas and terminology widely understood in a society or collectivity
8. *Introverted thinking:* Categorizing and analyzing information in a logical, sequential way using ideas and terminology based on the individual's own approach to reasoning

Applying Personality Variables in an Intercultural Situation

Based on research using Jung's psychological types, Pakistanis generally tend to score highest on introverted sensing and introverted thinking. U.S. Americans tend to score highest on extroverted sensing and extroverted thinking. While both prefer to use sensing and thinking, their differences

Table 3 Personality Variables and the Pakistani Manager

Personality Variables	*Pakistani Manager*
Extroverted sensing	• Addresses one, then another of the people around the desk
Extroverted feeling	• Warmly greets Consultants A and B • Provides counsel to others about appropriate organizational policies • Inquires about Consultant A and B's experience of being in Pakistan • Inquires about the families of Consultants A and B
Extroverted thinking	• Provides counsel to individuals about organizational procedures • Invites the consultants to join him at his desk

Table 4 Personality Variables and Consultant A

Personality Variables	*Consultant A*
Extroverted sensing	• Observes the details of the room, the way people are arrayed around the Pakistani manager's desk, and how the manager is interacting
Introverted sensing	• Growing sense of frustration
Extroverted feeling	• Compliant with the Pakistani manager's request to take a seat and have tea
Introverted feeling	• Makes a personal judgment that the Pakistani manager is being rude • Suggests openly and directly reminding the manager of the scheduled meeting time with the consultants, a typical American response in America but not one most American consultants would endorse

Table 5 Personality Variables and Consultant B

Personality Variables	*Consultant B*
Extroverted sensing	• Observes the details of the room, the way people are arrayed around the Pakistani manager's desk, and how the manager is interacting
Extroverted feeling	• Compliant with the Pakistani manager's request to take a seat and have tea • Discourages "confronting" the manager about not meeting as scheduled
Extroverted thinking	• Mentions the commonly held belief among Americans that time is a scarce resource • Uses beliefs about time to conclude that the consultants' time is not being used efficiently

in extroverting and introverting can lead to misunderstandings. Americans may tend to speak more quickly and directly, while Pakistanis may spend more time pondering about and reflecting on the situation at hand. Although this is a generalization about both cultures, it is important to remember that individual differences occur frequently. It is important to observe an individual's behavior over time in many situations to truly gain an understanding of his or her personality.

The Shifting Sands of Culture and Personality in Intercultural Transactions

There are two critical points to keep in mind:

1. The greater the differences between two cultures, the greater is the tendency to focus on cultural differences and minimize or ignore personality differences.
2. The greater the similarity of two cultures, the greater is the tendency to focus on personality differences.

Strength of Relationship as a Starting Point

In the opening moments of an intercultural relationship, both culture and personality as well as the overall purposes that supported building the relationship play a complex role in what occurs. This early contact point in the relationship is filled with enormous ambiguity. When the two cultures are markedly different, both parties will be prone to using a cultural perspective to explain what the other does, will be largely unconscious of how their own culture is influencing how they are acting, and will be even less aware of the influence of their own personality.

This is a time filled with promise and fraught with potential problems. If both parties pay thoughtful attention to their actions and seek to ensure respect for the other, the first few minutes and hours of the relationship are likely to go smoothly as both parties invest more and more deeply in the relationship and the project.

On the other hand, if the early moments of contact are filled with expectations of cultural similarity, sharing the same social norms and psychological attitudes, intercultural tangles can emerge that can take considerable time to resolve. Fortunately, this likelihood can be reduced by due diligence before the first contact with the other. One part of due diligence is reading materials that provide a professionally credible perspective on one's own and the other party's culture. A second is having a professionally credible perspective on personality that can be used to understand the variability of interactions of individuals in the other culture as well as being aware of one's own personality. Taking the time to work on these two tasks to the point where the information can be used without intrusive self-consciousness can be rewarding.

Intercultural Competence as an Ongoing Process

Reading about another culture and fine-tuning one's understanding of personality can lead to unconsciously exaggerated hopes for success. The hard truth is, however, that no book or discussion with knowledgeable others can fully prepare individuals for the various situations and personalities they encounter. Unavoidably, tentative assumptions are made when entering a new culture. These assumptions may be based on prior experiences, social expectations, or what has been learned about a culture before entering. These assumptions can lead to unreliable interpretations of events. For example, when an individual from North America or Europe travels to a partially industrialized society, seeing a woman sitting on the side of a busy street holding a baby and with a young boy by her side may spark the assumption the woman is begging. An equally plausible interpretation is she is waiting for a school bus for her son. Only a more refined understanding of a context can enable more reliable interpretations.

The experiences that are the most instructive are often the occasions when individuals learn from their own incompetence. Incompetence, however momentary, when accompanied by aspirations to improve, often leads to competence through reflection and reexamination of the experience (alone or with others). Therefore, self-observation may be the most needed skill, as well as the ability to laugh and accept one's self as fallible. These characteristics open people up to learning and engaging others without defensiveness. Paradoxically, these moments often bring individuals closer to the person they shared them with and can help them through an otherwise difficult situation.

Over time, greater skill is gained in applying the models used in assessing culture and personality. Flexibility in how people use their perspectives and models increases, as does cognitive complexity. Flexibility increases the usefulness of the models in practice and promotes clarity about their limitations. As people cycle from assessing cultural compatibilities and differences to considering personality compatibilities and differences and back to culture, they become more adept. Over an extended period, the theories used can become so integrated that they drop into the background as the focus shifts more and more onto applying the knowledge. Even at the most advanced levels of intercultural competence, the surface of an intercultural relationship may be tranquil, and yet it is virtually inevitable that as contact continues something will happen that calls attention to an unrecognized opportunity in the relationship—and the process goes on.

Elizabeth Kirkhart and Larry Kirkhart

See also Cultural Self-Awareness; Culture, Definition of; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Psychology; Perceptions; Stereotypes and Generalizations

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Pluralism

Pluralism is one of those indeterminate words used frequently by interculturalists. It is also a word that can obscure and mislead rather than clarify and communicate. The problem is that scholars use *pluralism* in various ways. As a result, this word falls into the category known as *floating signifiers*. These are words that can mean many things. For example, Person A may use *pluralism* to express one idea, but Person B may read or hear it as something else, possibly something quite different.

Looking up *pluralism* in the dictionary does not help. Dictionary definitions attempt to identify what a word means in common cultural use, not necessarily as employed in academic or scholarly usage.

In scholarship, when used without an adjectival modifier, *pluralism* may simply refer to diversity of kind or perspective. In that sense, it generally involves three or more positions or perspectives. As such, pluralism stands in contrast to the idea of *dualism*, which posits the dividing of the world into two, and no more than two, often polarized views of reality.

Over time, scholars have ascribed multiple meanings to *pluralism* by adding adjectives. This has led to the emergence of concepts such as demographic pluralism, cultural pluralism, structural pluralism, religious pluralism, linguistic pluralism, and ideological pluralism. The list can be virtually endless.

Confounding the situation is the popularization of two other words: (1) *diversity* and (2) *multiculturalism*. Like *pluralism*, these two words also imply multiplicity, particularly cultural multiplicity. Unfortunately, like *pluralism*, *diversity* and *multiculturalism* have become floating signifiers with myriad meanings.

The following sections discuss the various forms of cultural pluralism within nations, with specific attention to the roles played by the factors of power, law, and ideas of societal equality in determining how cultural pluralism is expressed. Next, the perspective of structural pluralism is described, and the entry concludes by noting the importance of using precise language and establishing the context in any discussion of pluralism.

Cultural Pluralism

Within the realm of interculturalism, *pluralism* is most commonly used in the sense of cultural pluralism. Sometimes, the adjective *cultural* is stated explicitly, while at other times, *pluralism* is used with culture being assumed and implicit. Yet even here there are variations.

In its simplest iteration, cultural pluralism becomes a label for a situation in which there is a multiplicity of cultures. This could be global cultural pluralism, a recognition that there is cultural variation around the world. It could also be regional cultural pluralism, an acknowledgment that diverse cultures exist within a particular world region. Then, there could be cultural pluralism within a nation, although this creates a different kind of conceptual complexity.

Culturally speaking, nations can be categorized according to three basic types. First, some nations, particularly racially and culturally homogeneous nations, may have a single national culture (sometimes referred to as a common culture) and exhibit little internal cultural variation. Second, a nation may have both a national culture and a variety of subcultures, usually ethnic cultures but possibly cultures of other types, such as regional or religious cultures. Third, a nation may be composed of a variety of strong ethnic, religious, or regional cultures, held together by a national government but without a powerful unifying national culture. Either of the latter two types of nations could be referred to as culturally pluralistic, although their types of cultural pluralism are quite different.

The idea of a culturally pluralistic nation arises from at least four primary sources: (1) ethnicity, (2) language, (3) religion, and (4) race. Let us examine each of these in turn.

Ethnicity

Most commonly, cultural pluralism refers to the existence of a multiplicity of ethnic cultures within a society. It also implies that these ethnic cultures—or at least some of them—have a significant degree of vibrancy.

In other words, in a culturally pluralistic nation, ethnic groups would not merely be demographic categories (demographic pluralism). They would not just be groups with a set of identifiable ethnic surnames but rather would maintain a significant number of distinctive cultural features. However, cultural pluralism does not imply cultural separatism, although the latter may exist. Members of those ethnic groups might well internalize both the national culture and features of their own ethnic cultures. This type of pluralism could also apply to regional cultures, which in some cases could be synonymous with ethnic cultures or might have their own cultural distinctiveness.

Language

Language may be a particularly evident signifier of ethnic cultural richness. Although many ethnic cultures remain vibrant even if most members no longer speak the heritage language or languages, some ethnic groups emphasize language maintenance as a major source of cultural strength. This language use may occur in sectors ranging from the home to community activities, to commerce, to ethnic media.

As with culture itself, multiple language use should not be confused with a rejection of the common culture. In nations with a predominant or even official language (or languages), de facto multilingualism often coexists with a national language. In this case, most people speak the predominant language or languages whether or not they also maintain their ethnic languages. This is sometimes referred to as linguistic pluralism, although it may be assumed to be a component of cultural pluralism.

Religion

Religious pluralism refers to the presence of multiple religions within a nation. Such pluralism can exist whether or not there is an official national religion or a predominant but unofficial religion. It can also intersect with ethnic pluralism in a number of ways.

For example, one religion may predominate within an ethnic group. In fact, it may provide a particularly powerful type of cultural glue. In some cases, religion intersects with language as a cultural unifier, such as when religious services are held in the heritage language, thereby further strengthening ethnic identity.

In contrast, within some ethnic groups, there may be religious diversity. There may even be religious conflict and animosities inherited from a heritage nation. This can be further confounding when members of an ethnic group also come from different language traditions.

Race

Finally, there is the issue of race. While most contemporary diversity scholars concur that race does not exist in a biological sense, it certainly does exist in a social sense, in terms of personal identity, cultural practice, legal status, and traditions of racial categorization. In some nations, cultural pluralism is rooted in the idea of racial difference or, at least, in the ideas of racial categorization and racial group cultural practices.

In short, cultural pluralism does not have a single meaning. It can refer to a wide variety of combinations of ethnicity, language, religion, race, and possibly region. It can also refer to a wide variety of societal systems in which group cultural expressions exist.

Power, Law, and Equality

Making the issue of cultural pluralism even more complex is the presence of at least three other factors: (1) power, (2) law, and (3) the idea of equality. These factors vary in their significance within different systems of cultural pluralism.

Power

Power encompasses the strength of the common, mainstream, dominant, or national culture. That power may be expressed in a number of ways. This includes the relationship of the common culture to ethnic cultures.

For example, that power might be expressed through the dissemination of the dominant culture in ways that immerse people of all backgrounds and ethnic identities. Another expression of the power of a dominant culture is the inculcation of a common language. Schools often serve as the front line of such immersion in culture and language.

Power might also be expressed in the muting, suppression, or marginalizing of ethnic cultures. Some pluralistic systems, while emphasizing the common culture, are capacious in their acceptance, or even support, of the maintenance of ethnic cultures, even ethnic languages. Other pluralistic systems attempt to marginalize those cultural practices, even while recognizing the existence of ethnic diversity and accepting its low-key maintenance, such as in the home. For example, culturally pluralistic nations vary in their acceptance of multiple language use in commerce, government, the media, elections, or the public square. There are also cases in which power is expressed in efforts to eradicate ethnic, religious, or language pluralism.

Law

At times, the power of the mainstream or dominant national culture is embodied in law. This legal effort might take the form of prohibiting ethnic practices, such as restricting the importation and selling of certain types of ethnic foods. It might also take the form of restricting the use of ethnic languages or limiting the practice of ethnic religions.

In contrast, some nations support cultural pluralism through law. This can be accomplished by legislating or declaring some type of official multiculturalism. This could mean erecting protections for religious diversity. Or it might take the form of making more than one language official at the national level, giving regional units the right to select their own official languages, or publishing selected government documents in multiple languages.

Equality

Considering the aforementioned variables, in what respects would a specific culturally pluralistic nation also be a nation of societal equality? In fact, what does equality mean within a culturally pluralistic context? This is a topic on which scholars disagree.

For example, what would a nation of culturally pluralistic equality look like? Would it be a nation in which there is a predominant national culture but ample space for ethnic cultures, including languages, to flourish? Or does it need to be a nation in which its multiple ethnic cultures have equal status and value in the functioning of the society? There are no definitive answers to these questions.

Structural Pluralism

This leads to one final wrinkle in the examination of pluralism. Some scholars approach pluralism from the point of view of structure, not merely that of culture. For them, structural pluralism refers to the degree of representation of the constituent cultural groups throughout the various dimensions of a nation's socioeconomic and political structure.

When applied to ethnicity, structural pluralists would argue that pluralism does not really exist if members of certain ethnic groups—often those designated as certain racial groups—are represented disproportionately at or near the bottom of the societal structure in terms such as wealth, income, education, occupational status, and political influence. From that perspective, mere cultural presence does not equate with pluralism. Some degree of structural equality is necessary. To such analysts, true pluralism is incompatible with the existence of structural inequality, regardless of the existence of cultural diversity.

Conclusion

Pluralism, in short, is neither a clear nor a simple term because it is used in so many ways by different scholars and in different fields of scholarship. It is still a useful term, however, particularly when referring to cultural pluralism, because it focuses attention on the significance of ethnic diversity. Yet the mere presence of ethnic diversity alone does not guarantee cultural pluralism, and certainly not an equitable structural pluralism.

Therefore, when saying or writing the word *pluralism*, it is important to be precise about the way the word is being used. Moreover, it is also important to establish the context—global, regional, or national—in which pluralism is being discussed. Pluralism exists, but multiple pluralisms also exist. Such is the dilemma of using and attempting to comprehend this powerful, multifaceted, indeterminate word.

Carlos E. Cortés

See also Assimilation; Biracial Identity; Ethnicity; Intercultural Conflict Styles; Language and Identity; Religious Contexts; Theory of Acculturation

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Politeness Strategies: Rapport Theory

Politeness and *rapport management* are concerned with the ways in which people relate to one another and keep relations smooth. This is never easy at the best of times but can be particularly difficult in intercultural contexts. This is because people from different cultural backgrounds may hold differing beliefs and opinions as to what is polite or appropriate to do or say in given situations.

This entry describes the core elements that underlie people's perceptions of politeness and rapport, outlines the strategies for managing them, explores the ways in which culture can affect the processes, and finally relates these concepts to intercultural competence.

Core Elements

Most people have an intuitive understanding of politeness and may think of it as an everyday concept. However, in the branch of linguistics known as pragmatics, scholars have been studying politeness for many years and debating its definition and scope. Most would accept that it is concerned with the harmony/disharmony, smoothness/turbulence, and warmth/antagonism in relationships. Since in lay terms politeness can be associated quite narrowly with behavioral etiquette, some researchers prefer to use the term *rapport* to refer to the dynamics of interpersonal relations.

The impetus for much early work in this area was the variation in people's use of language, such as in making requests, criticizing, or responding to compliments. For example, researchers were interested in understanding why an English speaker might ask, "Could you possibly give me a lift to the airport on Saturday," rather than saying more bluntly, "Give me a lift to the airport on Saturday." Most linguists would agree that a number of contextual factors influence people's choice of language: for example, the power relationship between the individuals, the distance/closeness between them, and the seriousness or magnitude of the request. Other things being equal, the greater the power differential, the greater is the distance, and the greater the magnitude of the request, the more careful a person will be in wording it.

However, researchers have tried to dig a level deeper in order to understand this more fully and find explanatory reasons. Several different reasons have been proposed, one of the most important of which is the concept of *face*. Face is concerned with notions such as status, reputation, competence, and honor, and it reflects people's desire for dignity and respect. If we feel that we are not being valued in some way, we may perceive this treatment to be face threatening. So, for example, if a person criticizes another person explicitly, that other person may feel undermined and embarrassed, or to put it more technically, the person may feel face threatened. People are typically very face sensitive to comments associated with their self-image, for example, their competence, appearance, ethnicity, and so on.

Another factor, which can complement the explanation in terms of face sensitivity, is the impact of social conventions. All societies develop norms or frequently used patterns of speech, and this leads to expectations as to the range of patterns that are appropriate or suitable in any given context. If people's expectations are not met, it can affect their judgments about politeness and influence the smoothness of their relations. For instance, if one person greets another, the greeter would normally expect the other person to give a greeting in response. If the greeting is not returned, and this seems to be deliberate, the greeter might evaluate the other person as rude, and it might create some negative feelings between them.

One of the key characteristics of politeness and rapport is that people's judgments of these characteristics are highly personal and subjective. Their face sensitivities may be different, as well as their conceptions of social conventions. As a result, their evaluations of specific interactions in terms of politeness and rapport may vary accordingly. This means that no (or very few) utterances are inherently polite or impolite. Nevertheless, as the next section explains, there are a few key features of language use that are particularly influential.

Management Strategies

Linguists have analyzed patterns of language use and tried to group them into different communication styles. Although there is no widespread consensus as to how features are best grouped together and labeled, some commonly mentioned stylistic dimensions are *explicit/implicit*, *direct/indirect*, *involved/independen*t, *verbal routines/ad hoc formulation*, and *orientation to content/orientation to addressee*.

Explicitness/implicitness and directness/indirectness have been found to be particularly useful for analyzing politeness and rapport. Many early studies showed that, other things being equal, indirect speech was perceived as more polite than direct speech; for instance, "Would you mind giving me a lift" was regarded as more polite than "Give me a lift." However, this kind of generalization is problematic because other things are not normally equal. Language is always used in a particular context, and that context always has an influence. So "Would you mind giving me a lift" might sound too formal if talking with a close friend. However, as illustrated in the next section, there can be cultural differences in people's preferences for explicitness/implicitness in given contexts.

More recent research has drawn attention to the relevance of broader aspects such as social talk and humor. This research has shown the importance not only of *how* something is said but also of *what* is said; in other words, the content is as important as the actual wording. For example, one very helpful way of managing rapport is to build common ground, such as by finding topics of common interest, such as places or individuals whom both speakers know.

Culture, Politeness, and Rapport

Despite the highly personal and subjective perception of politeness and rapport, the conventions and values that are often shared by members of social groups can lead to cultural differences in people's evaluations. One of the best ways of learning about the impact of culture on perceptions of politeness and rapport is to examine authentic critical incidents, so this section analyses two of them. The first took place during a British–Chinese educational collaboration. The project members were in different parts of the world and so much of their communication was by e-mail. Following their usual habits, the British simply included as addressees all project members for whom the e-mail was relevant. After a few months, the British project manager received the following e-mail from the Chinese project manager:

> Sending mass emails is a good way. But when we send such emails, it will infringe Chinese principles. If I send such an email to a person in a higher position, [the person] will feel offended. Nowadays we send various materials by email, but Chinese are special, superiors will feel particularly insulted. . . . Sending emails to superiors is not a good way because it shows no regard for status differences between people.

Clearly, the British project members had upset the project leader(s) in China because they had not treated the Chinese leader(s) differently from the subordinates. The superiors and subordinates had *all* received the same e-mails from the British, with no differentiation for status, and this had caused offense. There were probably several interconnected cultural differences that led to this relational upset:

- The British and Chinese project members probably held different cultural values with respect to the importance of hierarchy.
- Partly because of this, the British and Chinese project members may have made different assessments of the degree of power and/or status of the project leaders.
- The British and Chinese project members probably held different communication norms and conventions for communicating by e-mail to project members of varying status and so had different expectations as to what was polite behavior with respect to this.

As a result of these various differences, the British team members failed to realize that copying everyone in on an e-mail might offend a Chinese leader; they did not expect it to cause any offense. The Chinese leader, on the other hand, was expecting differential treatment and thus took offense.

The second critical incident took place in a multicultural office where there was some existing tension between different ethnic groups. The British boss recruited a new member of staff, and shortly afterward one of her existing staff (of Chinese ethnicity) accused her of racism—not directly but by writing to her regional boss. The accused boss explained what happened next as follows:

> My first instinct was to bring everything out into the open. On reflection, I realize that was *absolutely* the wrong thing to do, 'cos it really didn't sit well with Chinese culture. It's just not done. My husband, who is Chinese, warned me at the time, but I didn't listen! So we all went out to lunch; I brought it out into the open, and I was quite open. I said, "Look, I'll be absolutely frank with you; I'm rather hurt to be accused of racism; I don't think I'm racist but I *would* like to hear why you have that perception," and, of course, in public, umm, the answer was "But I don't think that at all," so, of course, this whole idea of bringing it out into the open got me absolutely nowhere.

Here, we can see that both the boss and the staff member were upset and that the explicitness of communication was a major factor. The boss was upset that she had been accused of racism, and the indirect nature of that accusation probably made it worse. Despite her Chinese husband's advice, she then followed her instinct of talking it out openly, only to find that it got her nowhere, probably because it was so face threatening to the staff member.

These two authentic examples illustrate just a few of the types of cultural differences that can occur and how they can influence perceptions of politeness and rapport. They include

- cultural differences in the ways people assess power differentials in role relationships;
- cultural differences in preferences for communication styles such as explicitness/implicitness;
- cultural differences in communication norms or conventions for handling certain interactional tasks; and
- cultural differences in the underlying values that people hold.

Politeness, Rapport, and Intercultural Competence

Managing politeness and rapport is always challenging, and this is particularly the case in intercultural contexts. Although there are no quick-fix answers to becoming interculturally competent in this area, it is helpful to understand the factors that can affect people's perceptions of politeness and rapport (e.g., face sensitivities, communication conventions, and the behavioral expectations associated with them). This understanding needs to be combined with sensitivity, mindfulness, and careful attuning toward all aspects of communication, including the contexts in which it occurs. Finally, a person who is interculturally competent in managing politeness and rapport is able to use communication strategies flexibly so that they are congruent with people's rapport sensitivities.

Helen Spencer-Oatey

See also Conflict Management; Critical Incident Methodology; Cross-Cultural Communication; Facework/Facework Negotiation Theory; Mindfulness; Pragmatics; Speech Acts; Value Dimensions: Hofstede; Value Dimensions: Schwartz

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Positivist Research Paradigm

Intercultural competence has a rich history of positivistic research, especially in the discipline of communication, where it is subsumed under the area of intercultural communication. Speaking for this area as a whole, positivistic research (based on the premise that positive knowledge is necessarily based on a scientific, empirical—and largely quantitative—approach to phenomena) was highly popular at least until the mid-1990s, but at the turn of the century, a rapid paradigm shift from quantitative to qualitative became evident. The qualitative movement can be seen by the popularity of critical studies, which now dominate conference presentations in the intercultural division of major communication associations. However, empirical studies are still important, especially in separating the universal facets of communication competence from the culture-specific ones, quantitatively comparing these facets cross-culturally, and incorporating these findings into predicting sojourner success or, ultimately, designing and evaluating training programs to facilitate their success. In particular, the latter would assume the necessity of a quasi-experimental, empirical design to determine the pre–post effects of the training, in comparison with control groups, and the duration of these effects over time.

The strength of positivistic research is its ability to identify and quantify differences, both between and within individuals. Interpersonal competence is obviously not just a personality trait but also something that is acquired, and the process of acquisition entails intercultural contact with another culture or members of another culture. It is this *process* of becoming competent (or intercultural) that entices researchers on the topic, and this can happen in interaction between people of different cultures or within people, such as in the cross-cultural adjustment process. The following is a brief account of the history of quantitative research and a discussion of the methodology used in this research.

Background of Positivistic Research and Methodology

Positivistic research in intercultural competence has progressed from studies exploring its conceptual definition, to those attempting to measure it, to their contextual applications and, finally, to theory construction. As in most concepts of social scientific research, agreement among scholars on what constitutes intercultural competence is nonfinite, and its definition is yet to reach any consensus among researchers. As a matter of fact, there is even argument over what label should be allotted to the concept, as it is better known as *cross-cultural* competence in some fields, such as social psychology, whereas the same name would refer to cross-cultural comparison of *interpersonal* competence in fields such as communication. Whatever the conceptual label might be, most definitions agree that there are cognitive, motivational (affective), and behavioral components.

One of the earliest attempts at empirical research into intercultural competence was Ruben's Intercultural Behavioral Assessment, which approached the matter from a behavioral observation technique, using seven indices: (1) display of respect, (2) interaction posture, (3) orientation to knowledge, (4) empathy, (5) self-oriented behavior, (6) interaction management, and (7) tolerance for ambiguity. Three raters observed sojourner candidates during a training session and rated their behaviors on 4- to 5-point scales. Koester and Olebe later added two more dimensions, calling the new scale Behavioral Assessment Scale for Intercultural Competence.

However, the mainstream methodology for studying intercultural competence was, and still is, the self-report questionnaire method. An early scale that generated significant interest was Hammer, Gudykunst, and Wiseman's intercultural effectiveness scale. Using a self-report questionnaire, they determined that intercultural effectiveness was composed of three factors: (1) the ability to manage psychological stress, (2) the ability to communicate effectively, and (3) the ability to establish interpersonal relationships. Since their work, various self-report scales have been developed, including the Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory by Kelley and Meyers; Sociocultural Adaptation Scale by Searle and Ward; Intercultural Sensitivity Inventory by Bhawuk and Brislin; Cross-Cultural Sensitivity Scale by Pruegger and Rogers; Multicultural Personality Quotient by van der Zee and van Oudenhoven; Global Competencies Inventory by The Kozai Group; Intercultural Sensitivity Scale by Chen and Starosta; Intercultural Adjustment Potential Scale by Matsumoto, LeRoux, Ratzlaff, Tatani, Uchida, Kim, and Araki; Intercultural Development Inventory by Hammer and Bennett; Cultural Quotient by Ang, Van Dyne, and Koh; and Intercultural Communication Competence by Arasaratnam.

While the above list of self-report scales is not exhaustive—there are more than 100 assessment instruments—it can clearly be seen that the bulk of positivistic research into intercultural competence utilizes self-reports. Ruben and Kealey have made a strong appeal for behavioral observation as being a more effective tool than self-reports, citing the fact that respondents may not be aware of their true abilities when asked to self-assess them and that direct observation of behavior is a better predictor of overseas success. In response to this claim, Matsumoto and Hwang have recently conducted a review of the literature for the validity assessment of 10 intercultural competence scales, including Ruben's Intercultural Behavioral Assessment, comparing content, construct, and ecological validities. They concluded that the Cultural Quotient, Intercultural Adjustment Potential Scale, and Multicultural Personality Quotient had the most support from research findings as having the best assessment of intercultural competence. Contrary to Ruben's insistence that behavioral observation has the best ecological validity (real-world predictability), Matsumoto and Hwang's review could not find the evidence to back it up.

Trends and Future Directives in Positivistic Research

According to Chiu, Lonner, Matsumoto, and Ward, the latest trend in positivistic research in intercultural competence is examining cultural metacognition. *Cultural metacognition* can be defined as the awareness of the fact that culture affects one's own and others' thoughts and behaviors, which is certainly an antecedent to effective intercultural behavior. They note, however, that measurement of metacognition is difficult and that the available self-report scales have serious validity issues with this aspect.

Research has traditionally assumed that competence involves knowledge, skills, and attitudes. One overlooked issue in intercultural competence research is that of emotion. Existing measurements have not attempted to deal with the emotional factor. Recently, Hong, Fang, Yang, and Phua examined emotional security and attachment by measuring reaction time in a task that targets one's own and the host culture.

One important issue is the need for more theory-driven, and theory-constructing, research. Many scales have no apparent theoretical backbone on which they are based. As an exception, M. J. Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity is a major theory that provided the foundation for the development of the Intercultural Development Inventory scale, which has since generated much research into this theory. Another theory relevant to intercultural competence is Gudykunst's anxiety uncertainty management theory. Anxiety uncertainty management theory, however, is a grand theory, and its complexity has impeded the creation of a comprehensive test thus far, but parts of the theory can be examined using existing scales. Identity management theory, developed by Cupach and Imahori, is also a theoretical framework on which intercultural competence can be based, as much as maintaining our identities in cross-cultural situations can be construed as competence. Lack of theory on this topic is an issue that needs to be addressed.

Conclusion

Although intercultural communication, the field most relevant to this genre, has undergone a paradigm shift toward qualitative research, by no means is positivistic research reaching a dead end. Developments in research methods and technology as well as in statistical analyses are allowing new possibilities for positivistic research. A triangulation of quantitative and qualitative methods would be ideal to shed new light on intercultural competence. New perspectives on research can serve to further existing theories and generate new ones that would otherwise not be conceived.

Jiro Takai

See also Interpretive Research Methods; Qualitative Research Methods

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Postmodernism and Reflexive Anthropology

The idea of postmodernism arrived in the social sciences relatively late compared with other fields such as architecture, music, and literary studies, where most often it expressed itself as a series of artistic responses to the canons of modernist aesthetics. By the time postmodernist critiques came to anthropology and other critical social sciences, researchers had already begun an analysis of the social transformation that characterized the post–World War II period, and many of these observations were inspired by the critiques of postmodernism: the breakdown of large-scale metanarratives, a growing awareness of the links between Western science and colonial expansion, and a falling out with the Enlightenment notion of objectivity. Thus, in some areas of academic research, the *postmodern condition* refers to a set of practices or beliefs (postmodernism), and elsewhere it is associated with a social historical phenomenon (postmodernity). In both cases, the relationship to what came before, whether it be modernism or modernity, is a central concern, and the intellectual or political project is founded on a break with the past.

Postmodernist critiques are important because they provided a much-needed critical distance from the positivist paradigms that characterized much research in the social and human sciences in the first part of the 20th century. This entry explains the emergence of postmodernist critiques through the notions of reflexivity and representation and shows how they contributed, albeit somewhat indirectly, to the development of research and practice in fields associated with intercultural communication.

Well before the postmodernist critiques of the 1980s, North American anthropology was forced to come to terms with the various critical approaches that called into question Western notions of progress and development, not only Marxism and feminism but also work from the emerging field of postcolonial studies. With the publication of *Writing Culture* in 1986, however, a new set of demons was unleashed. This very influential volume was not necessarily concerned with making a series of literary critiques, but it did draw inspiration from comparative literature and poststructural theory to argue that (a) ethnographic writing must be seen as a genre of writing just like any other and (b) traditional ethnographic texts, in spite of their authors' best intentions, unwittingly reproduced the cultural hegemony of the West by reifying cultural differences and ignoring the power relations inherent in their analyses.

At the heart of this critique was a concern with the notion of representation. Anthropologists had already shown the extent to which representation is a basic feature of human social life and interpersonal communication. In traditional anthropological terms, cultural beliefs and values express themselves through various forms, rituals, and everyday practice, which are made possible by collective representations such as stories, myths, tales, and other types of cultural performance. Where postmodernist critiques differed was to shed light on the products of anthropological research, ethnographic texts, as a form of representation in and of themselves.

The Crisis of Representation and the Reflexive Turn

This observation, which had a destabilizing effect on much of the discipline, had profoundly political implications, since it made clear that anthropology could no longer ignore its role in the production and reproduction of knowledge about cultural differences. The discipline as a whole could not continue to simply espouse a naive or ecumenical form of cultural relativism. The same critique would be heard in other fields of social sciences, though to a lesser extent and somewhat later than in North American anthropology. Field-based ethnographic research, which in some cases takes place over many years, lends a certain legitimacy to ethnographic writing, but critics often question the authority of anthropological interpretations given the relatively limited nature of sampling and the proximity that characterizes participant observation. If culture is not given but socially constructed, then representations of culture must be so as well.

Postmodernism and constructivism (not the same thing) asked a series of timely but difficult questions about representation in ethnographic writing: What is the basis of this *ethnographic authority*? What authorizes anthropologists, most of whom are privileged Westerners, to speak on behalf of other cultures? How can one know if what they write avoids the traps of essentialism and if what they say is true? For many anthropologists and other researchers involved in empirical qualitative research, this was not a mere critique, it was a crisis in the discipline, a *crisis of representation*.

Some critics involved in the *Writing Culture* debates argued that the solution to this problem was to rehabilitate the notion of reflexivity. Though the term itself was rarely defined, *reflexivity* generally referred to efforts made on the part of authors to reflect on how their subjectivity could introduce a bias in the analysis or interpretation of cultures. In some cases, this meant simply calling attention to the author's presence by the use of a more literary style or voice in the writing. Reflexivity in this sense was often (and still is) accused of being self-indulgent and narcissistic, akin to *navel gazing*. To their credit, certain authors used the term *reflexivity* in a register closer to that of a Weberian methodological reflexivity, meaning that researchers must be aware not only of their individual biases but also of those introduced by methodological tools and disciplinary presuppositions. From an intercultural perspective, methods and theories are not only potential sources of bias, but they are also culturally specific. This means that researchers must be seen not only as individuals, or as products of particular disciplines, but also as cultural and social beings.

Among the proposals that were made as solutions to the *crisis of representation*, some were lacking in clarity (e.g., *intersubjectivity* or *dialogism*, topics that are discussed below), others turned out to be awkward or even impractical (*polyvocality*, *polyphony*, *literariness*), but several suggestions, such as collaborative ethnography and the analysis of political economy, seemed to have a much greater impact on ethnographic writing than the notion of reflexivity. Arguably, the *reflexive turn* was not nearly as interesting as the linguistic turn that preceded it and that in many ways paved the way for thinking about reflexivity. The impact of the linguistic turn and an increasing interest in interpretive social science in the 1960s and 1970s was short-circuited by the arrival of the deconstructionist and poststructuralist critiques that provided much of the inspiration for the *Writing Culture* debates and the crisis of representation literature more generally. A close reading of the history of these debates shows that there were significant differences, not only theoretical but also ideological, among the theorists who are generally associated with postmodernist anthropology in the United States.

Postmodernism and Intercultural Communication

Despite recent attempts to celebrate the legacy of *Writing Culture* (a 25th-anniversary edition of the book was published in 2011), it is not clear if these critiques have been broadly integrated into social scientific practice or are to be understood as a passing trend. It must be said that postmodernism, at least in anthropology, was not so much a cohesive school of thought or a movement as it was a moment in time. Indeed, it is striking how rarely authors associated with the crisis-of-representation literature actually self-identify as *postmodernist*. A number of commentators have remarked on the fact that the crisis-of-representation literature did not make a fundamental break with its modernist past, since, with a few exceptions, it did not seek to undermine representation per se but rather to make representations of other cultures more accurate. Today, the *representationism* of postmodernism, its fixation on the texts or products of culture and the representations or images that they convey, is familiar to students of cultural analysis both in the social sciences and in the humanities, but this critique is either taken for granted or regarded as a kind of intellectual nihilism that fails to address urgent problems that affect society such as poverty, inequality, and exclusion. How are individuals to make sense of this legacy from an intercultural perspective?

First of all, it is important to make a distinction between the analysis of representations or texts and the analysis of processes or situations. Theories of intercultural communication are much more concerned with the latter than with the former, and the processual nature of their methodologies is often underestimated as a source of information about politics and social change. From an intercultural perspective, representations certainly matter, but communication, the process that makes representation possible, matters more. Second, it is important to recognize that the opposition between modernist and postmodernist approaches poses certain limits to the study of intercultural dynamics. The crisis-of-representation literature argued that an outdated (and, at some level, morally dubious) modernist paradigm was displaced by a more critical (and more ethical) postmodernist paradigm. Research in the various fields of intercultural communication suggests the existence of more than two paradigms. The third—call it hermeneutic, interpretive, dialogical, or even intercultural—is deeply engaged with the question of interactions, tends to have a preference for epistemological analysis, and very often focuses its energy on the dynamics of language and communication, intercultural or otherwise. In fact, the initial working group that led to the publication of *Writing Culture* was influenced just as much by hermeneutics as it was by poststructuralism and deconstructionism, but this part of the story is often reduced to a few fleeting references on the subject of *dialogical anthropology*.

Although dialogical anthropology never became consolidated as a methodology or a theoretical school, there are a number of important ethnographies and theoretical texts that attempt to explore the coproduction of knowledge about culture in anthropological research. Anthropologists are not surprised by texts that talk about the dialogical nature of ethnographic fieldwork, but anthropology has done surprisingly little to explain how communication functions in intercultural settings. In the interests of deconstructing the modernist notion of objectivity, anthropologists and other qualitative researchers have attempted to integrate discussions of their subjectivity into their writing, but very rarely have they attempted to work through the notion of intersubjectivity, especially in relation to the hermeneutic notions of *tradition* or *horizon*. The analysis of intersubjectivity in intercultural settings has been proposed as an alternative to the study of reflexivity, and according to researchers working in the area of critical hermeneutics, this notion may be a way out of the debates that oppose objectivity and subjectivity in social scientific research. The study of intersubjectivity in ethnographic settings is a productive area of research for anthropology, and the vast pool of data from field-based ethnographic encounters may also be of interest to researchers working on intercultural communication and competencies more generally. Another area of promising research is the very dynamic field of collaborative ethnography, which has emerged in recent years thanks in part to claims during the *Writing Culture* debates that collaborative methodologies may be used effectively to avoid the traps of ethnocentrism in cross-cultural research and analysis.

Bob White

See also Constructivism; Cultural Relativism; Cultural Studies; Disciplinary Approaches to Culture: Anthropology; Essentialism; Ethnographic Research; Positivist Research Paradigm; Power

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Power

Power is arguably one of the most controversial concepts in the social sciences, and there is a great deal of disagreement about its nature and workings. How one defines and engages with the concept of power varies in important ways among academic disciplines, theoretical perspectives, and the particular intellectual tasks undertaken by scholars. The form of engagement can also be influenced by politics. This entry does not aim to shed light on the concept of power in a general way. Rather, it has a much narrower and specific goal: to illuminate the ways in which power has been explicitly addressed by interculturalists, including cases where related work from other fields has been drawn on with regularity.

Within the intercultural field, work on the topic of power has clustered around three central concerns: (1) how beliefs about power and the accompanying social relationships differ cross-culturally, (2) how issues of power affect the learning of other cultures, and (3) how to integrate general theories of power into intercultural theory and practice through *critical* approaches. Each of these concerns has been addressed in a variety of ways. This entry summarizes the main forms of engagement with the topic of power found in each of these areas, notes the important contributions by key scholars, and highlights a variety of links between these approaches and the topic of intercultural competence.

Power and Cultural Difference

Of primary interest to interculturalists since the birth of the field of intercultural communication in the mid-1900s has been the question of how to help individuals understand the cultural differences that are most likely to lead to cross-cultural misunderstandings in intercultural contexts. Among these differences, power relationships, which take many different forms throughout the world, have received significant attention. Interculturalists have approached this topic from two directions: (1) by drawing on culture-specific cases and (2) by generating and applying culture-general frameworks. The first approach is characterized by the use of fine-grained ethnographic descriptions of power relations in specific cultures and contexts. The second approach involves the creation and use of contrast frameworks that are applicable in any cultural context because they capture repetitive patterns in power relationships across cultures.

In using the first approach to write and teach about power relationships, interculturalists have often drawn from in-depth ethnographic research by anthropologists and others. Such in-depth case studies can illuminate non-Western conceptions of power and provide insight into cross-cultural variation in power dynamics and power relationships, including variations in the legitimate basis of power and in available routes for individual attainment of power. One common outcome of this approach is an expanded understanding of the wide range of human behaviors that exist and that are valued and rewarded in cultures around the world. This approach can also provide relatively deep insight into specific intercultural encounters when information on the specific cultures involved is available. For example, this can occur when interculturalists responsible for training students studying abroad in a specific country use ethnographic materials written about the host country to enrich students' understanding of their experiences living there.

While the previous approach emphasizes deeper, culture-specific understandings of contrasting power relationships across cultures, the second emerged from a broader body of work directed toward the creation of culture-general categories and theory. Often working within the field of social psychology, scholars taking this trajectory have analyzed how values differ cross-culturally, constructing sets of value dimensions that allow contrasting cultural patterns to be compared systematically. The varying patterns in how power relationships are organized have been explored as a part of this larger project. Perhaps the best known work in this area is that of Geert Hofstede, who has examined a cultural dimension he called *power distance*, contrasting societies with large versus small power distance. Others include Shalom Schwartz and Fons Trompenaars, who have each discussed cross-cultural differences in power relationships in terms of a contrast between *egalitarian* versus *hierarchical* relationships. All three of these scholars compared beliefs about the appropriate organization of power relationships across many different cultures, noting the degree to which differences in status and power are desired and accepted, versus denied and minimized, along with other related characteristics. Once cultural value dimensions of this type are constructed and understood, contrasts between different cultural orientations can be applied to understanding the intercultural dynamics and preventing the predictable misunderstandings that typically result from interactions involving people with contrasting values.

Each of the two approaches, reflecting a different emphasis on either culture- and context-specific nuance or culture-general applicability, has been used to enhance the understanding provided by the other. In the realm of theory, reflections on culture-specific variations in the organization and expression of power relationships have resulted in the creation of culture-general frameworks that attempt to make sense of such differences more widely. These frameworks, in turn, have been applied to specific cultural contexts, bringing to light cultural differences that had previously escaped the notice of scholars. For example, Edward T. Hall, widely considered the father of the field of intercultural communication, was deeply interested in culture-specific variations in how power is expressed in and through the use of space; Hall integrated his culture-specific understandings into a broader intellectual project concerned with theorizing space and territoriality cross-culturally. Combining deep culture-specific understanding with generally applicable intercultural frameworks is of practical use as well. Indeed, this combination can provide individuals with quick interpretive frames that facilitate intercultural interaction while simultaneously underscoring the necessity of watching for deeper cultural differences that general frameworks might otherwise obscure.

Power and Intercultural Learning

The second area in which interculturalists regularly attend to the idea of power is in relation to the learning of other cultures. The two main approaches to this topic correspond to two of the most common contexts in which people learn about other cultures: (1) while immersed in another culture and (2) while being taught about cultural differences in teaching, training, and coaching contexts. In addressing the first context, that of direct immersion in another culture, scholars and practitioners have explored how subjective feelings of having, or not having, expected levels of power and control over daily life in a new cultural context can be important in shaping the experience of entering, learning, and adapting to the new culture. With regard to the second context, that of cultural learning that is guided by teachers and trainers, interculturalists have created a pedagogical theory directed at understanding how people learn to learn about cultures and have addressed how to teach about power and privilege most effectively in light of such understandings. In both contexts, the primary motivation of this work has been to understand culture learning processes and to improve individual capacities to learn about other cultures.

The first approach to power in the context of intercultural learning can be found in attempts to theorize the cultural transition process, or *culture shock*, and to provide tools to lessen the disorientation and emotional pain associated with it. A key contribution in this area is Michael Paige's work on *intensity factors*, the variables most likely to significantly raise the intensity of an individual's experience of culture shock. Two of Paige's 10 intensity factors relate to the topic of power: *status* and *power and control*. Status refers to whether an individual experiences different kinds and amounts of status in the intercultural context. The power and control intensity factor attends to the subjective feeling of powerlessness that sojourners commonly experience in a new culture. According to Paige, the more power and control individuals are used to having at home, and the less power and control they have in the new context, the higher the level of stress they are likely to feel during the transition.

Another approach to issues of power in intercultural learning contexts involves the application of Milton Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity to intercultural pedagogy. Bennett's model elaborates in detail a series of six worldviews that structure individuals' experience of cultural difference. According to the model, developing increased intercultural sensitivity requires moving from one worldview to the next, in sequence, with each worldview building on the lessons learned in the previous one. This process involves (1) learning to notice that cultural differences exist; (2) coming to see the fundamental human similarity that lies underneath cultural differences seen as threatening; (3) realizing how deeply culture shapes the experience of every human, including oneself; (4) accepting that people have equally valid viewpoints, values, and perspectives; (5) learning how to function in multiple cultural contexts by adapting one's actions and interpretive frames; and (6) integrating these lessons into one's sense of personal identity.

Bennett's model can be used to inform the design and delivery of pedagogical interventions, including the material concerned with power and privilege. Depending on the learner's worldview, lessons intended to teach about cultural difference can trigger radically different intellectual understandings and emotional reactions. Understanding the learner's developmental stage can allow teachers and trainers to better anticipate issues at the planning stage. Janet Bennett and Milton Bennett address the implications of the model for decisions about when and in what order content is presented. They suggest that content focused on power and privilege should be introduced after a sense of commonality has been firmly established and cultural differences are no longer seen as inherently threatening. When training cannot be customized for individual orientations, the suggestion is that topics be introduced in a sequence that matches the progression of development growth. They offer that the additional support provided by sequencing material in this way can reduce resistance to the material, increase comprehension of it, and foster learners' developmental growth.

Critical Approaches

Since the late 1990s, common forms of intercultural analysis have been critiqued by a set of scholars attempting to integrate general theories of power into intercultural theory and practice. These scholars, in the tradition of *critical* social science, have concentrated their efforts on understanding intercultural encounters (and the intercultural field itself) within a wider context of structural forces and socially constructed inequalities. With this focus guiding their intellectual work, they have pointed out limitations in intercultural approaches that neglect these issues. Their varied critiques of the state of the intercultural field address a wide range of intercultural theories and practices, and many of their objections apply to the approaches outlined above.

At their core, critical approaches are deeply invested in analyzing the workings of power. More specifically, they are concerned with how relationships of power and privilege are created and re-created, as well as with how such relationships can be transformed. Deconstruction is often a key element of critical approaches; it attends to how power inflects the categories and frameworks that are used for understanding the world. Deconstruction accomplishes this by taking apart taken-for-granted ideas using careful analysis, in an effort to shed light on how particular cultural forms attain and retain a dominant position. For example, with the technique of linguistic analysis known as critical discourse analysis, segments of written or spoken language (discourse) are analyzed in terms of their grammar and vocabulary to unmask ideas hidden inside that listeners must accept for the discourse to make sense. This aspect of this critical research method draws attention to the construction of *common sense* through powerful and invisible processes of persuasion.

Some critical scholars argue that intercultural approaches commonly contribute to an incorrect and potentially damaging belief that cultures are unchanging and homogeneous entities. Descriptions detailing culture-specific beliefs about power and the normal power relationships in a society used to illustrate cultural differences are one example of the sort of cultural analysis that serves as a target for critiques of this type; it might seem that the differences described are timeless, unchanging, and unchangeable, especially when the ethnographic descriptions have been written in the present tense (often called the ethnographic present). Cultural value dimensions like those discussed above can have the same effect, according to some scholars. Critical approaches tend to place a high value on understanding the complex historical processes through which particular cultural patterns came to exist, along with the mechanisms through which they are re-created. They seek to understand such processes as emergent and continuous, remaining highly critical of any approach that might erase important aspects of this dynamic and complex reality.

From the perspective of critical intercultural communication, intercultural frameworks that might promote static and essentializing views of culture (e.g., the much-used *iceberg model of culture*, or cultural dichotomies such as the contrast between *high power distance* and *low power distance*, discussed above) are inaccurate by virtue of their incompleteness. However, since critical approaches include attention to the ways in which the theory and practice of social science itself can reproduce power inequalities, such frameworks are often seen by critical scholars as potentially harmful as well. For example, some critical scholars argue that when interculturalists focus heavily on cultural differences at the level of the nation-state (e.g., Japanese culture, U.S. American culture), their scholarship can increase the disempowerment of minority populations within the nation-state by ignoring and undervaluing their existence and legitimizing the position of the dominant group.

Significance for Intercultural Competence

Interculturalists' preoccupations with power have been focused on three main concerns: (1) cross-cultural differences in beliefs and behaviors related to power, (2) considerations around power in contexts of intercultural learning, and (3) the integration of general theories of power into intercultural theory and practice. In each area, important work has been done that supports the development of distinct aspects of intercultural competence. Understanding the approaches described above allows for the frameworks and tools that already exist to be put to appropriate use and to be further refined, contributing to the ongoing development of the field and to increased effectiveness in building the intercultural competence of others through pedagogically sound training interventions.

Laura A. Bathurst

See also Critical Research Methods; Critical Theory; Culture Shock; Developmental Theory; Developmentally Appropriate Pedagogy; Hall, E. T.; Intensity Factors; Value Dimensions: Hofstede; Value Dimensions: Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck Value Orientations; Value Dimensions: Schwartz; Value Dimensions: Trompenaars

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Pragmatics

Pragmatics is about how the language system is put to use in social encounters by human beings. In this process, which is one of the most creative human enterprises, communicators (who are speaker-producers and hearer-interpreters at the same time) manipulate language to shape and infer meaning in a sociocultural context. The main research questions for those who study pragmatics are as follows: Why do we choose to say what we say (production), and why do we understand things the way we do (comprehension)?

This entry provides a brief history of pragmatics and distinguishes between pragmatics, syntactics, and semantics. It goes on to define various subfields of pragmatics, such as linguistic-philosophical pragmatics, sociocultural-interactional pragmatics, and intercultural pragmatics. Following this is a discussion of intercultural pragmatics and its roots in the sociocultural approach and how it relates to cultural competence.

History

In the 1930s, philosophers such as Charles W. Morris, Rudolf Carnap, and Charles Sanders Peirce developed distinctions among syntactics (henceforth syntax), semantics, and pragmatics. Morris defined pragmatics as the study of the relation of signs to interpreters. Ever since, to some extent, all definitions of pragmatics have derived from his. The main elements that are the same in all definitions are as follows:

- The linguistic code that is the means of interaction
- The producer-interpreters of the code
- The sociocultural context (frame) in which interaction takes place

Subfields

While the field of pragmatics includes a great variety of approaches to language use, most pragmatic research can be related to two fairly broad traditions founded in the work of John L. Austin, Paul Grice, and John R. Searle and one recent development: linguistic-philosophical pragmatics (or so-called Anglo-American pragmatics), sociocultural-interactional pragmatics (or so-called European-Continental pragmatics), and intercultural pragmatics, respectively. Linguistic-philosophical pragmatics seeks to investigate the speaker's meaning within an utterance-based framework focusing mainly on linguistic constraints on language use. Sociocultural-interactional pragmatics maintains that pragmatics should include research into social and cultural constraints on language use as well.

The most recent development is intercultural pragmatics. The link between classical, philosophically oriented pragmatics and research in intercultural and interlanguage communication has led to the development of this subfield, which seeks to investigate the roles and functions of language and communication within a worldwide communication network. Focusing on intercultural communication, intercultural pragmatics attempts to combine the two traditions into one explanatory system that pays special attention to the characteristics of intercultural interaction.

Tendencies

Recent research in the linguistic-philosophical line and the sociocultural-interactional line shows two dominant tendencies: (1) a somewhat idealistic approach to communication and (2) context centeredness. In current theories, it is widely accepted that meaning is socially constructed, context dependent, and the result of cooperation in the course of communication. Focus in this research is on the positive and social features of communication: cooperation, rapport, common ground, and politeness. The emphasis on the decisive role of context, sociocultural factors, and cooperation is overwhelming, while the role of the individual's prior experience, existing knowledge, egocentrism, salience, and linguistic aggression is almost completely ignored, although these two sides are not mutually exclusive. Similarly, context dependency that means reliance on the actual situational context is only one side of the matter. Individuals' prior experience of recurring contexts expressed as content in the speakers' utterances likewise plays an important role in meaning construction and comprehension.

Istvan Kecskes argued that there is nothing wrong with the focus on the positive features of communication, except that it is only one side of the matter. The fact of the matter is that human beings are inordinately cooperative, tend to be polite, and seek common ground. So, just as in the case of Noam Chomsky's generative grammar, researchers in pragmatics had to *create* the *ideal speaker and hearer* in order to investigate and understand the basic features of human communication. However, what there is in real communicative encounters is the actual *performance*, which may not always be positive and idealistic at all. The main advantage of intercultural pragmatics is that with its focus on both the individual (cognitive) and the social, it directs attention to both the positive (cooperation, common ground, politeness) and the negative features of communication (egocentrism, misunderstanding, impoliteness, aggression), which are inseparable because they represent the two sides of the same process.

Attempts to Broaden the Scope of Research

Pragmatic theories have traditionally highlighted the roles of intention, rationality, cooperation, common ground, mutual knowledge, relevance, and commitment in the formation and execution of communicative acts. While not neglecting the central role of these factors, some current approaches to pragmatic research seek to extend the range of the discipline in order to allow for a more comprehensive picture of their functioning and interrelationship within the dynamics of both intracultural and intercultural communication. What these approaches attempt to do can be summarized as follows:

1. They all attempt to broaden the scope of pragmatics by focusing not only on the linguistic and semantic constraints of communication but also on the social and cultural constraints.
2. They question that Gricean intentionality (human communication depends on the addressee's ability to represent a special sort of intention, such as the speaker's communicative intention) is the main driving force of communication.
3. They try to solve the problem of *underdetermined* speaker meaning in Gricean pragmatics (the linguistic sign is underdetermined without context) by looking for speaker cues not only in the immediate context but also beyond it, in the discourse segment and/or dialogue sequence.

Intercultural Pragmatics

Given the intercultural perspective of this encyclopedia, the most relevant subfield of pragmatics is *intercultural pragmatics* that is rooted in the socio-cognitive approach (SCA) developed by Kecskes. This approach combines the intention-based approach with an attempt to incorporate emerging features of communication, and it considers speakers as social beings searching for meaning with individual minds embedded in a sociocultural collectivity. Individual traits (prior experience, salience, egocentrism, and attention) interact with societal traits (actual situational experience, relevance, cooperation, and intention). Each trait is the causal consequence of the other. Prior experience results in salience, which leads to egocentrism, which drives attention. Intention is a cooperation-directed practice that is governed by relevance, which (partly) depends on actual situational experience. SCA does not discard Gricean pragmatics; rather, it modifies and supplements it with new elements deriving from intercultural communication. SCA integrates the pragmatic view of cooperation and the cognitive view of egocentrism and emphasizes that both cooperation and egocentrism are manifested in all phases of communication, albeit to varying extents.

Intercultural pragmatics is based on the understanding of interculturality as a phenomenon that is not only interactionally and socially constructed in the course of communication but also relies on relatively definable cultural models and norms that represent the speech communities to which the speakers belong. Consequently, interculturality can be considered an interim rule system that has both relatively normative and emergent components. As Kecske defined them, *intercultures* are situationally emergent and co-constructed phenomena that rely on relatively definable cultural norms and models as well as situationally evolving features. Developing intercultures in the process of intercultural communication leads to the growth of intercultural competence, the ability to communicate effectively and appropriately with people of other cultures.

Istvan Kecskes

See also Applied Linguistics; Language Use and Culture; Linguaculture; Semantics; Sociolinguistics; Speech Acts; Syntactics

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Prejudice, Bias, Discrimination

Although the terms *prejudice*, *bias*, and *discrimination* are often confused and used interchangeably, nevertheless they mean very different things independently. Used together, the impact of prejudice, bias, and discrimination on society has been overwhelmingly negative, providing a foundation for systems built on fear, power, and distrust. This impact creates a nearly impenetrable barrier to inclusion and intercultural competence. Historically, these words conjure images of burning crosses, swastikas, men in white sheets, and discriminatory legal actions. Today, these words and the actions that accompany them show up in seemingly innocuous yet insidious ways. To individuals who are compassionate and worldly, it would seem elementary to avoid these three phenomena personally and professionally. However, there is a natural instinct to separate the world into *us* and *them*, and eventually discriminate against *them*. People are constantly balancing these dualistic perceptions as they encounter different people, places, things, and situations. Attitudes and actions in response to these encounters are sometimes intentional and sometimes unintentional, but they are normally present. This entry offers a perspective on prejudice, bias, and discrimination, describing their societal effects and providing brief stories to illustrate their human impact. Each term is examined independently, followed by a discussion of how they work together to stifle intercultural competence.

Prejudice

The word *prejudice* means to *prejudge*. Defined more fully, it is a preconceived notion or attitude based on limited stores of information or experience. It is human nature to prejudge situations, people, and things in order to decide whether they are safe and familiar. However, with little access to different people, situations, and things, it is easy to assume that one's own experience is the *true* experience and everything else is deviant and therefore wrong, bad, or inferior. Also, if someone or something is perceived as unfamiliar, it can lead to the belief that it must be unsafe and, thus, a threat. Consider the example of a woman who was driving down a city street with her children in the car. When she stopped at a traffic light, she noticed a group of young men with sagging pants standing on the corner talking loudly and smoking cigarettes. Automatically and without saying a word, she pressed the car's door lock button. She maintained a steady gaze straight ahead, except for a stolen glance in the youths' direction, and silently pleaded for the light to change. The woman had no personal experience in the neighborhood or community; she had only heard media reports and acquaintances' remarks about the neighborhood as being dangerous, and she believed them without a question. Through her actions, she had effectively taught her children to fear young men dressed that way, socializing that way, and being in that neighborhood. As the children grow up, the unconscious prejudice thereby instilled will remain unless they have experiences that contradict the message. The young men on the corner could have been on a smoking break from work or waiting for the school bus; they could have been doing many things that do not involve crime. But based on the woman's limited store of information, she assumed that they were up to no good, and she acted according to her prejudice. There is security in what is familiar, and it gives comfort; yet that same prejudice can prevent an opportunity to connect with the humanity of others whose appearance, language, or dialect may be completely different from one's own.

Bias

Bias is a preference for or against a group, person, or thing and is generally considered to be an unfair judgment. There is conscious and unconscious bias, and both can be a barrier to social inclusion. Conscious bias is when one might knowingly give preference to an individual and feel justified on the basis of specific criteria, such as having mutual interests or being related by family. Unconscious bias is a little trickier and arguably the most common. When people are not aware of their bias, they will convince themselves that their choice and preference are fair and justified. Unconscious bias in the workplace is revealed when candidates with almost identical credentials meet with different results. In the United States, for example, with all other things being equal, candidates with traditional Anglo-American names, like James Heller or Mary Remington, may be moved forward to the next round of interviews, while candidates with names like Abdullah al-Nimur DeShawn Brown or Anastasio Poulos may see their employment journey end shortly after their resume submission. Unconscious bias typically plays out in people's minds. The thinking goes like this: "They would not do well here because they are, say, too urban or not funny enough or not young enough" or "They will fit in perfectly because they are attractive, male, or married." Unconscious bias is like breathing. People only become aware of it when someone draws attention to it. Then it is almost impossible to ignore. Yet not long afterward, such awareness often recedes, and individuals slip back into an unconscious state of bias.

Conscious bias is almost always supported by *fact* or *experience*. For example, an interviewer might say, "Everyone knows that candidates who are from Oxford or Tokyo University are the best we can find." Or the selector may say, "I once knew a guy who was from the engineering program at the University of Minnesota, and he was by far the smartest guy I have ever known. So this candidate from the Minnesota engineering program is sure to be an excellent fit." These biases exist whether or not people are willing to admit that they have them. Organizations and corporations have cultures, and as new employees are hired into the culture, they will unconsciously make decisions as to the *fit* of the new individuals. When a society has clearly demonstrated what the norm is, members of the society will consciously or unconsciously buy into the norm and follow suit, resulting in bias, be it positive or negative.

Discrimination

Discrimination is a behavior driven by prejudice and bias to maintain the status quo. Acts of discrimination are designed to intentionally benefit one culture over another, one gender over another, one sexual orientation over another, or one religion over another. It is an act where the game being played is never equal or equitable, and if the scale becomes unbalanced, the rules change again to maintain the status quo. Discrimination is a behavior that actively prevents individuals or cultures access to opportunity. In the U.S. context, this is seen in the Separate but Equal laws, Jim Crow Laws, Indian Removal Act, Chinese Exclusion Act, Immigration Reform, and Defense of Marriage Act. They are all attempts at discrimination to benefit one group over another. Discrimination tends to keep the dominant group and their desires, beliefs, and values in the position of power and prominence. Far from being unique to the United States, the story of discrimination has been replicated globally when Sikhs have been forbidden to wear turbans, Muslim women not allowed to wear the *hijab* (headscarf), and members of various religious groups prevented from celebrating their holidays.

In 2013, an 8-year-old African American girl was sent home from a U.S. school because her hair did not meet the uniform requirements. She wore her hair in dreadlocks, and this style was perceived as unkempt and not in line with the values of the school. Because the administrators of the school were also African American, she felt rejected by members of her own culture who had adopted the norms of the dominant culture and thus perpetuated the status quo. The young girl's story of discrimination demonstrates another impact of discrimination: *internalized racism* and how for the dominant group to maintain the status quo, it needs members of groups who are typically marginalized to also perpetuate the existing state of affairs.

In recent news, a complicated case came before the U.S. Supreme Court: The craft store chain Hobby Lobby filed a case to avoid providing specific contraception options to their employees as mandated in the Affordable Care Act, a politically controversial healthcare plan. The owners of Hobby Lobby felt that they were being discriminated against because of their religious belief against contraception. They took the case to the Supreme Court to challenge the constitutionality of the relevant provision of the act and won their case. They saw this ruling as a victory in preserving conservative values, but the employees who had hoped to have their healthcare needs covered felt discriminated against by the ruling because they do not hold the same religious values and beliefs as their employer.

As stated earlier, when prejudice, bias, and discrimination are combined, they serve as impenetrable barriers to inclusion. Prejudice is the attitude that leads to bias, which inevitably leads to discrimination. When individuals are able to bring their full selves into their organization, workplace, or home, they feel included and are free to have their contributions valued, encouraged, and supported. When they feel that to have access to opportunity they need to suppress core elements of their identity, creativity wanes, and commitment to the institution is nonexistent or at best tentative. It is not unusual for employees who leave under such circumstances to file discrimination charges against their former employer.

Being aware of the impact of these words individually and collectively is crucial to intercultural competence. Communicating effectively across cultures requires curiosity, empathy, compassion, and a strong sense of self. Being aware of cultural injustice can connect one to others who may have experienced ill treatment. Sadly, no one is immune to prejudice and bias, although some cultures may be able to avoid outright discrimination. The key is to recognize that no culture can escape the allure of *keeping things as they are* or the perception that there is an ongoing competition for scarce resources. That realization, coupled with intercultural tools, will help equip the interculturalist with unmatched skills to communicate effectively across cultures.

Discussion of issues of power and advantage in academic programs and workshops that develop intercultural competence balances the content between global and domestic issues. Although it can be an uncomfortable subject whose roots are based in social justice, appropriate sequencing in a program when the learners have been carefully prepared can be effective in lowering the risk. These concepts, power and advantage, lie at the foundation of prejudice, bias, and discrimination. Interculturalists who recognize this are better equipped to understand how the prevention of access affects the way many people are able to function in any given society.

Kelli McLoud-Schingen

See also Civil Rights; History of Diversity and Inclusion; Intercultural Sensitivity; Racism, Institutional; Racism, Interpersonal

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PRIVACY

Interculturalists typically encounter the topic of privacy in two contexts. One concerns the voluntary disclosure of aspects of their personal lives. This is termed the *public and private selves*; it explores what people *voluntarily* reveal to others, to whom they reveal, and under what circumstances. The other context concerns the details about people's identities and activities when they are *involuntarily* revealed to others, often to strangers; this is related to current debates about technological surveillance. However, the interculturalist's interest is broader and more complex.

This entry describes the differences between a person's private and public selves and the influence of culture on those differences. A discussion of privacy follows, and the ways in which the concept varies in meaning from one culture to another, based on whether the culture tends to be more individualistic or collectivist. This entry concludes with an explanation of how modern-day challenges to privacy in the public realm are experienced by people differently based on their cultural patterns.

Public Self and Private Selves

The German American social scientist Kurt Lewin is credited with portraying an individual's personality or *self* as existing in concentric circles.

In Figure 1, the outer circles represent those aspects that are *public* and readily shared with almost all acquaintances; the inner circles represent aspects that are *private* and shared with only a few, carefully selected acquaintances. Throughout this discussion, *acquaintance* refers to anyone known to the individual. Think of the circles, from the outside and moving inward, as layers of increasing intimacy. A central black area represents aspects that are virtually never shared with anyone.

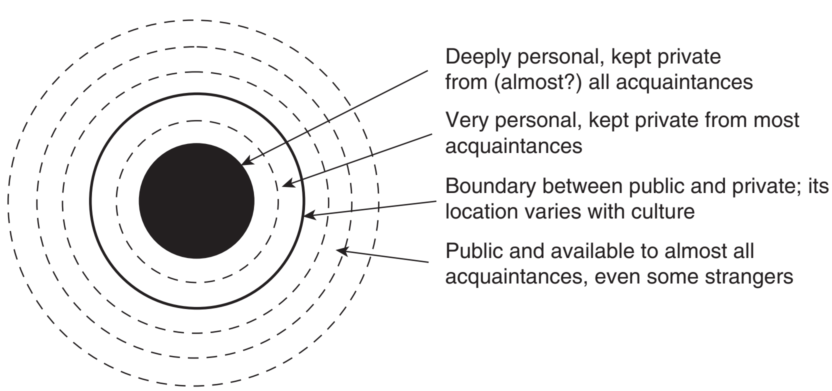

Figure 1 Basic Model of the Self as Structured by the Patterns of One's Culture
Source: Adapted from Nees (2000, pp. 65–68). Original figure based on Lewin (1936).

Lewin's diagram is useful because it graphically illustrates how much a person makes public in relation to how much is kept private, a personal choice that is heavily influenced by one's native culture's prevailing norms, values, and relationship styles. For interculturalists, Lewin's diagram is useful because it supports their explanations of a type of interpersonal conundrum that often confronts people who interact with acquaintances from unfamiliar cultures. This type of diagram figured prominently in a 1975 book, *Public and Private Self in Japan and the United States*, by a leading intercultural theorist of that era, Dean Barnlund.

In some cultures, the prevailing pattern is for the public area, represented by the outer rings, to be relatively large, while the private area, the inner ring, is correspondingly small, or vice versa. For example, Barnlund found that the private area of Americans tends to be small, while the private area of Japanese tends to be large. Another cross-cultural difference concerns which aspects of one's life one assigns to the two areas; what some cultures regard as available to the public (e.g., basic details about a man's wife) is in other cultures regarded as strictly private. A third difference concerns which type of acquaintance may be admitted to the private area, under what social circumstances that may occur, and how rapidly. For example, consider two young adults engaged to marry; to what extent does this status open the private aspects of each one's family to the other? And if those private aspects do open, when and under what social and familial circumstances might that occur?

Figure 2 illustrates an interaction between recent acquaintances: Individual A has a small private area, while Individual B has a large one. A introduces discussion topics that B considers private, which likely leads B to make harsh, negative judgments about the *personal* qualities of A, whereas actually the unease felt by B is attributable to patterns in the *culture* of A.

Figure 3 illustrates an interaction between people who mutually share their private areas; they have an intimate relationship. Of additional interest are the circumstances under which this occurred, how rapidly it occurred, and whether each one still reserves any topic as private.

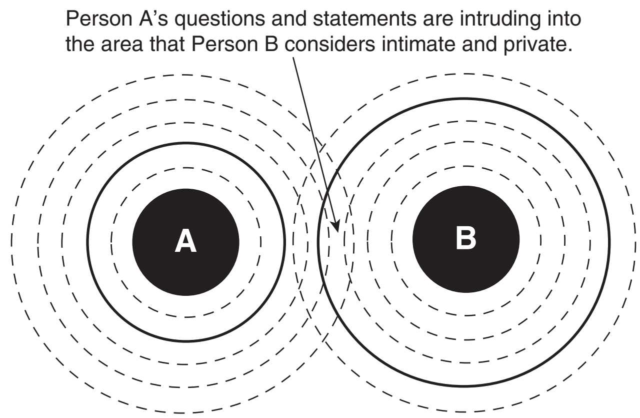

Figure 2 Interaction Between Strangers With Private Areas of Differing Sizes

Source: Adapted from Nees (2000, pp. 65–68). Original figure based on Lewin (1936).

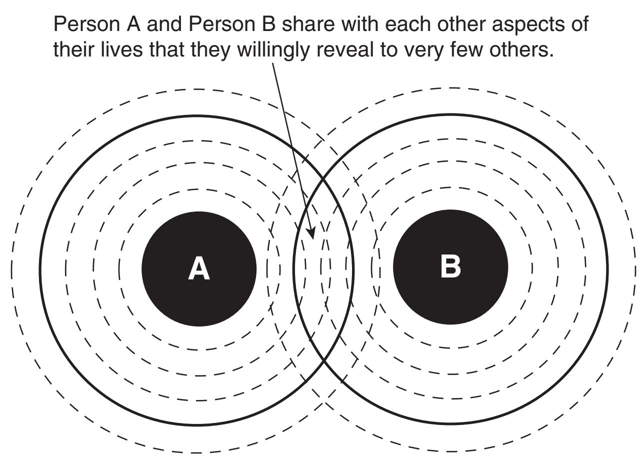

Figure 3 Interaction Between Two People With an Intimate Relationship

Source: Adapted from Nees (2000, pp. 65–68). Original figure based on Lewin (1936).

Privacy of Information About One's Self

The foregoing discussion considered intimate details about the self that one *voluntarily* reveals to selected others. There are also situations in which intimate or identifying details about one's self are *involuntarily* revealed to others, often to total strangers. Technology-aided acquisition of personal information is merely one of many privacy concerns. Also included are breaches of one's solitude and intimate relations, unauthorized disclosure of a wide range of (accurate or inaccurate) details about oneself, unwarranted searches and surveillance of all kinds, and, indeed, almost any involuntary disclosure that undermines one's personality, honor, and dignity. In fact, privacy as a concept has become so broad (at least in modern societies) that attempts to give it one comprehensive definition are widely regarded as unsuccessful.

Most treatises on privacy recognize that it is culturally relative. In some societies, the privacy concept traditionally did not exist. Several modern languages either borrow *privacy* from English (e.g., Indonesian: *Privasi*) or cobble together descriptive phrases to capture a similar meaning; the resulting meanings often have the connotation that a desire for privacy is a desire to hide evil intentions. In fact, in some societies, privacy is viewed negatively. Maoist China upheld the virtue of *ren*, including lack of privacy and obliteration of the individual.

When comparisons are made among modern societies where privacy *is* an active concept, its every aspect is found to vary cross-culturally: what is protected, from whom it is protected and to what extent, by what means it is protected, and even under what rationale. For instance, the legal and governmental approaches to privacy in the United States and Europe differ. In Europe, the rationale is sensitivity to the preservation of each individual's public *face*, reputation, and dignity; protection is provided *by the government* via permanent agencies that enforce comprehensive rules that curb data gathering by businesses. In the United States, the rationale is sensitivity to feared intrusions on the individual and his home by the government; protection *against the government* is provided by a patchwork of court rulings and narrow laws that are activated only when an aggrieved person brings a legal challenge. Only recently have Americans started to think about curbing data gathering by businesses or security agencies.

Some modern privacy advocates in the West make their case using *intuitionist* rationales, appealing to an imagined and shared human need to cloak certain activities from others' awareness; the prime examples are sex and defecation. But even these vary across cultures and historical eras. Ethnographers know that in some remote societies, sex need not be hidden. And tourists to the ruins of Ephesus discover that upper-class Ephesians gathered in a public hall fitted out with numerous closely spaced toilets where conversations ensued while everyone was collectively defecating. It is known as well that in the West during much of recorded history, people were intimately enmeshed within ingroups of clan, community, and church; within each ingroup, the physical, social, and psychological boundaries among members were inconsequential. Our modern ideal of personal autonomy, undergirded by privacy, was not yet recognized. Thus, it is a mistake to imagine that humans at all times and places have valued privacy. It is far more accurate to recognize that privacy is often closely associated with an *individualistic* value orientation, with a *learned* intention of each individual to appear self-directing, self-actualizing, and unique.

As a valued condition of an individual's life, privacy contends with values that favor the interests of the collective. A determined individualist might argue that a camera that surreptitiously records a car's speed is a violation of privacy, but it is of value to society to detect and punish speeders. The individualist might complain that government collects e-mails, but others will counter that surveillance is of value because it helps protect society from terrorists. Privacy debates continually recalibrate the balance between individualist and collectivist values.

Every aspect of privacy—its definitional scope, its interpersonal application, its legal rationale, its potency as a value, its very existence as a concept—is determined by culture.

Cornelius N. Grove

See also Cultural Relativism; Culture Distance; Value Orientations; Honor, Shame, and Guilt; Intercultural Sensitivity; Internet Identity

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Psycholinguistics

Psycholinguistics is the study of language and the psychological processes that underlie language. It is an interdisciplinary field with roots primarily in cognitive psychology and linguistics. It focuses on creating models of language and experimentally testing them. Areas of study within psycholinguistics include speech perception, lexical (word) access, semantic organization, sentence processing, and understanding figurative language, discourse, and memory. *Neurolinguistics*, the study of language and the brain, is closely related with psycholinguistics and often uses the same experimental principles to examine language activity in the brain.

Psycholinguistics intersects with intercultural communication, particularly with respect to the study of individuals who speak more than one language. Given that bilinguals can usually successfully control which of their languages they are speaking, psycholinguistics seeks to address how such control is possible and what is happening as a bilingual is processing more than one language. This entry examines findings concerning the relationship between bilinguals' two languages during language production and processing, how bilinguals control different languages, how bilingualism affects cognition and memory, and how language is activated in the bilingual brain.

Background Issues

The study of bilingualism is a relatively recent development within psycholinguistics, and models specifically addressing bilingual language processing are still emerging. The term *bilingual* in the psycholinguistic literature covers a heterogeneous group of language speakers, from *simultaneous bilinguals*, who grew up speaking two languages from early childhood, to *sequential bilinguals*, who are proficient speakers of a second language acquired later in life, to *language learners* still in the process of acquiring the languages. Interpretation and comparison of experimental studies should be undertaken with caution, as results will be influenced by who is studied, the proficiency of the speakers, the appropriateness of the languages for the context, and the tasks involved.

Major Findings

One of the major questions psycholinguistics addresses is whether the speaker is able to suppress one language while using the other or whether both languages are active at the same time. The bulk of current evidence suggests that both languages are available to the language user and are active to some degree, even when only one language is being spoken. In addition, the languages of a bilingual interact with and influence each other for pronunciation, lexical (word) organization, sentence processing, and discourse organization. This influence determines whether the bilingual has two relatively balanced languages or one stronger and one weaker language. How much the languages influence each other, and how much the nonselected language is active, is determined by a range of factors, including the structural similarity between the two languages, which language was learned first, which language is used more or more recently, the speaker's proficiency in the selected language, and the context of the experiment.

As both languages appear to be active to some extent, bilinguals need to be able to control which language is being used. Switching between languages does come with a cognitive cost, which is usually exhibited by slower reaction times in language production and comprehension studies. This cost holds even when a speaker has high proficiency in both languages. When a speaker is not equally fluent in each language, the cognitive cost is greater. In particular, switching from the weaker to the stronger language is more difficult than the reverse. Current debate on the issue of language control centers on whether the ability to control the languages results from the level of activation of each language or from more general cognitive control that monitors the language system.

In addition to the issue of cognitive control, the psycholinguistic study of bilingualism has investigated the effect that bilingualism has on nonverbal cognition and memory. Initial research in the early to mid-1900s concluded that bilingualism had a detrimental effect on IQ (intelligence quotient) scores. However, these studies were seriously methodologically flawed. More recent studies have found no IQ effects and have shown that bilingualism can have a positive effect on divergent thinking, metalinguistic knowledge, and cognitive control. In terms of memory, research suggests that the different languages of a bilingual can have an effect on the retrieval of autobiographical memories. In particular, findings suggest that immigrant bilinguals' different languages may stimulate memories from different life periods and that memories recalled in the language in which they were experienced tend to contain more detailed descriptions.

Research in bilingualism also investigates the representation of language in the bilingual brain. Evidence from neurolinguistic studies indicates several major trends. First, the brain is not static in terms of language localization or processing but changes over time. Several factors affect the patterns of brain activation for bilinguals, including age of acquisition, proficiency in the language, and amount of exposure/use. Recent research has suggested that proficiency plays a strong role in the brain areas active during semantic language processing and that both age of acquisition and proficiency are important for grammar processing. Overall, the patterns of brain activation are largely similar across the speaker's two languages. Parallel results have been found with both *hemodynamic* (blood flow) and *electroencephalographic* (electrical activity) measures.

Evidence from psycholinguistics suggests that bilinguals are not the same as monolinguals when it comes to language processing or language use. The two languages of bilinguals interact with each other during both acquisition and use, and as a result, the language production and language processing of bilinguals differ from those of monolingual speakers. Both the processing and the representation of language are affected by a range of factors, including age of acquisition of the languages, proficiency in the languages, and the linguistic and social context of language use. The psycholinguistic study of bilingualism supports the idea that the language system changes due to our experiences with language, even in adulthood.

Lynn Santelmann

See also Applied Linguistics; Multilingualism

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Q

Qualitative Research Methods

Qualitative research methods are designed to enable greater understanding of how people experience their lives within specific cultural contexts. These methods rely on thick description, careful documentation of procedures, and rich insights into phenomena. The findings sometimes correspond with published materials but often hold surprises based on what research participants reveal through their linguistic choices, stories, physical appearances, emotions, and everyday practices as they go about their lives. To be able to understand and describe people as cultural beings who construct their worlds and who are also shaped by the worlds in which they live is a profound accomplishment.

To accomplish this work, qualitative researchers approach their inquiry with sensitivity, cultural humility, and commitment to provide thick and rich details supportive of findings. Through such stances toward qualitative research, scholars can enrich others' lives by opening up worlds that those who use their research might never experience firsthand or that might go unnoticed without deep immersion into data. For individuals who seek to gain greater intercultural competence, qualitative research offers pathways for greater self and other understanding, as well as findings about processes and ways to view cultures that may be transferable to contexts other than the ones in which the original research took place. This entry presents a summary of some distinctive aspects of qualitative research, an overview of the main qualitative research methods, and a discussion about the significance of qualitative research in learning about and practicing intercultural competence.

Distinctive Aspects of Qualitative Research

There are many different qualitative research methods, but they share some unique characteristics that deserve consideration. These methods are often found in combination, typically starting with an inductive approach grounded in analyses of data to generate broader understandings of phenomena, and require researchers' reports about their experiences with and positions regarding the subject matter at hand. These research methods also require sensitivity about how and what to report about people's lives given that research participants reveal their pasts, as well as their sense making about their present and future relationships, hopes, dreams, fears, and sorrows. Research participants sometimes talk about aspects of their lives that are so intimate to them that they have never spoken about these experiences even with their closest family members. These revelations make them highly vulnerable even if, on the surface, they are *only* speaking about what kinds of work they do and how they perform that work. It is because their words and behaviors reveal what they feel about that work, why they do these activities, how their identities are wrapped around and infuse their activities, and perhaps how their lives might be different had they made other choices.

When they engage in such conversations with researchers or allow researchers to observe them as they go about their lives, they trust that researchers will uphold confidentiality. They collaborate with researchers because they believe that researchers will present them in a respectful manner and appreciate their contributions to scholarship. They also hope that researchers recognize that they have only partial views of their participants' lives. As a qualitative researcher, one never fully understands or knows participants' motivations, backgrounds, or innermost selves. Engaging with participants makes both parties vulnerable and more complete. To be able to conduct qualitative inquiry is both a privilege and a profound ethical responsibility. As such, qualitative research methods—starting with the first glimmer of an idea and working through to publication and public presentations—become part of researchers' lives as much as they delve into the lives of others.

Overview of Qualitative Research Methods

Qualitative methods include case study, narrative, ethnography, grounded theory, life history, mixed methods, and many variations and combinations of these primary methods. The focus here is on the most used methods in intercultural studies as well as other research areas: narrative, ethnography, grounded theory, and case studies. Increasingly, mixed methods have enabled researchers to combine the benefits of generalizable results with deep insights about findings.

Narrative

Narrative methods can focus on storytelling and/or the story itself. Depending on whether researchers focus on the process—that is, the unfolding of individuals' sense making and experiences—or the structure and outcomes of stories, narrative methods delve into how, why, and what people relate about their lives in detail and from their own vantage points. The ways stories are told indicates whether these are new (unrehearsed) stories, quests or journeys in life, or practiced responses to often-asked questions. Creating the story itself is a research process. Sometimes, it is difficult to know when a participant has achieved closure with a story. This does not mean that the concern or event about which a story revolves has been resolved; it simply means that the story seems complete at the moment that the researcher *fixes* it for analysis. Sometimes, researchers return to their participants to ask these participants what more should be included, especially because interviews frequently prompt participants to engage in further sense making, and these reflections reveal new aspects or remind participants of other details that they had not related but would like to discuss in order to make their stories more understandable to others (and to themselves).

When relating and analyzing stories and their participants' storytelling processes, narrative researchers recognize that they are relating only a small part of people's lives and, indeed, relating only some interpretations and ways of depicting their stories. Narratives offer windows into people's lives that cannot be provided through other methods. They also function as forms of evidence about cultural practices, beliefs, reasons, and spiritual or ideological structures, among other findings.

Ethnography

Ethnography is a way to describe cultural practices and their meanings within specific settings about which research participants may not be fully aware. The value of the many different forms of ethnography is that researchers observe participants as they go about their everyday tasks in habitual ways. To render as accurate an account as possible, ethnographers spend considerable time living in the setting, learning the language, walking among and talking with participants, feeling what it is like to be in participants' spaces and circumstances, and so on. It is not sufficient for researchers to simply experience what they think their participants are experiencing; they also have to delve into areas such as the cultural background for activities, settings, routine behaviors, technology use, and relationship interconnections. No matter how objective they think they are, they need to account for how their learned ways of viewing the world can overlay what they report about their participants' lives. Without some means of checking their interpretations, perhaps with a cultural insider or through translations that embed the context and reasons for linguistic choices, their ethnographic accounts may be suspect. For this reason, ethnographers frequently combine ethnography with other qualitative research methods.

Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is a label for many different ways of analyzing data, but all operate from the central premise that midrange theory can be developed from close examination of the data themselves without strict reliance on prior theory and empirical findings. Reversing the approach of starting with theory and past findings to generate research questions or hypotheses, grounded theory begins with data. As such, grounded theory is a data-driven inquiry that seeks to explore anew that which is happening in phenomena.

Data collection and analysis occur simultaneously and mutually inform each other. In most approaches to grounded theory, researchers engage with data through multiple and iterative layers of coding whereby they move back and forth between the data and their analyses. Initial codes are developed from broad rudimentary ideas, incidents, values, beliefs, and other aspects. Codes then become increasingly more abstract and theoretically provocative in labels and meanings. This part of the grounded theory approach is an inductive process called the constant comparative method, procedure, or technique. The codes involve open coding (initial, unrestricted coding), in vivo coding (labels for experiences that participants themselves generate or that researchers use to combine different open codes into categories phrased more broadly), and axial coding (coding that makes connections between and among categories).

After researchers have developed their empirically based findings, they return to the data for verification, support, and possible negative cases. Negative cases are data that may indicate that the findings being developed do not adequately represent the phenomena or that the findings labels are insufficient to account for the complexities in the data. Although not every case may be as clear-cut as it is being depicted here, at the point during which researchers have *finalized* their broad codes or themes after multiple iterations, they then switch to a deductive process whereby they test, refine, and write up their conceptual understandings to develop theory. More realistically, data gathering and ongoing coding, inductive and deductive processes, and delving into data and theory occur all at the same time.

Of importance to intercultural experts is that grounded theory enables researchers to start afresh with phenomena. Through grounded theory, intercultural scholars can figure out what might be missing in constructs and theories, what might have changed in cultures over time, and what might not have been considered previously because the phenomenon under investigation was not overt enough or imagined by researchers in the past.

Case Study

Case studies make it possible for researchers to weave together data from multiple sites, participants, events, and personal observations into a contextualized account that directs attention to certain phenomena. By focusing readers' attention on particular details, researchers use case studies to offer opportunities for participant learning. In intercultural contexts, the readers can enter scenes vicariously and consider what they themselves might do to solve a problem or act appropriately. To enable their readers to participate in a case in this way, the researcher needs to develop a compelling, realistic, detailed setting in which *characters* have understandable motives to want particular resolutions. Cases may also be used to test theories and to describe contexts. In mixed-methods approaches, brief cases provide the context around which other findings become sensible and richer. In these instances, cases are not the primary qualitative research method in a study but are, instead, supportive of other methods.

Mixed Methods

Researchers use mixed methods, quantitative and qualitative methods, because the questions they want to answer require the characteristics and advantages of both generalizable and contextually rooted inquiry to account for the complex ways in which humans participate in their worlds. Although some may argue that the underlying assumptions about how humans know, interact with, and value their worlds make quantitative and qualitative methods inherently incompatible, mixed-methods theorists offer pragmatic responses that center on the problems requiring investigation rather than the epistemological, ontological, and praxiological incompatibilities. Ideally, these different methods should be mutually supportive and equally integrated into findings. Otherwise, qualitative methods might be valued only as precursors to the desired quantitative investigation; or qualitative methods might be used simply to fill in the gaps of interpretation from a simplistic quantitative report.

Significance of Qualitative Research in Intercultural Competence

The development of intercultural competence is a lifelong project that requires attention to and reflection by researchers themselves as cultural beings and attention to others as culturally different in both overt and very subtle ways. Qualitative methods are not used to provide broad overviews of cultural commonalities and differences. Rather, they offer glimpses of the cultural nuances that research participants experience every day. Thus, qualitative methods and their findings can offer many advantages to intercultural scholars. They can create a generative capacity to seek deeper understandings about oneself and others in situ. They can instill a capacity to challenge what is known about intercultural competence and contexts routinely. Finally, qualitative methods and findings can promote a vision of a world that is reconstructed moment by moment but that also adheres to deep-seated cultural traditions and values.

Patrice M. Buzzanell

See also Case Study Methods; Ethnographic Research; Interpretive Research Methods

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Quantitative Research Methods

Quantitative research methods are generally used for developing and testing social science theory that explains the influence of culture on communication processes and outcomes. When designing a quantitative study, in addition to ethics and analysis, the following areas should be considered: measurement, research design, and sampling, which this entry will briefly explore. Quantitative methods are generally used to test theorized causal relationships between constructs, or variables; in other words, how does one construct—or variable—bring about change in another? The first step to testing theory is to determine what the constructs are, how they relate to one another, and how those constructs are to be measured.

Measurement

In cross-cultural studies, culture is usually one of the primary constructs, often defined by national origin or ethnicity and usually treated as a dichotomous (or trichotomous) independent variable that is expected to influence the rest of the constructs measured. This approach raises several considerations about measurement, especially about the primary influencing variables in cross-cultural quantitative research.

The first consideration is the use of dichotomous (polarized) versus continuous variables. National culture and ethnicity are categorical variables: Someone is considered Mexican or Japanese, Hispanic or East Asian. The variable of culture, therefore, is not continuous (although there are some scales out there that measure things such as Hispanicity or the level at which a person is located on a range of scores). Subjects are assigned to a category based on nationality or knowledge of one's ethnic heritage. This approach can be used to describe cultures by comparing two or more groups on a given set of attitudes or behaviors. Or it can be used to test theory, for instance, to select two cultures that are expected to differ widely on one or more constructs that are theorized to influence a given set of attitudes or behaviors: If the theorized differences are supported, then the theory is supported. Lacking a strong theoretical rationale, many cross-cultural quantitative studies result in a comparison of two or more groups on a set of constructs, as in the first approach above.

A *causal theory* explains the relationships between constructs. Culture or ethnicity alone cannot explain causation. A culture must be associated strongly with some other construct for the theory to be tested. Some examples could be values (e.g., power distance or honor), socioeconomic differences (e.g., per capita income), or relational structures or attributes (e.g., network transitivity). These constructs should be measured or quantified to clearly associate the group with the level of the relevant associated constructs.

From the view of theory construction, continuous variables provide more useful information for prediction and explanation than categorical variables can provide. A conceptual rationale that explains why a particular culture or group should be high or low on a continuous construct—accompanied with measurement (as with values) or verification (as with economic data)—can advance theory.

Some continuous variables, such as individualism–collectivism, are treated as dichotomous variables and therefore typically provide weaker causal explanations than other continuous variables. If differences are found between cultures, they are often assumed to be due to individualism–collectivism, which treats this construct as an all-encompassing theory rather than a theory of the middle range. A strong rationale should ask what the characteristics of a culture are that suggest differences in individualism–collectivism and develop measures, especially continuous ones, for those characteristics instead.

Reliability

Indicators of a construct are considered reliable when they have internal consistency; in other words, the indicators of a construct measure the same construct in generally the same way. Psychological variables, including attitudes, beliefs, emotions, and personality traits, are typically tested for reliability using *Cronbach's alpha* (α), a statistical measure that tests whether the indicators seem to be measuring the same construct. These indicators can include multiple-scale items or coded behaviors based on content analysis of either interactions or behaviors.

The dimensional structure of the indicators used to measure variables is usually tested by confirmatory factor analysis, which is used to confirm a presupposed structure of the indicators; exploratory factory analysis or principal components analysis (PCA), which is used to explore the structure of the indicators used when the structures are uncertain; or structural equation modeling (SEM), which tests a measurement model and a theoretical model of how the constructs relate to one another—such as which variables are expected to influence which other variables according to theoretical predictions—using the multiple indicators that were measured. Confirmatory factor analysis and structural equation modeling both test theoretical models that are proposed by the researcher, making them better choices for theory-driven quantitative research than exploratory factory analysis or PCA.

Reporting the scale reliabilities or factor structures should be based on the results for the participants from each culture as well as for all participants. For example, if a researcher compares Bolivia, China, and the United States using a scale that measures intercultural competence, and a PCA is used to assess the scale, then all summary statistics for the PCA should be provided, including sample sizes (how many participants took part in the study), Cronbach's alpha (an assessment of how well the items in the scale, together, measure what the scale is supposed to measure), the number of factors with eigenvalues above 1.0 for the scale (whether scale items cluster together to assess the constructs that are measured in the model), and the amount of variance explained (what percentage of change in the construct can be explained by using the scale to measure the construct). These statistics should be reported for each of the three national cultures separately *as well as* for the three national cultures combined.

Research Design and Sampling

Quantitative research that compares cultures is usually either experimental or nonexperimental. An *experiment* must manipulate at least one independent variable, and that variable must be one into which participants can be randomly assigned. An independent variable—sometimes called a predictor variable—is one that is predicted to influence other variables but, within the theory or model proposed, does not have any predictors. For example, messages can be manipulated as communicating either high or low justice, high or low fear appeal, and participants can be randomly assigned to receive one type of message or another; but culture is neither manipulated nor randomly assigned—someone cannot be randomly assigned to be Chinese.

In many cross-cultural studies, no independent variables are manipulated; instead, people from two or more cultures are compared on attitudes, beliefs, values, or behaviors, making these studies nonexperimental. Comparing cultures on attributes, values, or behaviors is a *non-experimental design* because cultures are compared, but no independent variable is manipulated.

Culture is typically considered an *independent* variable that influences *dependent* variables, which include behaviors, attitudes, values, or emotions. Although culture, whether national, regional, ethnic, or religious, is generally treated as categorical, within-culture variables, including continuous sociological or psychological variables such as socioeconomic status, education level, age, or values, can provide opportunities for more fine-tuned predictions about what influences predicted outcomes.

Sample size depends on the research design. Too frequently, sample sizes that are substantially too small or too large are used, relying on a *good guess* to estimate the number of participants needed. As a general guide, 15 to 20 participants per cell should be sufficient to achieve statistical power: A 2 × 2 × 2 research design—for example, 2 (culture: United States vs. Mexico) × 2 (high vs. low intercultural competence) × 2 (Age: young vs. old), which results in eight cells, or conditions, in the study—suggests that an appropriate sample size would be approximately 160 participants (2*2*2*20) in total or 80 (2*2*20) participants from each of the two cultures. However, the appropriate sample size is determined in part by the level of variability in the dependent variables, with less expected variability requiring a larger sample size.

Causality, Internal Validity, and External Validity

Quantitative research is often used to establish causality between variables, meaning that a predictor variable causes change in the predicted variable. To meet this goal, two important standards must be met: internal validity and external validity. Both of these present particular challenges for cross-cultural researchers. Research designs should address how to meet these standards.

Causality

Three requirements must be met for causal claims to be upheld. The first is *covariation*, wherein the change in the independent variable yields changes in the dependent variable, preferably as predicted by theory-driven hypotheses. The second is *temporal order*—changes in the dependent variable did not happen before changes in the independent variable. And the third is *nonspuriousness*—there is no other plausible explanation for the predicted covariation between the independent and the dependent variables.

This last requirement becomes especially difficult when conducting research across cultures because too often researchers do not understand the constructs they use from the perspectives of the people within the cultures that are studied. Culturally biased approaches produce *imposed etic* research, where the culture of the researcher imposes a cultural bias, which affects how the samples, measures, analyses, and conclusions are drawn and determined. Western researchers are often guilty of biased research in this regard. Constructs are both conceptually and operationally developed in the United States and then transported to use across cultures without modifications that take into account the cultures' distinct understandings of the concepts and conceptual relationships.

Two solutions have been proposed to address this bias. The first is to take an *emic* approach (with a long /ē/, as in phonemic), which evaluates a construct by understanding it from *within* a particular culture, rather than imposing Western or American assumptions about the construct. This approach usually involves at least some qualitative assessment of the value, attitude, or behavior as viewed by the people from within the culture of interest. One of the biggest challenges for this approach is for researchers to shed their own cultural lens and assumptions.

An emic approach provides the insight to develop a *derived etic* (with an /ε/, as in phonetic) approach, which develops measures for constructs that can be used across cultures because they reflect the various emic understandings of the construct within the cultures studied. A derived etic approach should result in nuanced measures that incorporate ranges of meaning from across cultures. Such a measure takes time to develop, but it provides more valid assessment of the value, behavior, or attitude of interest for cross-cultural research.

Nonspuriousness is a serious concern for making causal claims. The challenge for social scientists conducting cross-cultural research is to control for and rule out any explanations across the cultures and contexts studied that could interfere or provide alternative explanations for the causal claims being made.

Internal Validity

Internal validity means that a claim can be made with confidence that an independent variable causes change in a particular dependent variable. There are a number of internal threats within a study that can challenge causal claims. For example, *history* refers to some unexpected event that happens between the independent variable and the dependent variable being observed or measured. *Selection* is also a threat to internal validity; here, this threat refers to preexisting differences in the groups studied. Often, selection is controlled using random assignment to groups, but in cross-cultural research, participants cannot be randomly assigned to cultures. Therefore, socioeconomic differences, such as age, education level, or urban versus rural environments, could affect the cultural samples. For example, in one culture, college students may be older, of higher economic status, of a higher class, or from a more competitive admissions process to attend college than college students from another culture, making the two groups unequal on one or many factors.

Although these differences can challenge internal validity based on a selection threat, two considerations can still justify comparing students or other groups that may be equivalent on face value but may be different socioeconomically. The first consideration is the use of strong theory to make cross-cultural predictions. Even if selection is somewhat unequal across cultures, strong theoretical reasoning for the expected causal relations allows the researcher to still make causal claims, assuming that covariation, temporal order, and nonspuriousness are otherwise upheld. Predicted differences between cultures, if predicted based on theory and upheld across the groups, can still demonstrate that the theory works.

The second consideration is that researchers should take care in overgeneralizing the results if group equivalence across the cultures could be in question. Although the theory may be upheld, generalizations about how Culture A behaves versus Culture B may be overstatements of the results if the samples across the two groups are unequal. The ability to generalize beyond the current sample depends on the external validity of the research.

External Validity

External validity means that the results of one study could be reliably expected in other studies that use similar populations, methods, and measures. Assuming the study is internally valid, external validity requires that the methods and measures used within the study (a) are realistic for the populations being studied (*psychological realism*), (b) are taken seriously and are understood by the participants (*experimental realism*), and (c) are relevant to what the participants would use outside of the study (*mundane realism*). For example, for some cultures, role-playing hypothetical situations is an unfamiliar task, making the results from the use of this method potentially questionable. Use of Likert-type scales—which typically ask participants to assign values to attitudes and emotions using a 1 to 5 (strongly disagree to strongly agree) scale—may be too abstract and unfamiliar to yield valid results that could be generalizable to other populations. For instance, some types of argument for handling conflict may be inappropriate within a culture, so asking participants about competent responses to open conflict would likely yield invalid and ungeneralizable results.

Quantitative methods are useful for testing theories that draw comparisons across cultures. As with any method, the approach is only as good as how the researcher uses it. Rigorous and careful attention to measurement, research design, and sampling as well as to analysis and to maintaining high ethical standards can yield quality results that can be used to develop insightful theory for understanding how people across cultures communicate.

Deborah A. Cai

See also Critical Research Methods; Qualitative Research Methods

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R

Race and Human Biological Variation

This entry explores the concept of *race* in the context of contemporary knowledge about human biological variation. It begins with a disclaimer about the scientific validity of racial categories as a way to legitimately describe differences in the human population on Planet Earth. Next, the entry explores how the term *race* has been used since the 18th century. Then, areas where human diversity is greater than on the dimension called race are sampled. A brief note about genetics and medicine is included. The last section discusses whether or not genes change during the lifetime of individuals.

Disclaimer

Even though the subject of this entry is race, the concept is not a scientifically demonstrable variable that can be used to reliably study human beings at a genetic or cellular level. Race *in that sense* does not exist. While social scientists often use race as an independent variable, agreement on what it means is far from universal. Its meaning varies from country to country, field to field, and researcher to researcher. All human beings on earth have the same ancestors and are descended from people who left the continent we now call Africa about 60,000 years ago. As a result of that common human origin, documented by mapping the human genome, all members of the species we call *Homo sapiens* are approximately 99.4% to 99.9% (depending on the scientific source selected) genetically the same. As soon as the genome mapping was completed in 2003, articles started to appear in newspapers, magazines, and professional journals declaring that race does not exist.

The first round of public articles was quickly followed by documentaries making the same point. The title of a 2003 Public Broadcasting Service series "Race: The Power of an Illusion" speaks clearly to that point. In addition to proving extreme similarity among humans, scientists concluded that the so-called racial classifications (Aboriginal, African, Aryan, Asian, Caucasian, English, European, Hispanic/Latin, Native American, etc.) are useless from a biological, genetic point of view. The small genetic differences that exist between groups seen by some as racially different fail to meet the minimum standard required in the animal kingdom to designate a subspecies. Major characteristics such as skin color, hair form, and frequency of blood type were found inadequate to differentiate groups and establish racial categories, even before the genomic mapping was completed. Minute differences and variations that exist can be used to determine the continental origins of recent ancestors (i.e., going back less than 20,000 years). Continent of origin is more useful than race for medical diagnosis and treatment.

Just as many decades passed before the fact that global warming was real received limited acceptance and led to efforts at behavioral change, many decades will also pass before the biologically useless concept labeled race gets eliminated. If a

Google search is performed in 2014 for the word *race*, more than 259 million items are found in a few seconds. If you enter related concepts like racism, racial, race talk, and so on, the number gets even larger. Current high usage and its continuing salience among some professionals and the public has necessitated entries about race in this encyclopedia.

In addition to the high frequency of public and social scientific use of the term, perceived racial differences continue to be the basis for bias, discrimination, prejudice, and racism. Other entries in this encyclopedia describe this on the personal and institutional levels. Perhaps use of this physically invalid concept will decline when the above inappropriate behavior also declines. Elimination is likely to take decades or possibly centuries.

An Abbreviated History of Race

The 18th Century

One of the earliest uses of the term *race* was by a Swedish naturalist named Carl von Linne. He is better known in the literature as Linnaeus, and in 1735, he postulated four human races: (1) White European; (2) Red American; (3) Brown Asian, later changed to Yellow; and (4) Black African. Since then, other scholars described nearly 40 different races. Most of the racial descriptions crafted by scientists relied on differences in physical appearance that could be seen or measured in some way. Races were seen as natural divisions in the species called *H. sapiens*. A few even used the term *subspecies* as a synonym for race. Some ranked the races according to their evolutionary stage. Each race was said to have originated historically from a different group. Some argued that the groups that developed later were more advanced from an evolutionary perspective. Lighter skin evolved after darker skin and was therefore associated with more advanced human qualities. None of this fits with what is known about evolution by both social scientists like anthropologists and physical scientists like biologists and geneticists. When pregenome mapping measurements were actually made, the validity of race as a scientific variable was not supported. Unfortunately, anyone arguing against the existence of racial differences did not find a voice in the 1700s.

The 19th Century

Race continued to be used in the 1800s by laypersons and professionals to describe the differences between groups and populations around the world. Race was defined by subjective and unsophisticated descriptions of groups based on a combination of skin color, hair texture, culture, language, religion, and geographical location. The distinctions were used to separate populations for political, social, economic, religious, and military purposes. During this time, well-known scholars such as Charles Darwin wrote about race and racial differences while at the same time discussing the biological unity of all human groups and a universal human character. In the midst of such conflicting views, Darwin and many scholars of the 1800s still ultimately considered Europeans to be superior to all other races. Slavery around the world of groups thought to be less intelligent, strong, moral, educated, and so forth grew dramatically during the 1800s. Those arguing against the existence of racial categories, even with scientific data, would find their voices either ignored or, in some cases, silenced. During the 1800s, writers like William Goodell (1829–1894) convinced surgeons to castrate or remove the ovaries of individuals viewed as inferior. Francis Galton developed the concept of *eugenics* in the 1860s. It is defined as a set of beliefs and practices aimed at improving the human gene pool. Galton advocated improving the human species through selective reproduction for positive characteristics and selective cessation of reproduction to eliminate negative characteristics. The latter two philosophies were used to convert views about racial superiority and inferiority into concrete actions designed to improve the human species.

The 20th Century

In the 1900s, scientific and lay views about racial differences and inferiority continued to be formed. Efforts to scientifically prove racial inferiority and even conduct what some might call genocide accelerated during this century. Scholars moved beyond cranial size measures to add frequency of blood types and performance on cognitive tasks to attempt to differentiate the races. Eugenics, selective reproduction, and contraception/sterilization became a formal and globally recognized academic discipline, with conferences and national policies issued in Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Japan, Germany, Sweden, the United States, and the United Kingdom. The eugenics program in Sweden continued until 1975, according to information published by the World Socialist Website. Studies that showed statistics pointing to racial differences were used to justify segregation and elimination of specific groups (e.g., Aboriginal, African American, Christian, Egyptian, Jewish, Negroid, Palestinian, Tibetan, Tutsi, and Serbian). The popular and inaccurate use by laypersons and scholars of the term *genocide* must be noted, given the high level of genetic similarity found on Planet Earth. True genocide would virtually render the planet devoid of human life given our greater than 99% genetic similarity. Belief in racial differences was further affirmed as legislated rights and legal protection from discrimination increased during this time. Such legislation used racial categories to describe groups whose rights were to be either denied or protected. For example, in the United States of America, only White men could vote, and voting rights of other racial groups were limited. As this was protested and debated, rights were granted and protected by racial categories. Defining *White* was then and remains now a subjective process. To add to the absurdity of defining race during this time, one region described every individual with any Black ancestry as racially Black—defined as the one-drop-of-blood rule. Birth certificates issued in the United States were legally required to say *Negro* if any ancestor had African or Black origins. This is rather ironic in light of more recent evidence that everyone on the planet descended from forbears who lived in what is now called Africa.

In this context, governments and organizations in some parts of the world tried to either eliminate a race labeled as inferior (e.g., during the Holocaust) or advocate purification through selective reproduction (e.g., The American Eugenics Society). Although belief in racial differences continued to exist in the 1900s, advocacy of equality and equity became stronger. The drive to create and use distinctions based on the weak concept of race remained strong, however, even while being moderated by some professionals. In 1997, the American Anthropological Association urged the American federal government to use the terms *race* and *ethnicity* together to categorize the population for census reporting purposes. The problem with using *race* was acknowledged, but the concept was not yet recommended for elimination.

The 21st Century

In the 2000s, specifically 2003, scientists finally declared that race does not exist as a viable, measureable, valid, and physically definable variable. A few social scientists such as Dr. Roosevelt Thomas even began to speak more about similarities while acknowledging differences. During the early part of this century, race remains a frequently used description for human differences. This continues to be true among social scientists, while use is declining among physical scientists. Agreement is emerging in this century that race is not a physical variable and is difficult to define as a social variable. Social scientists using race in research are being pressed to define it and are finding that increasingly contentious and challenging. Some use the phrase *race and ethnicity* instead of race by itself. Public use as noted in the above Google search is still quite extensive. Legislative use also continues in several parts of the world. Although many want to discuss it, conversations and dialogue about race remain necessary, courageous, and difficult. The history of stereotyping, hatred, violence, and deep personal emotions associated with race often makes discussions about it uncomfortable.

The facts about race do not align with human subjective experience. Even though physical scientists, mystics, religious leaders, some social scientists, and many scholars affirm human universality, most individuals have an uncontrollable (automatic, unconscious, unintentional) human response to what they perceive and label as race. Neuroscience research conducted in this century clearly demonstrates that our brains react differentially to images categorized subjectively by so-called race. In this case, predictable differential (i.e., positive, neutral, and negative) reactions occur with exposure to perceived racial similarities and differences. Such reactions provide a basis for racial prejudice, bias, and even hate. The differences are statistically significant and reproducible. The tension between the facts and feelings about race could provide motivation for growth and development, including reduction of inappropriate responses to perceived differences.

Differences Greater Than Race

There are several human categories where diversity is greater than the differences across so-called race. Even if unclear categories of race, such as those based on color (Red, Yellow, Black, Brown, and White), ethnicity, or subjective perception of racial identity, are used, there is more genetic variation within each category than there is between groups. Continental geographic origin can be used more reliably than race to differentiate individuals. Even though there are measureable distinctions between individuals from different continents, the genetic variation within each continent exceeds the variation between continents. However, an increase in the number of individuals with multiple continental ancestral origins is making even that distinction less useful. As long as race is used, however defined, more genetic similarities will be found than differences between so-called racial groups.

Gender

Even as early as the 1800s, a few scholars such as Darwin understood that the differences between males and females were greater than the differences between so-called races (whether they are four or 40). Gender differences are more reliably recognized and also physically measureable. The differences are robust within racial groups, and women around the globe are more similar to one another than men compared with women around the globe. Add in human variability of physical sexual characteristics among men and women, and an extraordinary level of diversity is apparent.

Culture

There are excellent definitions of culture in this encyclopedia. It is simply the ways, beliefs, languages, customs, myths, way of life, values, and priorities that describe a group of people. Culture is observable and measureable with a variety of social scientific methods. Even in the area of subjective cultural differences, agreement is evident and well documented by anthropologists, interculturalists, psychologists, and related professionals. The many good works by Edward T. Hall and Geert Hofstede provide an excellent foundation for definitions and measurement for this concept. Such differences exist and often supersede the visible differences described as racial and ethnic categories. Cultural differences between identifiable groups are more valid and larger than the differences typically attributable to race.

Personality

There are currently a wide variety of sound and psychometrically valid measures of personality. Human differences in personality have been studied at least as far back as the time when Buddhism came into practice 2,500 years ago. Since then, scientists have learned to measure differences in personality with paper-and-pencil tools, computer-based approaches, and noninvasive medical technology (e.g., functional magnetic resonance imaging). Today, there are many ways to examine personality. Individual differences in personality are greater than genetic differences.

Sexual Orientation and Identity

Any two individuals will be more alike genetically than they will be in sexual orientation and identity. They will vary along at least four dimensions. The first one addresses the extent to which a person experiences sexual attraction in general (from asexual to sexual). The second has to do with feeling sexual attraction or repulsion. The third pertains to how much one is attracted to the same sex or gender. The fourth, independent from the third, deals with how much one is attracted to the opposite sex or gender.

Twins

Even identical twins who started life as one egg (monozygotic) will be different after experiencing a few years of life. This is true even for twins raised in the same household by parents who attempt to treat them identically. Even when genes are identical, differences emerge as a result of interacting with and in the environment. (More is said about genetic change during individual lives in the following text on epigenetics.)

Brains and Neural Pathways

When neurosurgeons prepare to conduct surgery on individual patients, they cannot consult the universal map of brain pathways and immediately begin to operate. After each human has been alive for a short period of time, the pathways created in the brain are unique and shaped by the interaction between the initial brain structure and the environment. Therefore, the surgeon must electrically map the brain of each individual patient prior to surgery. In other words, each of the more than 7 billion brains on the planet is unique. This is certainly more diverse than our genes.

Identities

The plural is selected above because every individual has multiple identities at multiple levels with varying saliency at different times. At home, one person might be a parent and a spouse. At a family event, additional identities might be added, such as sibling, child, grandchild, grandparent, and so on. As the person goes to the workplace, professional identities become more central. When the same person travels to another country, her so-called racial identity may be overshadowed by her national identity. When entering houses of worship, religious identities tend to surface. This list can go on with numerous multiple identities for each person. This can go even deeper and become more complex. Imagine trying to determine the identity of an individual whose parents come from different continents, practice different religions, and have ancestors from several cultures. Any single or even multiracial designation used in this context merits doubt. Adding the ability of individuals to choose religious, cultural, and other identities makes racial categorization of limited value.

Medical Diagnosis and Treatment

There are genetic differences that influence the diagnosis and treatment of disease. To begin, disease prevalence differs on different continents and among individuals who descend from each continent. For example, sickle cell anemia is more prevalent in Africa and in groups descending from Africa than for those in and from Asia. Because the populations of some continents increasingly have individuals with ancestors from several continents, correlations of this type are getting weaker over time. Fortunately, the capability now exists to connect the presence or absence of specific gene patterns with specific diseases and health outcomes at the individual level. Genetic therapy, in which manipulating the expression of particular genes is used to cure and eventually prevent disease, is becoming more successful. Note that this occurs at the individual level, not determined or even aided by so-called race.

Genetic Change

While genetic change does occur during one's lifetime, it is far less than the changes that can occur regarding personality, culture, and physical gender (with medical invention). While medicine is currently using genetic therapies, the genes that determine what is currently seen as race are unlikely to change. There are changes in genetic activity that are not caused by changes in the sequence of our DNA. The study of such changes is called *epigenetics*, which refers to changes in human development that are not driven by inheritance or changes in gene sequence. These changes occur in complex organisms like humans through processes like gene mutation, silencing, inactivation, reprogramming, and cancer. Such changes are the result of interaction with the environment and occur at the cellular rather than the DNA sequence level. Changing one's race with a genetic intervention remains in the realm of science fiction at this time.

Robert Hayles

See also Culture, Definition of; Dimensions of Diversity; Ethnic Cultural Identity Model; Hall, E. T.; Intergroup Dialogue; Lay Theory of Race; Racial Identity Development Models; Racism, Interpersonal; Sexual Orientation; Universal Human Rights

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Racial Identity Development Models

The primary objective of this encyclopedia is an explication of intercultural theory, research, and practice as it relates to intercultural competence. The current entry takes as its points of departure the intracultural dynamics of the United States and the evolution of monocultural or, more specifically, racial-ethnic identity development models. It differentiates the intercultural narrative from the racial-ethnic narrative in the following ways. Starting with a monocultural context (the *home* country), the *intercultural narrative* traces entrance into a different cultural space, usually requiring extensive overseas travel and living experiences, and ends with the demonstration of authentic intercultural perspective taking and intercultural competence. As this summary suggests, intercultural narratives are inherently polyphonic. By comparison, *intracultural narratives*, the focus of the current entry, are typically more monoculturally oriented in that the analysis spotlights single-group identity dynamics nested within a single country or nation-state.

The 1960s and 1970s in U.S. History

In U.S. sociocultural history, the period between 1960 and 1980 marked the rise to prominence of two interlocking but divergent culturally grounded discourses. In March 1961, U.S. president John F. Kennedy signed an executive order establishing the Peace Corps, from which, in large measure, the intercultural movement within the United States evolved. Ironically, the exact same time period in U.S. history saw the eruption of social movements for groups within the United States. Although minority groups are omnipresent throughout American history, it was during the 1960s and 1970s that each group emerged from political and cultural obscurity, brought about by years of repression and oppression, to give voice to their experiences as well as demands for social justice.

A critical component of each group's message involved consciousness raising and identity transformation, captured in identity change models specific to each group. The women's movement constructed models of feminist identity development, the gay and lesbian movements spawned coming-out or gay identity development models, and the Latino–Latina, Native American, and African American movements propagated culture-specific racial-ethnic identity development models.

Fast forward to the late 1980s and 1990s, and these separate social identity models dovetailed into multicultural and *intersectionality* discourses. However, because of the central role played by racial identity development models in the evolution of the intercultural, intracultural, and multicultural discourses within the United States and elsewhere, this entry explores racial identity development models. The entry continues with a summative and generic outline of the models, followed by a discussion of the debate on what psychological changes are associated with racial identity change. Most of the discussion will focus on racial-ethnic minority groups; however, a brief section on models of White identity development is also included.

Racial Identity Models: Stages, Attitudes, and Statuses

The authors of racial identity development models tended to be academics following process-sensitive pursuits such as social work, counseling psychology, clinical psychology, and social personality psychology. Because their models attempt to describe the psychology of adults involved in social movements, the focus is on identity change and development as experienced by persons between the ages of late adolescence and adulthood. The contours of the models were drawn while each theorist was ensnarled in the middle of the process being deciphered; that is, they sketched while in the midst of identity change as a lived experience. Endemic to their process perspectives are four stages representing the analytic categories (1) before, (2) trigger, (3) middle, and (4) end, where

> *before* captures a description of the person's psychological state before the onset of identity change,
>
> *trigger* highlights the events or experiences that cause an "Aha!" moment and motivation for change,
>
> *middle* is the state of in-betweenness or identity in transition, and
>
> *end* refers to the internalization and habituation of the new.

Stage 1: Before

Since the primary purpose of racial identity models is explication of a shift in perspective, the content of Stage 1 is a description of the perspective that will become the object of change. Persons positioned at Stage 1 are said to display limited knowledge about the group's social history within the United States, as well as an uncritical acceptance of a Eurocentric worldview, value system, and aesthetic, all of which point to the construction and acceptance of an assimilationist frame of reference. The resulting naiveté, miseducation, and false consciousness place the person at risk for identity change; however, unless their perspective on the group is challenged, they might continue to embrace their belief system. Others in this stage are said to evidence various degrees of internalized oppression, ranging from a blame-the-victim attitude toward group members to a generally distorted and negative perspective of the group's culture and, in the worst-case scenario, an actual hatred of the self and the physical features commonplace to the group (e.g., size of lips, texture of hair, color of skin, body type).

In a manner of speaking, the above attributes—political cultural naiveté, a Eurocentric worldview, assimilationist attitudes, miseducation and false consciousness, negative attitudes toward the group, and outright racial self-hatred—are said to undermine not only the individual group member but also the group as a whole. If there is a word that captures the central theme of Stage 1, it is *deracination*, a word of French origin that means to be culturally uprooted, culturally disconnected, and culturally estranged.

Stage 2: Trigger

With the exception of the racially self-hating frame of reference, the Stage 1 identity or identity status is said to have integrity and is a variant of an achieved and functional identity. Consequently, change will not occur in the absence of some triggering event, experience, or activity. Stage 2 depicts the trigger that jolts the person and has the effect of pulling the rug out from under his or her feet. It is an "Aha!" moment or epiphany that crashes into and shatters the person's faith in the validity of his or her current (Stage 1) outlook. The actual event or experience may take many forms, and the Stage 2 descriptions are less detailed about the nature of the trigger than about its aftermath, a sense of awakening and intense arousal that feeds a drive for change. Although of short duration, Stage 2 is pivotal because if critical consciousness is never triggered, the chances are that the Stage 1 identity status will not change.

Stage 3: Middle

This stage is about transition. The models reflect on the phenomenology of racial and ethnic identity change as oceanic, mesmerizing, and compelling, with elements of an out-of-body experience. The person is depicted as being at war with his or her self, in that the individual is transitioning from the old identity while simultaneously trying to construct, from the ground up, the emerging new frame of reference. The person in transition temporarily embraces dualistic thinking, in which the old identity is truncated, oversimplified, and negatively stereotyped and the new frame of reference for which the person has only an emergent, and thus shallow, comprehension is equally stereotyped, only with superhuman and ethereal attributes. A component of the Stage 3 dynamic is the need to prove one's identity to oneself and to one's community. In some contexts, the need to prove one's identity can lead to high-risk behavior and dramatic displays of the new self. Affectively, the person's emotions are a mixture of rage and anger generally directed at the system and the dominant group in society and a parallel sense of intense love, belonging, and identification with all things connected to one's racial-ethnic group. That is to say, the person embraces a very ethnocentric, either-or, boundary-thick, and totalistic frame of reference.

Stage 4: End

If successful, Stage 3 cleanses the person of the old frame of reference and scaffolds but does complete construction of the new. The heightened state of arousal cannot be sustained, and the person is said to move away from dualistic thinking and gravitate instead toward a rich, thick, and complex understanding of the new identity. The compulsion to prove one's identity is replaced by a comforting sense of habituation, internalization, and self-acceptance. The models do not associate a single identity type or identity image with Stage 4, but some configurations are thought to be predictable. Some settle on a strong group-centric perspective that is monocultural to the extreme. Others fuse a sense of being American with simultaneously according high salience to one's racial-ethnic group, in the construction of a biracial or bicultural stance. Still others integrate their new sense of self into a more intersectional stance. Apart from depicting the identity variability found among people positioned at Stage 4, another key element linked to this stage status is an understanding that the challenges faced by the group and the desire to grow one's attachment and bonding to and knowledge of the group's culture will require sustained identification and commitment. The person comes to the realization that absorbing and internalizing the new identity is but a prelude to learning how to live the new identity in everyday life—identity as a lived experience.

Recycling

The racial-ethnic identity models have been modified to incorporate a lifespan perspective. Stages 1 through 4 map the replacement of the foundational and achieved identity linked to Stage 1 with a new but no less foundational and achieved identity linked to Stage 4. To explain the continued identity growth across the lifespan, the concept of recycling was introduced by Parham in 1989. With the Stage 4 stance conceived as foundational and deeply rooted, life goes on, and the person will encounter new and unresolved questions about race and ethnicity. In an attempt to resolve these new questions, the person may recycle through a less dramatic cycle of stages such that the person's foundation identity is thickened, made richer, and more complex. Over time and experience, the person is described as possibly achieving a sense of wisdom about his or her racial-cultural self that informs not only the person's personal psychology but also the quality of the relationship to the community.

What Changed

The evidence is overwhelming that racial-cultural identity change is associated with changes in worldview, reference group orientation, cultural-historical perspective, ideology, social attitudes, and social cognitions. In addition, a person evidences changes in organizational affiliations, social networks, and commitments to social and political causes. If Stage 1 of the model depicts persons for whom racial matters play an insignificant and, in some cases, even a negative role in their social construction of reality, the same persons, after change, are now said to accord race and culture considerable relevance across a broad range of issues and experiences. For the purposes of discussion, the reader should refer to the above as change in one's racial-cultural schema as differentiated from changes in personality and self-esteem.

Stage 3 is clearly associated with a state of intense arousal, emotional volatility, and high energy. These personality changes are depicted as temporary and thus evanescent. Controversy surrounds the question of whether racial and cultural identity change is linked to positive change in self-esteem. With regard to Black identity, the results of meta-analytic studies tracking possible change in Black self-esteem linked to the racial-cultural social movement of the 1960s and 1970s are mixed, with one important study providing evidence of positive change and another supporting the null hypothesis. One factor needs to be kept in mind. In the one meta-analysis showing change, the shift recorded was that of movement from the average, and thus positive scores, to a slight change that suggested enhancement of self-esteem. That is to say, the trend recorded was not from negative to positive self-esteem but from average to slightly higher than average self-esteem. Given that Blacks scored average on self-esteem before the Black social movement, this means that the self-esteem level of the average Black American as reflected in large-scale studies was not in need of change. In summary, the identity development models seem to map changes in racial-cultural identity schemas and not fundamental aspects of personality, such as self-esteem.

White Racial Identity Development

If the driving force behind the people-of-color racial identity models was liberation from deracination, in some ways, the evolution of White identity models followed a reverse pattern in that the overriding intent was to free White people from notions of dominance, ethnocentrism, and privilege so that many Whites might, in turn, join with people of color and others in the struggle for social justice. Although the racial hierarchy has its origins in the founding of the country and continues to play a major role in everyday life, it is one of the great ironies of racial discourse that many Whites resist the notion that they think racially, that the concept of racial identity applies to them, and that being White carries privilege. Educators, academics, and professionals indicate that progress in antiracist activities is facilitated or inhibited to the degree that White participants have or have not developed critical consciousness about White privilege, respectively.

White racial identity models, as was true of people-of-color models, were written by scholars whose academic and professional pursuits involve praxis: a human resources consultant working to help large corporations and educational institutions achieve greater equality and diversity; a leader in the training, education, and professional socialization of future multiculturally competent White counseling psychologist-researchers; and a team of academics concerned with helping Whites achieve critical consciousness and cross-cultural competence, even though their analysis does not rest on a stage model concept. The White identity models take as their point of departure that Whites, while possibly very sophisticated in many areas of life, are often naive and uninformed about the way race and, more specifically, White privilege operate in everyday life. The next stage does not focus on change as much as it does on the eruption of resistance, anger, and confusion. This resistance can take the shape of formal organizations designed to actively resist diversity, affirmative action, and multiculturalism. Given that person's attitudes are not impenetrable, resistance becomes porous, and the person begins to entertain concepts of race, oppression, and privilege. This can trigger an *Über* consciousness and *Über* sense of urgency about the need for change right now. Dualistic thinking prevails, where everything becomes racial, political, and confrontational, tell-tale signs of the transition from not being aware of or thinking about privilege to being in the middle of new and emergent awareness. As is true of the other racial identity models, advanced awareness and change in White attitudes is attended by a shift from dualistic thinking to multilayered concepts; a shift from shame, guilt, and anger to a calm appreciation of the work to be accomplished over the long haul; and a sense of being at ease and comfortable with difference and diversity.

Future of Racial Identity Models

Although current social identity discourse reflects an intersectional approach, it may be premature to consider the models passé. For all the progress in race relations at the middle- and upper-income levels, working-class and poor communities of color continue to be residentially and socially isolated, and in some states, the backlash against multicultural education has grown, not diminished (e.g., the recent Arizona law banning ethnic studies). Consequently, deracination, miseducation, false consciousness, and racial self-hatred, the antecedents to the models, will continue to evoke critical consciousness and racial-cultural epiphanies within segregated communities.

William E. Cross Jr.

See also Biracial Identity; Critical Race Theory; Culture-Specific Identity Development Models; Ethnic Cultural Identity Model; Identity; Race and Human Biological Variation

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Racism, Institutional

After a review of the concept *race*, this entry first defines institutional racism, followed by selected examples of institutional racism as it has occurred around the world, supplemented by commentary on why it is highly resistant to efforts intended to reduce or eliminate it. The entry concludes by describing the key elements required to bring an end to institutional racism.

Race

While the terms *racism* and *racial* are used in this entry, they are used as common terms consistent with public discourse about these topics. Race as a biological variable does not exist. It is primarily a social concept that is very difficult to define. Racial designations cannot be consistently determined using names, appearance, national origin, or nonverbal cues.

Definitions

When a practice or policy results in discrimination against specific racial groups, it is called *institutional racism*. *Discrimination* refers to unequal or unfair treatment. It is conscious discrimination when biased individuals create policies and practices intended to achieve racist outcomes. It can also be independent of whether or not the person administering the practice or policy has any racial bias. An individual can be relatively free of bias, have no intent to harm, and even be supportive of the access and success of everyone while taking racially biased action directed by the institution. Institutional racism can also be the by-product of policies and practices with other intentions or nonracist purposes.

Examples of Institutional Racism

National

When countries decide that individuals belonging to specific racial groups may not become citizens if they were born elsewhere, the benefits of citizenship are denied to those individuals. This can block the ability of persons who want to work and contribute to the economy from doing so. When employers require things that cannot be obtained without citizenship, the institutional effects are compounded. For example, in many countries, only citizens can get a license to drive, open a bank account, obtain healthcare, buy insurance, get married, collect unemployment insurance, or purchase a home.

The most visible example of legal institutional racism that has occurred around the world is slavery based on a racial classification. The residual impacts of this particular form of racism continued for centuries and are visible today.

Racially Homogeneous Neighborhoods

On a more subtle but still quite devastating level, if a person lives in a neighborhood with a significant population of racial (or ethnic or sexual) minority members, fire and police department responses to that neighborhood may be delayed compared with other neighborhoods populated by national majority group members.

Another form of institutional racism occurs when racial groups cluster in areas where the quality of education is poor, toxic environmental agents are more abundant, fresh fruits and vegetables are less available and more expensive, and the quality of healthcare is relatively poor. All of these realities can produce less healthy outcomes for the residents.

Military

When certain groups are not allowed to serve in all units of a nation's military, they are later blocked from receiving the benefits of service in those units. For example, historically, Filipino, Japanese, German, and African American citizens were either prohibited from serving in the U.S. military or only allowed to serve in specific capacities. After being released from service, they were denied the same benefits as those allowed to serve in all military units. A related situation existed when a person was only able to join a naval military service if the individual could swim. Communities without places to learn to swim found their opportunities limited, as occurred in some racially homogeneous poor neighborhoods.

Education

It is well established that harsher discipline patterns exist for students of color compared with their White counterparts in every region of the United States. Given what is now known about effective discipline, the unduly harsh and inappropriate disciplinary practices more prevalent in racial minority communities are potentially precursors of increased difficulty dealing with authority.

Yet another institutionalized reality with racist consequences is segregation (racial separation). Even after laws have been passed against segregation, it may persist. Where there is segregation, the financial investment per student tends to be significantly less in school districts populated predominately by students of color.

In both segregated and integrated schools, the process of assigning students to *special* (formerly known as *remedial*) education versus *gifted* classes resulted in a disproportionate number of students of color being labeled *retarded*. This contributes to an enduring advantage for White students and a lasting institutionalized disadvantage for students of color. Adding to institutionalized racism in education are the biases often documented in standardized tests.

Until recently, few professionals or students of color were involved in their creation, psychometric evaluation, and validation. The result has been biased assessments for students of color.

Home Ownership

Historically, members of identified racial groups were not allowed to live in certain neighborhoods. When laws in many parts of the world changed to permit unrestricted ownership, some integration occurred. A climate ranging from being verbally unwelcoming to physically threatening (e.g., burning crosses in yards, putting excrement in mail boxes, painting racist symbols on houses) continued to exist. When this behavior was legally prosecuted and reduced, another barrier remained. It was called *redlining* and meant that people of color could not get loans for houses in predominantly White neighborhoods. The same type of loan was available, however, for homes in neighborhoods populated mostly by people of color. When redlining was made illegal and prosecuted, other informal practices continued to make it more difficult for people of color to buy homes in predominantly White neighborhoods. Also, once houses were purchased in many neighborhoods of color, the costs of ownership were made higher. One major example of that cost is the fact that the assessed value of houses in many neighborhoods of color represents a much larger percentage of the market value than is the case in predominantly White neighborhoods. The cost of goods and services is often higher in neighborhoods of color. This reality negatively affects those families for generations. The history of barriers and added costs of homeownership created a pattern of institutionalized inequity and inequality that continues in the 21st century in the United States.

Politics

Institutionally racist phrases, practices, and policies are sometimes intentionally used to discriminate without naming a group. Rather than say *increase police enforcement in specific communities*, political candidates say they *support law and order.* Yet this is commonly understood to mean aggressive policing against African Americans and in their communities. The same parallel applies for African American mothers. The code phrase is *welfare mothers*, creating the erroneous perceptions that most mothers who receive government assistance are Black and most welfare recipients are Black. Both statements are false.

Policies and practices that restrict voting among specific racial groups have been so evident that national legislation in many countries has been required to address it. None of these practices designate people of color as targets. They simply have a disproportionately negative impact on them. Examples include locating voting places away from public transportation, requiring identification that must be purchased, and limiting voting hours and days. Voter suppression also remains an issue in the 21st century.

Criminal Justice

Although the same laws apply theoretically to everyone, how they are applied results in differential incarceration rates across racial groups. Many judicial processes exude institutional racism against people of color. One explicit example is that Whites are far less likely to be convicted of crimes against people of color than the opposite. Recent statistics show higher frequencies of traffic stops, on-the-street stopping and frisking, prosecution for nonviolent crimes, incarceration, and longer sentences. Even when the statistics are adjusted for education and income, disparate treatment is evident. While less than one third of the American population is made up of African Americans and Latinos, more than two thirds of the prison population is composed of those two groups. The differences above are too large to be accounted for by inherent criminality.

Getting Job Interviews

When a person submits a resume and applies for a job, most organizations require that applicant include his or her name on the documentation. This does not sound like a biased institutional practice. However, individuals with names that are different from traditional European ones tend to be invited less frequently for interviews. Researchers have tested this conclusion using resumes that are identical except for the names.

Income

The best example related to income is the legally allowable minimum wage. In many places in America, racial minorities make up a disproportionate part of the workforce employed at the minimum wage. Setting and keeping a low minimum wage has an institutionally racist impact on those workers. Interpersonal racism can be used to foment resistance to raising the minimum wage—for example, suggesting that raising the minimum wage will help people of color. Therefore, many Whites oppose it even though they would themselves benefit from having a higher (living) minimum wage.

Health Disparities and Impacts

Especially in countries that do not have universal healthcare, racial and ethnic minority communities have well-documented health disparities. They include significant differences in the incidence of infant mortality, diabetes, hypertension, cardiovascular disease, and cancer. There is also evidence of racial bias among medical professionals and caregivers in the 21st century. This evidence has been extended to include well-educated racial minority patients with above-average incomes. The evidence reveals the use of different diagnostic processes and treatments.

Resistance to Eradicating Institutional Racism

This type of discrimination is challenging to eliminate. It is often difficult to see the impacts of policies or practices that make no mention of a particular group, and such practices can appear quite harmless. For example, disallowing head covering prevents any group that requires such covering for cultural or religious compliance from participation. Also, changing such policies often requires proof of negative impact. This can be difficult when impacts are unintentional, secondary, or indirect. In addition, the apparent absence of personal bias on the part of organizational leaders may make it seem irrational to accuse the institution of racism. Furthermore, institutions are often more powerful (politically, financially, and historically) than the individuals or communities experiencing discrimination. Finally, many balk at the short-term costs of eliminating institutional racism, even though many scholars and professionals show that the long-terms benefits far outweigh those costs.

History sets deep patterns in place that endure even when laws eventually change. For example, when the U.S. Congress passed the Naturalization Act of 1790, it stated that "free White persons and only free White persons can become citizens." When contemporary individuals and groups say that they want to take the United States back to earlier times, it must be clear what the earlier times entailed.

Requirements for Ending Institutional Racism

Those who have the power to create social change need to agree that institutional racism is morally wrong and very costly and that a commitment to ending it is necessary to create a better, more just, and more prosperous society. The foundation for such change lies in a clear understanding of how institutional racism harms individuals, groups, and the society as a whole. Based on this understanding, leaders must have the courage of their convictions while skillfully working toward the desired goal and be willing to endure the possible consequences of attempting to stop institutional racism, from verbal criticism to lethal threats. Among those who see racism as a way of life and the end of prejudice as a threat, the willingness to defend institutional racism with words and actions is strong.

Robert Hayles

See also Cultural Relativism; Diversity and Inclusion, Definitions of; Ingroup/Outgroup; Race and Human Biological Variation; Stereotypes and Generalizations

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Racism, Interpersonal

Although *race* is a common term used in the media and nonacademic arenas, it is very difficult to define. This entry provides a brief definition of race, followed by examples of how professionals in the antiracism, diversity, inclusion, and intercultural arenas address interpersonal racism. Some examples of racism follow, including descriptions of its beginnings as well as what sustains it. In addition to covering its continuation, a thought about why the pain of racism is often unavoidable and inescapable is provided. The final section addresses some of what is known about effectively reducing racism.

Defining Race

Race as a biological or genetic variable does not exist. Only a small minority of physical scientists even entertain race as a scientific variable. Using biological or genetic markers will not distinguish individuals sufficiently to specify race. While individuals can be distinguished using genetic coding, starting or ending with race in such coding is not possible. Overall, we are far more alike genetically than we are different. The differences we see are determined by less than 1% of our genes. Since most anthropologists and biological scientists believe that all human beings are descendants of early humans in what today is called Africa, we all share a common genetic base. Researchers use DNA to determine geographic ancestral origins but not race. Those who harbor racially biased thoughts and wish to convert those thoughts into action against members of particular racial groups face a logical difficulty in defining their targets. As the population continues to get more diverse through "interracial" relationships, defining individuals as members of one or even two races is moving from difficult to impossible. On this basis, racial hatred is untenable and left to the uneducated or ill intended.

The only scientists who tend to use "race" as a variable are social scientists. Race does exist as a *social* variable defined as a collection of characteristics that are more prevalent in one group than in another. Racial descriptions are based on a shared identity, cultural similarity, shared values and customs, a common language, and common experiences. A specific national context is also sometimes specified. One cannot reliably determine the race by looking at a person.

For example, in the United States, the so-called Brown race is considered to be composed of Hispanics and Latinos/Latinas. One can observe that its supposed members have a skin color that varies from very light to very dark and hair texture varying from very curly to completely straight. They speak several different languages (e.g., English, Spanish, and Portuguese, etc.) and originate from many parts of the world (e.g., South America, Central America, Mexico, and the Philippines). They may resemble White European Americans, African Americans, East Indians, Native Americans, or Southeast Asians. Nonetheless, some authors describe them all as the "Brown" race. A parallel situation exists for African Americans originating from and resembling other people around the world. They are often described as the "Black" race. It is common to label a person with very light skin and perhaps only one dark-skinned parent "Black" on the grounds that he or she speaks, acts, dresses, and moves like a Black person. The same is true for the "Yellow" and "Red" races. Even if members of those groups look, act, talk, and move like a "White" person, they will still not be seen as members of the "White" race because they have been labeled otherwise. The "White" race in the American context also has many national origins and shows much internal diversity. Light skin; shared geographical origins; mostly European-derived cultural habits; individualistic values, favoring competition; speaking English with an American, European, or Canadian accent and the like might get one labeled as member of the "White" race. While racism is a social reality, it does not rest on a scientific foundation.

Interpersonal Racism

Interpersonal racism occurs when prejudice, power, and privilege combine and enable one to discriminate based on an individual's perceived race. This behavior ranges from what are called micro-aggressions to extremely hostile and even lethal actions. Micro-aggressions include minor slights, mild insults, ignoring the person, providing substandard service, incidental negative differential treatment, overlooking a person's place in line, exclusion from meetings, and the like. Some micro-aggressions are intended but are thought to be too minor to cause complaint. Any complaint is responded to by accusations of oversensitivity. Some are unintentional, random, or a reflection of insensitivity, ignorance, or biases of which the person committing the offenses is unaware. If the reader has any doubt about the existence of micro-aggressions, a brief Web literature search documents the higher-than-average volume of micro-aggressions experienced by people who are seen as racially different.

Examples of documented incidents of racism that are more severe than micro-aggressions but fall short of violence include the following:

1. Adults who applied for jobs using resumes with names found more frequently in the Latino/Latina, African American, or Native American populations received significantly fewer invitations for interviews than applicants who submitted identical applications but with typical European American names.
2. Applicants for housing who appear to be people of color (typically African, Asian, Latin, or Native American; Pacific Islanders; Middle Easterners) have been turned away from available housing more frequently than individuals who appear to be European American.
3. People looking like African Americans who walked into a car dealership and asked the sales price for a vehicle were quoted a price higher than the price quoted for the same vehicle to those who appeared to be European Americans.

Hate crimes including life-threatening and lethal actions targeted at racially different individuals have been documented around the world. In some countries, law enforcement agencies even catalog such hate crimes and allow limited public access to the data. The Southern Poverty Law Center, a not-for-profit nongovernmental agency, publishes explicit listings and descriptions of racial hate crimes categorized by geographical location. The World Court tries criminals accused of harming others because of their race. The journalist Bill Moyers produced a film titled "Beyond Hate," which showing the occurrence of this phenomenon around the world.

The Beginning of Interpersonal Racism

Scholars have debated for some time about when interpersonal racism began. It is as old as the making of distinctions based on color and other physical characteristics. Perceptions and projections of racial inferiority have been used for centuries to justify the conquest, enslavement, and harsh rule of others. Examples appear in the histories of every continent. Projections of racial inferiority and brutal enslavement continue today. In many nations, individuals who belong to specific racial groups are not allowed to be citizens, vote, drive a vehicle, serve in the military, or have the same legal rights as those who do not belong to that group.

Sustaining Interpersonal Racism

Many forces continue to sustain interpersonal racism well into the 21st century. Unintentional factors such as ignorance interfere with its elimination. Willful promotion of racist attitudes makes this even more difficult, as when demagogues use race to stir up fear and anxiety among the public by blaming specific racial groups for social problems like crime, drug use, terrorism, a failing economy, unemployment, teenage pregnancy, and the alleged moral and cultural decline of the society. Print, electronic, and online media also present negative stereotyped images of particular racial groups. There even remain a few academics with advanced degrees who publish material supporting the view that certain racial groups are genetically and intellectually inferior.

Some observers, pointing to the election in the United States of a mixed-race president who looks like many African Americans, have claimed that we are now living in a postracial era. Others view the notion that this portends the end of racism to be as preposterous as the idea that the election of some women leaders around the world indicates the end of sexism.

The Untreatable Pain of Interpersonal Racism

One reason why interpersonal racism is so ugly is that an individual who is subjected to racism might try to behave exactly like members of the oppressing group in an attempt to avoid racist treatment, be tolerated, or possibly gain acceptance. This rarely works and often leaves the person frustrated, angry, or depressed. Therefore, racism is seen as unavoidable and inescapable and is labeled as "untreatable" in locations where some groups have a monopoly on power and privilege. Adding to the psychological pain, many studies show that victims of racism experience negative mental and physical health consequences, including depression, high blood pressure, and coronary and gastrointestinal diseases. Some studies also indicate that there are negative health consequences in persons who harbor hatred.

Specific Approaches for Reducing Interpersonal Racism

Fortunately, there are effective ways to reduce the occurrence and impact of interpersonal racism. While some require legal redress, others rely on education and modeling behavior.

Laws, Policies, Regulations, Rules, and Guidelines

For individuals who intentionally exhibit interpersonal racism, this category of action is most appropriate. Disallowing such behavior and establishing consequences when it occurs is effective. Rewarding positive behavior toward other racial groups is rare but also beneficial.

Building on the Golden Rule

This approach is for those who are not intentionally biased and who advocate treating others as they would like to be treated themselves. Commonly known as "The Golden Rule," it can be built on by first revealing similarities and then gradually introducing differences. A shift can then be facilitated from treating others as *you* want to be treated to treating others as you would want to be treated if you were them. This differs from the so-called Platinum Rule, which states that you should treat others as they want to be treated. It is more of a Buddhist approach to gently reduce negative behavior with a subtle shift in language.

Development and Education

The approaches noted below are frequently used in educational and training initiatives to address interpersonal racism and are described in greater detail in Bernardo M. Ferdman and Barbara R. Deane's edited volume *Diversity at Work: The Practice of Inclusion* (2013). For those interested in providing learning opportunities designed to promote awareness about and improved skills in relating to racially different others, the following practices are grounded in theory and research:

- The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity can be used to design, develop, implement, and measure programs based on developmental readiness.
- The proven conditions for interracial contact can be cultivated to reduce prejudice more effectively, such as equal status, cooperation, common goals, and support from authority.
- The development of curiosity encourages individuals to seek cognitively complex information about others. Such information must go beyond surface characteristics and notions of race to include factors such as education, experience, and knowledge.
- Therapeutic processes stimulate intercultural competence regarding interactions with individuals who are racially different.
- Meditation and mindfulness exercises can promote insight into biases and reduce unwanted prejudicial thoughts.

Robert Hayles

See also Culture-Specific Identity Development Models; Intercultural Conflict Styles; Intercultural Sensitivity; Lay Theory of Race; Mindfulness; Race and Human Biological Variation

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REENTRY

The basic definition of *reentry* is the process or act of returning to one's native (passport) country after living, studying, or working internationally. *Reverse culture shock* is a related concept used to describe the responses, which are frequently negative, that tend to arise during the initial period of adjustment to being back home after a significant international or intercultural experience. This entry will examine the now well-recognized experience of reentry through the lens of reentry theory. In contrasting and comparing culture shock with reverse culture shock, the history of the concept is discussed, along with reentry shock triggers and effective responses.

Although it is clear that human beings have been leaving and subsequently returning home for many millennia, few researchers paid much attention to the process until a few decades ago. Tangential evidence of homecoming issues can be found in ancient Hindu Sanskrit texts and Japanese Shinto rituals, both aimed at purifying the returnee, who may have been spiritually and/or culturally "polluted" by the foreign experience. There is a substantial body of accounts by secular travelers (e.g., Marco Polo, Ibn Battuta, Zheng He, Hsuan Tsang, Christopher Columbus) as well as numerous ancient and modern literary works (e.g., Homer's *Odyssey*, Thomas Wolfe's *You Can't Go Home Again*). Even religious parables (e.g., the parable of the prodigal son from the New Testament of the Bible) attest to how common the experience of culture shock, and reverse culture shock, has been throughout human history. However, little theory or systematic research related to the concept appeared before the mid-20th century.

Reentry as an event is usually seen as the last phase in a larger sequence of adjustments that a sojourner commonly experiences as part of an international journey. This entire process often begins with some kind of preparation for the trip, continues through the actual experiential immersion, and concludes with arriving back home. This is often portrayed as a cycle of adjustment that has a linear trajectory and relatively well-defined stages. Individuals are said to pass through these stages as they encounter significant cultural differences, both during their initial entry into a new culture as well as during their subsequent return.

Serious research into these specific, defined stages has been under way for a relatively limited period. However, a substantial literature has emerged that offers powerful and useful concepts travelers should be aware of, particularly those contemplating encountering unfamiliar cultural settings. Some of these ideas, like "culture" and "culture shock," are borrowed and adapted from fundamental core concepts originating within the fields of anthropology, psychology, and intercultural communication.

Reverse culture shock is a more recently elaborated concept meant to invoke the idea that culture shock can be experienced not only in foreign contexts but also in familiar, domestic settings. This idea has become almost universally referenced in orientation and reentry training in study-abroad programs and is often referred to in corporate settings. It is an important part of the growing discussion related to what constitutes cultural competency. Increasingly, cultural competence is being measured and linked not only to how well an individual adapts overseas but also to how well the person manages his or her reintegration back home.

A smooth return home can help support an individual's intercultural competence and professional career by enhancing his or her ability to apply past lessons and skills gained abroad to the new circumstances at home. Conversely, an unsuccessful or stressful reentry can be destructive and unsettling, personally and professionally. Reentry has proven to be, at the very least, a problematic time for the majority of returnees. It is also significant that a retrospective evaluation of how successful an overseas experience was at least partially depends on how well or badly the homecoming proceeds.

Essentially a postwar phenomenon, the growth of interest in reentry as a specific and peculiar kind of social and psychological response paralleled much larger demographic and economic shifts. These trends were intensified by the growth of swift and less expensive jet transportation, the globalization and increasing interdependence of the world economy and markets, and a massive transnational circulation of peoples worldwide. Since the beginning of the 21st century, there has been a simultaneous exponential growth in international educational exchange programs and study-abroad destinations. Reentry training has grown in tandem as academic units and program providers have increasingly realized the value, even necessity, of offering returnees support during their return home.

The simplicity of the term *reentry* masks the potential complexity, emotional impact, and importance that may underlie the actual event. Moreover, the topic of assisting individuals to readjust to their passport or home country following a significant sojourn overseas is a relatively recent subject for intercultural research. This is in spite of the fact that the process plays a direct and crucial role in the degree to which returnees can successfully reintegrate into their former communities.

Reentry Theory

Reentry theory was initially derived from extending the concept of culture shock to include adjustment issues that arise during the return and by characterizing certain responses and attitudes as *reverse culture shock*. Although they are related adjustment phenomena, they differ in significant ways, including the timing, onset, and duration of the shocks; the associated emotional intensity; the specific causes (triggers); and the kinds of interventions and strategies needed to deal effectively with the different processes.

In part, if we view culture shock as a normal and reasonable response to confronting new and challenging cultural differences, going home seems like it should be the exact opposite. Logically, it should be easy. So when problems arise, as they commonly do, they are likely to be both unanticipated and perplexing, especially if the local community seems uninterested or unreceptive to the returnee.

Common Triggers of Reverse Culture Shock

Long lists of common triggers that intensify reverse culture shock have been identified. A few examples are as follows:

1. Idealized or unrealistic expectations about what home will be like.
2. Growing frustration because few people want to hear about the returnee's past experiences, at least to the extent the returnee would prefer, and even when they are willing to listen, it can be very difficult to convey what the returnee experienced.
3. Major changes in both the returnee's professional status and home lifestyle may be involved.
4. Some degree of "reverse homesickness" is felt and a sense of loss related to leaving former friends and important places behind.
5. Surprise and dismay at the degree to which relationships at home may have changed and difficulty in reconnecting, especially if the returnee is expected to have remained essentially the same.
6. The returnee frequently views his or her nation and culture from a more critical, comparative perspective and discovers that few at home are receptive to such opinions.

Reentry responses such as these can have significant and surprising impacts, psychological and social. Counterintuitively, the experience of reverse culture shock can, for some returnees, become equally (or more) challenging compared with the difficulties they faced on first encountering a foreign cultural environment. This is why understanding the symptoms and dealing with how to mitigate the most negative consequences can be of vital importance not only to individuals and families but also to institutions and even nations.

Culture Shock Theory and Its Incorporation of Reverse Culture Shock

Considering how widespread and prominent the twin concepts of culture shock and reverse culture shock have become in today's literature on intercultural adjustment and cultural competency, it is easy to forget that the basic concepts emerged only gradually over a 60-year period. The substantial resources currently devoted to intercultural training might obscure the fact that until the mid-1980s, such training was somewhat sporadic and often theoretically unsophisticated, lacked conceptual depth, and had yet to develop a substantial array of effective simulations, exercises, instruments, and media to support it.

Additionally, there existed an initial degree of resistance to training among some academic and corporate circles who suggested that training, especially for reentry, had limited value and utility. Currently, there is little opposition to funding and providing cultural adjustment assistance to people embarking on extended foreign sojourns, but some residual reluctance remains regarding repatriation and related postexperience services.

Theoretical Origins

The intellectual core of the field of anthropology is the study of human culture, and the discipline's basic research methodology was, and remains, intensive fieldwork based on direct participant observation. Therefore, anthropologists naturally became pioneer theorists and researchers on matters surrounding the intercultural adjustments involved when human beings seek to cross cultural boundaries.

Who should receive credit for the first technical use of the term *culture shock* is somewhat unclear, although the phrase seems to have been in sporadic, limited use as early as the 1930s. In the 1950s, anthropologists began to employ, redefine, and apply it more widely.

One of the first public mentions of the term *culture shock* was in 1951, when the Harvard anthropologist and Southeast Asian specialist Cora DuBois referenced the term during a panel discussion at a Chicago meeting of the Institute of International Education. She was attempting to describe and characterize the disorienting reactions that anthropologists frequently experienced as part of their immersive fieldwork experiences. There is some evidence that DuBois's views were influenced by both Ruth Benedict and Franz Boas, who were then teaching at Columbia.

In 1954, Kalvero Oberg, a Canadian-born anthropologist, outlined his ideas on culture shock at a meeting of The Women's Club of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. This greatly broadened the scope of the term and showed why it might apply to anyone encountering new cultures. More important, he characterized it as a four-phase, sequenced model of distinctive stages (honeymoon to crisis/culture shock to recovery to adjustment). This model eventually became widely accepted. Oberg also considered that culture shock was an occupational disease that all international travelers faced, complete with sets of common symptoms (e.g., feelings of helplessness, homesickness, irritability, etc.). Oberg's model eventually became incorporated into orientation training intended for a wide range of purposes from study abroad to business seminars.

The following year, 1955, Sverre Lysgaard proposed an even more elaborate model of the stages of adjustment, based on his research on Norwegian Fulbright grantees visiting the United States. He postulated a "U-curve" model of initial adjustment to crisis (culture shock) to regained adjustment. Lysgaard's U-shaped graphic of his model quickly became iconic and remains among the most cited representations in the intercultural field.

John T. Gullahorn and Jeanne E. Gullahorn, in 1963, linked earlier versions of the U-shaped curve of adjustment, which described only the initial entry phase, with a second U-shaped curve added for reentry. This extended the earlier models through the postsojourn period. The resulting combined W-shaped model was intended to conceptually unify the overall process and to illustrate how culture shock and reverse culture shock were intimately interrelated, often sharing similar symptoms and provoking similar reactions.

Many variations followed, as did critical analyses of both initial and returnee shock. Research on reentry in many different contexts was summarized in 2001 by Colleen Ward, Stephen Bochner, and Adrian Furnham. In 2006, Kate Berardo's research on the curve models concluded that, in spite of their popularity, acceptance, and widespread use, these models are neither accurately descriptive nor particularly predictive.

Apart from the continuing debates on curve models, reentry as a subfield of intercultural communication has achieved significant acceptance among trainers and theorists. Several decades of outcomes research and assessment have shown that by properly preparing people for a return, and taking the process of reentry seriously, the chances of having a successful and satisfying reentry are greatly increased. Many trainers and educators believe that knowledge about the reentry process as well as timely support for returnees are preconditions to maximize the benefits of an international sojourn and ensure a positive reintegration.

Varieties of Returnees

The list of the general categories of contemporary returnees is long and varied. Theoretically, it could include essentially anyone who has been abroad in an unfamiliar setting and is now planning on returning home. The largest cohorts who currently receive regular reentry/readjustment training are students participating in international education exchange programs and/or study-abroad programs. Smaller in number, but still significant, are corporate executives and their families and workers in international aid, development, and relief organizations, among many others.

Another very large, internally diverse, and largely unrecognized category of returnees is sometimes referred to collectively as *global nomads* (GNs) and *third-culture kids* (TCKs). TCKs are children who accompany their parents overseas, generally because of their occupation. Subsets within TCK/GNs include armed forces dependents (*military brats*), offspring of missionary parents (*missionary kids*, or MKs), children of foreign service staff (*diplomatic kids*), and accompanying family members of corporate executives (*biz kids*).

The term *third-culture kid* came into use in the 1960s through the work of Ruth Useem. *Global nomad* was coined in the 1980s by Norma McCaig, at the same time when David Pollack was codifying his TCK profile, outlining the unique cultural, social, and psychological characteristics of children raised abroad. The importance of this group as a category of returnees should not be underestimated, not only because they are numerous but also because, as a group, they frequently find reentry far more difficult than their parents or caretakers.

When TCKs return "home," it may not seem that way to them. They often feel like hidden immigrants, who may look and speak like their contemporaries but share very few interests, values, and frames of reference with them. For all these reasons, millions of TCK/GNs who return home worldwide every year frequently find the reentry adjustment a considerably more daunting challenge than either their initial move abroad or living in a foreign setting.

Currently, study-abroad participants probably constitute the largest percentage of returnees who regularly benefit from reentry training. However, in absolute numbers, GNs may be the largest single category of people who might potentially benefit from reentry training or counseling. Moreover, reentry as a process can be expanded beyond traditional populations to include temporary refugees/displaced peoples who attempt to return and resume their prior lives.

The definition of returnees can even be broadened to include military personnel returning home from combat operations, with the additional complications of both physical injuries and psychological damage. Posttraumatic stress disorder is, objectively speaking, a product of extreme immersion and exposure to cultural difference under the most intense conditions imaginable. Readjustment from combat to civilian life has always been challenging, and until recently, societies have largely chosen to ignore or downplay the consequences of war on the reentry of veterans. From World War II through Korea, Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan, literally millions of U.S. soldiers who served worldwide have struggled to resume a semblance of their prior lives on returning home. Globally, tens of millions of men and women have served in their nation's conflicts and returned home to find positive readjustment elusive. Given the realities of war, it is not surprising that not only does a return to civilian life often prove difficult for soldiers, but it may also require significant amounts of time and appropriate interventions to successfully reintegrate.

Conclusion

Reentry studies, related theories, and tools for transition training have contributed significantly toward helping counteract the more pernicious effects of reverse culture shock. Those responsible for preparing people for cross-cultural encounters and their return home continue the search for more effective methods to accomplish this task. This will necessarily involve devising more effective ways to educate and deliver information on reentry to both individuals and groups. This information may help to more accurately align returnees' expectations, as well as the expectations of those who receive them.

Conflicts can be lessened and reverse culture shock alleviated, but it is unlikely that this will happen automatically. Returnees need some awareness and knowledge of what they might face and what the process entails. Both returnees and those at home also need to understand that the returnee may have changed in some fundamental ways—some obvious, some invisible. As always, empathy, open communication, and allowing individuals the time and space they require will contribute positively to the adjustment process. Thoughtful interventions can also be extremely effective, particularly when those involved have their own personal reentry experiences and can offer practical and authoritative advice. Professional and personal peers have automatic credibility and often prove to be the most effective channels to convey the necessary perspectives and advice to returnees.

Reentry has progressed from a phenomenon that was largely unacknowledged by most societies to a recognized and critically important stage of intercultural adjustment and an integral component of achieving intercultural competency. At the same time, reentry has also proved to be a profoundly variable and very complex process, becoming ever more so as the kinds of people experiencing reentry proliferate and the contexts they are attempting to reintegrate back into are becoming similarly complicated.

From the perspective of intercultural competency, it has become as important for an individual to negotiate a successful return home as it used to be to adjust appropriately to living overseas. Just as going abroad and adjusting well can result in an individual recognizing that what was once "strange" can become "familiar," reentry can result in the opposite revelation, that what was once "familiar" can become "strange."

Educators and trainers should continue to devise additional ways to provide information on reentry to the institutions, schools, businesses, and communities that will be receiving the returnees back. In this way, both the returnees and those in their home communities might gain more realistic perspectives of each other and be better able to mutually anticipate and adjust their interactions to everyone's benefit.

Bruce LaBrack

See also Assimilation, Culture Shock, Third-Culture Kids/Global Nomads

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Religious Contexts

In its broadest form, religion is a part of every culture and is present in every society worldwide, whether practiced currently or as a part of history and tradition. The majority of the population worldwide adheres to a religion; many who do not identify with a particular religion hold spiritual beliefs. Intercultural competence in religious contexts includes appreciation and mutuality among different religious traditions, recognizes the diversity in religious traditions, and supports culturally appropriate work by religious communities in society. This entry defines terms, discusses intercultural competence as developmental, and provides examples of the application of intercultural competence in religious contexts.

Religion

Religion, the system of beliefs that deal with the supernatural, deeply influences public life worldwide. Belief is a powerful force in determining how individuals identify with one another and the world. The vast majority of the population worldwide—eight out of every 10 persons—claims affiliation with a religious group, according to The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life study *The Global Religious Landscape*. The study found that nearly three quarters of people who identify with a religion live in countries where their religious tradition (Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Islam, Judaic, etc.) is in the majority.

The sheer number of religious adherents and the variety of religious expressions worldwide make the pursuit of intercultural competence in religious contexts vitally important. In addition, the degree of religious influence worldwide and the emergence of religious pluralism intensify the need for a more complete understanding of religious culture and beliefs.

Intercultural competence in religious contexts is important at the macrolevel, as in peace negotiations between nations, and at the microlevel, as within local religious communities in multicultural settings. Intercultural competence is a leadership skill pertinent to religious communities today.

Religious Culture

Anthropologists commonly define culture as the learned and shared beliefs, values, and patterns of behavior of a group of interacting people. Every group has culture. Culture is taught consciously, as when parents instruct their children in proper etiquette and speech, and absorbed unconsciously, through modeling, images, or stories.

The aspects of culture that are recognized through the five senses (seeing, hearing, taste, touch, and smell) are often called *objective* culture or the *objects of* culture. In a religious community, priestly garments, prayer objects, incense, temples, mosques or meeting places, and sacred texts and symbols constitute objective religious culture. These aspects of religious life can be appreciated by those outside the religious community for their beauty, functionality, or poetry, separate from the meanings they connote.

Within a religious community, these objects may be viewed as sacred, with specific rules governing how the objects are to be handled, used, stored, and passed from generation to generation. Disrespect of these objects, as defined within the religious tradition, may result in volatile, or even violent, responses. The values associated with these objects are a part of *subjective* culture.

Subjective culture is where meaning is formed and found. Subjective aspects of culture are complex and nuanced with history and tradition; they are often taken for granted within a cultural group and veiled from those outside the cultural group. Subjective aspects of culture are where human beings find companionship and experience conflict.

The subjective aspects of religious cultures vary widely, even within the same religious tradition. Issues within the subjective cultures of religious communities are constructs such as gender, clergy, and laity roles; leadership and authority; the nature of piety and the divine; decision making; and moral and ethical perspectives.

Religious communities operate on a continuum from orthodox to progressive, determining how literally or liberally the sacred texts, rituals, and rules are applied. These differences result in divides as deep within religions as between. Diversity among and within religions is great.

Intercultural Competence

Experts in the field define intercultural competence as the ability to relate effectively and appropriately in a variety of cultural contexts. The ability to recognize subtle cultural differences, predict misunderstandings among cultures, and work productively in order to meet mutual goals in a multicultural context is a characteristic of intercultural competence.

Intercultural competence is widely accepted as developmental. The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity, developed by Milton Bennett, describes a six-stage framework for advancing in intercultural skills, beginning with denial of cultural differences and progressing to integration of cultural differences. Each stage includes a developmental task designed to move an individual or organization into increasingly complex understanding of other cultures.

Cultural self-awareness is the gateway to nuanced understanding of other cultures. Being conscious of why one thinks and acts in certain ways allows for respectful comparison with others, leading to a more complex understanding of different cultural perspectives and behaviors and an increased ability to relate appropriately and solve problems mutually.

Intercultural competence does not require that one relinquish deeply held beliefs, values, or behaviors, an important aspect of intercultural competence in religious contexts. Intercultural competence can be measured. Various assessments provide information from which a developmental plan can be created and evaluated over time. Some religious schools require use of intercultural assessments and intercultural development plans as preparation for future religious leaders to operate effectively in a diverse world. Some religious bodies require that their leadership fulfill continuing education requirements related to intercultural competence.

Practical Applications in Religious Contexts: Three Examples

Interfaith Dialogue

Interfaith dialogue refers to relationship building among different religious traditions. Dialogue may be for purposes of promoting religious tolerance and understanding or for identifying common work in the world. Experience and the literature suggest that interfaith relationships progress beyond platitudes when participants share their differences in an environment that is mutually attentive and intentionally neutral. Intercultural competence theory and practice can assist this dialogical process in a number of practical ways.

Assessment of the group is critical to the design of productive gatherings. The openness of the group to dialogue and its interest in cooperation, as well as the experiences of participants with other religions and cultures, may provide clues in determining an appropriate design and level of challenge for the group.

Selection and organization of the meeting space, the neutrality of the language used in inviting and welcoming, choices of food, and the level of authority of participants are among the important considerations in creating environments for productive dialogues. Establishing norms for respectful interaction and devising processes that neutralize gender differences, power and authority, and differences in communication styles are within the purview of intercultural competence.

A report of the United States Institute of Peace on evaluating interfaith dialogue details some of these considerations and features stories of large and small behavioral shifts that resulted from formal dialogue and the informal relationships that ensued.

Decision Making

The administration of religious institutions provides opportunities for intercultural work. Every organized religious community, whether local, regional, or global in nature, makes decisions to structure the group and determine its work in the world. Decision-making processes at all levels of religious life can be analyzed to determine whether the processes are inclusive or favor certain cultures, language groups, ethnicities, or generations over others.

In many worldwide religions, a representative process is used to determine positions on social issues or rules to govern religious life. For example, some institutions use parliamentary processes to legislate their decisions. The process tends to favor cultures that communicate in a more direct and linear fashion and value public debate. The use of any one process is not problematic if the subjective cultures of the participants align with the process.

An interculturally competent religious institution examines its processes to determine and rectify inequities and to form appropriate interventions that are adaptive to the cultures represented, while meeting the needs of the institution. Interventions may include a range of responses, from intentional opportunities for practice by those less familiar with the decision-making processes to an evaluation of alternate systems more conducive to multiple cultural groups.

A generalized understanding of the institutional culture and general information on minority constituencies—including but not confined to generational differences, countries of origin, languages spoken and read, norms in speaking to authority, and conflict resolution styles—are among the considerations in designing interculturally competent decision-making processes.

An institution that is committed to intercultural competence articulates its commitment to diversity through both its principles and its practices.

Community Engagement

Most religious groups work in their communities to meet human needs. An understanding of the power dynamics associated with economic independence and dependence, stereotypes of groups within a society, and diversity of religious beliefs among those to be served are among the considerations necessary for designing services that honor and respect differences.

History is replete with examples of religious and cultural colonialism. While some may argue that these actions may have been well intentioned, nevertheless, the consensus is that the outcomes were destructive. For instance, many Christian communities in the United States have issued formal apologies to Native American communities for their roles in Indian boarding schools, where children were stripped of their languages, cultures, and spiritual practices.

Intercultural competence in community engagement suggests that religious communities examine their assumptions and perceptions about those to be served and the motivations driving the planned service. Seeking the assistance of cultural interpreters—persons from within the culture—in planning, implementing, and evaluating community projects may assist in the overall success of projects.

There are many cultural considerations that may assist religious communities in operating in an interculturally appropriate manner. For instance, groups can consider power dynamics; differences in communication styles, conflict styles, and thinking styles; language usage; the nature of respect; gender roles and rules; and concepts of ownership.

Appropriate Challenge

Leadership in religious communities can play an important role in ensuring that intercultural work is productive. Interventions that challenge a group beyond its capacity may have the reverse effect of solidifying positions rather than opening participants to new learning. For example, designing an intervention centered on racism for a religious community that is in a defensive posture about diversity might generate defensiveness. However, a similar intervention in a religious community that has developed personal relationships across racial lines has a greater likelihood of moving the group to a greater understanding of the systemic manifestations of racism. Careful analysis of the readiness of the group for the level of challenge is critical to the success of an intercultural intervention.

Kristina Gonzalez

See also Beliefs, Values, Norms, Customs (Definitions); Cultural Self-Awareness; Developmental Theory; Developmentally Appropriate Pedagogy; Intercultural Communication, Definition of

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Religious Diversity

See Spiritual and Religious Diversity

Resistance to Change

People are, in part, products of their culture, and most cultures are ethnocentric, believing that their own way is the true way of viewing reality. Therefore, it is natural to resist changes that seem to conflict with one's perspective of reality, especially when someone tries to impose such a change. Yet within large national cultures, such as China or Brazil, many ethnic cultural realities are at play, and cultural beliefs and habits will conflict at times.

For instance, traditionally in the United States, the cultures of most organizations were established by the Euro-American men who founded and led them. Participants from minority cultures were required to fit in as best they could. Increasingly, since the 1970s, U.S. organizations have become more diverse at all levels, with women and persons from various cultural backgrounds achieving positions of expertise and power. Clients and customers of organizations are also becoming more culturally diverse, as minority purchasing power increases and organizational commerce spreads around the globe. The U.S. Census Bureau has estimated that by 2050, people of color will represent 54% of the U.S. population.

As a result, intercultural competence is becoming increasingly important for personal and organizational success. Aligning the organization's culture with the multicultural world has become essential. Leaders all over the world must now ask, "Do our values and our organizational culture allow us to operate effectively in a diverse world? How must we change to empower all our relationships?" When employees resist these essential cultural changes, everyone is affected. Therefore, leaders must not only determine how to shift the organizational culture in order to support people from various cultural backgrounds, but they must also learn how to anticipate and respond to typical types of resistance to such change.

This entry describes the types of resistance to diversity or intercultural competence initiatives. It reviews implementation problems from the organizational and employee viewpoints and discusses strategies for overcoming resistance within organizations. Furthermore, this entry offers specific approaches that leaders can use to maintain momentum in their efforts to address resistance to organizational change. The entry intentionally uses a range of terms for developing initiatives that promote *diversity and inclusion* (a term often used in some Western countries) and *intercultural or global competence* (terms with a broader, global application). Other entries within this encyclopedia describe these different approaches.

Changing the Organizational Culture to Promote Inclusiveness

Exclusion, avoidance, and social distancing are ways in which individuals may exhibit resistance to cultural differences in an organization. The key to overcoming such resistance to change lies in shifting the organizational culture in ways that include and support people from all cultural backgrounds. The organizational culture is the heart and soul of the organization. The basic beliefs and values of the organizational culture determine all other aspects, such as policies, systems, procedures, programs, and practices. To some diverse employees, the culture may seem unfriendly and stressful, resulting in alienation. At higher levels of the organization, minorities, women, and employees from other diverse groups may be dramatically outnumbered by Euro-American men, who may not be entirely sure how to interact with them, sometimes making social events and sports camaraderie awkward or even exclusionary.

Throughout the change process, leaders must build consensus for change among all the employees. True leadership inspires positive change but does not force or coerce it. Coerced change usually leads to low morale, cynicism, and covert resistance.

Understanding Resistance to Diversity Initiatives

Success is more likely if leaders are aware of the sources and forms of resistance that are typical of leaders and employees, as well as typical problems in implementing an inclusive culture and diversity initiatives. Then they can adopt strategies to overcome such resistance. The most basic reason for resistance to change is that people fear losing control when changes are imposed on them rather than being self-initiated. Therefore, the more extensively leaders manage to include people in planning and implementing the cultural initiative, the more those people feel some measure of control and less resistance to change.

Frequent Types of Resistance From Leaders

The typical reasons organizational leaders give for not supporting cultural change are rooted in lack of information about cultural competence, short-range planning, or a lack of commitment, which result in the following types of rationales:

- A focus on diversity is divisive; we should focus on being one big happy family.
- We should hire the best person and not engage in reverse discrimination.
- We cannot find enough qualified people from other cultures.
- Enough progress has been made.
- They are temporary immigrant workers, and they will just go home.
- We have too many priorities that are more crucial than diversity.
- It costs too much.
- It is too much work to make the needed changes.
- Our organization is just too large to make these changes.
- We can now be gender-neutral and color-blind.

Experts in this field claim that when people cling to the idea that it is best to try to ignore cultural differences, their stereotypes of others actually remain hidden within. Therefore, the idea that people the world over should aspire to a *color-blind* society is an impediment to moving beyond stereotypes.

Frequent-Implementation Problems

Implementation problems are rooted in insufficient leadership that is unable to develop the vision of an empowered multicultural staff, to articulate a strategy for doing so, and to build and maintain systems and practices that support the vision and strategy. Typical problems include (a) a lack of strategic perspective and a focus on daily operational concerns; (b) a top-down, directive leadership style, which does not support two-way acculturation and adaptation or dialogue about what diverse employees need and want; (c) excessive concern with getting tasks done and insufficient concern for the people doing them; (d) a narrow view of diversity that focuses only on minorities and women rather than on all employees from all cultures, or only on increasing the numbers of minorities and women rather than on expanding the culture in ways that include and support everyone; and (e) a short-term results orientation (e.g., meeting the intercultural competence goals for the year).

Frequent Types of Resistance From Employees

Resistance from employees typically involves fear of losing the status quo, intergroup anxiety, and denial of the need for change. Leaders who understand resistances can devise plans for overcoming them. This knowledge can also help analyze when and why change efforts are not working as well as expected. The resistances list can become a checklist for figuring out why.

Typical reasons why employees resist diversity initiatives are wide-ranging, from the deeply psychological to mere inertia. At the most basic level, employees may (a) feel a threat to existing social relationships or to old routines, norms, and habits; (b) worry that existing power relationships will change, leading to uncertainty; (c) fear that their current reality will be threatened and that they will lose status or economic security; (d) fail to see a need for change or misunderstand why and how it will proceed; (e) dislike risk and be unwilling to experiment with the required changes; or (f) stereotype people in outgroups and feel prejudiced toward them.

Some forms of resistance are more idea based, and possibly more political; for example, employees may believe that people should adapt and just be one big happy family, or they may not understand culture or its potential as an effective tool for empowering employees. Also, employees may not see how the change can help them achieve their goals rather than being a distraction. Or they may not understand the rationale for cultural change or how it will affect the productivity and viability of their department and the organization. Additionally, employees may think that the style or content of the initiative may clash with the current way of doing things, may lack the knowledge and skills for forming intercultural relationships, or may simply have too many responsibilities already and believe that they do not have the time or the energy for another initiative.

Strategies for Overcoming Resistance

The first, most basic strategy for preventing and overcoming resistance to intercultural competence initiatives is to plan the process to be used for changing the culture and establishing policies and practices. Wise leaders include everyone in this process in ways that allow them to feel that they are retaining some control over the work environment and the changes to be made. They ask for input and feedback every step of the way. The goal is to promote a multicultural staff and inclusion of all diverse employees. This also serves to reduce anxiety, which robust research suggests is the single most powerful mediator of prejudice.

This strategy may include establishing core groups for the purpose of bringing about change. For example, groups explore differences and promote intercultural communication and team building. Then, leaders can encourage the formation of similar core groups through voluntary participation.

Follow-up strategies may include using techniques to bring favorable attention to such initiatives, focusing on why and how diverse employees at all levels can contribute to organizational success, and maintaining the momentum once the initiatives start working. These strategies would include ways to bring cultural differences to the forefront, such as the following:

- New statements from leaders about organizational values and beliefs in cultural competence
- Clearly stated organization legal requirements regarding diversity
- Highlighting the need to face a new world order that is multicultural
- Recognition of what it takes to be the employer of choice for various culture groups
- Use of global benchmarks (i.e., quality measurements) to prepare the vision and measure the accomplishment

Diversity as a Valuable Resource

Some resisters believe that a focus on cultural differences is harmful to the organization. An alternate perspective is that diversity is a valuable resource to be leveraged for the good of the organization and its workforce. The goal is to make sure that all qualified people are able to enter and work where their differences from others would be most useful to the organization.

Leaders can adopt a strategy for firmly establishing the intercultural competence initiative and showing their support at every opportunity. Some leaders accomplish this by initiating events and actions that keep cultural issues conspicuously on the agenda, whether in marketing, human resources, employee awards, or other aspects of the organization.

Linking Cultural Benefits to Resisters' Values

Linking the results of the initiatives to something that resisters value can often be effective; for example, one might ask how ideas about fairness, reverse discrimination, and job security affect their resistance or what value they place on organizational performance and the overall success of the organization. Another question for resisters might be to ask how important learning and job effectiveness are to them.

Competing values often show up as resistance to change. Leaders can introduce a broader story that incorporates competing values in ways that support a high-performing and inclusive organization. For example, resisters may agree to changes that increase learning and effectiveness on the job.

A *learning and effectiveness viewpoint* calls for emphasizing the ways in which group differences can contribute to mutual learning, growth, and job effectiveness, both for employees and for the organization as a whole. This viewpoint values the bottom line and business success.

Fairness: Diverse-Group Differences and Inclusion

Some resisters believe that any focus on diverse-group memberships is discriminatory and unfair. This viewpoint is often based on an individualistic view of fairness. These resisters believe that society must reduce odious comparisons of group differences. They may think that a focus on diverse-group memberships means an examination of group differences and therefore is unfair or inappropriate. Their resistance to diversity is an expression of their commitment to what is good, fair, equal, and just. Underlying this may be a competing commitment to security and the status quo.

An effective way to address this resistance is to expand the boundaries of the *fairness viewpoint* so that this and the *diverse-group viewpoint* are no longer seen as mutually exclusive. For example, the new *inclusion viewpoint* encompasses both. Leaders could focus on the aspects that members with this fairness viewpoint want to preserve, aspects that would also support inclusion. What do they want to preserve for themselves as individuals, for the group, and/or for the organization? How can they keep these aspects and still support inclusion of diverse employees?

Other Strategies for Overcoming Resistance

After the basics, and perhaps linkage to resisters' values, other strategies leaders can use to overcome resistance might include (a) establishing a broad umbrella for cultural competence that includes everyone within the organization, even advantaged groups, so that inclusion becomes everyone's business; (b) articulating a new vision of the culture that incorporates the new polices and initiatives within the existing culture; (c) making the case for the initiative by articulating a clear business case; (d) addressing specific organizational needs; (e) training senior managers in all key aspects of being interculturally competent so that they give full support, model the new behaviors, and visually demonstrate support for the new initiatives; and, finally, (f) following up with professional development for all employees.

Strategies for Maintaining Momentum

To keep the momentum going, leaders can use various approaches. On a periodic, continuing basis, leaders can take the pulse of the organization's culture and climate by conducting assessments. There are nearly 40 well-researched and psychometrically sound instruments available for measuring the impact of an initiative in terms of intercultural sensitivity, global competence, and knowledge, skills, and attitudes. Such measurement gives the leadership valid and reliable data on the level of accomplishment.

Global leaders promoting change will also review the representation of different cultures in higher level positions. After educating employees on the entire range of cultural diversity issues, the organization can make managers accountable for setting and achieving goals in their performance appraisals. Many organizations establish mentoring programs to support the success of culturally diverse persons, as well as employee forums and networking opportunities. Intentionally increasing intergroup contact through teamwork, rotations, and events can lead to richer network ties.

The Significance of Overcoming Resistance to Change

At the organizational level, overcoming resistance to cultural change and diversity initiatives enhances success in virtually every aspect of interaction, including conflict resolution, negotiation, employee relationships, employee empowerment, leadership effectiveness, continuous learning, continuous improvement, innovation, productivity, quality management, synergistic teams, and trust building. Given the potential payoffs, organizations cannot afford to be satisfied with outdated organizational cultures that exclude many potential contributors.

From a broader view, successful change processes can literally change the world. It starts with individuals gaining skills in establishing and nurturing relationships with the whole spectrum of diverse people they encounter. As enough people do this, the organization gains power. And as more people in more organizations gain intercultural skills, they shift the national culture in ways that contribute to working out the problems now dividing them, such as ethnic conflict, inner-city decay, failing schools, and violent crime. If a nation learns how to find greater unity and harmony, it can bring this knowledge to the arena of global culture, where, among the community of nations, it can be applied to meeting global challenges and creating global harmony and abundance.

Norma Carr-Ruffino

See also Assessment Centers; Beliefs, Values, Norms, Customs (Definitions); Change-Agentry; Corporations in a Globalizing World; Diversity and Inclusion, Definitions of; Diversity Return on Investment; Intercultural Competence in Organizations; Multicultural Organization

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Respect

In the *Metaphysics of Morals*, Immanuel Kant points to the heart of respect, a crucial resource for humanity. Kant says, "Humanity itself is a dignity, for a man cannot be used merely as a means by any man" (p. 255). He argues further that respect for dignity is owed to all humans, not just to those with a standing in the community. Earlier, Confucius had grappled with the concept of respect (*jen*), placing a keen emphasis on what *ought* "to occur when two people come together" (quoted in Wawrytko, 1982, p. 237). Confucius conceived of *jen*, often translated as "humanity" or "humaneness," as the essence of what makes people human.

Admittedly, respect is a very difficult concept to apprehend, but nevertheless, it has invited close scrutiny. Many scholars have focused their attention on the nature and content of human respect as a way of understanding the boundaries, logical and practical antecedents, and consequences of the term. Crucially, scholars recognize that respect is central to understanding our common humanity and how and why people behave as they do in a complex and diverse world. Despite differing philosophical arguments regarding the salience and substance of respect, it can be usefully viewed through the following lenses: (a) the meaning and types of respect, (b) the consequences of showing respect, and (c) respect as a global imperative. Each of these will be discussed in this entry.

Meaning and Types of Respect

Respect drives human affairs. But what do we mean by respect? Philosophers have identified two basic types of respect: (1) honorific or appraisal respect and (2) recognition or Categorical Imperative respect, as described by Stephen Darwall. Appraisal or honorific respect focuses on a person's merits or accomplishments by acknowledging "the value of what he or she has achieved," according to Andrews Reath (2006, p. 2). Such valuing is typically skill based, talent oriented, and capacity focused and involves a measurable, visible standard by which humans judge certain persons as doing better than most people: The Nobel Prize–winning scientist James Watson garnering an award for codiscovering the molecular structure of DNA; the film director Steve McQueen winning a Motion Picture Academy award for the film *12 Years a Slave*; the sculptor, painter, and architect Michelangelo creating works of timeless beauty; and the athlete Venus Williams dominating the tennis court are all instances of individuals who have outperformed others in their respective areas of expertise.

Appraisal Respect

Appraisal respect is also test based but not in the sense of a student taking a high school or university examination. Rather, it refers to the sense that a highly valued person has gone through specific trials of intellectual and physical skills, which have contributed to the person's excellence in human endeavors. Furthermore, an individual who reaches the highest level of human accomplishment naturally invites critical judgment from raters, which leads to ranking people qualitatively or quantitatively against some agreed-on human standard. Appraisal recognition need not morph into moral judgments, however, about whether the persons receiving the recognition or award are good or bad people. Rather, the centrality of meaning is resident in the area of human excellence. What has the individual done? And what the person has accomplished is almost always related to the guiding questions that are employed to validate appraisal respect.

The cultural scholar Charles Murray devotes 668 pages of text to appraisal respect in an acknowledgement of "the dimensions and content of human accomplishment" from the age of Homer to the 20th century, including persons such as Copernicus, Leonardo da Vinci, René Descartes, and Rachel Carson. Although visible and measurable accomplishments lie at the heart of appraisal respect, one must note that the principles and rules for judging what constitutes appraisal respect may differ according to whether the standard is universal or particular, local or global. Standards of judgment often transcend specific cultural standards.

Categorical Respect

But there is another kind of respect, and it is grounded in Kant's formula of the Categorical Imperative. In its broadest sense, this type of respect involves the recognition of humanity writ large. It views all persons as worthy of respect simply because they are human beings. In Kantian terms, one is under obligation to "acknowledge in a practical way, the dignity of humanity in every other man" (1991, p. 255). On this philosophical and moral basis alone, the claim is that people are owed respect, although Darwall argues that issues about who is entitled to universal human respect surface concerns about the meaning of respect. Despite this vexing issue, Kant claims that valuing all humans in turn validates or symbolizes the person's moral standing in the community. The term *moral standing* is crucial for its attendant relationship to moral law. To respect another human being because he or she is *owed* respect constitutes recognition of the moral law as a virtue.

This means that people who recognize the dignity of others uphold a higher moral law of how one should behave in civil and human society. To show respect to another human being means simultaneously signaling agreement that the person has standing, or status, in a community. Being courteous to others is the most fundamental way of honoring human dignity. The symbolic signaling functions like a linguistic equation: You are courteous to me, therefore you see me as worthy of respect. Jonathan Glover puts it best when he writes, "If when we meet, you listen as well as talk, you acknowledge that I too have experiences, thoughts and a way of seeing the world, that I too may have something to say worth hearing" (p. 150). Talking to strangers is also a quotidian, everyday, practical way of testifying that one has value or worth in social contexts.

Other crucial components embedded in recognition respect are notions of human decency and rules of entitlement, when they matter, to whom, and with what effect. Charles Taylor (1992), in analyzing what is at stake when Blacks, Asians, Latinos, women, and other marginalized groups demand respect, emphasizes that "a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves" (p. 25). Since recognition respect means "treating people in ways that give appropriate weight to some fact about them" (Appiah, 2010, p. 13), according proper respect to others also involves an attitudinal component, and characteristics of individuals such as skin color, ethnicity, gender, or simply being called "Dr." or "Ms." come into play.

Thus, as Taylor (1992) notes, the demand for recognition is also tied to identity, which "is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the *mis*recognition of others" (p. 25). So viewed, recognition is both intricate and delicate, extending into the realm of honor, which is beyond the scope of this essay. From this implied plenitude, however, it bears observing that recognition respect is also evocative and generative and has embedded within it the messy, freighted question of whether individuals are "owed" respect by sheer virtue of having moral standing in the community. Kant overcomes this implicit objection with his formula of the Categorical Imperative, which states that to be *in a community* is a moral resource to which all have access and are entitled.

Consequences of Not Showing Human Respect

The compelling sort of respect that Kant extols has an intense emotional side, which can explode into ugliness if left unchecked. Glover (1999) argues, "Our inclination to show this respect (dignity of humanity), and our disgust at someone's humiliation is a powerful restraint on barbarism" (p. 23). Glover cites historical examples of what can happen on a larger scale when we fail to dignify others. The cases of My Lai, Hiroshima, and Rwanda and the atrocities of the Nazi period are all instances of what can happen when humans lose moral restraint and enter other dimensions, which Glover compellingly terms "festivals of cruelty." Losing restraint occurs, writes Glover, when we violate others' "protective dignity" (p. 24). Glover illustrates this by pointing out that when humans become accustomed to humiliating others, terrorizing people, and calling certain cultural groups "vermin," "bacilli," "or cockroaches," it is easy for humans to be robbed of their human dignity. According to Seneca (1995), "Human life rests upon kindnesses and concord, bound together, not by terror but by love (respect) reciprocated, it becomes a bond of mutual assistance" (p. 23).

Global Respect: An Imperative

Respect and its absence can haunt human society if it is not properly cultivated globally. Global respect suggests that we must try our best to "acknowledge in a practical way, the dignity of humanity in every man (or woman)" (Kant, 1991, p. 233). We should be inclined to show this respect both verbally and nonverbally. In communicating with a person from another culture, we should actively search for ways to elevate humanity and not denigrate it. A respectful person will consider how information and communication will affect the other. One way to achieve this is through mutuality. *Mutuality* is the notion of trying to find common understanding within an intercultural encounter, where the shared experience with other people is not guided exclusively by either our shared background or theirs. Communicating respect involves actively searching for some mutual ground that allows for an authentic exchange of ideas and feelings, even entertaining ideas and beliefs that might not be consistent with our own notions of things.

Seneca speaks compellingly of the virtues of respect. At the end of *On Anger*, after advising his brother Novatus that "life is too short to waste it being angry," and after admonishing Norvatus that we should concentrate our empathetic and respectful attention on "virtue alone," Seneca (1995) writes one of the most moving comments in the annals of cultural history that could serve as a guide for universal respect: "At any moment now, we shall spit forth this life of ours. In the meantime, while we still draw breath, while we still remain among human beings, let us cultivate humanity."

Carolyn Calloway-Thomas

See also Co-Creation of Meaning; Cross-Cultural Communication; Mindfulness

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ROOT METAPHORS

Within the field of intercultural communication, *root metaphors* serve as both identification and research tools to explore how individuals and communities interpret lived experience. This entry examines some of the most popular contexts where root metaphors can be found and identifies research areas that continue to draw on the identification and expansion of root metaphors in order to resolve conflict.

All cultures create images and pictures of who they are for explanatory purposes: creation myths to establish values in a culture; stories to inculcate values, attitudes, and beliefs; and frames to help outsiders step into new contact zones. All individuals process lived experiences through cognitive lenses that frame and name these experiences. At the deepest level of description, understanding, and knowing, there are root metaphors. These metaphors allow for an emic interpretation of events. They allow individuals to identify sources of knowledge, power, and conflict. Root metaphors embody cultural experiences. In the early 1940s, the psychologist Stephen Pepper argued that six root metaphors dominate Western philosophy: *machine*, *form*, *context*, *organ*, *mysticism*, *and animism*. He suggested that these metaphors shape thinking; for example, attachment to the root metaphor *machine* could promote a mechanistic worldview in a society. In the mid-1980s, Theodore Sarbin added *narrative* to this list.

Root metaphors represent worldviews. They can help sojourners perceive worldviews that are different. Thus, knowledge of how a particular culture perceives its schools, its children, and its citizens can allow outsiders to better comprehend differences. Consider, for example, the power of the *melting pot* metaphor to shape immigrant integration into U.S. culture in the early 20th century, and its competing cousin, *salad bowl*.

Sometimes, root metaphors can be identified and used to resolve conflict. Organizational communication experts have often explored how parties in conflict interpret their surroundings. Ruth Smith and Eric Eisenberg looked at the consequences of employees perceiving Disneyland as *family* versus managers perceiving Disneyland as *drama*. The consultants used ethnographic interview techniques to elicit perspectives from their informants. Once they had established the root metaphors, it became possible to better understand the sources of conflict that had led to a strike and to identify avenues to reestablish more trusted conversation.

Root metaphors are markers of the moment. At any given time in society, one image could dominate how a culture explains itself, and then as societies shift, new root metaphors come to dominate understandings of a culture. This notion becomes particularly poignant among cultures that are losing their languages. As the languages are lost, the metaphors that have defined the societies are being lost. Anna Idstrom and Elisabeth Piirainen suggest that it is not just the languages of these societies that are endangered but also their root metaphors.

Just as root metaphors can serve as anchors for a culture or society, individual root metaphors can serve as anchors for individuals. Consider, for example, how a teacher views herself or how a student views himself. With coaching, shifts in worldview can occur, followed by attendant shifts in the metaphors used to identify this worldview. If a teacher views herself as a *gardener*, she may see her daily task as one in which she nurtures her learners. In contrast, if the same teacher views herself as a *sage*, she may require her learners to literally sit at her feet to acquire knowledge. If a learner views himself as a *vulnerable child*, it may be difficult for him to develop the autonomy necessary to learn a language. Both coaching and leadership training can help individuals intentionally shift their root metaphors. Alats Alvesson and Andre Spicer look at a range of leadership root metaphors from leader as *gardener* to leader as *buddy*, *saint*, *cyborg*, *commander*, and *bully*. Many professions have now published volumes exploring root metaphors. These fields range from architecture and sustainability to leadership, gender, and medicine.

Within the field of intercultural communication, researchers have sought to identify root metaphors at both the cultural and the individual level. Their knowledge has allowed them to create semantic maps of cultures. While this information may appear subjective and more likely a tool of a qualitative researcher, quantitative researchers can conduct content analyses of spoken and written texts to seek out all occurrences of particular metaphors. In addition, they can work with research tools such as multidimensional scaling and multistep graphic scaling to draw on individuals' understandings of how information hangs together and create a mathematical model showing, for example, how a metaphor in one community is diametrically opposed to a metaphor in another community. The Canadian sociologist Michael Adams compares U.S. and Canadian young people's perceptions of themselves and their societies. Their root metaphors are in complete contrast with each other. Adams and his colleagues found young U.S. adults framing their lives within the notion of *ecological fatalism*, while young Canadian adults appear to be framing their lives within the notion of *ecological concern*. The U.S. young adults surveyed were much more pessimistic than their Canadian peers.

Individual, collective, and national root metaphors abound. Scholars are in disagreement as to whether there are true universal root metaphors, although numerous Western researchers believe that there are powerful root metaphors that exist throughout the Global North. Root metaphors provide a way for both sojourners and researchers to explore the Other and the self.

Kimberley A. Brown

See also Language and Identity; Language, Culture, and Intercultural Communication; Language Use and Culture

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S

Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is concerned with the relationship between language, culture, and thought and was named after Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf. It is sometimes known as the Whorfian hypothesis, since the hypothesis largely owes to Whorf, who wrote on the topic in the 1930s. It should be noted, however, that the term *Sapir-Whorf hypothesis* has often been criticized as a misnomer, since neither Sapir nor Whorf coauthored any hypothesis for empirical research on language and thought. It is also unclear to what extent Sapir subscribed to the idea of language influencing thought. It was Harry Hoijer, one of Sapir's students, who introduced the term *Sapir-Whorf hypothesis*. In addition, it should be noted that Sapir and Whorf were not the first or only scholars to have theorized about the relationship between language and thought.

Following the work of his mentor Sapir, Whorf put forward the claim that the structure of a language influences how its speakers view the world. Although all languages share some universal characteristics, Whorf suggested that certain aspects of language can be culturally specific and that the languages of different cultures are made up of very distinct systems of representation, which are not always equivalent. According to Whorf's observations, for example, Hopi and English differ markedly in their structural characteristics, and these differences lead speakers of Hopi and English to see the world rather differently. For example, Hopi grammatical categories offer a "process" view of the world, with no tenses or time expressions in the language, whereas the categories in English tend to give its speakers a fixed orientation toward time so that they tend to objectify reality in certain ways. Consequently, Whorf claimed that speakers of Hopi see the world as an ongoing set of processes and time as not being apportioned into fixed segments. In contrast, speakers of English tend to see things in their world as discrete and measurable and past, present, and future as being clearly differentiated. In addition, Whorf noted that in the grammar of the Hopi, there is a distinction between animate and inanimate and *clouds* and *stones* are, for example, categorized as animate. On the contrary, English does not mark in its grammar that *clouds* and *stones* are animate. Whorf therefore claimed that speakers of Hopi believe that *clouds* and *stones* are living entities but English speakers do not see the world in the same way as speakers of Hopi.

In general, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis can be said to include both a strong version and a weak version. The strong version of the hypothesis, also known as *linguistic determinism*, argues that language determines thought and limits cognitive categories. According to linguistic determinism, language determines how speakers perceive and organize the world around them, both the natural world and the social world. It is argued that the structure of a language, alongside the predetermined categories that accompany the language, must exert an influence on how people perceive the world. Consequently, the language forms its speakers' worldview. Linguistic determinism also proposes that a language not only encodes certain perspectives on reality but also strongly influences the thought processes of its speakers. In other words, the category system inherent in the language determines how the speaker interprets and articulates experience. Broadly speaking, linguistic determinism can be said to characterize the approach to understanding the relationship between language and culture during the 18th century.

The weak version of the hypothesis, also known as *linguistic relativity*, holds that linguistic categories influence thought and certain kinds of nonlinguistic behavior. It emphasizes that people perceive the world of experience by using the categories provided by their language and the patterns of the language to a certain extent. While speakers of a language are largely unaware of both the relative nature of their linguistic system and its impact on how they think, it is argued that the structure of a language influences the ways in which its speakers conceptualize their world, including their worldviews, and influences their cognitive processes. Consequently, cultures that share a language tend to share a particular way of thinking. As Whorf (2012) stated,

> The forms of a person's thoughts are controlled by inexorable laws of pattern of which he is unconscious. These patterns are the unperceived intricate systematizations of his own language. . . . Every language is a vast pattern-system, different from others, in which are culturally ordained the forms and categories by which the personality not only communicates, but also analyzes nature, notices or neglects types of relationship and phenomena, channels his reasoning, and builds the house of his consciousness. (pp. 322–323)

It should be noted, however, that the distinction between the weak and the strong version of the hypothesis is indeed a later invention. Neither Sapir nor Whorf made such a dichotomy, even though their views about the principle of linguistic relativity were sometimes written in stronger and sometimes in weaker terms. More important, it is now generally agreed that the hypothesis of linguistic determinism does not hold true. Instead, most researchers tend to subscribe to the more balanced view of linguistic relativity nowadays and accept that language influences certain kinds of cognitive processes in particular ways.

In sum, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis has been seen as an important landmark in the study of language, culture, and thought. In particular, the principle of linguistic relativity and the conceptualization of the relationship between language, culture, and thought have attracted a great deal of attention in different fields including philosophy, psychology, and anthropology. Importantly, the hypothesis has inspired researchers to explore the ways and the extent to which language influences thought and has influenced literary works and the creation of constructed languages.

Chit Cheung Matthew Sung

See also Intercultural Communication and Language; Intercultural Verbal Communication Styles; Language Use and Culture

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SEMANTICS

Semantics is a key subfield of linguistics. While most scholars think first of syntax, morphology, and phonology as foundational areas of linguistics, semantics and pragmatics, sometimes studied together, form one of the dominant subfields of linguistics. *Semantics* focuses on the construction of meaning at the word level, sentence level, and paragraph level. The fields of psychology and philosophy have helped shape this subfield of linguistics. There are three traditional areas of semantics: (1) *formal semantics*, tied to logic and the philosophy of language; (2) *lexical semantics*, tied to word formation and meaning; and (3) *cognitive semantics*, tied to psychology and examining the underlying cognitive structures in the words and phrases. Semantics involves explorations of both the content and the character of utterances. Typical academic volumes may explore grammatical forms such as imperatives, symbolic forms such as metaphors, and even narrow registers such as humor.

In this entry, semantics is defined, and two forms of the concept are described. Current research in semantics is outlined, and a discussion of the ways in which semantics is important and useful in intercultural competence follows.

Scholars of semantics typically separate themselves into two camps: (1) those focusing on what is termed *internalist theory* and (2) those focusing on a *referential theory*. In the former case, researchers argue that the meanings of sentences are understood because of internal processing mechanisms and structures. External dimensions of words in sentences are less critical to an understanding of what is in one's mind. Referential researchers look toward the objects and concepts one sees and describes, suggesting that meaning is to be found in what can be seen. The philosophers Jon Barwise and John Perry look in a holistic way at the overall situation captured at any given moment.

People frequently hear the phrase "It is a matter of semantics" when individuals seem to disagree on the surface level but have elements of agreement on a deeper conceptual level. These differences, however, can be absolutely critical. The linguist Paul Elbourne (2011) goes so far as to state, "One can only wonder that people can be heard using derogatory phrases like 'just semantics' and 'mere semantics.' They evidently do not know that semantic interpretation can, quite literally, be a matter of life and death" (p. 98).

Linguists who conduct semantics research may look at data within one culture or data across cultures. They may look at speech acts such as apologizing, requesting, and commanding. They may look at direct and indirect speech acts and their underlying propositions. For example, when one American says to another, "Do you have a watch?" most of us know that a request for the time is being made.

Current research in semantics is inextricably linked to intercultural communication. When someone is not a member of a particular group, the person may not interpret information the same way as members of the in-group. Thus, for those hoping to succeed in a business transaction, an academic transaction, or even a religious transaction, it becomes imperative to know how the individual or individuals they are interacting with perceive words and events and how the surrounding context affects meaning.

Raymond Cohen looks at the tools most frequently used to figure out the meaning of a word or phrase: reference, usage, and connotation. As an activist scholar in the field of conflict resolution, he looks at how a semantic map of a term such as *homeless* may differ among collectivist and individualist cultures. He suggests that when societies differ markedly from one another, there may be a kind of *semantic gap* between them. To resolve conflicts that can arise because of such gaps, he recommends an exploration of what the scholar Michael Agar calls *rich points*—those concepts, terms, and phrases that are at a crossroads—intricate and clear gateways to a greater understanding of a culture.

The linguists George Lakoff and Mark Johnson look at metaphors across cultures, suggesting that particular metaphors may ground how cultures perceive the world. Semantics can help scholars and practitioners understand these metaphors in their particular contexts and contrast them with those used in other settings. The historian Marguerite Feitlowitz looks at Argentine culture over time to examine how words have been used to rewrite history. She examines words that people could handle at one point but that have acquired new meanings after times of political upheaval and that they can no longer use. In both the examples presented above, it would be possible to gather these data from spoken sources, individual by individual, or in writing, drawing on the possibilities of a computer-generated corpus and data generated over time.

Interculturalists who seek theoretical grounding in the work of semantics may find themselves engaged in careers in conflict resolution, translation, and interpreting. Areas as diverse as hostage negotiation, treaty negotiation, and humanitarian intervention are spaces where knowledge of semantics and how to identify differing interpretations can change the quality of a person's life.

Kimberley A. Brown

See also Cognitive Styles Across Cultures; Mediation; Pragmatics; Speech Acts

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Sexism

Sexism is a set of beliefs and/or actions indicating that a person is inferior based on that person's sex or gender. This form of prejudice is aimed primarily at women, people who identify as transgender, and individuals who do not adhere to traditional gender roles, and it maintains a system of advantages that privileges men and reinforces traditional forms of masculinity. An extension of misogyny (contempt for or prejudice against women) and patriarchy (the hierarchical construction of society where men are dominant), sexism is the exhibition of such beliefs at individual and group levels.

In the next section, several key terms related to sexism are defined. The entry continues with a brief historical overview of sexism, presents several examples of its manifestations in everyday life, and concludes with a discussion of sexism in relation to the achievement of intercultural competence.

Definitions

Sex

Sex refers to the physical or anatomic attributes with which people are born. The attributes, blood chemistry, and genetic makeup that are responsible for human development—internal and external genitalia, hormones, and chromosomes—distinguish an individual's sex: male, female, or intersex. In the United States, all people are required to have a *legal sex*, indicated on one's birth certificate and later in life on a driver's license or state-/federally issued form of identification. However, legal sex is defined by the male/female binary, requiring parent(s) to decide at birth a child's sex if the baby is born intersex.

Gender

Gender consists of a set of socially defined and constructed roles, behaviors, and activities and the internal perception of one's identity along a continuum including, but not limited to, man, woman, genderqueer, and agender. These identities include how individuals think about who they are, their expression or demonstration along the continuum of feminine or masculine, and their intrinsic sense of manhood or womanhood.

Transgender

Transgender (or trans*) is a broad term used to describe the gender identity or expression of individuals who transgress their socially constructed gender roles. In other words, *transgender* is a term that applies when an individual self-identifies as a gender different from the sex assigned at birth. *Transphobia* and *cissexism* are other terms that can be used to describe discrimination against trans* people and the trans* community.

History

Sexism as a term is relatively recent in the English language; its coinage has been attributed to Pauline M. Leet, who used it in a speech given at a Pennsylvania college in 1965. Discrimination based on one's gender and/or sex, however, has a deep history. Though there is debate among archaeologists, anthropologists, and sociologists as to when gender as a social construct historically appeared, the establishment of monotheistic religions approximately 5,000 years ago gave rise to narratives and religious texts that encouraged and supported gender roles connected to an individual's sex, whereby men were upheld as dominant and women as subordinate. Over time, many people have challenged sexism and patriarchy, most successfully in the 20th century, when feminist movements, chiefly in Western nations, initiated organized efforts at various social, political, and institutional levels to achieve significant legal and social reforms toward greater equality of the sexes.

Everyday Examples

Sexism appears in everyday life in multiple ways and may be connected to a person's gender or sex or both. Manifestations of sexism include but are not limited to degrading comments, jokes, and behaviors, as well as sexual objectification, stereotyping, and wage and employment discrimination. These acts of discrimination are experienced in interpersonal interactions, through the media, and via policies and laws that implicitly and explicitly govern gender identity and expression. At the individual level, girls are often told that they are not good at science or mathematics. Teachers, parents, and the administrator may track them out of those academic subjects, adding to workplace discrimination and contributing to women's underrepresentation in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. In society, sexism can be seen in the categorizations and titles given to men and women to illustrate their standing. People may not consider that there are many ways in which a woman is addressed (Miss, Ms., Mrs.), each indicating her marital status—her connection to a man—which is seen as providing her with legitimacy in social systems. Yet there is only one way to address a man (Mr.), regardless of his marital status, indicating that he has legitimacy simply by being a man. Finally, within law and policy, the continued presence of wage discrimination results in women making less than men in the same job, even as women are fast becoming either the chief breadwinner or the sole income contributor within their households.

Sexism can affect well-being by decreasing a person's comfort level, lowering self-esteem, and heightening feelings of anger, frustration, inadequacy, and/or fear of reprisal. Furthermore, sexism is not only problematic in that men often engage in it, but for women and trans* individuals it becomes internalized, as they are socialized into supporting and adhering to oppressive beliefs about their own social groups. Increasing gender-based competences is a way to begin challenging sexism.

Significance for Cultural Competence

Understanding sexism is an important component of cultural competence, or the attitudes and practices that allow a person to work well with differing cultural groups. To be more culturally competent in this area, it is important to understand definitions to help foster the use of inclusive language. For example, many words in the English language are gender specific, such as chairman, waitress, or fireman. The use of masculine pronouns denies the inclusion of different genders; gender-neutral language is one way to be inclusive of all genders and all sexes. In the examples mentioned, *chairperson*, *server*, or *firefighter* are more inclusive terms. Questioning and disrupting the use of stereotypes and gender-based norms and roles regarding women and trans* individuals is another way of increasing cultural competence, as is expanding one's knowledge and awareness of sexism and the ways in which individuals and groups contribute to its existence.

Kristin L. Deal and Shannon R. Dean

See also Gender as Culture; Gender Theory

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Sexual Orientation

Sexual orientation refers to the directionality of an individual's attraction emotionally, relationally, and sexually toward women, men, or both sexes. Sexual orientation also designates a sense of identification based on attraction and associated behaviors, as well as membership in a community of people who share similar affiliations. Sexual orientation is most usefully conceptualized on a continuum rather than as discrete categories; yet modern scholarship, the media, and religious and political organizations, among other institutions, typically divide sexual orientation into three discrete categories: (1) heterosexual/straight (opposite-sex attraction), (2) homosexual/gay (same-sex attraction), and (3) bisexual (both opposite- and same-sex attraction). Social, cultural, political, historical, and genetic influences are commonly viewed as contributing to a person's sexual orientation. Sexual orientation is fluid and may change over the lifespan of an individual and differ greatly in terms of labels and expressions across cultural and historical contexts.

This entry provides historical background and selected cultural approaches useful for understanding sexual orientation; explores the interrelationship among sex, gender, and sexual orientation; and discusses implications for intercultural communication.

Historical and Cultural Perspectives

Human beings have engaged in a wide range of sexual behaviors and relational affiliations outside the contemporary construct of heterosexuality throughout history and across cultures. For example, in ancient Greece, same-sex sexual behavior and love between men was common and well documented in the poetry, literature, and visual representations of the time. The central distinction made regarding sexual partners was social status rather than the partner's sex, as is common in contemporary notions of sexual orientation. In ancient Greece, free men could have sexual relations with anyone of lesser status, including younger men, slaves, or women. Sexual and amorous relationships between adult men and male youth were not only acceptable but these relationships were viewed as mutually beneficial, fulfilling cultural ideals. Young men were cared for, protected, and mentored into their role as citizens, while older men were recipients of the admiration, beauty, and love of younger men.

In Roman society, similar to Ancient Greece, the critical distinction that was made was between what was viewed as *active* and *passive* roles, where the higher status person was expected and assumed to take the active, dominant, and *masculine* role and the person of lower status the passive, submissive, and *feminine* role. Women also engaged in same-sex relationships; however, in patriarchal Greek and Roman societies, male writers took little or no notice of women, and women's status generally precluded access to recording their experiences. Similar same-sex relationships that use distinctions of age and social status as criteria for partner arrangements have been noted at various times in China, in feudal Japan among the samurai, in Aztec and Mayan societies, and in Egypt, Sudan, Morocco, and other parts of Africa.

Accounts recorded during the European colonization and conquest of indigenous peoples around the globe provide ample evidence of same-sex sexual behaviors and unions, from North and South America to the Indian subcontinent, New Guinea, and Polynesia, to name only a few. In North America, the derogatory term *berdache* ("prostitute" or "sexual slave") was used by colonizers to describe men or women who assumed gender roles that did not align with their biological sex. While they were understood differently in indigenous societies than in Western notions of heterosexuality versus homosexuality, same-sex unions were fully recognized and respected within Native communities. *Twospirit*, an umbrella term chosen by Native First Nations, expresses the multiplicity of gender/sexual identities of indigenous peoples and challenges pejorative colonial designations.

The notion of sexual orientation and terms such as *heterosexual*, *homosexual*, and *bisexual* are relatively recent constructs. In the latter part of the 19th century, homosexuality surfaced in medical, psychological, legal, and sexological discourses in Europe as a pathological condition based on the *abnormality* of same-sex desire and sexual practices. Linked with the term *sexual invert*, which sexologists believed to be an inborn inversion of gender characteristics, the term *homosexuality* was, from its invention, rooted in gender deviance. Prior to the 20th century, both heterosexual desire and homosexual desire were considered aberrant in the Christian Western world, where only sex for procreation was considered acceptable. Yet by the 1930s and 1940s, the binary construction of sexual orientation had taken hold in the United States, normalizing heterosexual desire and debasing homosexual desire. Alfred Kinsey's groundbreaking studies in the 1940s and 1950s indicated the interplay of both heterosexual and homosexual desire in most people; yet his studies reinforced a binary construction of sexual orientation and were used to contain and substantiate the minority status of the sexual identities of gays and lesbians.

Discrimination in employment, religious persecution, violence, and police brutality solidified an emerging gay subculture in the United States, which was further politicized in the midst of other civil rights movements in the 1960s. Fed up with ruthless treatment and relentless raids by the police, patrons at the Stonewall Inn in New York City's Greenwich Village resisted the police for 3 days in June 1969, galvanizing the gay liberation movement. The movement called for gays and lesbians to *come out*, sharing stories of their sexuality publicly with family, friends, and coworkers as a form of activism, and to challenge the internalized shame often carried by those on the margins of society. Pride parades were organized in cities around the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia in the 1970s and have continued to grow in number around the world, including parades in major cities in Europe and South America, as well as in New Delhi, Taipei, Tel Aviv, and Istanbul, among others. In the 1970s, *gay* was often the term used to refer to gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender people who participated in the movement. While preferable to the clinical, official, and legislative term *homosexual*, which hides the political and historical dimensions of sexual orientation, the term *gay* also reflects the male dominance of a patriarchal society and has been challenged particularly by women.

From the 1970s forward, the public and private battles for equal rights, the tragedies of the AIDS epidemic, and the solidarity emerging from a shared marginalized status have functioned to consolidate a highly empowered and politically conscious sexual identity for gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgender people.

Sex, Gender, and Sexual Orientation: Modern to Postmodern

Modern concepts of sexual orientation and sexual identity as exclusive and oppositional categories (heterosexual/homosexual) are dependent on binary definitions of sex and gender. *Sex*, understood as biological features (chromosomes, hormones, and genitals), categorizes people as either male or female. *Gender* refers to the socially constructed norms, behaviors, and attitudes viewed as appropriate in society for men and women. In other words, men are taught, expected, and regulated to be masculine and women to be feminine. Normalizing and naturalizing distinct and complementary gender binaries, known as *heteronormativity*, establishes the foundation for the modern understanding of sexual orientation and sexual identity. *Heteronormativity*, as the term suggests, assumes that heterosexuality is normal. Men are expected to be masculine and attracted to women. If men deviate in their presentation of masculinity or in their attraction to women, they are viewed as gay and often reproached by society, sometimes violently. Women are socialized to be feminine and attracted to men. While gender role expectations for women have expanded as a result of women's and feminist movements, women who deviate too far from the expected feminine roles or who challenge heteronormative assumptions are assumed to be lesbians and are often targeted.

The French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984), concerned with the relationship between power, sexuality, and knowledge, argued that modern sexuality and subjects have been produced through the proliferation of confessional and scientific discourses since the 18th century. Foucault's notion that sexual identities are products of strategies of power and resistance is critical for understanding the historical development of sexuality.

In the 1980s, the writer Adrienne Rich used the term *compulsory heterosexuality* to underscore how heterosexuality, far from being innate and natural, is structured and enforced as a political institution. According to Rich, compulsory heterosexuality not only institutionalizes unequal relations of power between those who are viewed as heterosexual and those who are not but also confers power on men to control women's lives, their sexuality, childbirth and child rearing, and women's work, safety, and access to knowledge. Normative heterosexuality substantiates male supremacy and sexism as well as heterosexism.

Described as the heterosexual matrix by the postmodern feminist theorist Judith Butler, the binary system assumes a rigid and fixed alignment of sex, gender, and sexual orientation/sexual identity that supports, maintains, and regulates heteronormativity. Butler challenges assumptions that distinguish between sex and gender, where sex is understood as biological, ahistorical, and apolitical and gender is understood as socially and culturally constructed, historical, and political. Butler argues that the body does not exist outside of historical and political discourses and cannot be significant without gender; thus, both sex and gender are socially, politically and historically constructed. She theorized gender as *performative*, in the sense that gender is communicated and maintained through culturally scripted performances.

Queer theory argues that there is no *normal* gender or sexual orientation. Queer theorists challenge assertions that gender and sexual identities are *natural* and *immutable*. Rather, sexual identities are constructed, performed, and understood through discourses and interactions with others, the media, and institutions. Expressions and experiences of gender and sexual identities are infinite; thus, queer theorists interrogate and debunk stable, binary, and limiting notions of sex, gender, and sexuality.

Implications for Intercultural Communication

Understanding sexuality and sexual orientation is highly complex and contested. To say that notions of sexuality and sexual identity vary greatly across cultural contexts is an understatement. Ways of viewing, experiencing, enacting, and making sense of sexuality differ greatly across subcultures within communities, among regions, from rural to urban settings, and across nation-states. Social, legal, religious, and political institutions play a central role in shaping the ways sexual orientation is understood and practiced both historically and today. The degree to which an individual may feel comfortable and able to discuss and acknowledge his or her nondominant sexual orientation also varies tremendously based on the context. A shift in context from home to work, from one's community to a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual (LGBT) community, or across ethnic/racial or national cultural borders requires people who identify as LGBT to negotiate multiple ideologies and performances of gender and sexuality. Depending on the circumstances, the stakes may be high: Physical safety may be in jeopardy as well as the loss of family, friends, and livelihood. The complexities of intercultural communication are intensified when one's sexuality is not acknowledged, accepted, and respected. Thus, members of LGBT communities may move in and out of the closet (i.e., disclose their identities or hide them) frequently when engaging interculturally.

The ways in which sexual orientation intersects with other identity categories such as gender, culture, race, class, religion, nationality, and age is critical. The feminist concept of *intersectionality* is useful in understanding the complex and multifaceted ways in which sexuality affects, is shaped by, and is intertwined with other social categories. In other words, sexual orientation is not simply added on to other identities; rather, sexuality intersects and manifests differently based on a constellation of factors. The ways sexuality intersects with race and gender, for example, can mark one as a triple minority, such as a Black lesbian in the United States, or potentially provide a degree of buffering, on the other hand, for a White gay man. It is vital to have an awareness of the ways systems of power and privilege based on race, culture, class, nationality, ability, and religion affect sexual orientation both within LGBT communities and within dominant heterosexual communities.

Finally, ways of understanding and interpreting sexual orientation, and the language used to describe sexual identities and to disrupt normative ways of viewing and experiencing sexuality, are continually changing and in flux. Adopting an intercultural perspective of openness to alternative points of view, a willingness to suspend judgment, a desire to gain knowledge from a broad spectrum of people within LGBT communities, and a commitment to understanding the experiences of those who are different from oneself are critical for productive communication across the terrain of differences in terms of sexual orientation.

Kathryn Sorrells

See also Constructivism; Postmodernism and Reflexive Anthropology; Sexual Orientation Identity Development

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Sexual Orientation Identity Development

Sexual orientation identity development is the process by which individuals consciously acknowledge and internalize their sexual orientation. Sexual orientation refers to the directionality of an individual's attraction emotionally, relationally, and sexually toward women, men, or both sexes. *Sexual orientation identity* is the sense of identification based on attraction and associated behaviors, as well as membership in a community of people who share similar affiliations. While sexual orientation is commonly conceptualized as discrete categories of heterosexual/straight (opposite-sex attraction), homosexual/gay (same-sex attraction), and bisexual (both opposite- and same-sex attraction), sexual orientation and sexual identity are far more fluid and complex than these categories suggest. Until recently, research on sexual identity and sexual orientation identity development has focused primarily on minority sexual orientation identities and development, contributing further to the unexamined elevation of heterosexual orientation as the norm.

This entry provides an overview of models of sexual orientation identity development, highlights cultural variations in the processes of coming out/being out, and discusses their relevance for intercultural communication.

Models of Sexual Identity Development

The term *sexual identity* was initially used pejoratively to refer to people who engaged in same-sex behaviors and were assumed to have a homosexual identity. Constructed negatively as a sickness in medical, psychological, and legal discourses during the 19th century in Western Europe and the United States, a rigid and dichotomous understanding of sexual identity labeled any expression of sexuality other than heterosexuality as deviant. Reflecting the ongoing struggles for visibility and liberation in the gay rights and feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s, the sexual orientation identity development models of the time focused on the process by which individuals acknowledged their same-sex attraction and, over time, conceived of themselves outside of strictly binary heteronormative identities. More recently, with continued influence from the LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender), bi, and trans movements and queer theory, sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity development are conceptualized in more positive, complex, and fluid ways.

Early models addressed the emergence and adoption of minority sexual identities. In the late 1970s, Vivian Cass developed a foundational, six-stage model of gay and lesbian identity development. The first stage, *identity confusion*, initiated by an awareness of thoughts, feelings, or expressions of same-sex attraction, is characterized by intense questioning, judgment, and turmoil. *Identity comparison* is the second stage, in which the individual begins to accept the possibility of a sexual minority identity and may experience self-alienation, social alienation, and loss. The third stage, *identity tolerance*, emerges as the individual acknowledges her or his lesbian or gay identity, respectively, and seeks connection with others who identify similarly, thus reducing both self- and social alienation.

Identity acceptance, the fourth stage, indicates that the individual accepts his or her identity, feels positively about this identity, is more comfortable "coming out," and is working through the tensions of challenging heterosexual norms. Immersed in gay and lesbian culture, the individual moves to the fifth stage, *identity pride*, where he or she generally sees the gay world as good and positive and the straight world as bad and negative. In the sixth and final stage, *identity synthesis*, an individual's sexual identity is integrated with her or his other personal and social identities. The intensity of anger toward heterosexual systems decreases as sexual identity is reincorporated with other aspects of the individual's identity.

Like Cass's model, other traditional models of sexual identity are linear, concentrating on the process of coming to terms with same-sex desire, changes in self-concept, and disclosure of an individual's sexual minority identity. While little empirical evidence exists to support these stages, three main markers in the process of sexual minority identity development are supported: (1) an awareness of being different from the norm, (2) exploration of both same-sex and other-sex attraction, and (3) coming out to oneself and others.

Bisexual identity development has received considerably less attention. Since sexual identity is constructed as dichotomous, bisexual identity development is characterized as more fluid, ambiguous, flexible, and complex. The notion of moving between or holding both identities challenges rigid and exclusionary constructions of sexuality.

Heterosexual identity development has been far less theorized, given that sexual identity rarely becomes salient unless it deviates from heterosexual norms. More recently, theorists have addressed the ways heterosexual identity is invisible and unmarked, perpetuating heteronormativity and placing a much greater burden on the minority status of nonheterosexual identities. The combination of difference from the norm, the associated "minority" status, and related challenges magnifies awareness of sexual identity development for nonheterosexuals while obscuring the privilege and power of heterosexual identities. Similar to racial majority identity development models, heterosexual identity development models highlight the unexamined, assumed nature of heterosexual identity and the conscious effort required to question how one's sexuality is normalized and to consider alternatives.

While they are beneficial, traditional models have been criticized for minimizing the complex, multidirectional, fluid, and unstable nature of sexual identity development. Research suggests that sexual orientation identity does not necessarily develop along prescribed pathways, nor do individuals consistently follow predictable stages. Sexual behaviors, orientations, and identities may shift and change over the course of an individual's life. Sexual behaviors, attractions, and identities are not always in alignment. Historical, political, social, and cultural contexts play a major role in how individuals experience, express, and label their sexuality and sexual identities; thus, models that challenge dichotomous constructions and dispute essentialist notions of sexuality are emerging.

Current models offer innovative approaches to address the multidimensional and universal aspects of sexual identity development. For example, Frank Dillon, Roger Worthington, and Bonnie Moradi propose a unified model that is not specific to a particular sexual identity group. This global approach highlights commonalities as well as differences across sexual identities and attends to the intersection of contextual factors that affect sexual identity development. The model accounts for differences based on membership in dominant and nondominant sexual groups, the multifaceted dimensions of sexual identity, and a wide range of developmental trajectories.

In the model, five statuses conceptualized as nonlinear and fluid are presented: (1) *compulsory heterosexuality*, an unexamined commitment to heterosexuality and heterosexual assumptions; (2) *active exploration*, purposeful exploration of one's sexuality, including consideration of privileges afforded or denied in a heteronormative society; (3) *diffusion*, characterized by a carefree or anxiety-inducing lack of commitment; (4) *deepening and commitment*, which is achieved either without exploration or through active experimentation; and (5) *synthesis*, where sexual identity, group membership, and attitudes about dominant and subordinate sexual identities coalesce into a coherent sexual self-concept.

Additional recent research attends to asexual identities, the increased acceptance among youth (particularly in Western cultures) of sexual diversity, and a growing resistance to sexual identity labels that essentialize and reify sexual identity categories.

Cultural Perspectives on "Coming Out"

Coming out or *coming out of the closet* is a figure of speech referring to the process of self-disclosure of one's sexual identity by LGBT people. Coming out of the closet entails publicly acknowledging one's sexual orientation and implies a refusal to hide one's sexual identity. Prior to the Stonewall Riots in 1969 in New York, the term *coming out*, used primarily within the gay community, connoted coming into a community of hope and support by and with others who identified as gay. In the post-Stonewall years, *coming out* took on a connotation of leaving the oppression and secrecy of the "closet," where sexual identity was hidden.

Coming out is experienced in a wide variety of ways depending on personal circumstances; national, regional, and cultural norms and expectations; gender; age; and religion, among other factors. The notion of coming out itself is premised on a particularly Western construction of identity and identity development, where coming out is the end goal of a process of clarifying, knowing, and publicly representing one's sexual identity. In many cultures in the world, sexual orientation is more usefully understood relationally, pointing to a range of attractions and experiences rather than necessarily constructing a "fixed" identity, which an individual becomes over time. Thus, there are multiple, complex, and far more subtle and ambiguous ways of experiencing alternative sexualities and relationships outside a Western framework of coming and being out.

Coming out is often a challenging experience due to heteronormative and homophobic assumptions and practices in society that psychologically and physically threaten and constrain people in the closet. Yet coming out is also frequently accompanied by feelings of exhilaration and liberation as individuals claim aspects of their identities in resistance to oppressive norms. While narratives of coming out commonly focus on a particularly salient time period in an individual's life when the process of self-disclosure begins, coming out is a lifelong process as people engage with new and different friendships, family members, and work networks. While the metaphor of being "inside" or "outside" the closet suggests a very clear dichotomous demarcation, it does not adequately describe the lived experience of most, which is to be both "in" and "out" simultaneously in different contexts.

A common assumption is that cultures with strict and separate gender roles are more likely to be constrained by heteronormative sexuality; yet this is not necessarily the case. In many countries, cultures, and subcultures where gender roles are relatively clearly defined, same-sex sexual practices are not uncommon. In other words, people who are married or project a public heterosexual identity may engage in a variety of same-sex sexual behaviors. However, the notion of publicly recognized identities that are nonheterosexual is uncommon. While gaining momentum, as evidenced by gay pride parades and marches by LGBT communities around the world, the construction of identities based on sexuality has been forged in the United States and Western Europe in the context of political advocacy for LGBT rights.

White males and, second, White females have often emerged as the "face" of LGBT communities and political organizing in the United States owing to their numeric majority, institutional power, and structural advantage. This has resulted in the conflation of alternative sexual identities with White European American culture and dismissal of the contributions and concerns of LGBT and queer people of color. (*People of color* is a term used in the United States to refer to diverse cultural groups.) Resistance to alternative sexualities in communities of color can result from cultural and religious traditions, yet other factors have significant impact. LGBT and queer people of color experience double and sometimes triple disenfranchisement and "othering" based on race, sexuality, and gender. In the United States, exclusion and targeting based on race has historically been more salient for LGBT people of color than sexual orientation; additionally, organizing in solidarity with dominant White LGBT groups has been viewed as betrayal of racial solidarity. Thus, coming out for people of color in the United States can carry additional consequences less likely to be experienced by those who are European American. Immigrant communities, regardless of race, may have less exposure to alternative sexual identities, less access to resources, and less knowledge of others who are "out," compounding the challenges of coming out, as well as acceptance by families and communities.

Relevance for Intercultural Communication

Effective intercultural communication is based on cultural self-awareness and other-culture awareness. Thus, an understanding of minority and majority sexual identities—both one's own and others'—as well as how these intersect with other identity categories, such as nationality, race, culture, gender, class, religion, and age, among others, is crucial. Attitudes, norms, stereotypes, and assumptions regarding sexuality vary along a vast continuum and are deeply shaped by culture, histories of colonization, and political and social interests, as well as the emergence of religious fundamentalism in the global context. Given that most societies and cultures in the world today are heteronormative to some degree, it is critical to develop sensitivity toward individuals' and culture groups' cultural approaches to sexuality, as well as choices about coming out and being out. Exploring culturally shaped assumptions about sexuality, sexual orientation, and sexual—identities challenges ethnocentrism and broadens understanding about sexuality and sexual identities.

Often, sexual orientation is experienced as either completely invisible or hypervisible. When dominant norms of heterosexuality—including socially constructed gender roles, opposite-sex romantic attraction, and displays of physical affection—are followed and practiced, sexuality is generally unquestioned, and heterosexuality is assumed. Yet when individuals or couples challenge the dominant norms of heterosexuality—in terms of gender norms, same-sex affection, or attraction—then their sexuality is marked and made highly visible. Highlighting heteronormative systems and the power and privilege conferred is in line with the study and practice of intercultural communication.

Intercultural relationships, whether friendship, family ties, workplace associations, or romantic relationships, constitute an area where differences in the understanding and experience of sexuality and sexual orientation are inevitable; thus, gaining the knowledge, skills, and strategies to navigate the complexities of sexual identities is central to intercultural communication. Sexual identities can also have a dramatic impact on an individual's intercultural adaptation and acculturation processes. Additionally, LGBT couples who may experience homophobia on a daily basis are also systematically excluded from marriage in most states in the United States, as of 2014, which restricts access to spousal petitions for citizenship for international partners.

Kathryn Sorrells

See also Constructivism; Essentialism; Sexual Orientation

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Sign Language

Sign language is the phrase used to describe various kinds of manual and gestural communication systems used by deaf people, and between deaf and hearing people. In fact, although there are a number of different kinds of signing, the term *sign language* (or, more accurately, *signed language*) refers only to a particular kind of signing. In other words, not all *signing* is *signed language*. There have been a number of systems of signs (commonly called *manual sign codes*) developed to facilitate the teaching and learning of spoken languages; these systems are not signed languages at all but, rather, are spoken languages presented in a visual/manual modality. Thus, systems such as CASE (Conceptually Accurate Signed English), SEE-I (Seeing Essential English), SEE-II (Signing Exact English), LOVE (Linguistics of Visual English), Signed English, and so on, all developed and utilized in deaf education in the

United States, are basically English, not signed languages at all. Furthermore, in common communication between deaf users of signed language and hearing people who sign, the kind of signing that is most often used is a kind of *contact sign language*, in which signs from the signed language are used but elements of the spoken language, such as word order, are also employed. Only the types of signing that have emerged naturally and are used as the vernacular languages of deaf communities are called *signed language* (as in the case of American Sign Language, or ASL). Manual sign codes, contact signing, and signed language differ from one another in a number of important ways. This entry reviews these three communication processes and the distinctions among them.

Manual sign codes typically assume that for every word in the spoken language, there must be a distinct sign in the manual sign code, and vice versa. Thus, there is a single sign for the English word *run* in the manual sign codes. The problem with this is that in ASL, there are a number of different concepts represented by the word *run* and each is signed differently, using a different lexical item: RUN-IN-A-RACE, RUN-FOR-CONGRESS, RUN-IN-A-STOCKING, NOSE-IS-RUNNING, RUN-A-BUSINESS, MACHINE-RUNNING-WELL, and so on. In contact signing, the ASL signs are commonly (though not universally) used.

Word order in manual sign codes follows that of the spoken language, as it tends to do in contact signing. In signed languages, however, this is not the case. Because the syntax of signed language is quite different from that of spoken languages and because a signed language allows syntactic elements to be expressed simultaneously, the word order is generally quite different. For instance, to ask the question "Have you been to New York?" in ASL, the word order is TOUCH FINISH NY^{YN}. (The superscript "YN" indicates a yes/no question and involves raising the eyebrows.) Inflectional markers representing grammatical information in a spoken language (*-ed*, *'s*, *s*, etc.) are mandatory in manual sign codes, as are specific signs for lexical items such as AM, ARE, and IS. These inflectional markers are only rarely used in contact signing and never used in signed language.

Voicing (i.e., speaking in conjunction with signing) is typically required in the use of manual sign codes, and is quite common in contact signing, especially when the signer is a hearing person. It is not used in signed language, in part because the use of a different word order would make it largely impossible. Finally, manual sign codes are visual and manual in nature, while contact signing and signed language are visual and gestural in nature. This is not a mere semantic difference: It means that all of the information conveyed in a manual sign code is present in the hands, while contact signing and signed language convey an immense amount of extremely important semantic and syntactic information using other parts of the body. For instance, in ASL, yes/no questions and WH-questions are distinguished not just by the question signs or word order but also by the position of the eyebrows, which are differently oriented depending on the type of question being asked.

In spite of a common misconception to the contrary, there is no single signed language used by deaf people around the world. Rather, there are a huge number of different signed languages, often tied geographically to particular countries (as in ASL, Australian Sign Language, British Sign Language, French Sign Language, Israeli Sign Language, New Zealand Sign Language, Russian Sign Language, Swedish Sign Language, etc.) but unrelated to the spoken languages of those countries. Signed languages are also often characterized by regional variation, which is typically related to different residential schools for deaf children, where signed languages have historically been passed on from child to child. In addition, since signed languages often emerged as a result of efforts to educate deaf children, many are historically related to the signed languages of those who first established educational institutions for deaf children in their particular setting. In the case of the United States, for instance, the initial linguistic model for ASL was French Sign Language, and thus, these two languages remain quite closely related. ASL and British Sign Language, on the other hand, are members of different signed language families and thus differ considerably in spite of the fact that the two countries share a common spoken and written language.

The contemporary study of signed languages dates back slightly more than half a century, to the 1960 publication of a monograph by William Stokoe titled *Sign Language Structures*. Stokoe was a young faculty member in the English Department at Gallaudet College, who found himself in the midst of a world in which signing was the common everyday means of communication. In spite of its ubiquity at Gallaudet, the consensus, among both hearing and deaf people, was that it was not really a language in any meaningful sense. Stokoe, applying what he knew of linguistics, disagreed with this view, suggesting that the signing he witnessed was indeed a real language. This language, identified as ASL, was not new; it had existed since the early 19th century (though it was not called ASL then, of course). Stokoe's view, which was initially met with considerable scorn and criticism, ultimately carried the day and led to a veritable revolution in the linguistic study of signed languages. Today, there are hundreds of articles and books devoted to the linguistic study of signed languages (ASL, to be sure, but also other signed languages around the world), addressing issues of phonology, morphosyntax, lexicography, semantics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and neurolinguistics. Some recent works have also dealt with the history of human language and communication, arguing that it is likely that prior to spoken language, human beings probably communicated using a signed language.

Along with the rise of a credible scientific knowledge base about signed language, as well as the growing disability rights movement, there has been an increasing concern with and focus on language rights for deaf people. In fact, as a result of this growing body of research concerned with the linguistics of natural sign languages, a 1985 UNESCO report went so far as to assert as an operating principle that sign language is a legitimate language and should be given the same status as other languages. The question is what such a commitment to the legitimacy of signed language actually means in practice. In most places, there continues to be a tension between the rights of deaf people as a group with a disability (i.e., a pathological or remedial approach) and the rights of deaf people as a linguistic and cultural group (i.e., a human rights approach). Although the difference may not initially appear to matter that much, it is a very important one for the deaf community and affects a number of areas of their lives.

An important element of the concern with the linguistic human rights of deaf people has been the official recognition of signed languages in many countries. The nature of this official recognition varies from one country and setting to another, as does the relative strength of the legislation involved (i.e., some kinds of official recognition are much stronger in terms of their potential impact than are others). Most commonly, the gaining of official status for a signed language serves three purposes: (1) a symbolic (but nevertheless important) recognition of the legitimate status of the signed language as the vernacular language of the national deaf community; (2) a guarantee of the linguistic rights of the signed language users, both in the judicial and legal process and in other social service contexts (e.g., the provision of signed language interpreters); and (3) a commitment to the use of the signed language in the educational domain. Although not all instances of official recognition include all three of these purposes, they are the most typical. On June 17, 1988, the European Parliament passed a Resolution on Sign Languages, which it reaffirmed in 1998, which recognized the legitimacy and importance of signed languages and specifically asks member states to remove obstacles to using signed language. The resolution called on the European Commission to deliver a proposal to officially recognize the use of signed language in each member state as well as to ensure the proper provision of signed language interpreters for the deaf. Finland is often credited with being the first country to officially recognize its signed language, but others that have done so to some extent and in some manner (though by no means completely) include most of the countries of the European Union, Australia, Belarus, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Iceland, Iran, Mauritius, Mozambique, New Zealand, Russia, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, Thailand, Turkey, Uganda, Uruguay, and Zimbabwe. In the U.S. context, the recognition of ASL has taken place at the state rather than the federal level, and at present, more than 40 states have granted it some sort of official status.

Although the education of deaf children is often considered part of the more general field of special education, this is a result of the history of viewing deaf people as disabled rather than focusing on their unique cultural and linguistic characteristics. In recent years, the paradigm for understanding deafness has undergone a huge change, and one of the more important aspects of this change has been the emergence of bilingual and bilingual–bicultural education programs for deaf children in which both signed language and spoken language are used not just for communicative purposes but as both the medium and sometimes the content of instruction. Such programs are increasingly common, both in the United States and around the world, and currently operate in Australia, Brazil, Canada (in ASL in Anglophone Canada and in Langue des Signes de Québécoise in Quebec), Chile, China, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, France, Ireland, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Russia, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Venezuela and have been advocated for in many other societies.

Timothy Reagan

See also Disability as Culture; Language, Culture, and Intercultural Communication; Prejudice/Bias/Discrimination; Respect

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Simulations and Games

Simulations and games are useful for expediting intercultural competence. They have been used in intercultural training programs since the early 1970s, when the Albatross simulation was developed by the School for International Training, and BaFa BaFa was created by R. Garry Shirts for the U.S. Navy. This entry will define simulations, clarify the purpose and function of simulations in training, and suggest resources.

Definitions

For the purposes of training for intercultural competence, simulations model a slice of life, not every bit of it. Simulations can be extremely realistic models, such as the cockpit of a plane for pilot training. But for intercultural training, less realism is necessary, largely because when the goal is to give the trainee a total immersion experience in a specific culture, it is possible to do that in the real world. An operating model suffices, since a classroom is not the place to create in its entirety a café in Paris, the Plaka in Athens, or the Ginza in Tokyo. Elements of each could be used in a simulation to give trainees practice in ordering at a French café or shopping in a Greek shop or Japanese department store. But sound effects, smells, background conversations, and the like would likely not be included, although they would definitely add to the real-world experience.

An intercultural simulation can be considered comparable to a realistic practice drill in an area prone to earthquakes. The drill would include various strategies for self-protection, but there would be no actual earthquake. In other words, it can be engaging and essential without the entire experience. To make them engaging, gaming elements are added to many intercultural simulations. The game elements simulate reality by creating the need to interact with others to achieve a goal. As with tennis, the game must be played within the rules; however, one still does not know how many times the ball will clear the net, exactly where it will land, and who will win. Life is like that; life in a foreign culture is especially like that.

Intercultural simulation games are patterned after real-life sets of behaviors involving decisions, constraints, payoffs, consequences, and the like within a simulated context of intercultural encounters. For example, the classic intercultural simulation game BaFa BaFa creates two hypothetical cultures made up of elements that exist in real-world cultures. The object is to experience the initial foray into another culture during planned visits and report back to the "home" culture so that subsequent visitors are prepared for what to expect. The participants are warned not to reveal their cultural rules to strangers, so the visitors must figure out what is going on from observing and trying to interact appropriately.

Purpose and Function

The purpose of using an intercultural simulation game is to challenge assumptions, expand perspectives, and facilitate change. If learning demands change, as many believe, attitudes and beliefs are likely to change, behavior can change, and skills could improve. Whether or not this happens depends on a skillfully facilitated discussion following the simulation game. The game provides a shared experience in a safe haven and brings various elements to the surface for discussion, which can lead to greater understanding of the dynamics of the intercultural experience, the issues that are likely to arise, and the roles of perceptions and emotions in successful intercultural interactions.

Simulation games function as a rich source of learning factors such as cultural baggage, perception, roles, values, beliefs, group dynamics, stereotyping, cultural norms, rules, attribution of meaning, communication barriers, and relationships. They provide opportunities to hone observation skills, develop coping strategies, test hypotheses, deal with frustration and confusion, and experiment with alternative ways of responding and behaving. Simulation games function as an opportunity to practice the skills that are needed in intercultural situations. People tend to rely on familiar patterns of behavior, especially during times of stress, and often behaviors that worked well in their home culture may not work at all, or even be detrimental, in a different cultural environment.

Another way simulation games aid in developing intercultural competence is by alerting participants to clues that indicate that there has been an intercultural misunderstanding. Cultural differences can be quite subtle—like in the simulation game Barnga, in which the rules at each card table for a tournament vary only slightly—and are often hard to identify. A simulation game can help people recognize the signs and symptoms of an intercultural impasse and teach them to step back and take a different approach. In those situations, most people without intercultural training are likely to keep pushing ahead, thinking that the other person just does not get it and needs to be told again, a little more loudly.

Sources and Resources

There is a relatively short list of intercultural simulation games that are readily available for purchase. The list would include BaFa BaFa (available from Simulation Training Systems), Talking Rocks (Simulation Training Systems), Albatross (The School for International Training), Barnga (Intercultural Press/Nicholas Brealy), StarPower (Simulation Training Systems), Ecotonos (Nipporica Associates), Diversophy (George Simons Associates), and Rocket (Intercultural Press/Nicholas Brealy). Helpful professional organizations are the North American Simulation and Gaming Association and the Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research USA.

According to Garry Shirts, his simulation teaches us that what seems irrational, contradictory, or unimportant to us in our culture may seem rational, consistent, and very important to a person from a different culture. That is true for all other well-designed intercultural simulation games and is the beginning of intercultural competence.

Sandra M. Fowler

See also Assumptions and Beliefs; Intercultural Training Creativity; Perceptions

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Social Identity Theory

Cultural, linguistic, and ethnic diversity is the rule rather than the exception in most countries of the world. Within such intergroup settings, people have a tendency to favor members of their own group relative to outgroup members. This *ingroup favoritism* effect is not only expressed in the more positive evaluation of ingroup than of outgroup members (ethnocentrism) but also in the allocation of more resources to ingroup than to outgroup members (discrimination). For critical resources such as jobs, promotions, and housing, discrimination has profound psychological impact, particularly when its victims are targeted because of their category ascriptions based on cultural background, ethnicity, language, social class, or gender. Being the victim of discrimination can undermine not only one's personal self-esteem but also one's social identity as a group member. Members of disparaged minorities have been shown to develop negative social identities, which in some cases have resulted in the rejection of the ingroup category membership as a valued badge of own-group belonging. Such *self-hate effects* were observed among some members of racialized minorities, such as African Americans in the 1950s, West Indians in Britain during the 1960s, French Canadians in the 1970s, and indigenous first nations in Canada, the United States, and New Zealand till today. However, ethnic and cultural revival movements of recent decades have shown that disparaged minorities can mobilize collectively to improve their position in the intergroup structure while redefining positively their distinctive social identity.

Social identity theory (SIT) proposes that group members do engage in a variety of identity management strategies to restore or improve their social identities. The next section of this entry presents a brief account of the classic minimal group paradigm (MGP) studies that gave rise to the formulation of SIT by Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner. Key elements of SIT are then described, with a focus on intergroup relations between ethnocultural groups in multicultural environments.

The Minimal Group Paradigm

In the laboratory setting, the MGP randomly categorizes individuals as members of contrasting groups who are assigned meaningless group labels such as Group K and Group W. Participants are asked to distribute valued resources such as money or symbolic points to anonymous ingroup and outgroup members. Classic sociological and historical factors known to contribute to discrimination, such as personal self-interest, competition for scarce resources, historical rivalries between groups, cultural differences, and ideologies of ingroup glorification and outgroup disparagement, are systematically eliminated from the MGP. Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner expected that in such minimal intergroup conditions, categorized people would find no good reason to discriminate against outgroup others, and an equal distribution of resources between ingroup and outgroup members would prevail. However, 30 years of MGP research has shown that "us/them" categorization and in-group identification are sufficient to trigger discrimination in favor of in-group members over out-group members. Studies showed that individuals who identified strongly with their own group discriminated while those who identified weakly did not and instead used parity in their resource distributions. SIT proposes that this discrimination effect reflects competition for a positive social identity. Discrimination allows individuals to establish the differentiation they need to gain a positive social identity relative to outgroup members. MGP studies showed that people enjoyed a more positive social identity *after* they discriminated than *before*, suggesting that people do discriminate to *achieve* a more positive social identity.

The original MGP studies were conducted between categorized groups of equal status, power, and wealth. To test discrimination effects in more realistic settings, MGP studies varied systematically the position of categorized groups as dominant/subordinate, rich/poor, and high/low status within minority and majority settings. Different patterns of discrimination and parity behaviors were obtained in MGP studies with group members whose position varied systematically as dominant/subordinate groups, rich/poor groups, and high-/low-status groups within minority and majority settings. For instance, MGP studies showed that dominant group members discriminated more than subordinate groups while poor group members discriminated more than rich group members. Regardless of their wealth and power, group members discriminated more when outgroup members were rich than when they were poor, suggesting that participants were more sympathetic to the plight of the poor than they were toward the advantaged wealthy. However, rich group members discriminated against the poor and the poor favored the rich when the criterion of individual merit was used as a basis for assigning group members to rich and poor groups in the MGP. Taken together, MGP studies show that both realistic conflict of interest and the need to maintain or achieve a positive social identity are complementary factors accounting for harmonious, problematic, or conflictual intergroup relations in both laboratory and field settings.

Social Identity Theory

SIT proposes that people prefer to belong to groups that give them a positive social identity. However, individuals cannot always choose their category memberships based on ascribed memberships such as gender, ethnicity, cultural background, and social class. SIT proposes that people who suffer from unsatisfactory social identity because of their devalued group ascription will usually engage in individualistic strategies such as seeking to *pass* into the advantaged group as a way of improving their objective situation and personal self-esteem. Thus, cultural minorities such as immigrants and national minorities may seek to assimilate into the dominant mainstream by learning the majority language, masking their accented speech, changing their name, and giving up their heritage culture for the sake of adopting the majority culture. However, this "passing" strategy can be achieved successfully only within intergroup settings that offer permeable group boundaries, allowing individual mobility from one social stratum to the other regardless of race, color, or creed.

Individual "passing" for meritorious disadvantaged group members may be impossible when dominant groups create impermeable intergroup boundaries, which they justify by using ideologically legitimated segregationist and discriminatory procedures. Under such circumstances, disadvantaged groups may be reduced to comparing themselves with subgroup members of their own group who are worse off than themselves as a way of bolstering their personal and collective self-esteem. For instance, immigrants may improve their social identity by comparing their income in the country of settlement with the income of their less well-off compatriots who remained in their country of origin. Identity enhancement strategies adopted by disadvantaged groups may also result in the formation of factions locked in sterile rivalries and symbolic feuds that do not challenge the objective ascendency of the dominant group. For example, disadvantaged immigrant subgroups may each strive to achieve positive social identity as they divide over religious issues, where one faction maintains the religious orthodoxy of the country of origin while another faction adopts the modernized versions of religious practices prevalent in the country of settlement. Thus, SIT contributes to our understanding of why objective conflicts of interest between rival groups do not always lead to intergroup tensions between dominant and disadvantaged groups.

SIT proposes that disadvantaged groups who perceive intergroup boundaries as impermeable but unstable and illegitimate may choose to redefine or create new dimensions of their group identity to compare more favorably with advantaged groups. From "Black Is Beautiful" to hip-hop music and culture, African Americans created new dimensions of comparisons that bolstered positive social identity and provided positive role models, inspiring alternative definitions of competence and achievement within the cultural mainstream. Eventually, such collective strategies of cultural redefinition and creativity can enhance positive social identity while promoting social competition on mainstream dimensions of—comparison such as scholastic and economic achievements.

Disadvantaged minorities may also act collectively to improve their position in the social hierarchy by competing with advantaged groups head-on through intergroup conflict and discriminatory practices. SIT proposes that intergroup competition for scarce resources and actual conflict against advantaged out-groups are functional strategies that not only can improve the social identity of disadvantaged groups but also may succeed in improving their objective position in the social structure through more equitable sharing of wealth, status, and power between groups.

SIT proposes that individuals belonging to advantaged groups also engage in strategies designed to maintain their favorable position within the intergroup hierarchy through legitimizing myths and beliefs. Advantaged groups are often in the decision-making position to bolster their positive social identity by legitimizing their "natural" superiority and justifying their dominant position within the intergroup structure. Advantaged groups can reify positively their language, accent, culture, and values as the defining characteristics of the national character, to which the majority and minorities should aspire to become worthy citizens of the state. Advantaged decision makers of states or corporations can adopt laws and rules that justify the assimilation, segregation, or exclusion of "undeserving" cultural, ethnic, or class minorities who do not fit the national character of the state or corporation.

SIT also provides the social identity processes needed to explain the discrimination and conflict that sometimes occur even when no objective conflict of interest exists between contrasting groups. Four types of identity threats are likely to nurture such intergroup tensions:

Direct identity threat occurs when valued dimensions of in-group pride are challenged symbolically by out-groups on cultural, linguistic, religious, or moral grounds. Such direct identity threats can be experienced by a national minority such as American Indians, whose language and culture are demeaned as being insignificant and not worthy of being taught in the school system. One response to direct identity threat is for minority group members to identify even more strongly as in-group members and to become more defensive, antagonistic, and separatist toward out-groups who undermine their group pride and loyalty.

Group distinctiveness threat is aroused when the unique identity of the in-group is subsumed under a larger national or corporate entity. Nationalist Québécois Francophones experience group distinctiveness threat when they are subsumed under the superordinate label "Canadian," while Anglophone Canadians suffer group distinctiveness threat when their identity is subsumed under American culture.

SIT can be aroused when the moral behavior of advantaged group members is challenged by out-groups who blame the group for its mistreatment of vulnerable minorities in the past. Blaming all current European Americans for the physical and cultural genocide of American Indians in the 19th and 20th centuries can undermine the positive identity of European Americans who feel ashamed of their ancestors' violence against American Indians.

Categorization threat is experienced when individuals are treated as group members when they would prefer to be regarded as individuals with specific skills and merits. An Asian American may experience categorization threat when reminded by a European American supervisor that her or his promotion in the organization was only possible because of an employment equity program recently adopted by the corporation.

SIT provides a framework that examines how both advantaged and disadvantaged groups may use a variety of intergroup strategies not only because they are competing for valued resources (status, power, wealth) but also because they wish to maintain or achieve a positive social identity for themselves and for members of their own group.

Richard Y. Bourhis and Annie Montreuil

See also Benchmarks in Diversity and Inclusion; Biracial Identity; Identity and Intergroup Communication; Prejudice/Bias/Discrimination

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Social Media and Networking

The use of social media and networking is one of the fastest growing and most quickly changing phenomena in the digital world. This rapid transformation seems to be governed by two conflicting principles. First is Moore's law, developed by Intel's cofounder Gordon Moore when he noted in 1965 that the number of transistors in an integrated circuit, and thus the overall computer processing power, had doubled every 2 years since their invention. Based on this observation, which has now been applied to the Internet, digital media, and computers, it is believed that each of them doubles in speed and capacity every 18 months to 2 years.

Based on Moore's law, Intel Corporation believes that by the year 2020, at the current expansion rate, every person on the face of the earth will be connected and have access to a computer or smart device. The world will be connected. With this connection, there will be more social media and networking among people, a global form of emancipation. The potential for human communication and the sharing of ideas seems to be unlimited.

The second principle is a statement by Wikileaks founder Julian Assange that the Internet is the most dangerous threat to freedom in the history of the world. It is Assange's belief that with the creation of Facebook and Google, the recent revelations of Edward Snowden, and the surveillance capabilities of many countries throughout the globe, we are now experiencing the greatest surveillance machine that has ever existed.

In the United States of America, the primary uses of social media are for personal communication, tracking of and comments by sports and entertainment celebrities, and news. Throughout the world, social uses of the Internet include Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and YouTube. But the ability to track and analyze consumer behavior and target individuals has become one of the main corporate uses of these platforms; personal information data tracking is one of the fastest growing industries worldwide. Although the government's tracking of personal data is a huge issue throughout the world, citizens of the United States seem more concerned than those from other countries. It is ironic that, in general, people from the United States are less concerned with the technological reach and data mining of personal information by various websites.

Google, Facebook, and other networking platforms have continued to grow worldwide, and their availability has expanded as more and more people connect online. However, in some countries, the Internet, when used as a tool for communication between people, has been perceived as a threat. For example, in China, after the Urumqi riots in 2009, the Chinese government shut down more than 2,700 websites used by Xinjang independence activists, including the blocking of Facebook and Twitter. The Chinese government blocked and made illegal most political sites against the state as early as 1989 with the protests at Tiananmen Square. This has become more effective each year as computer technology improves.

After blocking the use of U.S.-owned Facebook, the primary social network in China became the Chinese-controlled RenRen, which is a platform similar to Facebook. Although RenRen has limited political use as the central government prohibits criticism, it does monitor local and regional government complaints and has been known to use this information to stop local and regional corruption. Although RenRen is not as popular as Facebook was, as of July 2014, its social media Instagram has grown to more than 400 million subscribers in China, surpassing RenRen. During 2014, the Hong Kong political protests, news articles, social media posts, and images were almost completely censored by the Chinese central government.

During the Arab Spring movement in the Middle East, social media played a major role in the organization and dissemination of information in the region; there were millions of e-mails, messages, and tweets, which increased prior to the major protest activity. Although it is believed that local and regional individuals and political groups generated the political ideas and media action, it is likely that support came from beyond the regional borders; for example, international support was provided by North American Internet groups such as Anonymous. In an unusually strong use of censorship against the protesters, the governments of Syria, Egypt, and Libya used their power to track and shut down the Internet. In Tunisia, the government stole passwords for Facebook. In Bahrain and Saudi Arabia, the government is believed to have arrested and killed antigovernment bloggers.

Most countries have different mechanisms for the censorship and tracking of personal and political data on the Internet and in social media and networking. Among them is Bangladesh, where the Awami League government created a data surveillance program to target Facebook and other websites, looking for sites and individuals critical of the government.

Turkey is considered one of the most problematic countries in the world for repressive Internet policies. Since the Gezi protests of June 2013, protesters used Twitter, Facebook, and live streaming video to report on their activities that had been ignored by the international and Turkish media. Since then, the laws of Turkey have become more oppressive; in the Turkish city of Izmir, numerous Twitter users are on trial, charged with inciting riots, for retweeting information about the Gezi protests. The former Turkish prime minster Recep Tayyip Erdogan was listed as the victim in this case. The newspaper columnist Onday Aytac was sentenced to 10 months in prison for tweets critical of the prime minster. Other journalists have been charged for similar offenses.

The Internet and social media are tools not only for the progressive democracy movements but also for promoting terror against the West. YouTube and other social media have become the primary vehicles for recruiting and for creating an atmosphere of fear by Middle Eastern fundamental groups. Propaganda videos have included sermons by imams, recruiting of Western fighters, and the decapitation of Western hostages to advance the Islamists' ideology. Although Google and YouTube have attempted to remove these sites and messages, these groups have developed elaborate strategies to flood the Internet by resending material on new accounts as soon as Western Internet outlets have them removed. The Islamic State of Iraq and Levant and Al Qaeda are among the many international groups using the Internet to disseminate their messages.

Many experts believe that the United States, the United Kingdom, and India, with their advanced data mining technology, are considered the largest threat to Internet freedom. With the release of material by WikiLeaks and more recently by Snowden, it has been revealed that these democracies (especially the United States) have the world's most powerful systems for spying and potential censorship. Although the United States is traditionally considered to respect freedom of expression, recent advances in technology have opened the possibilities for abuse, which is not in line with the ideal of a free democracy. Reporters Without Borders considers the National Security Agency in the United States, the Center for Development of Telematics in India, and the Government Communication Headquarters in the United Kingdom to be developing technologies that will be used by most countries in the future.

Thus, the Internet has the potential to be the greatest tool ever devised for communication across cultures, but it also entails the threat of becoming an instrument for manipulating people and constraining or violating democratic freedom of information.

Miguel Gandert

See also Internet Identity; Media in a Globalized World; Online Global Communication

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Sociolinguistics

Studies and practices of intercultural communication have benefited from the insights gained through detailed explorations of how language is used by people in specific social contexts. Some dynamics of special concern to interculturalists in this regard are the ways one language can be used in a variety of ways, how users of a second language relate to first-language users, and how language itself cues specific and distinctive meanings to those with whom it is used. Dynamics such as these are of central concern to sociolinguists, who take the interaction of language and culture (or race, ethnicity, etc.) as their primary concern.

This entry focuses on the origins of sociolinguistics, the basic concepts in the field, recent developments, and its contribution to intercultural communication competence.

Origins of Sociolinguistics

Over the past decades, John Gumperz has pioneered a prominent body of work called *interactional sociolinguistics*. This approach is an interactive theory of meaning making that is designed to explore, among other things, intercultural communication, including misunderstandings and conflicts that are based on cultural differences. Two theoretical contributions, of many, in this body of work pertain to speaking activities—that is, how speakers routinely use devices that are *prosodic* (e.g., tone, pitch, or stress) and *paralinguistic* (e.g., pausing, pacing) to signal what they mean as they shape their interactional contexts. Gumperz conceptualized these ideas as *contextualization cues*. As part of this social process, people interpret these cues yet do so in a socially situated, culturally informed way. This process of interpretation can be understood, according to Gumperz, as *conversational inference*. By developing these and several subsequent ideas, Gumperz introduced the theory of interactional sociolinguistics.

In his many works, Gumperz has used these ideas to create a deeper understanding of the specific interactional sources of injustices, inequalities, ethnic stereotyping, and various types of misunderstanding. His specific analyses have demonstrated the crucial importance of attending to the fine-grained details of spoken interaction. For example, when a Black speaker said he would "kill the president," the conversational inference in a Black community was a metaphorical message of "doing him in politically." Others easily inferred a more literal meaning of physical harm, thus fueling political and interracial tensions. According to a famous incident Gomperz analyzed, a native-Hindi-speaking server in a cafeteria line in London said the word "gravy" with a flat intonation as a way of signaling politeness. Some British English diners inferred this flat intonation to be rude rather than a gracious invitation to have gravy on their meat. When a native-Hindi-speaking job applicant in England said in English, "Wembley," with an intonation that signaled one meaning, the interviewers inferred others, leaving the nontraditional applicant without a job. In these and countless other ways, Gumperz has not only made major theoretical contributions to our understanding of social interaction and intercultural communication processes but moreover has unveiled very practical insights into the micro- and macrodynamics of racial, ethnic, and intergroup relations.

Gumperz's groundbreaking books *Discourse Strategies* (focused as it is on interactional diversity) and *Language and Social Identity* are seminal readings for many in the field of communication. They have been foundational influences in—developing theories of, for example, cultural communication, speech codes, and cultural discourse analysis.

A second core figure in the study of sociolinguistics is Dell Hymes, who coedited *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication* with Gumperz. Hymes's entry in that volume developed a theoretical framework for a sustained and rigorous cross-cultural examination of communication. That framework draws to the readers' attention basic concepts for understanding communication practices as formative parts of social life, including communication events, communication acts, communication situations, speech communities, and ways of speaking. Each type of communication practice can (and should) be analyzed in a fine-grained way in eight phases. Each examines (1) the communication practice, (2) the setting, (3) the participants, (4) the ends (including goals and/or outcomes), (5) the actions (including sequences), (6) its key, (7) the instruments used, and (8) the norms for conducting and interpreting the practice and its relevant generic forms. Hymes's framework has been used subsequently all over the world in studies of cultural and intercultural communication.

Recent Developments

Sociolinguistic studies increasingly ground the study of language and communication in social and cultural "scenes." Theoretical developments have been made in the study of speech codes, cultural discourses, and intercultural communication. Sociolinguists have produced an impressive body of field studies on every continent in countless languages, about specific communication practices in various media, from face-to-face to social media, to mass-mediated forms. A variety of communication events have been examined in cross-cultural perspective, from politically partisan hate speech to dialogic forms; various communication acts have been explored, from apologies to speaking the unspeakable; assorted ways of speaking have been examined, such as interreligious and interracial dialogues. Recent attention has been devoted to the method of sociolinguistic analysis itself, with a special emphasis on field research. A significant contribution of this work is its ability to gain a perspective on the ethics of comporting oneself well in intercultural contexts and of working well with others who are different. With the continuing development of sociolinguistic theory, methodology, and field studies, intercultural competence is supported by a depth of knowledge, both locally and generally, that is needed for all sectors of society, including education, health, law, and politics.

Donal Carbaugh

See also Applied Linguistics; Cross-Cultural Communication; Intercultural Communication and Language; Language Use and Culture; Pragmatics

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Space (Proxemics)

Proxemics is the study of how space and distance affect, and are a part of, nonverbal communication. The size of a room, the placement of desks or chairs, and an open or closed door, all of these are aspects of space that influence interpersonal communication. The separate cubicles or rooms that are the norm for U.S. American offices, and that guarantee a certain amount of privacy, do not allow for the constant group communication that can be found in a Japanese office, where everyone, even the supervisor, has a desk in one open room, without even dividers between desks. Distance can be a powerful metaphor when referring to human relationships, as in a *close* friend or someone appearing *quite distant*. One of the most common terms used to explain Japanese interpersonal relationships is *uchi* (those *within* one's sphere of interaction) and *soto* (those *outside* that sphere).

This entry will examine two separate areas of proxemics that can affect intercultural communication: (1) territoriality and (2) interpersonal communication space.

Territoriality

Territoriality is a term that many people associate with studies of animal behavior. Some animals stake out a territory and act as if they *own* it, fiercely defending it against intruders. Humans are territorial animals, and many wars have been fought because of disputes over which country or group of people has rights over a certain territory. At the level of interpersonal communication, three different types of personal territory may be identified: (1) primary, (2) secondary, and (3) public. *Primary territories* are for the exclusive use of an individual and include the invisible bubble that surrounds the body, as well as *my* house, *grandma's* bedroom, or *Dad's* chair. If these territories are thought of as *possessional territories*, they may include personal effects. Even in a more group-oriented culture like Japan, where other family members may share primary territories, the cultural norm is for each member of the family to have his or her own rice bowl. *Secondary territories* are those between private and public, like the small local eatery or bar that the people of the neighborhood feel as their own. *Public territories* are open for ownership by anyone, like *my* seat in the movie theater, *my* cubicle in the public restroom, or *my* parking space at the mall.

Interpersonal conflict may arise when personal territory is violated (with overt gaze or by talking loudly on a cell phone), invaded (standing or sitting too close on an uncrowded train), or contaminated (finding a human hair in the salad at a restaurant). What is considered a violation, an invasion, or contamination will vary greatly from culture to culture as well as between individuals. While people in more individualistic cultures tend to defend *my* territory, collectivists guard *our* territory. Individuals with strong uncertainty avoidance orientations may react altogether differently than individuals who are highly accepting of ambiguity. One should also remember that some violations, invasions, or contaminations may be perceived quite positively because of the type of interpersonal relationship—the relationships one has with family members, lovers, close friends, or people one highly respects or really likes. Healthcare providers, flight attendants, or police officers may also be expected to *invade* the territory of patients, passengers, or citizens in the course of their jobs.

Interpersonal Communication Space

Proxemics is also concerned with interpersonal communication space. E. T. Hall called this *informal space* and divided it into four conversational distances: (1) *intimate*, (2) *personal*, (3) *social*, and (4) *public*. According to Hall, intimate ranges from physical contact (zero proxemics) to about 18 inches, personal from 1½ to 4 feet, social from 4 to 12 feet, and public from 12 feet to the limit of visibility or audibility. These distances, however, can vary greatly according to the culture or the situation. For example, the typical personal distance in the United States or Korea is about 2½ feet, while that in Japan is closer to 4 feet.

Thus, a Korean university student may feel quite comfortable talking to an American counterpart because of the unconscious spacing that feels right for both of them. However, the same Korean student may feel that a Japanese person is distant or cold when that person tries to widen the interpersonal communication distance. By the same token, the Japanese person may feel that the Korean student is pushy or getting too close when the Korean student tries to shorten the distance between them.

The gender, age, status, and physical as well as psychological characteristics of the interactants will also affect the interpersonal communication distance. The topic or subject of the conversation, as well as its emotional intensity, may also be factors. Both men and women tend to stand closer to women than to men. Children usually interact with other children as well as with adults at closer proximity than adults interact with each other in the same culture. People in positions of lower status must usually increase the interpersonal communication distance when interacting with people in higher status positions. People of high status are usually given more freedom in choosing how close they want to approach others. Very tall people, very short people, or people in wheelchairs may have problems in adjusting to other people's personal space expectations. People choose closer distances when talking about personal matters than when discussing neutral topics, and friendly or happy interactions are closer than unfriendly or unhappy ones.

Body angle is also an important part of the proxemics of interpersonal communication. Sitting, kneeling, or changing one's body posture will not only affect communication distance but, in some cases, might also increase the chances for smoother communication. For example, wheelchair users, who naturally feel looked down on by people standing over them when conversing, often report more positive interactions with people who adjust themselves to their level.

Space is one powerful part of nonverbal communication. Becoming more aware of the specific cultural norms governing territory and interpersonal communication space is an aspect of intercultural competence, while avoiding stereotypical expectations of proxemic norms in a particular culture. Ironically, sometimes getting closer to someone may involve actually increasing the distance between the people interacting.

Jeff Berglund

See also Body Language (Haptics); Disability as Culture; Eye Contact (Oculesics); Facial Expressions/Universal; Hall, E. T.; Intercultural Nonverbal Communication; Privacy; Value Dimensions: Hofstede

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Speech Acts

Speech acts are common in everyday communication. When people speak, they perform certain acts. Speech act theory, which concerns the actions performed by means of language, is one of the key aspects of pragmatics. It was first introduced by the philosopher John L. Austin in *How to Do Things With Words* and further developed by John R. Searle, also a philosopher. Austin suggested that language can be used not just to say things but also to do things. In different social and cultural contexts, people use their native language and/or other languages to communicate with one another to achieve specific purposes. The concept of speech act plays a crucial role in language studies. Studies on speech acts are important to the understanding of communication among speakers of the same and different languages. They highlight and provide insights into the complex relationship between linguistic forms and sociocultural contexts. The research findings help individuals achieve effective communication; reduce misunderstandings and breakdowns in communication, especially in intercultural contexts; and have a better understanding and appreciation of languages and cultures.

This entry describes the three acts of utterance, the classification of speech acts, and some areas of research on speech acts. It also discusses the relationship between speech acts and pragmatic (or intercultural) competence. Finally, it focuses on the relationship between speech acts and second-language acquisition.

Speech Acts: Three Acts and Classification

Austin and Searle, who were working in the field of the philosophy of language, contributed greatly to the concept of speech acts. Austin developed a threefold distinction among the acts of utterances: (1) *the locutionary act*, which refers to the act of saying something, that is, the actual utterance and its literal meaning; (2) *the illocutionary act*, which refers to the act performed in saying something, that is, the intention of the speaker while uttering the words; and (3) the *perlocutionary act*, which refers to the act performed by saying something, that is, the effects of the utterance on the hearer. The terms *speech act*, *illocutionary act*, and *illocutionary force* are generally used interchangeably to refer to the act that the speaker intends to perform with an utterance. Searle classified illocutionary acts into five categories, namely, (1) representatives (also known as assertives), (2) directives, (3) commissives, (4) expressives, and (5) declarations. *Representatives* are acts in which speakers commit themselves to the truth of the propositional content of the utterance. *Directives* are acts in which the speaker gets the hearer to do something in the future. *Commissives* are acts in which speakers commit themselves to some future course of action. *Expressives* are acts in which speakers express their psychological state about, or attitudes toward, some state of affairs. Finally, *declarations* are acts to bring about a change in some current state of affairs.

There can be many ways to perform a speech act in a language. It is widely acknowledged that the speaker's choice of linguistic realizations of a speech act is determined by various contextual factors of the situation in which the utterance is produced. Speech acts can be categorized into direct and indirect speech acts in terms of the degree of the directness between the forms, such as the sentence structure and the functions. A direct speech act expresses a direct relationship between its form and function—the intended meaning is the same as the literal meaning. Indirect speech acts, however, do not convey such a correspondence. The intended meaning is different from the literal meaning. Most indirect speech acts involve conventional use of language. To arrive at the intended meaning of the speaker, the hearer has to apply both linguistic and pragmatic knowledge of a language effectively. This creates challenges for the hearer, especially when a second or foreign language is used in the communication. One of the reasons speakers perform indirect speech acts is to prevent the acts from offending the listener. The politeness theory proposed by Penelope Brown and Stephen C. Levinson provides a theoretical foundation for studies on how politeness is realized in speech acts in and across different languages.

Speech Acts: Some Research Areas

Speech acts, as common phenomena in human interaction, have been studied over the past few decades. Those that have been studied include requests, complaints, refusals, suggestions, thanks, apologies, and compliments. Researchers have investigated speech acts, speech act responses, and speech act sets, which are combinations of individual speech acts that form a complete speech act when they are produced together, in and across different languages and cultures. There are many studies that attempt to provide definitions, examine the features and functions of certain speech acts in different languages, and compare them across languages to find patterns, similarities, and differences. One of the main concerns of speech act researchers is to understand the diversity and universality of speech acts across languages and cultures. They have investigated the similarities and differences of certain speech acts performed by native speakers of different languages, especially in Western cultural contexts. A large number of studies have focused on the social and cultural situations in which speech acts are performed, the pragmatic strategies and linguistic realizations, such as the syntactic structures and lexical items realizing the speech acts, in terms of their forms, functions, classifications, distribution, and patterns. Others have examined the influence (and the extent of such influence) of the social, cultural, and contextual factors of specific situations on the speaker's selection of strategies and realizations of speech acts. In the literature, a range of types and classifications of speech acts and strategies of the particular speech acts have been proposed. Taxonomies and categorization models in previous speech act studies, although they often overlap and differ from one another in terms of comprehensiveness, are usually employed in studies with similar research objectives. The studies on speech acts, to a certain extent, reveal not only the linguistic forms and pragmatic rules and principles of the use of speech acts in different languages but also the related sociocultural attitudes, values, and beliefs that govern the use of language in the speech acts used in different communicative situations in the speech communities. The findings that emerged from the analyses provide evidence of some sociocultural norms of speech acts, which might not be noticed by native speakers. The conventional constructions and formulas of speech acts employed by native speakers of a particular language are often regarded as rules of appropriateness of the use of speech acts by non-native speakers (or learners) of that language, especially in the studies that compare the speech acts performance of native speakers with that of non-native speakers. Different aspects of cultural universality and variations identified and generalized in the studies, including the concepts, sets, and patterns of pragmatic strategies that are typically used by native speakers of different languages, have practical implications for the teaching and learning of second and foreign languages. Therefore, they contribute to the achievement of successful communication between people from different language and sociocultural backgrounds.

Speech Acts and Pragmatic Competence

The study of speech acts clearly reflects the correlation between language and the culture in which it is embedded, which is necessary for a better understanding of cross-cultural and cross-linguistic communication. Pragmatic (and intercultural) competence is highly related to the knowledge and awareness of the concepts and practices of speech acts in different contexts of interaction. Misunderstandings and breakdowns in communication between individuals who do not share the same language and culture may arise when there is a failure to understand a speaker's intended meaning in the interaction due to cross-cultural differences in the interlocutors' production and perception of speech acts. To achieve successful cross-cultural communication, it is important for communicators to enhance their awareness of the cross-cultural and cross-linguistic distinctions in the realization of speech acts strategies. In addition, intercultural competence requires that people develop their abilities of conveying, interpreting, and responding to speech acts in a linguistically, socially, and culturally appropriate manner. With the increasing opportunities in cross-cultural communication, researchers have been investigating sociocultural and interactional rules and their roles in communication. A great deal of research has explored the areas where non-native speakers (or learners) of different languages might be considered inappropriate, and in particular confusing, disrespectful, and confrontational, by native speakers of those languages when non-native speakers (or learners) produce and react to speech acts. Studies have observed that people seem more tolerant of linguistic incompetence than failures in pragmatics. The improper speech act performance of non-native speakers in the target language may lead to unpleasant feelings in native speakers and may prompt them to judge the non-native speakers as uncooperative, impolite, and offensive, which may result in negative evaluations about the non-native speakers' personal character and, more seriously, the risk of isolation and alienation in the community of the target language.

Researchers working on the speech acts performance of native and non-native speakers usually collect data by recording elicited conversations and naturally occurring speech in particular situational settings and by means of a written Discourse Completion Task/Test. The Discourse Completion Task/Test is a task consisting of different situations to which the participants in the study are expected to respond, after imagining themselves in the speech events and taking into account the characteristics of their hypothetical communicators and of the context in which the interaction takes place.

Speech Acts and Second-Language Acquisition

The fact that the level of language proficiency of language learners does not imply the same level of pragmatic competence means that miscommunication regarding speech acts in real-life situations can be encountered by learners with low proficiency in a particular language as well as advanced language learners who have a thorough knowledge of the phonology, grammar, and lexis of that language. Learners' lack of pragmatic knowledge can make them appear incompetent and may bring about serious consequences in certain situations.

Researchers in the field of second-language acquisition have examined a range of issues about the production and comprehension of speech acts by language learners and their acquisition and development of pragmatic competence in their second and foreign languages. This research can help them overcome potential cultural barriers, accurately and appropriately express and interpret speech acts, and hence become effective communicators in a second or foreign language. Studies in these areas have focused on (a) language learners' acquisition of linguistic elements of the target language for producing appropriate linguistic forms that correspond to the speech acts and (b) the acquisition and development of learners' awareness of the social and cultural values and norms of the target language and culture, which govern the appropriate use of speech acts.

Studies have also examined the development of learners' ability to apply the pragmatic rules and principles of the target language to produce and perceive speech acts appropriately in different contextual situations; other studies have investigated the instruction of linguistic and pragmatic knowledge of speech acts in the classroom for second- and foreign-language learners and the design of classroom activities and course materials that develop language learners toward a more native-like pragmatic behavior.

Winnie Cheng and Tiffany Nok Hang Ching

See also Language, Culture, and Intercultural Communication; Language Use and Culture; Multilingualism; Pragmatics

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Spiritual and Religious Diversity

For some, spiritual and religious diversity drives a search for truth or personal identity, while for others, it is a tool that addresses workplace harassment and discrimination; for still others, it is a misunderstood and undervalued dimension of diversity, somewhat discouraged by the parental counsel of "never talking about religion or politics." Observable, culturally embedded behaviors disclose its presence in our daily lives. It is expressed locally, nationally, and globally. Interculturalists frequently examine these dimensions solely for their dysfunctional expression when engaged by organizations facing hate speech, overt hostility, or abuse of power. The spiritual dimension of diversity is rarely examined the way race, gender, sexual identity, and disability have been for their inherent contributions to social and organizational development. This is unfortunate, since many spiritual and religious diversity advocates fought boldly to elevate those aspects of diversity. In the United States, this is equally baffling since religion is the singular dimension of diversity that is mentioned in the U.S. Constitution, which was written with the intent to protect religious expression from governmental interference.

Among diversity building blocks, spiritual and religious diversity frequently is categorized, although not always recognized as such, within the *internal dimensions of diversity*, or that grouping of diversity descriptors that are considered innate and immutable, such as gender, race, or sexual orientation. For many, spirituality is a primary and axiomatic component of the human condition. It exists; it cannot be changed; it is core. It comes with the basic birth package. Others consider religion and spirituality as an expression of the *external dimensions of diversity*, that is, a created variable with specific norms, attitudes, and beliefs established by individuals or groups. As such, spiritual and religious diversity exists in a parallel process consistent with other dimensions of diversity that are social constructs.

This entry examines spiritual and religious diversity as a constructive cultural dimension within the intercultural dialogue. It describes the distinction between spiritual diversity and religious diversity; it discusses their intersection; and finally, it identifies the core competencies required of interculturalists to facilitate these underutilized dimensions of diversity.

Spiritual Diversity

Spiritual diversity is identified by an awareness of, or connectivity with, a core reality such as a god or an assemblage of spirits; an abiding sense of well-being; or unity with Nature or Mother Earth. Tools for spiritual acumen range from sacred texts as varied as the *I Ching* or Sufi poetry to contemporary publications such as *Spirituality for Runners*, *Spirituality for Humanists*, or *The Little Book of Atheist Spirituality.* Spirituality's primary author is the individual, although teachers, shamans, mystics, scholars, psychologists, and yoga teachers may support individuals in their search. Progressive levels of spiritual growth seek a transcendence that engages individuals with something that is other or bigger than they are. For example, some seek the Buddhist path of emptying the self and living a righteous life. Others may follow the mystic ascetics of the covenant religions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Still others recognize that every dimension of their life is related to the presence of gods, as in the Hindu tradition and that of many indigenous communities. Spiritual diversity's end product is a sense of peace, centering, or calming. Spirituality also fuels a humanitarian drive to help others in building a better world without any reference to a validating deistic belief system. From an intercultural perspective, agnosticism and atheism could be considered forms of spirituality.

Spirituality exists within a primary cultural dilemma, namely, the tension between individualism and collectivism. It favors individualism. Spiritual diversity tends to be inclusive, eclectic, and generally person focused, in distinction to the boundary-enforcing dynamics of collectivism. It generally knows no hierarchy or enveloping organizational structure. It is a statement of "I believe" in distinction to "We believe." Demographics from ethnic and national communities that are highly individualistic support an avid interest in spirituality in distinction to religion.

James Fowler, in his research of the six stages of spiritual development, proposed that the most profound spiritual level occurs when individuals integrate multiple and varied traditions into their personal spiritual synthesis. This stage coincides with the more adult or generative stages of adult development. Characteristically, it shows openness to others' beliefs, thus engendering a broader, holistic, inclusive, and interdisciplinary personal spiritual identity. It is conceivable that as many spiritualities exist as there are individuals, so the task of facilitation is daunting. The often heard assertion that "I'm a spiritual person but not a religious person" points to the importance of spirituality, as well as an untold tale of why individuals and groups have increasingly moved away from a religious collective identity. Spiritual diversity should never be equated with religious diversity, although it contains the same constitutional protections as religious diversity.

Religious Diversity

Religious diversity is distinctive by its overriding collectivistic nature. Religions contain conceptual and organizational systems that are as culturally varied as the cultures that surrounded their leaders, such as Moses, Jesus, Muhammad, Siddhartha Gautama, Martin Luther, or Sun Myung Moon. From those foundational experiences, all religions have exponentially morphed into contemporary institutions with their varied fissions, feuds, and fabrications, as well as their distinctive architectures and treasured icons. There are roughly 730 religions worldwide, with 3,000 or more emergent and divergent sects. Religious institutions culturally balance the implications of their founding context; their evolving historical, cultural, and theological development; and their current efforts to bridge that past with the current and future demands of contemporary local, national, and global culture. Some religions choose to tenuously hold to the cultural displays of their founders, most obvious in their choice of ceremonial dress and rituals, while others adapt to the prevalent cultural norms appropriate to their embedded communities. Religions contain doctrinal tenets that are directly or diffusely communicated and whose meanings must be translated in their enveloping cultural and historical milieu. Some religions span centuries, creating a broad and sometimes contradictory interpretation of their truths when placed under the evolving social, historical, and scientific lens. Generally, religions have an endorsed leader or leadership group. Leaders can be chosen or divinely appointed, locally empowered or globally mandated, and they display autocratic, democratic, or laissez-faire management styles. Religious organizations support, create, or enforce core doctrinal beliefs regarding the human condition and its relationship to the world, and for some, their expectations of what happens in the next world or life cycle. Religions have a collectivistic commitment to "truth," albeit their own truth, that establishes an inward-focused unity of shared belief as well as a baseline to dramatically exclude individuals who think, believe, or act differently. Those truths also inform how their organizations interact with other cultural systems, such as governmental structures, educational associations, health-care services, and economic institutions. They may act or focus inwardly as a protective sanctuary from a perceived hostile entity or as a wellspring of strength and energy to encounter those same systems for influence, participation, and integrative development.

Spiritual and religious diversity are not mutually exclusive and may complement each other. Over the centuries, individuals and religious institutions generated different empowering spiritualities based on personal charisma and insight. Those spiritualities drew admiring supporters who collectively replicated those expressions in guilds, fraternities, sororities, or private devotional practices. Multiple spiritualities may simultaneously exist within a religion, presenting dissimilar behaviors and styles within their core cultural expression. Religion's reaction to those spiritualities may be positive and inclusive or, as history has proven time and again, negative and rejecting, giving rise to claims of heresy, intra- and interreligious suspicion, and ultimately hostility.

Facilitating interreligious diversity interventions is complicated due to the collectivistic nature of religions in distinction to the individualistic nature of spiritual diversity. Common ground is generally found with individuals of good will, who also inclusively respect others' spiritual path when exploring their interspiritual differences. Intrareligious diversity facilitation, in contrast, requires an ability to identify the cultural complexity within an organization, from its inception to its current expression. Discerning the core values, beliefs, and behaviors of a religion and distinguishing what has evolved due to the influence of other cultural forces requires a keen analytic mind, exposure to large-group facilitation dynamics, and knowledge of organizational development. Because cultural forces influence inter- and intra-religious discussion, the first reaction of the we/they conflict must be anticipated, addressed, and transcended. Historically, such dialogues have moved toward divergence in distinction to inter- or intra-religious convergence.

Core Competencies for Engaging Spiritual and Religious Diversity

Personal Rootedness

Interculturalists need to be clear about their personal level of spiritual and religious development before facilitating others. It matters little if an interculturalist is a staunch believer, an avid doubter, an impassioned atheist, or an inquisitive agnostic. What matters is knowing where inquiring interculturalists stand and how comfortable and credible they are in working with someone who is different. Exposure to the positive and negative effects of spiritual and religious upbringing, regardless of whether one is still involved in that tradition, is critical for working with individuals or institutions in negotiating spiritual and religious diversity dilemmas. Equally important is a demonstrable ease in overcoming the social complexity of discussing religion and spirituality, with all its positive and negative emotional attachments. Validation of the spiritual and religious diversity in others requires understanding how those same dimensions have been and are currently manifested both positively and negatively in one's own behavior. That consciousness is a starting point for discussion, empathic engagement, and explorative facilitation.

Baseline Knowledge

Understanding the tenets and cultural behaviors of the five major religions of the world (Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism) is the baseline for entry into spiritual and religious diversity facilitation. Equally important is an understanding of the inherent biases and historical tensions within those religious systems toward the others. Sharing knowledge demonstrates the interculturalist's curiosity, professionalism, and credibility. It also sets the foundations for discerning core and diffuse intra- and interreligious dilemmas. While governments have used law to criminalize religious hate speech, few interculturalists on a personal or institutional level have the knowledge, attitude, and skills to effectively use spiritual and religious diversity as a tool for resolving local, regional, or national problems that seed conflict. The generalized search for the most common shared points, let us say the "Golden Rules" within most spiritual and religious traditions, potentially stops the learning and integrating process with the minimizing statement that "we all believe in the same god" or "we're all spiritual and truth seekers." Affirming commonalities is a starting point. Using interreligious knowledge to comprehend the variables in spiritual and religious systems and the engagement skills to inclusively connect the dots for comprehension, collaboration, and empowering reconciliation is a yet untested aspect of using religion and spiritual diversity in society.

Validating Neutrality and Nonjudgmental Inquiry

Regardless of their personal origins and preferred spiritual and religious beliefs or nonbeliefs, interculturalists are required to facilitate the inquiry of religion and spirituality as a cultural phenomenon and avoid all personal bias and emotions. There are no right or wrong religions or spiritualities, although many religious organizations would vehemently disagree. Denying the presence of a god or gods, usually understood as atheism, or rabid evangelization or militancy for belief in the "true god" is immaterial. Rather, the spiritual and religious diversity inquirer focuses on the identification and exploration of the what, how, and why of those beliefs and their impact on the interpersonal and intersystemic relationships that support the growth and development of organizations and individuals. Sustained neutrality allows for greater understanding of the potential impact of spiritual and religious diversity on the other more studied and external dimensions of diversity, namely, the educational, governmental, medical, and economic diversity that directs our society.

Martin F. Bennett

See also Developing an Intercultural Vision; Meta-Ethical Contextual Position; Pluralism; Religious Contexts

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Standpoint Theory

Standpoint theory, which came into prominence in the 1980s and 1990s, is both a way of knowing and a means of accessing the knowledge that particular groups of people have about the conditions of their lives. Being both epistemological and methodological, the very nature of standpoints is controversial, and how one should categorize standpoint theory within academic literature and political advocacy remains contested today. This entry explores standpoint theory's variations and foundations before turning to the ways in which it is relevant to intercultural processes and a global society.

Standpoint Theory's Variations and Assumptional Bases

Standpoint theory originated with multiple theorists operating fairly independently, exploring the notion that members of groups that are marginalized and oppressed in particular contexts can have significant and substantial insight into the way the world works. Their insight is honed through their need to know not only how members of their identity group would think, value, behave, and feel but also what those who are privileged might do and how these dominant societal members would likely react in different circumstances. For instance, women who are abused by their partners in close personal relationships know what it means to be abused physically, emotionally, and/or mentally, but they also must figure out their abusers. They must sort out what triggers such abuse to protect themselves and others. They may have keen insight into the recurring cycles of their own abuse. But it is not until they have collaborated with others in similar circumstances that they can see more fully the systemic patterns of abuse. They may then identify such patterns' linkages to particular group members' vulnerabilities and to societal structures that endeavor to both protect those who are abused and unwittingly enable the conditions that perpetuate abuse.

For many theorists, the gendered nature of abuse is most significant in analyzing the power dynamics of abuse, admitting that men as well as women can be subjected to abusive behavior. However, in the example created for this entry, the ways of knowing by those who are abused are presented as related not only to gender but also to class, race, religious, national cultural, ethnic, and other intersecting identities. Although there are primary processes whereby power dynamics operate to subordinate group members, such as the women in this example, the point here is that standpoints encompass multiple intersections of race, class, and other identity groupings into which people are born or become members by choice or by necessity. Sorting through these interlocking systems of oppression is a key challenge for standpoint theorists, researchers, and advocates for change.

Moreover, these interlocking systems are suffused with rights, entitlements, and benefits. Such advantages complicate the way theorists and methodologists approach standpoints because of assumptions about privilege. Continuing with the example, in the past scholars and theorists had not recognized abuse under particular conditions. Women who are abused may be members of dominant or privileged groupings, with privileged groups typically composed of members who are White, educated, upper or middle class, able bodied, and/or heterosexual, among other identity groupings. Such women who are abused may neither label themselves as victims nor be willing at first to discuss their abuse because of the benefits afforded by their privileged statuses. Thus, their positions are spaces of privilege and marginalization, of taken-for-granted and enlightened understandings, of generalities and particular conditions, of seemingly free choice, and of constrained as well as contested agency.

Whereas standpoints focus on group members' understandings of their societal positions, these group members' ways of knowing are not and cannot be uniform because of the different circumstances in which individuals live and work. How to build knowledge about the lived conditions of particular collectivities while also admitting the diverse variations and intersectionalities of identity groupings is highly controversial. On the one hand, to identify the needs, interests, values, and marginalization of a particular group provides insight into their ways of thinking about and handling their worlds, and their perspectives on those who (often unconsciously) oppress them. An implication of this critical theoretical approach is that, once identified and exposed, group members and their advocates can make changes to better the conditions of those who are oppressed. On the other hand, the intersectional and postmodern perspective on standpoints is embedded in beliefs that there are multiple and shifting realities that would prevent coherent understandings and calls to action. A pragmatic approach to these debated theoretical and epistemological lenses is to look for unifying commonalities while also admitting differences.

This kind of pragmatic approach can bridge the differences that divide standpoint theorists and researchers but is complicated by the very nature of standpoints themselves. As alluded to earlier, some writers present standpoints as points of view honed by particular group members and incorporating the detailed descriptions of their lives. Such a treatment of standpoints fixes group members' vantage point in time and space. Although useful for explanatory and advocacy reasons, this conceptualization of standpoints is inadequate. Standpoints are processes in which individuals, as members of intersecting groups affording privilege and presenting conditions for marginalization, come to understand how they as members of these groups are both enabled and constrained by their own and others' understandings of their positions. These understandings mean that members of marginalized groups may never fully feel physically safe, or assume that they will be treated with respect, or live in settings where they can assume that they will receive high-quality educational materials or healthcare. Over time, they have learned as a survival strategy to be suspicious about members of dominant groups. They may come to recognize how their social location affects who they are as group members and how this prompts others to see and treat them. Their recognitions about how such marginalization plays out in their lives are ongoing. Thus, standpoints are dynamic and changing processes.

Standpoint processes are not, however, deterministic. Although there are structural forces that militate against those in marginalized positions—such as lack of access to quality educational and healthcare institutions—such forces are socially, historically, economically, culturally, and politically constructed by members of marginalized and dominant groups. Indeed, it is because standpoints are ongoing achievement processes whereby group members recognize their lived intersections of marginalization and privilege that change can occur. It is because standpoints involve lifelong sense making and learning that members who have privilege can develop knowledge that assists others.

Standpoint Theory's Relevance to Intercultural Processes and a Global Society

As noted above, there are ongoing tensions in standpoint theory between coherent presentations and knowledge geared toward emancipatory goals (the critical angle) and the acknowledgment that there are multiplicities in women's and men's lives that forestall progress toward particular goals (the postmodern stance). The opportunities for intercultural processes lie in the space between these two seemingly contradictory positions. In conceptualizing standpoints as struggles to embrace both positions and in envisioning standpoints as processes of understanding the political forces whereby dominant groups retain privilege, standpoint theory and methods offer opportunities to focus on the distinctive and potentially unifying characteristics of group members' embodied experiences and knowledge. Such a focus guards against essentializing groups. *Essentializing* involves seeing and talking about individuals as members of monolithic groups rather than as unique individuals who share some commonalities but also differences with other members of these groups. Essentializing might also involve discussions about which groups might be considered more or less oppressed than others. Taking the stance that there are critical postmodern opportunities in standpoint theories enables researchers and social change advocates to reject hierarchies of oppression. Such a critical postmodern focus encourages attention to how people struggle to define their spaces of marginalization and privilege and to act in their own and their community's best interests.

With regard to intercultural competence, standpoints provide the frameworks for understanding the knowledge that group members construct, as well as how individuals operate differently in that group membership space. Because of the diversity of people's experiences throughout the world, one standpoint theory is insufficient to deal with all the complexities, rich lived practices, and subtle interplays of dominance and marginalization that occur every day. For instance, there are reports of farmer suicides in India. The seeds that they are planting require different techniques, more water, increased fertilizer, and other farming methods that differ from their traditional approach. Understanding indigenous knowledge about farming methods; farmers' identity links with, and pride in, land ownership; and their intergenerationally transmitted messages of soil, crop, and water management might offer remedies to the reported waves of suicides. Most important from standpoint theory perspectives is that the use of seeds and practices not adapted for these farmers' circumstances has created a material fissure in the social fabric of their society's complex interplay of privilege and marginalization on which their standpoints rest.

Knowledge can provide insight into others' as well as individuals' own complicities in perpetuating marginalization in intercultural episodes. Knowledge generated through standpoint theory and research provides the rich detail of everyday life that can capture the attention of dominant group members and those who are unfamiliar with cultural groups. The detail supports the construction of a vivid picture of group members' experiences and how they have achieved their understandings about their social position. But standpoints do not stop there. The next phase is the development of theory and political action that incorporates the voices of those who have been excluded from consideration and societal advantages.

Standpoint theory helps those involved in intercultural encounters to rethink what constitutes particular cultures and what intercultural competence is. Such reconsiderations of intercultural theory, research methods, and practices begin with the inclusion of many different standpoints, as well as conscious attempts to sort through power differences. From ways of knowing, standpoints can change the ways of being and doing intercultural experiences. The details of knowledge rooted deeply in experiences, as well as the dynamic learning of marginalization and privilege in the interactions and societal structures of different cultural groups, add complexity and greater insight into intercultural processes.

Patrice M. Buzzanell

See also Critical Theory; Feminist Research Paradigm; Gender Theory; Postmodernism and Reflexive Anthropology; Power

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Stereotypes and Generalizations

Individuals have considerable misgivings when they hear cultural generalizations, often viewing them as stereotypes and, as such, socially unacceptable. Almost instinctively, a person may say the following:

- I have a friend from that culture, and she is not at all like that.
- My neighbor visited that culture, and you are wrong; she says that is not true.
- It is offensive to put people in a box.
- Culture is complex; there are no such patterns.

Each of these well-intentioned comments brings up an important point: No broad statement of a cultural pattern applies to any given individual. Intercultural competence is not built on stereotypes but can be supported through generalizations.

Through a comparison of stereotypes and generalizations (or archetypes), this entry will examine several ways to distinguish stereotypes from archetypes and will describe constructive approaches to the cautious use of generalizations.

Definitions

Stereotypes are rigid generalizations that characterize others based on the ethnocentric perspective of an outsider. They tend to ignore the worldview of the culture being experienced and instead reflect a dualistic frame of mind, typically based on limited knowledge from unscientific sources. Often framed as an abusive observation applied to all members of the group, stereotypes can be used to justify exclusion of people from other cultures.

However, there may be some value in exploring flexible generalizations, or what Tom Kochman and Jean Mavrelis call *cultural archetypes*. Cultural archetypes describe the patterns of a culture group that insiders of the culture would agree are true, authentic, and representative of the culture being described. As insiders, they are privy to what is going on in the group, unlike outsiders creating stereotypes. As a generalization, this archetype is held gently, as a hypothesis, and tested through observation of the people at hand to determine whether the hypothesis holds true for them. It is readily discarded when it does not. It is based on research, not on hearsay, media representation, or uninformed commentary.

Using the Normal Curve to Prevent Stereotyping

In clarifying the use of generalizations, the use of the statistical normal curve proves illustrative. The notion of a normal distribution suggests that a central tendency exists within a culture group but it is also likely that there are cultural outliers who do not subscribe to the norm. The bell shape of the curve would reflect fewer outliers for first-generation immigrants and ethnic minorities living in relatively segregated areas than for second-, third-, and fourth-generation immigrants and ethnic minorities who are more assimilated into the host culture. There may even be outliers among natives from within their own country who disregard the dominant cultural patterns of the group. Viewing research data on cultural differences through the lens of the normal curve highlights the distinction between a stereotype and a generalization, where a pattern can exist but definitively is not applicable to everyone (Figure 1).

Distinctions Between Stereotypes and Generalizations

Outsider Explanations Versus Insider Explanations

As noted earlier, stereotypes are rigid generalizations made by outsiders to a group. Such stereotypes often start with "They are . . . " rather than "We are . . . " statements. *Archetypes* are flexible generalizations based on repeated explanations provided by insiders to the culture.

The insiders who are selected for ethnographic studies are those closest to the homogeneous community. The explanations they provide, and the values they reveal that underlie their behavior, will be diluted over time as insiders of previously marginalized groups begin to mix with the host culture. For example, first-, second-, and third-generation Japanese Americans (*Issei*, *Nisei*, and *Sansei*, respectively) have evolving values. However, the most deeply held traditional values tend to remain even after several generations—for example, the deep emotional connection and respect for family elders.

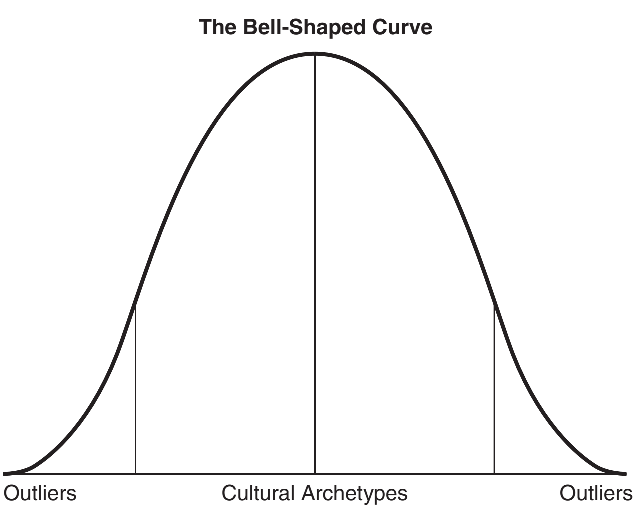

Figure 1 Statistical Normal Curve Diagram

Scientific Versus Nonscientific Generalizations of Patterns of Difference

In many cultures, stereotypes are based on hearsay or limited (and often prejudicial) observation or experience. This nonscientific approach—often defended by the statement "I met someone once!" or "I read it online!"—is of no utility in developing intercultural competence.

In contrast, anthropologists, sociologists, and other scholars have explored the values, attitudes, and beliefs of various cultures and provided a research-based foundation for archetypes. These conclusions are also supported by conducting broad surveys with insiders of a cultural group to see how valid and representative a pattern may be.

Biologically Inherited Versus Learned (Nature vs. Nurture)

Stereotypes suggest that the characteristics of a group not only apply to everyone within that group but are also innate: "They're born that way, that's why they do what they do."

Archetypes represent internalized values that are learned and passed on from generation to generation and shape the values, the outlook, and ultimately the behavior and communication style of a group of insiders as a whole. Even if some members of the group no longer subscribe to these patterns themselves, they would still acknowledge their validity for other members of their group who still follow traditional group patterns and practices and would recognize their own connection to such rituals and responsibilities.

Archetypes offer a way to access information on what insiders themselves agree is a valid representation of the cultural values that underlie the behavior and communication style of a significant number of people within their group, and to use that information to enhance cross-cultural understanding and develop (within organizations) more culturally responsive policies and practices.

Tom Kochman and Jean Mavrelis

See also Empathy; Identity and Intergroup Communication; Intercultural Sensitivity

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STRESS, COPING, AND ADJUSTMENT

Stress is a two-edged sword. On the one hand, it can overwhelm people and is associated with all manner of physical and psychological maladies. Clearly, too much stress, or stress poorly handled, can contribute to poor adjustment, both at home and in intercultural situations. On the other hand, some level of stress is necessary to spur people to act, to motivate them to overcome challenges, and to set the stage for development of a sense of mastery. Absence of stress is not psychologically healthy and can be associated with depression, apathy, and lethargy, which are also indicators of poor adjustment. This entry will describe several issues relevant to understanding how stress, stress appraisal, and coping can preserve and increase adjustment, with special emphasis on its application in intercultural settings.

Types of Stressors

Before getting into how to deal with stressors, a little background on what constitutes stress is called for, especially with regard to intercultural competence.

Stressors, the environmental events that cause stress, come in many varieties. One of the most common kinds of stressor is what has been called a Life Change Unit. This is an intense, acute event that occurs quickly and usually lasts for a relatively short time. Examples relevant to intercultural experiences might be moving to a new residence, starting a new course of study or a new job, learning to use a new system of public transportation, or leaving family and friends. In most cases, people get mobilized to deal with the acute event quickly, since the event happens rapidly and its importance is quite evident. The shock of the sudden onset can add to the severity of the stress experienced, but that is balanced by the shortness of duration and a sense of resolution.

Chronic stress, on the other hand, usually is of lower intensity and lasts for a long time. Examples relevant to intercultural experiences might be communicating in a non-native language, the absence of favorite foods, a different pace of life (faster or slower), or the presence of cigarette smoke or other pollutants. Because the intensity of stressors such as these is low, individuals may consider them minor annoyances that should be ignored or overlooked. However, a gradual accumulation of such stressors forms the basis for the stress-related phenomenon of burnout. People suffering burnout often become aware of their symptoms (exhaustion, cynicism, a decreased sense of accomplishment) before they become aware of the seriousness of the stressors. In an intercultural setting, ignoring such low-level stressors may set the stage for an incubating level of dissatisfaction that ultimately causes the person to leave the situation in order to find relief.

Other forms of low-level stressors have been dubbed "hassles." These are repeated irritations, again seemingly minor, but whose accumulation can lead to problems. Examples relevant to intercultural experiences might be people standing at an uncomfortable speaking distance (too close or too far away), cutting in line, or not cleaning up after their dogs. Too many such hassles raises the level of stress, but often people do not feel as if they can do anything about such hassles because they are only minor disturbances and may be intrinsic to the host culture.

Finally, there is something labeled "acculturative stress," which stems from the differences in expectations between the person entering a foreign culture and those belonging to the host culture. Examples might include differences in the formality of dress and speech, self-reliance versus collective action, and rigidity or flexibility of customs and rules of behavior. From the point of view of the person entering a different culture, many things just do not make sense. The entering person brings a unique perspective and habits of thought and behavior. Often, those clash with the perspective and expectations of the host culture. From a behavioral point of view, the entering person has a deficit of behaviors acceptable to the host culture and an excess of behaviors that the host culture members find strange or problematic. These lead, inevitably, to culture clashes that form one source of acculturative stress.

Another source of acculturative stress derives from both contact anxiety and symbolic anxiety. Contact anxiety arises as the person entering a foreign culture actually encounters the host culture. The anxiety stems, in part, from a fear of rejection or negative evaluation. The person is an outsider, a minority group member, and may be there for the first time. One common reaction is to freeze or avoid contact, thus evading the feared devaluation.

Symbolic anxiety rests on the fear of challenge to the value of one culture by another. If people entering a foreign culture find that they like and value aspects of that culture, they may think it constitutes a betrayal of the home culture. This type of zero-sum thinking can make cultural contact threatening to one's very identity as a person, since that identity is rooted in the home culture's values and assumptions. Acculturative stress can be quite complex and may subsume examples of acute and chronic stress.

Stress Reactions

Reactions to stressors are wide and varied. Most reactions emerge from the "flight or fight" responses that are hardwired into humans and are based on the evolutionary utility of those reactions. When faced with an approaching saber-toothed tiger, our ancestors found it life saving to either protect themselves or flee. In such instances, the body mobilizes the sympathetic nervous system, and the heart rate increases, blood flows to the skeletal muscles and lungs, and the pupils dilate. The body prepares for action. This automatic reaction to stress functioned well for our ancestors, but it leads to problems for 21st-century humans, whose stressors are not usually life threatening. The body responds quickly by dumping sympathetic nervous system hormones into the bloodstream in response to stress, and those hormones linger and maintain arousal even when the stressor is removed. Too many of these hormones in the bloodstream for too long taxes the body and its organs. This results in reducing the effectiveness of the immune system and increasing stress symptoms such as heart problems, muscle weakness, feelings of anxiety, irritability, and indigestion. Clearly, ineffective methods of dealing with stress can lead to problems. The next section examines suggestions for dealing with stress effectively.

Cognitive Mediational Approach to Stress

For the past 30 years, Richard S. Lazarus's cognitive mediational approach to conceptualizing stress and coping has dominated psychological research. This approach acknowledges the real or potential harm of environmental stressors but focuses more on the meaning people attach to the stressor, given their personality and past experience and the skills they have developed to cope with such stressful situations.

Appraisal

The meaning-making aspect of the response to a stressor is called *appraisal* and can take several different forms. When people perceive a stressor that they deem relevant to them, they can view it as (a) a challenge, one that engages their efforts to tame the stressor and offers an opportunity to demonstrate mastery over the situation; (b) a threat, one that taxes their abilities to cope and may overwhelm them, leading to negative consequences; or (c) a danger or loss, one that will almost certainly result in psychological or physical injury, or the loss of something important to them (e.g., a person, place, or thing). The same stressor may be viewed differently by different people, leading to different coping strategies. Appraisal is a key component of dealing with stressors both at home and in intercultural situations.

The tendency to appraise situations in predictable ways depends on both the personality characteristics of the individual and the person's previous history with the same or similar stressors. People with anxious, irritable dispositions are more likely to perceive stressors as threats or potential losses. People with outgoing personalities who are both conscientious and open to new experiences are more likely to perceive stressors as energizing challenges. Psychological tendencies toward optimism and hope increase perceptions of challenge; tendencies toward pessimism and depression reduce them. Because reactions to stressors can be understood independently of the stressor itself, there are opportunities to change the course of an individual's reaction. In terms of intercultural competence, new research in the field of positive psychology has shown that people are not doomed to negative appraisals, and it offers opportunities for them to learn more optimistic, outgoing styles of appraisal. Likewise, training in self-efficacy may be able to raise expectations of positive outcomes and persistence in the face of challenge. Both cognitive and behavioral rehearsal methodologies exist for efficacy training. Habits of appraisal can be modified in the service of intercultural competence and general psychological well-being.

Coping

Coping may be defined in a general sense as cognitive and behavioral efforts to master, reduce, or tolerate the internal and/or external demands that are created by a stressful event. During the coping process, people attempt both to manage situations that cause them unpleasant emotions and to manage those emotions themselves. In many research studies, coping has been divided into "problem-focused coping" or "control coping," which focuses on a direct effort to reduce or eliminate the source of stress, and "emotion-focused coping" or "escape coping," which focuses on ameliorating the unpleasant feelings associated with the presence of the stressor. In general, problem-focused/control coping has been found to be most effective in reducing the impact of the stressor since it attempts to remove or dilute the effects of that stressor. On the other hand, emotion-focused/escape coping does nothing to address the stressor itself but deals only with the by-products of the impact of the stressor on the individual.

Much of the research on coping has been undertaken in North America and Western Europe. Critics from Asia suggest that the distinctions drawn from the Western approaches do not necessarily represent effective coping from other cultural perspectives. Nevertheless, there are effective means of coping in any culture, and interculturally competent individuals can expand their repertoire of coping skills regardless of the origin of the coping strategy.

Some research suggests that resilient individuals have a relatively broad range of effective coping strategies available to them, so when their preferred mode of dealing with stress is not of use, they can shift to other methods that may be more successful. In addition, intercultural travelers may find that attacking the source of stress in a foreign country does not yield positive results because the host culture is unlikely to change in the face of protests by a visitor from another culture. Many stressors are unchangeable in the usual, direct fashion popular in North America. Luckily, some "emotion-focused" coping methods are not really aimed at emotions but on methods of reconstructing the stressor in a less toxic form.

Positive reinterpretation, as explained below, is one of the most effective coping strategies for intercultural travelers. In this strategy, the individual reframes the meaning of the stressor in a more positive manner. When someone stands too close in the grocery line, it may not mean that the person is "pushy" but rather that the individual values interpersonal contact. When the waiter in a restaurant does not take a food order for 45 minutes, it does not mean that the staff are inefficient but, rather, that they are allowing more time for the people in the dining party to engage in conversation without being rushed. Positive reinterpretation is a strategy that does not try to change the source of stress but, rather, uses cognitive mechanisms to recast it into a less negative light, thus removing some of the negative appraisal that may have been earlier attached to the stressor. Such recasting may allow alternative coping strategies to be employed.

Coping Strategies

Effective coping can take many forms, as can ineffective coping. Below is a list of 15 coping strategies as defined by the psychologists Charles S. Carver, Michael F. Scheier, and Jadish Kumari Weintraub. Because the list is based mainly on research from the United States, it has a Western bias and should not be taken as either comprehensive or exhaustive from a global standpoint. Strategies 1 through 9 have been linked to successful coping outcomes and the following six to unsuccessful outcomes. Several of the successful mechanisms draw on personal and social resources that do not focus directly on ameliorating the source of stress but, rather, boost resources that help the person deal with the stressor in a different manner or under different conditions. These coping strategies have functioned effectively in intercultural situations.

1. *Active coping* refers to the process of taking active steps to try to remove or circumvent the stressor or to ameliorate its effects. Examples include initiating direct action, increasing one's efforts, and trying to execute a coping attempt in a stepwise fashion.

2. *Planning* is thinking about how to cope with a stressor. Planning involves coming up with action strategies and thinking about what steps to take and how best to handle the problem.

3. *Suppression of competing activities* means putting other projects aside, trying to avoid becoming too distracted by other events, and even letting other things slide, if necessary, to deal with the stressor.

4. *Positive reinterpretation and growth* is construing a stressful transaction in positive terms with the result of helping the person continue or resume problem-focused coping.

5. *Restraint coping* means waiting until an appropriate opportunity to act presents itself, holding oneself back, and not acting prematurely.

6. *Instrumental social support* is seeking advice, assistance, or information.

7. *Emotional social support* is getting moral support, sympathy, or understanding.

8. *Religion* is seeking comfort, consolation, and/or guidance from a higher power. This might be either within the framework of an organized religion or more informally through attention to the spiritual side of life.

9. *Humor* refers to seeing the absurdities and potentially funny side of a stressful event. It may include jokes, sarcasm, irony, wit, and other ways of reevaluating the event through the use of humor.

10. *Focusing on venting emotions* is the tendency to focus on whatever distress or upset one is experiencing and to ventilate or express those feelings.

11. *Denial* is refusing to believe that the stressor exists or trying to act as if the stressor is not real.

12. *Mental disengagement* is distracting oneself from thinking about the stressor. Tactics may include using alternative activities to take one's mind off the problem.

13. *Behavioral disengagement* is reducing one's effort to deal with the stressor, even giving up the attempt to attain the goals with which the stressor is interfering.

14. *Acceptance* is recognizing that the stressor cannot be changed and getting on with accommodating to the situation as it is.

15. *Alcohol and drug use* means using chemicals to blunt the feelings associated with exposure to the stressor.

Being able to draw on a diverse set of effective coping strategies will increase a person's intercultural competence, but ineffective strategies will only perpetuate or increase the stressful situation. Having a selection of effective coping strategies available will be useful both at home and abroad.

Psychological Adjustment and Well-Being

Some level of disequilibrium can be expected as a result of acculturative stress. It is normal for a person encountering a foreign culture to experience both acute and chronic stressors, mostly of a mild or modest intensity. Of course, what seems mild to some people may seem overwhelming to others, based on their appraisal, coping skills, and previous experience. Nevertheless, some level of stress is to be expected, and those effects must be acknowledged.

A larger question focuses on what is meant by psychological adjustment. Several definitions are commonly used: (a) lack of psychological symptoms (excessive anxiety, depression, hostility, withdrawal, etc.), (b) satisfaction and positive affect, and (c) optimal functioning or thriving. The relationship of intercultural competence to psychological adjustment and well-being is of interest to researchers. Although related, each definition of psychological adjustment focuses on a different sense of well-being, and one's evaluation of adjustment will depend on the definition chosen. Effective appraisal and coping contribute to all of these definitions.

Additionally, effective appraisal and coping affect other important components of developing intercultural competence. For example, psychological adjustment is positively related to the behavioral skills necessary for sociocultural adaptation. People who are considered more psychologically adjusted show a greater adroitness at "fitting in" with other cultures. They can learn and perform the actions necessary for adapting to different cultures more easily and with less distress. They show higher levels of positive affect and lower levels of negative affect, and their general mood state is more optimistic. Stressors do not throw them off balance as much, and they affect them for shorter periods. In the face of stress, they are more likely to persist rather than retreat, since they believe that a solution can be found eventually. People who are more adjusted are also more likely to engage with the foreign culture rather than withdraw or escape. This engagement increases the probability not only of their learning how to behave in the host culture but also of understanding some of the rationale behind host culture events. Finally, people who are more adjusted are likely to have rehearsed their effective appraisal and coping strategies. For some, seeking social contact and support will be important; for others, finding time for solitude in which to ponder a stressful event will work better. Such awareness and emotional regulation is a key to intercultural adjustment and a necessity for intercultural competence.

Overall, effective appraisal and coping are crucial to developing broadly effective intercultural competence. Acute, chronic, and acculturative stressors will all present themselves to someone who encounters a foreign culture; this is unavoidable and even desirable. The cognitive mediational approach to stress and coping, paired with recent findings from the positive psychology field, indicate that neither appraisal nor coping skills are inevitably fixed or unchangeable. Rather, they are amenable to focused training and coaching.

Victor Savicki

See also Acculturation; Culture Shock; Intensity Factors; Reentry; Theory of Acculturation

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SYNTACTICS

Syntactics is a branch of semiotics that deals with the formal properties of sign systems and the relationships of signs to one another. *Semiotics*, also called semiotic studies or semiology, is the study of signs and is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign. According to Charles W. Morris, semiotics can be divided into three main branches, namely, (1) syntactics, (2) semantics, and (3) pragmatics. *Syntactics* concerns the relation among signs in formal structures, *semantics* deals with the relation between signs and the things to which they refer in the real world, and *pragmatics* is concerned with the relation between signs and sign-using agents. Each of these branches can be pure, descriptive, or applied. Pure semiotics elaborates a language to talk about signs, descriptive semiotics studies actual signs, and applied semiotics makes use of knowledge about signs to achieve different purposes. Typically, semiotic researchers do not study signs in isolation. Rather, they study the rules and conventions that govern the use of signs and sign systems. It is therefore important to study syntactics in order to understand how signs are related to one another.

Semiotics is closely related to the study of language, since signs can take the form of not only images, sounds, and objects but also words. According to Ferdinand de Saussure, a sign is made up of a signifier (e.g., a word) and a signified, the concept that is elicited in the mind by the signifier. He notes that the signifier does not constitute a sign until it is interpreted and that the association between a word and what it stands for is arbitrary. As a subdivision of semiotics, syntactics, when applied to the study of language, can be called syntax.

Syntax is a major subfield of linguistics that studies the principles and processes by which sentences are constructed in particular languages. It is concerned with the arrangement of words and phrases in well-formed sentences in a language, including the structure and ordering of the components within a sentence. In addition, it is interested in the rules that govern how words are combined to form phrases and sentences. Syntactic analysis, for example, involves analyzing how sentences are constructed from smaller parts, such as words and phrases, and determining the grammatical structure of the sentences with respect to a given grammar. While some researchers are interested in describing particular languages in terms of their syntactic rules, some other researchers make attempts to find general rules that may apply to all natural languages.

There are a number of theoretical approaches to the study of syntax in linguistics, including, most notably, generative grammar, categorial grammar, and functional grammar. *Generative grammar theories* assume that the grammar of a language is based on the constituent structure of sentences. They are premised on the view that the grammar of a language has a finite number of syntactic rules and can generate an infinite number of well-formed syntactic structures or sentences. One important property of generative grammar theories is recursion, which is the capacity to be applied more than once in generating a syntactic structure. Generative grammar theories focus primarily on the form of a sentence rather than its communicative function, and the approach taken by generative grammar results in the clear separation of sound, structure, and meaning.

Categorial grammar is another approach to syntax and analyzes the syntactic structure of a language not in terms of the rules of grammar but in terms of the properties of the syntactic categories themselves. In particular, categorial grammar theories are based on the principle of compositionality, and they analyze sentence structure in terms of constituencies. Specifically, syntactic categories are defined in terms of their ability to combine with other units to produce a larger unit. For example, a transitive verb is defined as something that can combine with a noun phrase to produce a verb phrase. In this case, the category *transitive verb* is notated VP/NP. Such a categorical grammar notation captures the distributional relations between words and constructions.

Different from generative and categorial grammar, *functional theories of grammar* pay attention to the ways in which language is used in its communicative context, and not merely to the formal relations between different linguistic elements within a sentence. These theories assume that since language is fundamentally a tool, its structures should be analyzed with reference to the functions they perform. Therefore, most functional theories of grammar consider the functions performed by language and relate these functions to the linguistic elements that carry out these functions. They also view grammar as a context-sensitive, meaning-making resource. For example, most functional grammar theories deal with the syntactic resources for analyzing experience, interaction, and the ways in which information is conveyed.

Chit Cheung Matthew Sung

See also Applied Linguistics; Language Use and Culture; Pragmatics; Semantics

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Systems Perspective

This entry examines the systems perspective, which reflects a particular way of thinking about the world. The systems perspective is not only a theory that explains social phenomena but also a paradigm that guides theory and research. This paradigm originated in the 20th century as *general systems theory* and made an immediate impact on several academic disciplines and their defining theories, including intercultural communication theory.

This entry briefly defines systems theory, describes the four essential properties and other elements of a system (qualities and types of systems), and outlines the contribution of systems theory to the field of intercultural communication. The significance of systems theory to intercultural competence is that it provides a holistic lens for viewing the many relationships among culture, communication, interaction, and competence.

Definition of a Systems Perspective

General systems theory studies the relationships among parts and their interdependent relations within the whole, as well as their interaction with the environment.

A system consists of four properties that interrelate to form a whole. A system includes the following:

1. Objects, which may be concrete, abstract, or both
2. Attributes, the characteristics of the system
3. Internal relationships
4. External relations

A system is described as either *open*, receptive to feedback and exchange with the environment, or *closed*, having no interchange with the environment. Systems also have a series of qualities that define the nature of the concept, such as wholeness, feedback loops, interdependence, interchange with the environment, homeostasis, synergy, and mutual influence, which will be discussed below.

Differing from traditional social sciences, which use a more linear perspective to explore causality, systems theory primarily studies the relationships between, within, and among systems, as well as their mutual interdependence. The universe is full of systems, small and large, some of which may overlap others and most of which are subsystems of higher level systems while also having their own subsystems.

Traditional scholarship often uses analytical research methods (the scientific method) for studying things: proposing a hypothesis, selecting appropriate methods, dividing the subject under study into measureable units of analysis, and ultimately providing an argument suggesting how the hypothesis is or is not supported by the evidence, as well as refuting all counterarguments.

A systems perspective supplies a holistic research approach based on the axiom that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, what is often called *synergy*. In other words, the interrelationship among the internal parts of the human system adds an element of interdependence to the system. Furthermore, an open system creates interchange with the external environment, allowing the system to stay in balance—that is, to maintain *homeostasis*. A closed system, one that eliminates the potential for feedback and interchange with the external environment, devolves into *entropy*, or chaos and death.

Systems theory opened up several new areas of research and continues to have a major impact in the social sciences today. For instance, systems theory helped establish two new fields, cybernetics and information theory, which shaped the field of communication and influenced its components, including intercultural communication.

Intercultural Communication

Intercultural communication is defined as a process of developing shared meanings in interaction with people from other cultures. Research, education, and training in the field are designed to assist individuals in developing the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary for intercultural competence.

Culture is often defined as the learned and shared values, beliefs, and behaviors of a community of interacting people. Culture can be seen through a systems perspective, in which the whole is greater than the sum of its parts, where interdependence is life-giving and where knowing the parts but not recognizing the dynamics of the whole leads to increased stress.

A very brief history of intercultural communication suggests that the field has made tremendous strides in the past 50 years. It emerged from human communication studies and was influenced by systems theory. Starting from a modest program of intercultural communication workshops (known as the ICW) at the University of Pittsburgh, the program spread rapidly to many other campuses to energize people in the field who were seeking a model for training. Intercultural communication found a secure foothold in graduate programs all over the United States but particularly when the Department of Speech Communication at the University of Minnesota organized a doctoral program that produced many outstanding graduates, who are now the defining scholars of the field. The field grew in membership, became a global network, produced its own research and publications, established professional associations, and helped organize its own publishing company. One of the most significant achievements has been the establishment of a core professional development institute in Portland, Oregon, which annually attracts a large and sophisticated audience and works to support and enhance the further growth and development of the field.

Intercultural practitioners tend to organize themselves according to the various specialties that exist in communication departments—for example, interracial, gender, small-group, organizational, interpersonal, and business communication. In line with these specialties, intercultural communicative competence practitioners work with businesses, government agencies, the military, nongovernmental organizations, educational institutions, and healthcare, among other contexts. They form consulting companies; they engage in the development of cross-cultural, multicultural, and gender counseling; and, of course, they are found in universities, especially in student services, study-abroad programs, and international student advising.

Interdependence of Intercultural Communication and Systems Theory

Systems thinking has stimulated the application of an interdisciplinary perspective when intercultural professionals are teaching and training across cultures. Recognizing the inevitable influence of the many aspects of culture, currently the field embraces a wide range of disciplines and incorporates research and theory from anthropology, area studies, arts and humanities, communication science, economics, education, geography, history, international studies, languages, linguistics, political science, psychology, and sociology. Currently, several cognitive sciences, such as biology and neurology, are conducting groundbreaking research and beginning to unravel the mysteries of culture. Some posit that when individuals reside in a culture for a period of time, their brains will gradually become organized to reflect that culture.

The systems paradigm is basically about *ways of thinking*, such as comparative thinking, differentiation, integrative thinking, interdisciplinary thinking, decision making, and cognitive complexity. Intercultural communication uses systems thinking to increase knowledge, understanding, empathy, and perspective taking so as to enhance intercultural competence.

Josef A. Mestenhauser

See also Intercultural Communication, Definition of

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Teacher Education

Teacher education refers to the practices, policies, and procedures employed to prepare prospective teachers with the knowledge, attitudes, and skills required to facilitate learning among students in formal classrooms, schools, and community settings. Over the years, and in many countries, as education has come under greater scrutiny from within as well as from outside the profession, the process of teacher preparation has become increasingly controversial as well as complex. This entry examines the current concerns about traditional teacher education in the current global and domestic contexts, identifies the intercultural challenges, and reviews cases of successful teacher education programs.

Preparing Teachers for Global and Domestic Diversity

Teacher education practices can vary greatly from country to country. In some countries, an elementary or primary school teaching certificate can be obtained simply by completing secondary school. In an increasing number of countries, however, the preparation of teachers has evolved from the simple completion of a series of courses in a teacher training institution to a continuum of a professional course of study that includes (a) initial teacher preparation (e.g., a preservice program, typically in an institute of higher education that is aligned with a state department or government ministry that provides initial certification or licensure-granting permission for an individual to enter the classroom as a fully responsible teacher), (b) an induction period (the process of providing additional in-practice training and support during the first few years of teaching or the first year in a particular school), and (c) continued professional teacher development through a series of in-service programs especially designed for practicing teachers to maintain and improve on their knowledge and skills.

The debate of how best to prepare teachers for teaching in today's demanding global contexts continues to be an important area of concern and inquiry, especially as the education of all children becomes a priority around the world. Teacher education curricula can generally be divided into four major areas: (1) foundational knowledge in the education-related aspects of philosophy, psychology, history, and sociology; (2) the specific content area(s) the person will teach, as well as instructional methodologies appropriate for the age of the class and/or content; (3) particular skills in the assessment of student learning, supporting second-language learners, the use of technology to improve teaching and learning, and supporting students with special needs; and (4) field observations and participation, including a supervised internship and/or student teaching experience.

In many countries, traditional teacher education programs are criticized for being too theoretical, for not assuming responsibility for the quality of their education graduates, or for not reflecting how teachers actually encounter their work. In addition, there is often concern that colleges of education do not move fast enough to respond to changes in the economy or in the development of essential career skills. This may include how to use technology most effectively as well as how to understand the plight and unique educational needs of immigrant, refugee, minority, exceptional, and other marginalized groups, including second-language learners.

While the majority of teachers, at least in countries such as the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, and many in the European Union, are prepared in ways that are similar to the traditional route outlined above, in some countries it is possible for a person to receive training as a teacher by simply working in a school under the responsibility of an accredited and experienced practitioner. Even today in the United States, approximately one third of new teachers enter the profession through some alternative route that has been established either to challenge the status quo or to recruit teachers in areas of high need, such as to fulfill shortages in urban or rural districts or hard-to-staff teaching disciplines, such as the sciences and special education. In the United States, programs such as Teach for America and Troops to Teachers are examples of well-established alternative routes that seek to place recent college graduates and military personnel in high-need schools.

Intercultural Challenges in Teacher Education

Preparing young people for the challenges of living in a globally connected intercultural world is a new challenge facing teachers and teacher educators around the world. A very real need exists to enhance and modernize the preparation of teachers by attracting high-quality and culturally diverse candidates who reflect the student and community demographics into the teaching profession, by enabling the continued professional development of teachers, and by facilitating the preparation of principals and teachers who can lead school-based transformation efforts.

In addition, this requires teachers who can develop a new set of interculturally grounded knowledge, skills, and dispositions in their students. Thus, teachers must not only enhance their own intercultural competence but also understand the nuances of intercultural interaction sufficiently to be able to transfer this knowledge through a range of curricular experiences to the students in their charge, so that they are better equipped to understand, address, and solve the global problems that are certain to face their generation.

Therein lies a major challenge for teacher educators. The majority of preservice as well as practicing teachers have limited knowledge and experience working with diversity. The majority of teachers as well as teacher education students in the United States continue to be monolingual White females from a low-middle-class or middle-class suburban or rural background, who are relatively inexperienced cross-culturally and who desire to teach in the same kinds of schools in which they were educated. These demographics have remained constant, changing very little over the years, even though significant efforts have been made to recruit underrepresented groups into the teaching profession and to enhance the multicultural and intercultural experiences of all students. These patterns are similar in many countries around the world, except that the predominant ethnic background of the majority of teachers may differ (e.g., White European Americans in the mainland United States, Japanese Americans in Hawaii, White Australians in Australia, etc.). As the primary and secondary classrooms in schools around the world continue to become increasingly culturally diverse, greater attention must be given to recruiting and developing teachers who better understand the intercultural dynamics that operate in the lives of children and their families, as well as at the interface in teaching and learning.

There have been considerable efforts over the past two decades in the United States to recruit underrepresented individuals into the teaching profession. Just since 1995, there has been a 96% increase in the number of minority teachers entering the field, while the number of Whites entering the profession has remained rather constant. Although the overall number of minority teachers entering the field has increased, Black and Latino teachers still represent only about 15% of the teaching workforce, as the turnover rates are significantly higher for minorities than for White teachers. For example, during the 2003–2004 school year, about 20% more minority teachers left the field than entered it. Such high attrition rates quickly cancel the effect of the recruitment strategies that have been put in place, thus continuing to result in a teacher workforce that does not reflect America's student demographics.

This scarcity of underrepresented teachers is not limited to any one type of school. For example, as recently as 2010, more than 40% of public schools in the United States did not employ a single teacher of color. And in urban and high-poverty schools, where minority teachers are disproportionately underemployed, the teaching staff still predominantly reflects the majority group.

The situation is not any different in the ranks of teacher education, where half of all doctorates earned by African Americans in the United States are in education yet more than 90% of all professors in teacher education continue to be White. Schools of education, too, must address the recruitment and retention of minority faculty, or they, too, will never be able to provide diversity for their own students.

Global Cases

The comparative experiences of others around the world can be instructive. Across the globe, and at an accelerating rate, nations are trying to improve education. Those countries in the earlier stages of educational development struggle to expand access to basic elementary and secondary education in an attempt to ensure transmission of basic skills. In these nations, reformers are less concerned with the quality of the teaching force than with just getting enough teachers into classrooms. Some high-performing countries such as Finland and Singapore are working to increase the quality of teacher candidates and improve the status of the profession. In an effort to accomplish this, they limit the number of candidates accepted into teacher education programs in an attempt to improve the quality of applicants and ensure better job placement rates.

Finland policymakers have found that when they raised the standards for new teachers, this simultaneously increased the status of teaching and they actually received more applicants. An important factor in attracting the most able candidates into the teaching profession in Finland is that the reputation of teaching has changed from being perceived as a mere technical implementation of externally mandated standards and tests to now being considered an independent and respected profession. Teaching in Finland is currently a highly competitive and sought-after career, with only one in 10 applicants being accepted into teacher preparation programs.

Some countries don't just wait for prospective teachers to apply but actively recruit teachers. Singapore, for example, selects prospective teachers from the top one third of their secondary school class. And while strong academics are essential, commitment to the profession and to serving the nation's diverse students is also essential. Teacher candidates also receive a stipend equivalent to about 60% of a teacher's salary while in training, in exchange for a commitment to teach for a minimum of 3 years. On the other hand, countries like England and the United States do not limit the numbers of people who prepare to become teachers and thus have to work to bring up those candidates' skills.

External accreditation bodies that set professional standards often drive change. In teacher education, alignment of the new CAEP (Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Preparation) Standards with TEAC (Teacher Education Accreditation Council) and NCATE (National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education) demands attention to diversity in the recruitment as well as preparation of teacher candidates. NCATE's Standard 4 on Diversity, for instance, states that teacher preparation programs must show evidence that those candidates can demonstrate and apply proficiencies related to diversity. Experiences provided for candidates must include working with diverse populations, including higher education and P–12 faculty, candidates, and students.

Finally, in recent years, the internationalization of teacher education has taken on a renewed priority and energy of its own in many nations. Numerous professional associations have adopted serious initiatives to explore how to better integrate an international perspective and experience in teacher preparation. NAFSA: Association of International Educators, the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education, and the Asia Society have been among the organizations that have taken the lead in developing new international initiatives. In addition, an increasing number of students are completing their student teaching overseas through organizations such as COST (Consortium for Overseas Student Teaching), Educators Abroad, and the Global Gateway for Teachers.

Kenneth Cushner

See also Diversity in Higher Education; Intercultural or Multicultural Classroom; Multicultural Education

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TEACHING AND TRAINING ONLINE

Teaching and training on intercultural issues online has become more pervasive than ever in a global mediated world. In 2014, Facebook had more than 2 billion participants; more than 85% of adult U.S. Americans use the Internet, and many, especially young adults, access their social networking sites (e.g., Facebook and Twitter) accounts multiple times a day. In addition to the way it is changing interaction, technology is also changing the way intercultural issues are taught and trained. This discussion compares face-to-face classroom teaching and learning with online offerings, highlighting the complex contrast in the approach to the content, the degree of richness in the medium, language issues, communication- and learning-style differences, and, finally, the adapting of approaches to assessment online.

Early portrayals of online communication and cyberspace described a dangerous and lonely place where social misfits spent their time. Current portrayals are less negative, viewing communication technologies as neither inherently good nor evil, and it is probably most useful to think of an individual's relationship to communication technologies as a dialectical relationship (both-and), having the capacity to play both harmful and productive roles. While technology can be used to bully or stalk, and can be isolating, communication technologies also allow users to be connected 24/7 with family and friends no matter where they are. Communication technologies (a) can provide tremendous support and empowerment through caring online communities; (b) provide useful information and knowledge about places and things; (c) can make daily life easier, with online banking and online shopping through research at the touch of a computer keyboard; and (d) allow individuals to engage in formal learning opportunities, regardless of location, as long as they have Internet access.

The 2014 annual *Babson Report* notes that more than 7 million college students are taking at least one online course (about 33% of the total enrolled students) and organizations are increasingly delivering training online. Classes are offered through colleges and universities, some for fees and others (MOOCs—Massive Open Online Courses) offered free to anyone outside the institution's student body. Teaching and learning are no longer confined by time and space as students and teachers can be anywhere in the world. This is especially true with advances in mobile communication whereby course websites can be accessed from any mobile device (smart phone, web-enabled tablet) equipped with satellite or wireless connection.

Training, as well, has taken advantage of the ability to connect electronically. Corporate trainers and coaches can provide instruction and assistance virtually via a variety of evolving technologies. According to the American Society for Training and Development, 39.2% of training was delivered via technology in 2013. Virtual training, designed to be completed at the convenience of trainees, reduces the demand for real-time availability and travel while allowing for an increased variety of methods and contexts.

Although there was widespread skepticism in the beginning about the efficacy of online instruction, there is general agreement now, based on empirical evidence, that learning outcomes in online instruction are as good as or better than those in face-to-face instruction. Of course, there are many variables that determine whether any single online instruction is effective or not. Furthermore, it should be noted that in the educational context, the student–teacher relationship online poses challenges. The primary complaint of online students is lack of timely feedback. In a face-to-face classroom, interaction between student and instructor is scheduled and routine as they see each other on a regular basis. In training, participants may be less engaged when they do not have a relationship with the trainer.

How Teaching and Learning Online Differ from Face-to-Face Instruction

A useful way to understand how online instruction differs from face-to-face learning is to understand the degree of richness in the delivery of online instruction. Face-to-face interaction or instruction is considered a *rich* medium. That is, there are myriad communication cues that help deliver the message—the words one speaks and all the nonverbal cues (facial expressions, gestures, posture, etc.) that communicate the tone of the message and help ensure that the message received is the message intended by the speaker. In addition, the listener can respond immediately, and there is an interactive give-and-take between speaker and listener (instructor/trainer/students/participants).

Mediated communication messages are much less *rich*. Talking on the telephone, for example, allows some richness, some cues; one can hear the spoken word and get intonation and vocal qualities but cannot see facial expressions. E-mail and discussion forum messages are even less rich; all one has are the written words, and often the response to the message is delayed. One loses the richness and immediacy of back-and-forth, give-and-take communication.

There are four types of instruction, ranging in media richness:

1. *Traditional:* The richest, where no online technology is used—content is delivered in writing or orally, mostly face-to-face
2. *Web facilitated:* Course that uses web-based technology to facilitate face-to-face content (e.g., discussion forums, posting handouts on the website)
3. *Blended/hybrid:* Course that combines online and face-to-face instruction (uses online discussions), with reduced number of face-to-face sessions
4. *Online:* The least rich, a course where most (80%+) or all of the content is delivered online, with usually no face-to-face meetings

Online instruction can also vary in how much of the contact is synchronous (happening at the same time) or asynchronous (messages sent and received at different times). Much of online instruction is asynchronous; that is, content is posted on a course website, and students/trainees respond/post messages at various times. Participants may work as a cohort and interact asynchronously but participating in the same time frame, or the course may not be designed for peer interaction. However, as technological access improves, instruction is increasingly available in real time, where students/trainees have the ability to interact with one another and their instructor if that is important for the goals of the course. One can now consider how the relative (lack of) richness of online instruction and asynchronicity affect the teaching/learning of intercultural communication/competence.

Teaching Intercultural Issues Online

One of the unique aspects of intercultural communication instruction is that instructors or trainers often present and discuss culturally sensitive and emotional material. For example, discussing barriers to intercultural communication like prejudice, ethnocentrism, and racism involves more than just teaching facts; such discussion rather asks learners to change attitudes, increase tolerance, reduce prejudice, and move from ethnocentric to ethnorelative views toward cultural differences, as indicated by the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity. Most intercultural experts would argue that making this change in attitude requires experiential learning, that attitudes and transformative shifts in worldview cannot take place by only reading a textbook and posting opinions on a discussion board, that it might rather require intercultural (face-to-face) contact with those whose worldviews are different from one's own. Can this be accomplished in an online context, where the medium of communication lacks richness and immediacy?

The answer is yes. Proponents of online instruction argue that the nature of online instruction—including the low richness of the online classroom—can actually facilitate intercultural learning better than a traditional classroom because everyone has to *talk* in the online classroom. The online discussion board is the primary site of learning, participation is required, and participants engage with one another. In a traditional intercultural communication classroom, the students who talk the most are often the majority group students (White, male, straight), and the views and insights of the more marginalized students (which are often crucial for intercultural learning and attitude change) can get lost. However, in the online classroom, everyone gets an equal chance to contribute.

In addition, the learning can be more liberating for all the students because students/participants usually cannot see the reactions of the instructor/trainer or other participants. For learners who are shy, people whose language skills are minimal, and students from marginalized or nondominant groups, this anonymity can be comforting. In addition, online communication can also be useful for persons who are targets of discrimination based on visual cues—race, ethnicity, gender, and age.

On the other hand, this anonymity can lead to aggressiveness and bullying on the part of online communicators. Communication practices in the United States assume that students will be fairly assertive and direct, and ask for help when it is needed. Sometimes, students from higher context cultures find this style challenging.

Intercultural Communication and Cultural Diversity in the Online Classroom

Language differences in the online classroom can be both facilitative and inhibiting. On the one hand, non-native students report that communicating online in asynchronous contexts (e.g., posting on discussion boards, handing in written assignments, participating in virtual team projects through e-mail and discussion boards) is easier than face-to-face communication as they have time to compose their communication messages, are not restricted by their accents, and can complete their assignments without some of the pressure and stress involved in face-to-face interaction.

On the other hand, in discussion boards and e-mail communication, where are there no nonverbal cues, not seeing the speaker's facial expressions and hand movements can make communication more difficult. Humor and sarcasm and other indicators of what the speaker really means are often difficult for international students in the online classroom to understand, and they report misunderstanding other students' messages or not comprehending them at all.

Communication-style differences can be challenging in online instruction/training. Because of the frequency of asynchronous, text-based communication in most online contexts (a lean communication environment), the communication tends to be relatively direct, task oriented, and low context (i.e., the meaning is in the written message). However, some cultural groups do not prefer this communication style. That is, in cultures where indirect or high-context (putting the message in the context rather than in the words) communication is valued, the directness of online communication may be seen as abrupt or rude. In online discussions, disagreement may be expressed very differently, in accordance with culturally appropriate face negotiation. For example, a learner from a high-context, indirect culture may not openly disagree with an idea but instead ignore it and present an alternative. The lack of direct critique may be interpreted by someone from a more direct, low-context culture as implicit agreement.

There can also be cultural differences in the status expectations. In general, U.S. classroom settings are fairly informal compared with those in many other countries or cultures. Students and trainees are expected to ask questions, participate actively in the discussion, and even interrupt the instructor if they have a pressing question. Learners from many cultural groups find this informal atmosphere very challenging; they may come from a country or culture (e.g., Asian) where students are expected to remain silent in the classroom and show deference to the instructor.

Online education is even more informal. Students do not have to make an appointment to talk with the instructor—just send an e-mail or post a question on the course website. The semi-anonymity afforded the participants leads some (U.S. Americans) to be very open, direct, and blunt. International students sometimes are very surprised and even intimidated by the candor and bluntness (even aggressiveness) of U.S. American students.

There are also identity issues that come into play. For some cultural groups, background information is essential in figuring out how to communicate with another individual. That is, one must know the age and gender of a person to know how to communicate with him or her. In fact, some languages (e.g., Japanese) use different terminology and word structure to speak to men and to women, or different honorifics depending on the age of the person being addressed. These cultural differences can present real challenges to online communicators, who may not be able to ascertain the age or status of others online.

Cultural Differences in Learning Style

Early efforts at online instruction focused on the traditional correspondence course model, typically including primarily indirect communication—instructions, discussions, and assignments all delivered in writing. However, advances in communication technology permitted lectures and student responses to be delivered more easily by audio and video channels. For example, video cameras became inexpensive and easily available. The increasing variety and availability of instructional tools have resulted in the ability to provide learning modules that address different sensory and perceptual learning styles. While all people learn in multiple ways, research on learning styles demonstrates that individuals have different preferences in the ways they take in and process information.

Sensory learning styles include preferences for learning through auditory, visual, or kinesthetic activities. Auditory learners prefer listening to lectures. Online, this can be provided via video, audio stream, or recording. Visual learners benefit from visual stimuli—they are likely to prefer video chats or streams to just audio, where their attention may be difficult to maintain. Kinesthetic learners learn by doing. These students have been the hardest to connect with online, but improving technology (e.g., gaming and virtual reality) is increasingly providing opportunities to engage these learners as well. Ideally, a lesson, whether in an academic or a nonacademic setting, will include activities that appeal to all of these preferences.

As in face-to-face instruction, learners also come to online contexts with differences in their perceptual learning styles. Some are reflective and prefer to have time to think, while others feel comfortable responding actively in real time (synchronous). Some are more oriented toward practical knowledge, while others prefer theoretical knowledge. Educational specialist David Kolb and others have shown how these different styles can be used in face-to-face settings; online instructors should take these into account as well. For example, instead of the traditional lecture, an instructor can maintain a balance between imparting theoretical knowledge and providing opportunities to apply the information using case studies, asking learners to go on field trips in their own location, and thus providing opportunities for both reflection and engagement.

Assessing Online Teaching/Training and Learning

The first requirement for any instructor is to clarify the goal and specific objectives of the instruction: whether the focus is on cognitive learning (conceptual knowledge), affective learning (attitude change), or behavioral learning (how to interact in a specific cultural context, communication skills), or a combination of these. This is even more important in online instruction as most of the design must be determined before the learners begin their participation. In traditional face-to-face educational and training settings, assessment has focused on what can easily be measured, with knowledge and attitudes (including satisfaction with the learning experience, rather than more substantive change) being the easiest to assess via written or oral activities. Skill improvement, the ideal goal of much intercultural teaching and training, is harder to assess. In a face-to-face setting, it is difficult to test learners' acquisition of competence, even when definitions of context-specific competence are clear.

In training contexts, it is important to assess the impact of the training and give feedback to the trainees, as well as their organization, to demonstrate how well learners have mastered the objectives of the course. In both academic and training contexts, assessment may be part of the learning experience, or it could be a final assessment. However, decisions about assessment should be part of the overall design of the course or training to ensure that there is a clear connection between curriculum and assessment. Typologies such as Bloom's taxonomy are useful in setting goals as well as assessment construction. The American Association of Colleges and Universities has developed a detailed rubric to measure intercultural competence, which provides a method for assessing skills as well as attitudes and knowledge.

With the move to online learning, the technologies available provide both traditional and innovative ways to assess learning. In addition to online tests, essays, and dialogue, online assessment can utilize portfolios incorporating examples of learners' work at different points in time, peer assessment or coaching, group projects and presentation, case studies, and simulations. For example, if the goal is to develop skills in a particular cultural context and increase student or trainee competence, learners could participate in a virtual game where they play a role in that context and see how successfully they can negotiate their surroundings, with real-time feedback as to how they are doing. This then becomes a more realistic test of their skills than a traditional written test and can be easily and inexpensively repeated to assess improvement over time. However, realistically translating virtual competence to real-life examples requires relevant situations and complex technology.

Judith N. Martin and Mary M. Meares

See also Culturally Appropriate Instructional Design; Learning Communities; Learning Styles Across Cultures

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Theory of Acculturation

Millions of people cross cultural boundaries each year. Immigrants and refugees seek a new life away from familiar surroundings, along with various groups of temporary sojourners—from employees of multinational corporations, missionaries, diplomats, and military personnel to professors, researchers, high school and college students, musicians and artists, and doctors and nurses. Although unique in individual circumstances, all strangers in a new cultural environment embark on the common project called *acculturation*, commonly defined as the process of change in individuals whose primary learning has taken place in one culture and who learn, acquire, and internalize traits from another culture. Even relatively short-term sojourners must be concerned with building at least a minimum level of competence to carry out their daily-life activities in ways similar to the native population.

The process of acculturation among long-term settlers has been one of the most salient research issues across social science disciplines. Since the early decades of the 20th century, studies addressing this phenomenon have been continuous and extensive, particularly in the United States and, more recently, in European countries. In the 1930s, the Social Science Research Council appointed a Subcommittee on Acculturation and charged it with the task of analyzing and defining the parameters for this new field of inquiry within the domain of cultural anthropology. Subsequent academic inquiry into acculturation and related phenomena has been vast and diverse, reflecting varying perspectives and differing research interests across a number of social science disciplines.

This entry continues with a clarification of the term *acculturation* and its relationships to other closely associated terms, followed by descriptions and syntheses of key theoretical accounts and related research findings pertaining to two sets of differing perspectives on acculturation: (1) long-term versus short-term perspectives and (2) problem-oriented and learning/growth-oriented perspectives.

Acculturation and Related Terms

A variety of terms have been used to refer to what is essentially the same process immigrants and sojourners go through in an unfamiliar culture. The term *acculturation* commonly refers to the process by which individuals acquire at least some aspects of the host culture. In a more limited sense, terms such as *coping* and *adjustment* are used to indicate psychological responses to cross-cultural challenges, while *integration* is often employed to highlight social participation in the receiving community. On the other side of the spectrum, the term *assimilation* (or *amalgamation*) connotes a more comprehensive change whereby immigrants (or other long-term residents), over time, become "absorbed" into the host society through convergence in values and personal traits, as well as through social and economic mainstreaming.

The terminological usage becomes more complex when we consider the variations in the operational definitions (or indicators) of each of these terms. In assessing acculturation levels, for example, many psychological studies have focused on the respondents' own subjective accounts of their feelings of satisfaction or the difficulties they experience. Others have measured acculturation using objective indicators of social integration, such as interpersonal relationships with native members of the new environment, as well as indicators of personal change, such as host language competence, or other demographic indicators of structural assimilation such as occupational status, income, and housing.

To enhance conceptual clarity and coherence in studying acculturation and related phenomena, Young Yun Kim, in her integrative theory, incorporates all of these and related terms into an overarching superordinate concept, *cross-cultural adaptation*.

From an open-systems perspective, Kim defines *cross-cultural adaptation* as the dynamic and interactive process by which individuals, on relocating to a new, unfamiliar, or changed cultural environment, establish and maintain a relatively stable, reciprocal, and functional relationship with the environment. Kim further explains that acculturation occurs subsequent to enculturation in an individual's original culture and is very much like starting an enculturation process all over again. Only this time, strangers are faced with situations that deviate from the familiar and internalized original cultural program.

In addition, acculturation is further conceived in Kim's theory as not a process in which new cultural elements are simply added to prior internal conditions. As new learning accumulates, some *deculturation* also takes place, at least in the sense that new responses are adopted in situations that previously would have evoked old ones. As the interplay of acculturation and deculturation continues for a prolonged period, strangers undergo a gradual internal transformation, from visible changes in superficial areas, such as overt role behavior, to intangible but more profound changes, such as changes in previously held cultural beliefs, values, outlooks on life, and personal-cultural identity. Kim describes the ultimate directionality of the acculturation and deculturation processes toward *assimilation*, a state of the maximum possible convergence of our internal and external conditions with those of the mainstream natives. To most temporary sojourners, assimilation is not even remotely a relevant scenario. Even for most long-term settlers, assimilation remains more a lifetime goal than an obtainable goal and often requires the efforts of multiple generations.

Short-Term Versus Long-Term Perspectives

Among the many studies of the process of adaptive changes, there is a division between studies of immigrants and refugees living in a new culture more or less permanently and those of short-term adaptation of temporary sojourners. Until recently, these two groups of studies have been carried out largely independently of each other, with only a limited number of cross-citations.

Long-Term Perspectives

Studies of long-term adaptation of immigrants began early in the 20th century in the United States. In the past decade or so, with the rapid rise of immigrant populations, there has been a notable increase in immigrant studies in many European countries, such as the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, as well as in Australia and New Zealand.

Using concepts such as acculturation, assimilation, and marginality to analyze newcomers' experiences, these studies of immigrants and other long-term settlers have revealed that, by and large, the process of adaptive change is cumulative and progressive over time, a trend that affirms the traditional *melting pot* view of the history of immigration in the United States.

Since the 1970s, however, the linear-progressive trajectory of long-term adaptation has been increasingly challenged. With the rise of the ideology of cultural pluralism in the United States and elsewhere, a number of pluralistic conceptions of long-term adaptive change in the direction of assimilation have been proposed. These new conceptions reflect the viewpoint that assimilation into the dominant mainstream culture on the part of immigrants and ethnic minorities need not, or should not, take place. This contrary view is often suggested in theoretical accounts that include either a separate identity or a dual identity with respect to their original culture and the host society.

John W. Berry's psychological model of acculturation, for example, reflects such a pluralistic concern. It is built on two basic conscious or unconscious identity choices each individual can make: "Are [ethnic] cultural identity and customs of value to be retained?" and "Are positive relations with the larger society of value to be sought?" The response types (yes, no) to these two questions are combined to produce four acculturation outcomes: (1) integration (yes, yes), (2) assimilation (no, yes), (3) separation (yes, no), and (4) marginality (no, no). Accordingly, Berry's model identity includes the multiple psychological choices individuals can make and the corresponding identity outcomes with respect to their original culture and the host society, offering an understanding that counters the traditional conception of acculturation as the generally unitary process of new cultural learning and acquisition of the dominant culture.

Short-Term Perspectives

Studies of short-term experiences in an alien culture among temporary sojourners began increasing in number during the 1960s, stimulated by the establishment of the Peace Corps movement and the increases in international student exchange programs and multinational trade during the postwar reconstruction period. Companies found that their overseas operations were being hampered because their staff was not effective in coping with unfamiliar social and business practices. Military personnel and experts engaged in technical assistance also experienced similar problems.

Accordingly, many short-term adaptation studies have been motivated by practical concerns of easing the temporary but often bewildering, cross-cultural transition. In particular, many investigators in this line of inquiry have examined the phenomenon of *culture shock*, a concept often attributed to the anthropologist Kalvero Oberg, which represents the intense psychological (and sometimes physical) responses of sojourners to the uncertainties of an unfamiliar culture. Relatedly, a variety of studies have reported a *U-curve* of psychological adjustment during a sojourn, depicting the general tendency for sojourners to experience initial optimism and elation, the subsequent emotional dip or trough, followed by a gradual recovery to higher adaptation levels. This U-curve description has been extended to the *W-curve* by adding the reentry phase, during which the sojourner, once again, undergoes a similar psychological transition on returning home.

Synthesis

The different foci of research associated with long-term and short-term perspectives reflect the differing sets of concerns commonly shared among immigrants and sojourners, respectively. Immigrants reside in a new culture for a long, indefinite period and tend to be more committed to learning the new language and culture. Unlike immigrants, however, most short-term sojourners are likely to limit their contact with the new culture to mostly peripheral areas, such as to pursue a career or obtain a degree.

Given the specific and narrowly defined goals, sojourners' commitment to the host culture is likely to be weaker. Also, during short-term sojourns, members of the host society may not expect culturally appropriate behavior from sojourners; the natives may often forgive mistakes. In comparison, hosts tend to expect greater cultural conformity and language proficiency from immigrants and react negatively when such expectations are not met adequately.

Differences such as these, however, are a matter of degree, not of kind. All newcomers face challenges in having to construct a new life in an unfamiliar milieu.

Notwithstanding the varied circumstances and differing levels of involvement in the local community, immigrants and sojourners alike begin their life in the host society more or less as strangers. As discussed below, all newcomers begin their cross-cultural journey more or less as outsiders, confronted with challenges of the new and unfamiliar environment as well as opportunities for new learning and personal development.

Problem-Oriented Versus Learning/Growth-Oriented Perspectives

In studies of both immigrants and sojourners, the main emphasis has been placed on the problematic nature of cultural newcomers' experiences. Most investigators have focused on the challenges confronting sojourners and immigrants, thereby framing their studies as a way to help ease such predicaments. Other investigators, on the other hand, have argued that the difficulties cultural strangers experience are a natural, inevitable, and even necessary condition to be embraced as they strive to gain psychological and functional efficacy with respect to the host culture.

Problem-Oriented Perspectives

Because encounters with foreign cultures present surprises and uncertainties (depending on the severity of the cultural dislocation), the idea that entering a new culture is potentially a confusing and disorienting experience has been amply investigated. This problem-oriented perspective is most apparent in studies of the culture shock phenomenon, highlighting individual sojourners' frustrated reactions to their new environment, or the lack of such reactions, measured in global psychological indicators such as satisfaction with their experiences of the host culture.

Concern for the problems of living in an unfamiliar culture has been a motivation driving many studies of immigrants as well. As early as the 1920s, the social psychologist Robert Park described the phenomenon of marginality, the strain of isolation of new immigrants. More recently, Berry and his associates have discussed acculturative stress as an integral part of the acculturation process. Many others in psychology and psychiatry have examined immigrants' mental health issues, looking for clinical implications of the immigrant experience that challenge their mental health.

From the perspective of critical or postcolonial analysts, the challenging nature of immigrant experience has been reinterpreted as a form of cultural oppression.

Critical analysts focus on the fundamental power inequality that exists between the dominant group of a given society and its ethnic minorities, with the adaptive struggle on the part of immigrants who are nondominant group members as a manifestation of such an unjust societal condition.

Learning/Growth-Oriented Perspectives

In sharp contrast to the problematic nature of the experiences in an unfamiliar culture, many investigators have emphasized the learning and growth-facilitating nature of the same experiences. Regarding culture shock studies, for example, Peter Adler argued in the 1970s and 1980s that this phenomenon should be viewed in a broader context of transition shock that leads to profound learning, growth, and increased self-awareness. Consistent with this argument, some studies have shown that the intensity and directionality of culture shock are unrelated to patterns of psychological adjustment at the end of the first year of sojourn and that, in some instances, the magnitude of culture shock is positively associated with the individual's social and professional effectiveness within the host environment.

The learning and growth-facilitating function of culture shock has been indirectly supported by other sojourner studies aimed at identifying the stages of the sojourn process according to a *U-curve hypothesis*. In this theoretical model, individual sojourners are generally expected to begin their sojourn process with optimism in the host culture, followed by the dip in satisfaction, and then by a recovery. The U-curve hypothesis has been further extended to the W-Curve by adding the reentry (or return home) phase, during which the sojourner once again goes through a similar process. Research has revealed some variations in the stages of psychological adjustment, including some studies in which sojourners are found to begin their life in a new culture not with a positive attitude as described by the U-curve but more or less in a linear, incremental progression, reaching the highest level of psychological adjustment toward the end of the sojourn period. Despite such variations, however, studies of sojourners have shown a clear trend toward an eventual psychological adjustment.

The learning/growth-producing function of the often stressful experiences in an unfamiliar culture is even more clearly evident when examined from a long-term perspective. Such has been the case in a long line of research conducted among various groups of immigrants in the United States and elsewhere. Among the extensively documented long-term adaptive changes is an increased level of integration of the native-born members of the host society into a network of personal relationships.

Such intercultural relationship network integration is, in turn, accompanied by a corresponding increase in the individual's psychological and functional efficacy in dealing with the host environment.

Synthesis

What needs to be clarified between the problem-oriented and learning/growth-oriented approaches is the fact that all individual experiences of a new and unfamiliar culture, long-term or short-term, are both problematic and growth producing. As immigrants and sojourners experience difficulties in an alien environment, they also undergo the adaptive process of new cultural learning and personal and social development. As such, life in a new culture is to be understood as a double-edged process, one that is at once troublesome and enriching. Despite, or rather because of, the difficulties, people change some of their old ways, so as to carry out their daily activities with greater ease and form a broader understanding and appreciation of the people around them.

This double-edged nature of crossing cultural boundaries is formally brought together in a single frame in Young Yun Kim's integrative theory of cross-cultural adaptation. Juxtaposing stressful and adaptive experiences in a dynamic interplay, the theory identifies the *stress–adaptation–growth dynamic* as the psychological mechanism underpinning the unfolding of an individual's adaptive change over time. To the extent that each stressful experience is a natural response to a temporary setback, according to this theory, it also activates adaptive energy to reorganize and reengage in the activities of cultural learning and internal growth, thereby bringing about a new self-reintegration—a largely unconscious intercultural transformation of personhood in the direction of an increased capacity to relate to any new cultural environment that is different from one's internalized culture.

Looking Ahead

As we move forward in this ever-globalizing world, the existing perspectives and knowledge claims about the experiences of living in and adapting to a new and unfamiliar culture will need to be continually reexamined and updated. Also, new research questions will need to be posed, particularly in light of the rapid spread of computer-mediated communication activities across cultural boundaries.

For now, we may anticipate that the aforementioned inherently stressful and potentially growth-producing nature of prolonged experiences in an initially foreign culture will likely remain viable, and even grow in significance in the years to come.

As long as substantial collective cultural differences remain across human societies, the experiences of sojourners and immigrants will continue to reveal the potential perils inherent in crossing cultural boundaries, as well as the opportunities it renders for finding an inroad into a previously unknown way of life and cultivating the personal capacity to see oneself and others in a new light.

Young Y. (Yun) Kim

See also Assimilation; Culture Learning; Culture Shock; Integrative Communication Theory

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Third-Culture Kids/Global Nomads

Third-culture kids (TCKs) and global nomads (GNs) are people who have been raised internationally because of a parent's occupation. Researchers and practitioners have described this population as everything from "rootless" and "culturally confused," on the one hand, to "prototype citizens of the twenty-first century," on the other. The truth is probably somewhere in between. Certainly TCKs and GNs are a direct product of the multicultural societies and globalized world in which we now live. As such, they may exemplify much of what is discussed in this encyclopedia.

This entry reviews key terminology, deconstructs the classic definition of a TCK/GN, and discusses the general benefits and challenges of the TCK/GN experience.

Terminology

Children have been raised internationally because of a parent's occupation since the first traders traveled the first caravan routes. Only in the past 70 years, however, has their number grown so exponentially that the population has become visible to researchers and practitioners.

The sociologists Ruth Useem and John Useem first coined the term *third culture* in the 1960s. They used it to describe the experience of those who live between two cultures. Their research suggested that, over time, such individuals became neither fully a part of their culture of origin nor fully a part of the host country in which they lived but part of a merging and melding of the two into a "thirdness."

Over the years, those who live not only between two cultures but also between three, four, or more have adopted the term *third culture*. Eventually, the term *third-culture kid* evolved as a way to distinguish the children of these expatriates. ATCK, or *adult third-culture kid*, is often used when emphasizing that the particular third-culture "kid" is now an adult.

The term *third-culture kid* was widely popularized throughout the 1980s and 1990s by David Pollock, a missionary and educator who made the advancement of TCK well-being the center of his life's work. In 1984, Norma McCaig, herself an ATCK and a friend of Pollock's, coined the term *global nomad*. This term has been popularized by researchers and practitioners, as well as by multimover TCKs who feel an affinity to this evocative label. Subsets of the broader TCK/GN population include "missionary kid (MK)," "military brat," and "oil brat."

Other terms relevant to the discussion are *third-culture adult* (TCA) and *cross-culture kid* (CCK). TCA describes those who, while not raised internationally, have integrated adult international experiences such that they share many of the same benefits and challenges as TCKs/GNs. CCK is an umbrella term for all those who were influenced as children by multiple cultural traditions, whether domestically or internationally. CCKs include, for example, children of biracial and interethnic relationships, children adopted across cultures, and children of immigrants and refugees, as well as TCKs/GNs.

Deconstructing the Classic Definition

The terms *third-culture kid* and *global nomad* are used interchangeably to describe people of any age or nationality who have lived a significant part of their developmental years outside their passport country(ies) because of a parent's occupation. There are several key ideas held within this single sentence:

Age: Once a TCK/GN, always a TCK/GN. The childhood experiences of international mobility continue to exert their influence even if, as adults, TCKs and GNs settle in one place and never move again.

Nationality: TCKs and GNs are of all nationalities. One can get a very direct flavor of this by entering any international school worldwide, most of which have an average of 50 different nationalities represented.

Significance: There is a clear correlation between the length of time TCKs/GNs actually live abroad and the influence of that experience on them. The longer the international sojourn, for example, the more TCKs/GNs are likely to be world-minded and to develop intercultural skills, and the more likely they are to feel initially marginalized on reentry into their passport country. At the same time, however, a relatively short sojourn can be profoundly significant, even to those who lived globally only when quite young.

Developmental years: These are the years from birth through adolescence, with the years from 2 to 7 considered the years of primary socialization. The importance of the early years in forming core value sets is assumed understood, even if the individual has no conscious memory of that socialization.

One or more countries: Some TCKs/GNs move frequently, while some live in a single host country their whole time abroad. When assessing the impact of geographic relocations on a person's experience, little distinction is placed on the number of host countries involved. High mobility is one of the defining characteristics of the experience, whether it is the TCK/GN who is changing host countries or whether it is others in the expatriate community who are coming and going. When assessing the impact of cultural contact, however, the number of host countries does make a difference. The longer any single sojourn, the more fluency the TCK/GN is likely to develop in the specific host country culture, but the more host country sojourns overall, the more general fluency the TCK/GN is likely to develop for engaging across both familiar and unfamiliar cultural contexts.

Passport country(ies): TCKs/GNs rarely know their "home country" with the same intimacy as their parents. Their knowledge is mediated by their parents' memories, by family vacations, by what they hear from host country nationals, and by what they experience through popular media. Moreover, an increasing number of GNs are binational, making it difficult to call only one place "home" and underscoring the importance of more neutral terminology. While nationality for their parents likely serves as a cultural foundation, it typically serves the TCK/GN as a cultural overlay. Indeed, depending on the length of their sojourn abroad and their degree of involvement in the multinational expatriate community, many TCKs/GNs may have a transnational, third-culture cultural foundation.

Parent's occupation: TCKs/GNs are typically the sons and daughters of people working in international businesses, international/nongovernmental agencies, international education, and the diplomatic, military, or missionary services. These sponsoring sectors have a profound effect on the childhood of TCK/GNs, influencing the kind of neighborhood in which the family lives, the kinds of schools the child attends, how long a specific sojourn lasts, and how much transition support is given to the family. Many of these factors, in turn, influence friendship patterns and the extent to which TCKs/GNs are likely to have social contact with host country nationals. The extent of sponsor influence on the TCK/GN experience is highlighted by one of the first questions TCKs/GNs inevitably ask a new classmate: "What does your father do?" (It still is primarily the father's job that takes a family overseas.) From the classmate's answer, much can be inferred.

Benefits and Challenges

The preceding paragraphs outline the elements that define TCKs/GNs. It is the interplay of these elements, living as an expatriate in both a culturally complex and a highly mobile world during the formative years, that leads to the benefits and challenges of the TCK/GN experience. These can be summarized and discussed in four themes.

Change

Change is one of the few constants in the lives of internationally mobile children. If only as a survival skill, TCKs/GNs learn to become adaptable and flexible and to develop a measure of confidence in the process of change. Indeed, they may become so accustomed to change that life without it can somehow seem incomplete. Even ATCKs who ultimately settle in one place may generate periodic change: cyclical jobs, cyclical relationships, or simply a regular rearranging of household furniture.

TCKs/GNs who stay in one place long enough eventually do develop geographic roots, settling into a community and a locally based friendship group. For others, the "itchy feet syndrome" continues, and they choose professions and lives that allow for mobility across cultures and countries.

Relationships

Because of the constancy of change in their lives, TCKs and GNs typically have extensive experience making and losing friends. They learn what to say and what to ask so that they can get to know one another quickly. Especially among multimover TCKs/GNs, a sense of belonging exists less through geography and more through a web of dispersed relationships.

At the same time, TCKs/GNs learn how not to get too close—how much distance to keep so that when the relationship ends, as their experience tells them it always has and always will, it does not hurt too much. Both the ability to make friends and the tendency to enforce a certain distance become survival skills.

Grief is intimately associated with TCK/GN relationships. It has been said that TCKs and GNs experience more loss in their childhoods than most other people experience in their whole lives (except, of course, those living in areas torn by war or natural disaster). Moreover, many will have their grief disenfranchised as a result of well-intentioned parents assuring them that they do not need to be sad, that they can stay in touch with old friends, will make friends in the new location, and will settle down and feel at home again. However true, such reassurances are better preceded by support for healthy grieving.

Worldview

People raised internationally have the opportunity to gain a three-dimensional worldview and to hold the paradox between an appreciation of differing truths in differing contexts, on the one hand, and commitment to a personal truth, on the other. TCKs/GNs may perceive their passport country nationals as provincial or ethnocentric. They may, in turn, find themselves challenged by those with less international understanding and be perceived as arrogant when speaking of their exotic adventures. They may face a confusion of loyalties and be accused of lacking conviction. The reality, however, is typically less a matter of confused loyalty than a deep understanding of the complexity of the human condition.

TCKs/GNs tend to have a high sense of security in their understanding of the world and a high motivation to make a positive impact in the international arena. Many tend to have some form of regular contact with people from other countries throughout their adult lives, to take up jobs that have international aspects to them, and to engage in volunteer work or charitable giving with an international dimension. While they may not be able to enumerate specific intercultural skills, one of the advantages of growing up internationally is the opportunity to develop competence without conscious attention.

Identity Exploration

It used to be said that TCKs/GNs are doomed to be forever rootless and never at home. While this describes a possible phase in TCK/GN identity development, it by no means defines an inevitable end state.

Certainly, TCKs/GNs typically find it difficult to answer the question "Where are you from?" This question is in fact the bane of many a person raised between countries and cultures. Articulating an answer is an important part of TCK/GN maturation, and it is made easier when they are allowed a broader understanding of "home."

By definition, TCKs and GNs are likely to be culturally marginal, not fitting completely into any of the cultures to which they have been exposed while, to some degree, fitting comfortably on the edge, in the margins, of each. Although marginality is not in itself either bad or good, it has the potential to be both. It can be "encapsulating" on the one hand, with TCKs/GNs feeling trapped by being different from those around them. It can be "constructive" on the other, with TCKs/GNs cultivating the freedom to use their differences as a strategic advantage.

Parents, international educators, and sponsoring organizations can do much to offset the risk of encapsulation and facilitate the development of constructive marginality. The single most important dynamic is ensuring that TCKs/GNs repatriate from their third-culture experience with a clear understanding that they are, in fact, TCKs/GNs. Although they may not care about this while still abroad, once in a more singular cultural context with their marginality in high contrast to those around them, knowing that they belong to a global community of cultural familiars can be extremely important. This is the work of identity exploration, considering what it means to them to have grown up globally, what significance their nationalities hold for them, and how they will navigate their multiple frames of reference.

As many will attest, the work is worth it. Despite the apparent rise of fundamentalism all over the world and the associated dualistic us/them paradigms, border crossings of all kinds continue to increase. TCKs/GNs, and the larger community of CCKs and TCAs from all national backgrounds and walks of life, may well be, after all, prototype citizens of the 21st century.

Barbara F. Schaetti

See also Culture Shock; Expatriates; Global Citizenship; Identity; Intercultural Families; Reentry

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Time (Chronemics)

"Time talks. It speaks more plainly than words." This is how Edward T. Hall starts the first chapter of *The Silent Language*. Since the publication of that book, *chronemics*—how time is perceived by individuals or by culture groups, how it is used, and how differing perceptions and usages can affect communication—has become one of the most researched of nonverbal communication codes. This entry explores two facets of chronemics: (1) the perception of time in different cultures and (2) how the nonverbal code of time can affect intercultural communication.

Perceptions of Time

Hall classified time into nine categories, each with its own rules and meanings: biological time, personal time, physical time, metaphysical time, micro time, sync time, sacred time, profane time, and meta time. Jet lag is the result of one's *biological time* being out of kilter. *Personal time* is subjective: 5 minutes doing something one enjoys feels quite different from 5 minutes of boredom. *Physical time* is cyclical: day and night, the seasons, and the waxing and waning of the moon. Physical time is often more important for people in rural areas, whose lives are entwined with the natural environment, than for people in large cities. *Metaphysical time* includes the experience of déjà vu or the recall of a former life. *Micro time* refers to the time *frame* that a particular culture tends to see as a norm, with big differences between what Hall calls *polychronic* and *monochronic* cultures. People in polychronic cultures, for example, much of Latin America or the Middle East, tend to have flexible schedules, move in rhythm to nature, and do several things (poly) at the same time (chronic). People in monochronic cultures, like the United States or northern Europe, have tighter schedules with only one thing (mono) planned for one time (chronic). Punctuality, or being on time, is quite important in monochronic cultures. If a train in Japan is 5 minutes late, an announcement of apology can be heard; if a train is more than 30 minutes late, it will make the TV news on a slow-news day. *Sync time* refers to the fundamental rhythm of interactions that Hall calls *the dance of life*. The myths of creation in different cultures or religions as well as the people taking part in sacred ceremonies are connected to *sacred time*. The hours of work, play, or sleep; the days arbitrarily called Monday or the 17th; and the months or years of the calendar are units of *profane time*. The final category, *meta time*, refers to attempts to use the language of ideas to describe a certain kind of human consciousness, to show that *time* can be perceived or used in many different ways.

According to two pioneers in the field of intercultural communication, Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck, a society's relationship to time (the temporal focus) is one of its fundamental cultural orientations. They argued that some cultures (e.g., Egypt, China, or India) might focus more on the past, whereas other cultures (e.g., Scandinavia or North America) may focus more on the future. There are also cultures (e.g., Latin America) that tend to pay less attention to the past or the future and concentrate more on the present. Future-oriented cultures tend to see change positively and may clash with past-oriented cultures, which sometimes view change as showing disrespect to one's ancestors. Geert Hofstede sought to quantify this difference in orientation with a Long Term Orientation index, which gives high scores in long-term orientation to Asian countries such as China and Japan and low scores to South American countries like Brazil and Argentina as well as to North American countries like the United States and Canada.

Time in Intercultural Contexts

The pace of life, including how fast people walk or eat, can be affected by culture. People in cities usually lead a faster pace of life than people in rural areas. People in collectivistic, polychronic cultures, especially in warmer climates, like Brazil, Mexico, or Indonesia, tend to move more slowly than people in individualistic, monochronic cultures, with colder climates, like northern Europe. The amount of time spent on a certain communication event can vary greatly depending on the culture. Greetings in many cultures are quite short—less than half a minute: "Hi! How are you?" "Fine, thanks. And you?" "Can't complain." Greetings in other cultures may be much longer. For example, two people greeting each other in Mongolia may ask each other about how well they slept the night before and whether they had breakfast or not, and may include similar requests for information about family members as well, sometimes taking more than 10 minutes.

Time can be used to convey urgency. For example, calling someone at 7:00 a.m. may imply more urgency than calling at 7:00 p.m. Power distance may affect this, however. It is probably easier for a person in a high-power position, such as a work supervisor or a college professor, to make the 7:00 a.m. call to a staff member or a student than vice versa. Power distances can also affect waiting time; making people wait may be used as a tool to reinforce one's status. *Waiting time* itself can be affected by culture. There are some cultures, like the Sioux culture, that do not even have a word for *wait*. People in monochronic cultures may consider 30 minutes a very long time to be kept waiting, but in a polychronic culture like Saudi Arabia, up to 45 minutes may not be seen as waiting at all.

There are exceptions to any cultural generalization. Some individuals in slow-paced cultures may walk, talk, or eat quite fast, and the reverse may also be true. When visiting or starting life in a new culture, one should expect that one's cultural norms about time may be violated; people may seem to perceive and use time according to different norms. This should be seen as an opportunity for expanding one's intercultural knowledge and competence, as well as for incorporating new communication strategies related to chronemics into one's nonverbal communication repertoire.

Jeff Berglund

See also Body Language (Haptics); Eye Contact (Oculesics); Facial Expressions/Universal; Hall, E. T.; Intercultural Nonverbal Communication; Space (Proxemics)

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TOURISM

Discussions of tourism are rare in intercultural literature, which is somewhat surprising given the growing worldwide scale and importance of the phenomenon and its role in bringing representatives of different cultures together. Indeed, for many people their first directly personal experience of another culture may be in the context of a touristic encounter, as either a host or a guest. The influence of such encounters on the development, reinforcement, and diffusion of stereotypes, positive and negative, can be significant, and a consideration of tourism and its effects must form part of the quest for intercultural competence. This entry first attempts a very general definition of tourism before going on to explore its development into a wide range of different manifestations. Finally, the potentially problematic aspects of the touristic experience are considered.

There is no universally agreed-on academic definition of tourism, since its meaning depends to a certain extent on the concerns of the author doing the defining; over the past 50 years, tourism or some of its aspects have been of interest to sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, historians, and economists, among others, and their ideas as to what the phenomenon constitutes vary accordingly. However, at its most basic definition, *tourism* can be said to involve short-term voluntary travel away from the tourist's normal place of residence for non-work-related purposes, usually relaxation, pleasure, and novelty. The nonessential nature of tourism means that it is a privileged activity, requiring both temporary leisure and disposable income, but it also requires a cultural context, a social ethos sanctioning and encouraging travel of a certain kind as a valid use of resources. It could even be argued that many elements and attitudes of modern tourism are a development of the Grand Tour, the educational rite of passage for members of the English upper classes from the 18th century up to the Second World War. The mandatory itinerary for this experience featured visits to the artistic and architectural sites of continental Europe in the Classical and Renaissance periods, exposure to which was thought somehow to be an essential learning experience, a kind of real-world finishing school. Not to have visited the Parthenon or toured the Uffizi galleries was a definite gap in one's education, although the focus was very much on the physical place rather than the contemporary cultural reality. Few visitors learned more than a few words of the local languages, and the places where they stayed and ate were carefully chosen so as not to present too foreign an experience. Culture was in the artifacts, not in the interactions.

After the Industrial Revolution, as societies democratized and transportation improved, at least in the West, the ability to make nonessential journeys spread to other sectors of the population, and facilities catering to the tastes of the middle and lower classes were developed. In many cases, these developments resembled those initially popularized by fashionable society, such as the seaside resort, but as tourist numbers increased, a range of tourist experiences designed for highly specific interests and budgets gradually emerged. Significant current examples of these niche market refinements include heritage tourism, organized around the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) list of world heritage sites; medical tourism, which takes advantage of the lower medical procedure costs or looser regulatory structures in the destination countries, such as Singapore or Russia; pro-poor tourism, aimed at providing direct economic benefit to an underprivileged region, such as Luang Prabang in Laos; and wildlife tourism, exemplified by photographic safaris in Kenya or India. Common to many of these more recent developments is a concern for sustainability, an awareness of the ecological or sociocultural carrying capacity of a destination such that the impact of tourism is carefully managed. Such a concern is obviously not present in some of the less morally responsible forms of travel, such as sex tourism, in which clients use their relative wealth to exploit human beings, including children, in impoverished parts of the world with weaker legal or social constraints than their home countries.

Although the above example of sex tourism may be an especially egregious one, some writers have criticized the entire practice of contemporary tourism as an extension of colonial privilege and authority, linked inextricably to economic exploitation and racist attitudes. For such critics, even the more superficially benign forms of tourism nevertheless serve to exhibit and reinforce social and economic disparities that are ultimately harmful to intercultural understanding. Tourism is essentially a service industry, and for the time of their sojourn, tourists enjoy the considerable relative advantages of clean clothes, comfortable accommodation, air-conditioned transportation, sophisticated cameras, disposable income, and the constant attention of people whose main concern seems to be to make their stay as pleasant as possible. Even those tourists who eschew many of these comforts for local conditions nevertheless have the luxury of knowing that in a specified period of time they will return home.

On the other hand, there seems to be no doubt as to the economic benefits of tourism to the destination countries, many of which rely substantially on tourism as a generator of national income. Exactly how that income is distributed to the people most affected by tourist development is a separate issue, but the potential for improvement of social, economic, and environmental conditions in the destination area is undeniable. Perhaps more important from the standpoint of intercultural competence, tourism also holds the potential for enhanced intercultural understanding through mutually respectful dialogue and a willingness to learn, a situation that can only come about through education. Just because tourism is seen as a voluntary leisure activity, it should not be regarded as unimportant. On the contrary, if it is understood as the invaluable intercultural opportunity that it could be, then it must be considered an essential component of education for intercultural competence.

Richard Harris

See also Museums

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Training for Education Abroad

Young adults have long sought the opportunity and sense of adventure afforded by studying in another country. Mobility at the university level is significant, with United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization citing more than 4 million students choosing to temporarily relocate outside their home country each year. The vast majority of these individuals are in pursuit of a degree (with more than 800,000, or 20%, coming to the United States), and a smaller yet certainly sizeable number of students choose to study in another country during a portion of their academic experience (including annually more than 280,000 U.S. students). While there are unique reasons why students leave their home to study elsewhere, there are also common motivators, such as a desire to experience another culture, gain language skills, or acquire a particular experience (e.g., course work, internships, research, service learning) that will be applicable in the next steps of the student's academic studies or professional career.

This entry focuses on the efforts to assist these students in achieving the goals of their study-abroad experience, goals that are enhanced with intercultural competence training. Academic advisors, faculty, and international education staff have long encouraged the *sojourner*, the individual traveling, to make the most of the experience. Maximizing the experience isn't solely about the time away but, rather, also includes the preparations for this experience and putting this learning into practice when the sojourner returns home. These *before*, *during*, and *after* phases have developed significantly in the past 30 years into a continuous timeline of learning and are frequently referenced as *predeparture*, *in-country*, and *reentry*, respectively. This entry explains the terms used in international education, introduces the professionals involved in study abroad, enumerates the educational goals of study abroad, and examines each of these phases—predeparture, in-country and reentry—in more detail.

Further Definition and Who Is Involved

The terms *education abroad* and *study abroad* are often used interchangeably and refer to a program with any academic focus and of any duration, from 10 days to more than a semester. *Study abroad* was the common term for many years and has been more recently replaced with *education abroad* to reflect that not all programs are classroom based and that doing an internship, for example, is also an educational experience. Thus, education abroad refers to an experience in which a student is receiving academic credit for the experience. While the term *education abroad* can refer to any student outside the home country for degree or nondegree purposes, the term is most frequently used to describe students participating in nondegree programs. The focus here is on the university level, although many of the concepts of predeparture, in-country, and reentry, are applicable to younger students as well.

Education abroad takes place with enormous effort on behalf of many individuals. Certainly, some students simply select a program in which to enroll, apply, and get on the plane. However, more often there are a host of individuals involved:

- High school counselors who are aware of study-abroad options and encourage students to consider them as a part or all of their university experience
- Advisors who help students ensure that the program is a good fit for the students' interests and academic abilities and who may support the student at various points along the way (e.g., advisors may do site visits or orientation or reentry sessions)
- Faculty and staff, either on-site or from the home institution, who design the program and the curriculum and conduct the classroom and experiential learning
- Education-abroad staff who prepare students interculturally and logistically, discussing necessary predeparture items such as visas, housing, and course enrollment.
- Local on-site staff who secure housing and set up visits, guest lecturers, and study tours as well as counsel and advise students during their program
- And, of course, the students themselves

The level of predeparture, on-site, and reentry support that students can expect to receive depends on a number of factors, such as the student-to-staff ratio, type of institution, and nature of the study-abroad program.

Goals

A foundational belief of study abroad is that the experience can result in students gaining concrete knowledge from the specific topics studied (e.g., architecture in Athens, sustainability in Oslo, music and dance in Minneapolis), as well as achieving personal and professional goals. Educators also anticipate that students can increase their intercultural competence by developing their abilities to

1. understand the influence of the home culture on their own actions and beliefs;
2. function in new and ambiguous environments;
3. take the perspective of people from other cultures;

4. learn how everyone's culture is influencing a particular situation (a business meeting, a classroom setting, a family disagreement);
5. find solutions that bridge cultural differences;
6. communicate in the local languages;
7. make decisions in order to behave appropriately and effectively in another local environment in a variety of contexts; and
8. debrief their experience on returning to their home culture in order to make meaningful adjustments.

While each study-abroad program may emphasize one of these aspects more than others, the research on education abroad suggests that the vast majority of those involved aspire to at least some combination of the above, no matter the duration of the experience.

These outcomes don't happen automatically; research and experience continually reinforce that these goals require intentionality in processing the cultural influences, power dynamics, and assumptions in the everyday experiences of the program. This processing is made possible through using concepts in intercultural communication that are introduced in the predeparture phase and carried through during the in-country and reentry phases of the experience. Each phase of the timeline will be reviewed below according to the main goals, the challenges encountered, the common approaches used in that phase, and current trends.

Predeparture Phase

Main Goals

The predeparture phase is understandably frequently characterized by a mixture of emotions from excitement to anxiety, as well as potential frustration at the drudgery of tending to all the logistical aspects of temporarily relocating to another country. The predeparture education should at a minimum acknowledge these emotions while helping the student prepare for the broader goals of the experience. In essence, the goal of the predeparture phase is to lay a foundation that makes possible the outcomes of the study-abroad program. During this initial phase, there is significant emphasis on Goals 1, 2, and 3, while preparation is also made for the remainder of the goals.

Challenges Encountered

There are several challenges to the predeparture stage, including the following:

- The study-abroad experience may feel distant, and other concerns, such as preparing for the classes and working to raise money for the trip, may feel more pressing than orientation.
- Receiving information about logistics for the sojourn seems natural as there is a need to know what to pack and what the arrangements will be onsite. Spending time learning about cultural differences, even specific ones, may, however, be viewed as a waste of time as students don't yet have a context for the importance of culture learning.
- Students often have significant exposure to other cultures through the media, food, and previous travel. And yet, for many, these experiences have not necessarily developed the intercultural skills outlined above. These previous experiences can ironically then create a closed-mindedness to learning about cultural differences as students can be thinking, "Been there, done that."
- Fundamentally, it may be more difficult to gain cultural self-awareness while in one's own culture. (This is especially true for students from the dominant culture, who may not even realize that they have a culture.) For example, in the U.S. classroom, students are frequently invited to give their opinion on a topic, and they may not realize that this is only one approach to learning, an approach that reflects an emphasis on the individual and on student-centered learning.
- For many students, going abroad is the first time they are disconnected from their parents for any length of time. Although parental support is important, it is common for concerned parents to want to be involved in inappropriate ways, such as filling out student forms.

Common Approaches

International educators use a variety of approaches during the predeparture phase to address the challenges identified above and still set the stage for the aspirational goals of study abroad. Addressing the logistical concerns early in the predeparture phase allows students to be open to other learning, since their basic needs are being met. Put another way, if they are worried about housing, cultural differences in the classroom may seem irrelevant.

Once the logistics are addressed, a common approach in predeparture education is using experiential learning techniques that engage students by keeping them mentally and often physically active. These techniques have been popular for decades, most likely because they provide an opportunity for learning about specific and general cultural differences (cognitive learning) and experiencing emotions that can be part of this temporary relocation (affective learning), and sometimes provide a chance to directly practice behavioral changes or to discuss problem-solving strategies (behavioral learning). During this stage, it is also critical for students to start reflecting on their own cultural identity, such as their values, beliefs, and assumptions and how these were developed. This reflection forms the basis for being aware of one's self as a cultural being and allows for deeper understanding of the influence of culture on all interactions.

Experiential Learning Techniques: Integrating Mini-Lectures and Activities

Many experiential learning techniques involve alternating short lectures to introduce concepts with an activity. The predeparture phase is an opportunity to deliver mini-lectures and organize activities regarding three cognitive foundations.

The first is to introduce the concept of culture, and this is frequently done through activities that raise awareness about the impact culture has on individuals' daily lives, the role identity occupies, and how this may change in a new environment.

The second cognitive foundation is to introduce ways in which cultures can differ in terms of values, nonverbal communication, communication styles, and approaches to problem solving. The goal is not to suggest that a student can know all there is to know about a culture in advance of the experience but rather to learn frameworks that can be useful analytical tools when the students are in-country.

The third cognitive foundation is to introduce methods for learning about cultural differences, such as the "Description, Interpretation, and Evaluation" (commonly referred to as D.I.E.) exercise or other question-based frameworks. These tools prepare students to suspend initial judgment, learn to reexamine their reactions, and develop alternative explanations based on the cultural context of the host country. During the predeparture phase, students practice this process with the goal of generating multiple interpretations to increase their cognitive complexity as well as develop curiosity. Additional question frameworks can be as simple as asking students to reflect on how their own expectations and values might be affecting their reactions, to a more in-depth analysis using detailed questions to compare and contrast what was experienced with what was expected. During the in-country phase, educators rely heavily on these tools as students experience the cross-cultural differences directly, having moved out of hypothetical situations into the reality of cultural adaptation.

The goals of the mini-lectures and activities are often primarily to provide the cognitive foundation. However, affective learning occurs as well. The personal nature of the topic and the challenge of alternative cultural perspectives can result in powerful emotional reactions.

Experiential Learning Techniques: Simulations

While lectures and activities focus on laying a cognitive foundation, simulations create scenarios in which students are temporarily immersed in new situations and, as a result, focus on affective and behavioral learning. Classic simulations include BaFa BaFa, Ecotonos, The Owl, the Cocktail Party, The Albatross, and Barnga. Each of these is structured differently, but all share the goal of immersing students in a situation in which there are new cultural rules to be learned and followed and then an opportunity for students to experience the new cultures. Students attempt to figure out and follow the rules in a new setting. While the activity is important, the most significant aspect is debriefing the simulation. The facilitator guides students through a conversation about what happened, how they feel about it, how they learned about the cultural differences, whether they have misinterpretations about those not in their own groups, and how the lessons learned apply to their upcoming experience. A common learning goal from simulations is to help students understand that their initial conclusions are grounded in their own cultural assumptions rather than those of the other culture.

Simulations also provide a rich opportunity to explore the power dynamics involved in study abroad by giving voice to questions such as the following: What are the relationships between the host and the home country? How is privilege evident in the host culture? How might this affect students' perceptions of members of the host culture, and vice versa? What is the status of students in the host country?

Learning Through Story

Incorporating examples of challenging situations in which students were surprised by cultural differences in values, communication styles, and approaches to problem solving has long been a hallmark of predeparture education. These stories take the form of accounts of critical incidents that have either open-ended discussion questions or multiple-choice answers. For instance, in the cultural assimilator, multiple-choice answers can be quite effective; incorrect responses often reflect the cultural assumptions of the students in the training, whereas correct answers provide detailed descriptions about the cultural values guiding those involved in the incidents.

Additional Approaches

Additional approaches are widely varied and include semester-long courses in which there are significant readings in intercultural communication, fiction, and nonfiction from the host cultures; guest speakers, who are either past students or current international students, invited to give firsthand witness to the cultural differences and similarities encountered; matching current international students to act as mentors to those who will be studying abroad in their home country; and sending students to explore a non-dominant-culture area of the city, such as a grocery store run by a cultural group that is new to the student, and to report on the experience of being different. The use of online, self-guided tutorials (e.g., *What's Up With Culture?*) is also a popular approach as it allows students to access the material regardless of their location.

Current Trends

Recent years have brought more opportunity for preparation to greater numbers of students from more global locations through accessible publications, websites, and online learning. In addition, the significant number of students from China seeking educational opportunities in various locations has also led to more predeparture education programs for these students. The differences in educational systems and the importance of these students to the United States and other economies have led many institutions to provide on-site predeparture trainings in major cities throughout China. This trend is leading many educators to consider how all international students should have the opportunity for such foundational education and culture learning.

In addition to the changing nature of who receives training for education abroad, there are three additional trends. In general, the push is toward more significant attention to developing ways to support intercultural learning through blended learning environments, the required course work, training faculty, professional development for on-site educators, and more. A second and related trend is the use of assessment measures of intercultural competence both to foster learning about intercultural differences and skills and to determine whether students are mastering such skills. The third and final trend is the creation of sophisticated resources to support facilitators and students, such as the *Cultural Detective*, an online cultural and topic-specific set of materials that provide in-depth case studies and a series of questions to guide reflection and discovery of self and others.

In-Country Phase

Main Goals

The main goal during the in-country phase is somewhat daunting, as it is to challenge students to reach their highest potential in all of the goals to the extent possible given the constraints of the program. Certainly, each program is unique in the emphasis placed on particular learning goals. Yet it is common to have significant emphasis on Goal #4, the ability to learn how each person's culture is influencing a particular situation, and Goal #5, the ability to find solutions that bridge cultural differences.

Challenges Encountered

While faculty and staff typically may have significant and deep cultural knowledge, not all of these educators have confidence in processing the more ambiguous aspects of intercultural learning. Host country staff may not have had the opportunity to live outside their own country or study concepts of the other culture and, therefore, may have limited intercultural knowledge. In addition, some may feel that this is secondary to other content-learning goals and therefore do not dedicate time to this type of learning. The dense schedules of some short-term programs afford little opportunity for processing the experiences, while longer-term programs often do not have a person assigned to facilitate intercultural learning. In such contexts, students have to be encouraged to enter into this ambiguous learning and to reflect on their own successes and misunderstandings, perhaps through online learning.

Common Approaches

The ideal situation for in-country education is to be using the day-to-day experiences of students while at the same time deepening the ability of students to use cultural frameworks and processes for understanding differences. The concepts and tools introduced during predeparture are invaluable now in the in-country phase to accelerate the learning, allowing for greater breadth and depth. While in-country, the lectures, activities, simulations, and specific concepts of cultural differences come to life. Students are now presented with living in another culture—and the messiness that comes from being in a situation and trying to decipher it in real time. They are not in the classroom any longer; there is no heads-up that the next 30 minutes is about a particular value difference, for example. Instead, there is a potential flood of stimuli, and they must quickly decipher the cultural differences and similarities, the impact on themselves and on others, and how to respond.

A current belief of many educators is that the in-country phase should include an explicit facilitation of the experience for students to reach the learning goals. The bulk of the learning comes from students reporting about what they have experienced and facilitators guiding the conversation about what cultural differences are present, the context in which they are experienced, how students react to the differences, how students are able to adjust or not adjust to the differences—including making behavioral adaptations—and what further information needs to be gained to develop a deeper understanding or develop solutions if needed. Significant attention should be given to how to bridge cultural differences, so that the outcomes go beyond an understanding that cultures differ, and push students further into adaptation. A key ability in this stage is to notice cultural differences and acknowledge that they exist, without making judgments and trying to understand the reasons for the differences. This requires that intercultural facilitators be trained and students encouraged to act as mentors to one another in their learning.

Many programs use measurements of students' intercultural learning and intercultural development. The Intercultural Development Inventory, the Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory, the Milville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale, and the Intercultural Effectiveness Scale are popular surveys for assessing students. The measures differ in how they were developed, the amount of rigor and validity testing they have gone through, their costs, and the amount of time it takes to explain the concepts associated with them. Using the measures helps challenge students because they receive individualized results about where their strengths and opportunities are, for further development. The results can be invaluable to educators to help them direct the teaching more precisely to what the students actually need to help equip them with the language of intercultural learning. If these measures have been introduced during the predeparture phase, they are typically reviewed during the time in-country.

Current Trends

Increasing use of technology, designing programs based on the results of intercultural competency measures, and devising ways for ongoing interaction with domestic and international students are clear trends in the field. Technology is being used to provide online courses for students so that they can access trained facilitators. One example of this type of course is the "Global Identity: Connecting

Your International Experience to Your Future" course at the University of Minnesota for students studying outside the United States. Technology is also used by institutions around the world for students to blog on their experiences and by instructors and on-site staff for students to create digital stories. These tools provide the means for students to reflect on their experiences and share their key learning from the journey with others. New and old methods are being woven together by having students record a digital story of their experiences with culture shock and having peers trained to guide students through the incidents that they found to be the most shocking. Trends also include continuing or revisiting some of the tried and true approaches, such as having students spend time in a meaningful way with host country students.

The trend toward integration of international and domestic students is an ongoing question that is receiving new attention with the increased number of students seeking study abroad on a global scale. The cross-cultural discussion groups at the University of Minnesota, run by its International Student and Scholar Services, provide a model for ongoing learning in a co-curricular environment. The discussion groups consist of 8–10 international and domestic students who voluntarily gather once a week for approximately 10 weeks of the semester. Staff members and counselors in training from different cultural backgrounds pair up to cofacilitate these groups. Students are also encouraged to bring their own questions and topics to the group based on the experiences they have had that week. This intercultural workshop model has been used for nearly 40 years and involves training the facilitators and interviewing the group members to ensure that they understand the parameters of being involved in this type of group learning environment. Intercultural workshops have also been used to prepare students for study abroad, for instance, with a group comprising African students and American students headed to Africa for study abroad.

Reentry Phase

Main Goals

The significant goals of the reentry phase are to make meaning of the students' experiences, to ensure that the maximum learning is obtained, and to transfer these skills and new knowledge into future academic and career experiences.

Challenges Encountered

The most significant challenge in the reentry phase is how to reach students when they have returned. When students are at the end of their experience in-country, they are often busy with the logistics of moving home or to another location, and being in transition makes it difficult to process the learning. It is also a challenge when students have been encouraged to view study abroad as a life-changing adventure. If their experience did not live up to their expectations, some students may feel embarrassed to identify that. In addition, students often complain that family and friends quickly tire of hearing about their study-abroad experience, while the students themselves have a continuing need to process what happened to them.

Common Approaches

As timing is typically the greatest challenge, the following are strategies for educators to reach students:

- Include information about reentry in the predeparture stage to encourage students to begin thinking about the experience with reentry in mind.
- Offer in-country meetings well before the logistics of relocating begin.
- Offer online workshops for reentry.
- Offer reunions when students return home.
- Organize a one-day conference for students to share their learning with the campus community (e.g., Michigan State University's Learning Abroad Conference).
- Offer career workshops that teach how to transfer the skills learned to their resumes or job interviews.
- Provide reentry credit-bearing courses to prolong and validate the importance of the learning associated with study abroad.
- Design a predeparture or early on-site exercise that can be unpacked in reentry, such as letters to themselves.

The content of the sessions often involves offering opportunities to hear from experts or from fellow students about their reentry experience and normalizing the difficulties that can be encountered. Also, a key aspect of the reentry phase is providing an opportunity for students to discuss what they are experiencing in the reentry period and to further reflect on the time spent in-country. Just as with earlier phases, the reentry phase is best managed by having facilitators to guide, support, and challenge students to gain the most from their experiences.

Current Trends

The biggest trend is for educators to focus very tangibly on the connection between study abroad and careers. For example, international students entering the United States report significant concerns about their employability, and careers services offices are working to improve their services to this diverse group. Similarly, U.S. students returning from study abroad are receiving support for translating their learning abroad into a language that employers will readily recognize and value. For instance, the University of Minnesota's Learning Abroad Center offered a new Career Integration conference for educators to respond to this growing need.

The predeparture, in-country, and reentry phases of the study-abroad experience all offer profound opportunities to support and challenge students to gain an incredible experience and to transfer this experience, whether short or long, into a foundation for a lifetime.

Barbara Kappler Mikk

See also Coaching for Intercultural Competence; Culture Learning; Culture Shock; Definitions: Knowledge, Skills, Attitudes; Description, Interpretation, Evaluation; International Education; Simulations and Games

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UNESCO Institute for Statistics: http://www.uis.unesco.org

TRAINING FOR TRANSFEREES

Training for transferees is intercultural training conducted for employees of global corporations transferred internationally, with or without their family accompanying them, typically for 1–3 years for business purposes. Transferee training is important within the overall topic of training because global business is the largest enterprise (much more than 100,000 global expatriates today) requiring people to work competently across cultures as the key to competitive success. Secondly, transferee training is a major source of employment for the worldwide network of intercultural trainers. This article discusses the origins of transferee training, its development, a typical program curriculum, trainer background and preparation, and tendencies in the training market.

Brief History of Transferee Training

Transferee training began in the early 1970s, when American businesses became increasingly involved in countries whose cultures were unfamiliar and very different from that of the United States. A fortunate confluence of factors contributed to its development: (a) cultural research by contemporary anthropologists provided objective models for cultural comparison, (b) the U.S. Peace Corps required systematic preparation of volunteers for relocation to a variety of unfamiliar cultures around the world, and (c) professionals with extensive experience in other countries became more widely available.

Early training programs for cross-cultural collaboration were extensive and often lasted months. They included intensive language instruction, addressed employees in both countries, and involved extensive simulations and debriefing of simulated and real interactions. Such programs were designed to meet particular corporate needs, were experientially based with specific behavioral outcomes, and involved teams of cultural and training experts. Although necessary at the time, such programs were few and very expensive; they no longer exist.

By the 1980s, returning Peace Corps volunteers were entering the business world and taking up international corporate assignments. They were shocked by the corporate ignorance of cultural challenges and the minimal transferee support. A number of cultural training companies founded by Peace Corps returnees still exist today.

Providing cultural training was a challenge because there were few people with the necessary knowledge, skills, and experience. Many of the trainers through the 1990s were repatriated spouses who wanted to maintain contact with the world of expatriates. Each company designed its own curriculum and materials, often using the Peace Corps training manual, *Culture Matters*, as the model, and ex-Peace Corps entrepreneurs trained their trainers.

The late 1990s and early 2000s saw a rising demand for transferee training. Business was rapidly internationalizing, companies had become aware of the challenges of working abroad, and failed assignments were costly. While the effectiveness of transferee training has been difficult to prove, it is often the least expensive of the services offered to transferees. Strong appreciation of cultural training by transferee families has made it a standard benefit. In a recent survey of global relocation trends, 64% of participating corporations provide transferee training, and almost 30% provide repatriation training.

A Typical Transferee Training Curriculum

Due to the global consolidation of industry, transferee training is becoming increasingly standardized among corporate clients, relocation service providers, and trainers. Standardization applies to the duration of training, curriculum, cost, and trainer qualifications. Training can be provided either predeparture or postarrival. Predeparture programs have the advantage of calming the family's anxiety before the move; these are most effective if the family has completed a preview visit to the destination. Postarrival training has the advantage that the family is now encountering the local culture and can identify challenges and frustrations.

Most providers of transferee training offer 1- and 2-day programs for delivery at the transferee's place of work, the family's home, or occasionally a public venue. Programs are generally scheduled at the transferee's convenience and may take place during the weekend. Curriculum topics typically remain the same for both 1- and 2-day programs.

Preprogram

Typically, a trainer is requested to contact the transferee(s) prior to the program in order to do an introduction, preview the curriculum, settle logistical matters, and identify particular concerns that will need to be addressed. For 1-day programs, the trainer determines the relative importance of various program segments to adjust the time devoted to each.

Introductions

Most training companies provide their own training manual and require trainers to use it when conducting their programs. Although terminology may vary, program elements are similar, beginning with introductions and an overview of the agenda. Typically, a short discussion of the family's emotional state, prior experience with cultural difference, and oncoming role changes brings a focus to how the rest of the material will be presented and discussed.

Crossing Cultures

The overview is followed by an introduction to culture and the cross-cultural experience. Cross-cultural concepts are defined. Universal value dimensions are introduced—with the host culture and the culture of origin compared as to where each typically falls on a continuum, such as individualism versus collectivism—and the contrasting behaviors associated with these value differences. In another model, a set of key themes specific to one's native culture, with the pluses and minuses of each, is contrasted with a set of key themes in the destination, providing a basis for examining the cross-cultural challenges. The comparative perspective supports a discussion of intercultural *code switching*, the advantages and disadvantages of adapting or not adapting one's behaviors to local patterns.

With the proliferation of online cross-cultural resources, some providers offer transferees and their spouses access to assessment instruments; they complete a questionnaire concerning a set of value dimensions and receive their profiles, which the trainer debriefs during this segment.

Daily Living in the Destination

This segment concerns the practicalities of daily life, with a focus on how the destination culture is organized. If the trainer is conducting an *inbound* program, he or she is expected to explain these aspects of the culture, like housing, the medical system, transportation, shopping, education, and so on. For *outbound* programs, the provider might make available an expatriate in the destination via telephone. As daily living is often the concern of the nonworking spouse, the cultural resource is typically female, but gender can be adjusted to the circumstances. In any case, the trainer moderates the conversation.

Optional: Country Background

In the 1990s, when virtually all programs lasted 2 days, three to four external consultants were booked for 1- to 2-hour presentations. Often delivered by an academic expert on the destination country, the Area Studies segment—an overview of the country's history, institutions, economy, and politics–consists of a short summary, or the topic is not addressed except by referring the participants to good sources online or in print.

Communication Across Cultures

The communication aspect of intercultural relations is usually addressed separately from the introductory cross-cultural concepts. It presents the many possible differences in communication patterns, often illustrating differences with critical incidents to be analyzed by participants and debriefed by the trainer. The training manual may also contain exercises for trying on other styles as an adaptive practice and for considering possible responses to confusing utterances.

Doing Business in the Destination

As with daily living, the trainer of an inbound program may conduct the business culture segment. However, for an outbound program to a destination unfamiliar to the trainer, the provider may schedule a face-to-face or telephone session for 1 to 2 hours with a cultural business consultant experienced in working in the destination country. There is an advantage in using someone native to the participant's culture rather than a person from the destination country, as the former better understands the cultural challenges the trainee will face.

Intercultural Adaptation

Every program includes a segment on culture shock, the psychological and emotional challenges of adapting to life in another culture. The discussion includes typical responses to culture stress and strategies for managing it as an individual and within families. It also previews the challenge of the eventual return, reverse culture shock.

The order of the above segments may be adjusted to accommodate the availability of external consultants, as well as the participants' and trainer's preferences.

Goal Setting/Strategies for Cultural Effectiveness

Programs typically conclude by setting goals for the initial weeks and months of an assignment and determining strategies for dealing with cultural challenges in both business and personal or family life.

Trainers and Their Preparation

Training for transferees has undergone considerable sophistication and professionalization in the past 15 years, particularly with respect to the qualifications of trainers. The typical trainer today has spent at least 3 years living and working internationally, speaks one or more foreign languages, and has a master's degree in intercultural communication or a related field from one of the many university programs offered today. Additionally, a number of providers of transferee training require their contract trainers to complete an in-house certification program (increasingly online rather than in person) that reviews the basic principles of intercultural communication, provides an orientation to a values assessment instrument, and introduces the provider's training materials. In addition to formal degrees in the field, the majority of cultural trainers are members of the Society for International Education, Training, and Research, with affiliates in the United States, Europe, South America, and Asia. Many also attend short courses offered annually in the United States and Europe, such as those offered by the Intercultural Communication Institute in Portland, Oregon.

In summary, whereas in the 1990s and early 2000s providers recruited heavily at the conventions of the Society for International Education, Training, and Research and had their own exclusive stable of certified contractors, today there is a body of professional trainers prepared through formal degree programs who train for multiple providers.

Growing Pressures on Transferee Training

Training for transferees has changed considerably from its earliest days, when programs were uniquely designed to achieve specific behavioral goals and might be conducted for teams of employees over many months. Training for transferees today is globally similar in duration and scope, with the overall goal of orienting transferees to the challenges of cultural difference, to increased awareness of native and destination country values, and to the creation of initial strategies for dealing with destination challenges in personal, social, and professional environments.

Global corporations are under intense pressure to contain the high costs of expatriate assignments. While transferee training does not account for a significant percentage of this expense, it is considered optional and its price, negotiable. Corporations typically outsource all relocation services to relocation management companies, which in turn outsource them to firms specializing in particular services. Service providers at each step are selected in a bidding process, with price as a primary factor. This downward pressure ensures that trainers, employed as independent contractors by second- or third-tier providers, have no say in determining their daily fee, which has not increased much in a decade.

Additionally, there is a rising availability of increasingly sophisticated online sources of general and country-specific cultural information, including assessment instruments. While everyone agrees that access to online information is not equivalent to face-to-face training, it is useful, far less expensive per transferee, and available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, everywhere.

Furthermore, there is the false but growing perception that since English is increasingly the global language of business, corporate culture is homogenizing, and global audio/visual communication is available anytime everywhere, the cultural challenges of expatriation are therefore diminishing. Although transferee training is unlikely to disappear in the near future, it is under considerable economic pressure to be discontinued and may be increasingly replaced in a variety of situations by the provision of online cultural services.

Douglas Kent Stuart

See also Cross-Cultural Communication; Culture Shock; Intercultural Code Switching; Perceptions; Reentry; Stereotypes and Generalizations; Stress, Coping, and Adjustment; Value Dimensions: Hofstede; Value Dimensions: Trompenaars

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Training Intercultural Trainers

Training trainers refers to preparing individuals to facilitate others' intercultural awareness and competency development, as well as preparing individuals to design programs, courses, and workshops that lead to such development. A long-held fundamental assumption in the intercultural field is that understanding and appreciating cultural differences, let alone knowing how to be a bridge between differences, does not come naturally. As a result, there has been significant emphasis on how individuals can be more proficient in developing intercultural competence and how best to prepare instructors to lead such educational endeavors. This entry provides a brief history of intercultural training and summarizes six foundations of training for trainers: (1) audience analysis, (2) learning outcomes, (3) sequencing, (4) experiential learning, (5) debriefing, and (6) the art of facilitation.

History

Detailed histories have been written about the development of the field of intercultural training and intercultural communication. These histories differ in emphasis, yet all identify World War II as a pivotal point in formalizing approaches to learning about other cultures that went beyond solely emphasizing a combination of language and area studies. The Foreign Services Institute in the 1940s put the field on a trajectory by integrating awareness of the general ways cultures can differ with skills in understanding how these differences manifest themselves in any one particular cultural context. Moreover, the focus was on the practical application of concepts, an emphasis that continues today.

Much of the training of trainers occurs within professional and nonprofit organizations committed to the notion that improving intercultural relations will lead to improvements in all areas of our societies. Significant professional development opportunities exist at the annual meetings of the Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research and at the Intercultural Communication Institute's summer sessions. Shorter options exist with the Association of International Educators (NAFSA), the United Nations Commission, and university workshops that offer conferences and workshops for individuals or organizations to develop skills in facilitating others' intercultural development. These organizations create communities for practitioners, researchers, faculty, and consultants to stay up-to-date on the most effective strategies in the field.

It is also possible to take university course work, typically at the graduate level, that has evolved from decades of non-credit-bearing instruction on training trainers. The disciplines of linguistics, anthropology, adult learning, sociology, psychology, and communication studies have all contributed significantly to the curriculum of these courses. It is often departments in intercultural communication and higher education, with their strong interdisciplinary commitment, that offer the courses today. Many of the faculty members involved in these courses are active in the professional and nonprofit organizations listed above.

The six foundational elements of training design provide the building blocks of a training-of-trainers program, whether the program is part of an academic course or a professional development workshop.

Six Foundational Elements

The outcome of a training-of-trainers program should be that a trainer is able to design more competent workshops for his or her own participants. Good training design begins not with deciding the specific content to be included in a training but rather with careful consideration of the audience and their goals, how to minimize risk and maximize learning, how to actively engage learners, how to debrief learning activities, and the overall art of facilitation. In short, the foundations represent the preparatory work that trainers should complete to determine the appropriate content and process they will use with their own participants.

The participant in the training-of-trainers workshop would consider each of these foundational elements in great detail, focusing on how each of these relate specifically to intercultural competency development. *Intercultural development* is an intellectual and emotional process that can deeply challenge participants as they reconsider their worldview and how they interact in the world. Trainers have an ethical responsibility to create an environment in which reaching the learning outcomes is feasible and in which participants are supported and challenged in reaching these outcomes.

Audience Analysis

The starting point for results-oriented training is to carefully consider the audience. As with any training situation, knowing the basic demographics and amount of experience with the topic enables the trainer to design to the specific audience. Trainers should also focus on the issues related to intercultural competency building, including the following considerations.

First, what are the participants' attitudes toward difference and their assumed or measured levels of intercultural sensitivity? Having this information allows trainers to dramatically alter the focus of the training. For example, participants' negative attitudes toward cultural differences require a design that stresses the commonalities across cultural differences as well as the potential benefits of interactions. In contrast, participants who understand some particular cultural differences, such as language and religious customs, but do not understand deeper value differences, and how these affect everyday interactions, require a training design that brings these differences to light in meaningful ways. While participants in any training can have a variety of attitudes toward difference, knowing the range and the most common mind-set helps prepare the trainer to design accordingly.

Second, what prior intercultural experiences do the participants have? Here, the trainer benefits from knowing about the participants' experiences across a range of differences including socioeconomic status, ethnicity, language, religion, gender identity, nationality, and regional differences within any one country. This information is often connected with participants' attitudes toward difference but is not causal; having intercultural experiences does not necessarily lead to positive attitudes and productive approaches toward difference. The trainer can use the participants' past experiences to contextualize examples, to make connections between past experience and the present, and to challenge participants to draw on past experiences to better prepare themselves for what lies ahead.

In addition to the participants' individual levels of awareness, trainers will want to consider the organizational dynamics by gathering information on what prompted the training, the organization's mission and how it is related to cultural diversity and competency building, the leadership's demonstrated commitment to intercultural competence, and what types of ongoing activities will occur after the training. All this information provides the critical context for setting appropriate goals for the training.

Learning Outcomes

Great design begins with the end in mind by answering the following question: What will participants be able to do at the end of the training as a specific result of having participated in the training? Careful consideration must be given to participants' expectations and to matching the learning outcomes with both the audience analysis and what is realistic for the time allotted. Many universities have free online resources through their centers for teaching and learning that provide hands-on guides to assist instructors in determining effective learning outcomes. Dee Fink, from the University of Oklahoma, offers an excellent, free workbook titled *Designing Significant Learning*, which, though created for the classroom, has broad transferability to training of any duration.

Learning outcomes are frequently divided into cognitive (knowledge acquisition), affective (emotional responses, e.g., empathy), and behavioral (skill development). Most training programs attempt to include all three. However, achieving behavioral outcomes takes substantial time and commitment, as well as motivation on behalf of the participants. Trainers should thus be cautioned not to overpromise what can be delivered during a program and not to aim for unrealistic outcomes. Intercultural development is a lifelong process, and a 1-hour workshop and even semester-long classes have clear limitations.

The learning outcomes particular to intercultural competency building often include cultural self-awareness, understanding cultural differences, identifying culture-specific patterns in nonverbal and verbal communication, recognizing power dynamics across groups, and identifying the structural barriers to individual and group success.

Sequence

Once the learning outcomes have been established, the flow of the training program should receive significant attention. In general, the guidance given to trainers is to move from lower to higher risk activities. What *risk* means varies with individuals and groups, but in general, it means moving from content and ways of learning that are more familiar, to content and ways of learning that are less familiar and, thus, more challenging. As with learning any new skill, there are choices to make in how one sequences the learning. For example, in teaching someone how to drive a car, one could begin with learning road signs, how steering functions, or the dangers of driving too fast. But one would not ethically begin with actual freeway or autobahn driving. Similarly, there are choices to be made in intercultural training design about how to start the program and how to structure the training so that the topics build on one another. Some approaches to beginning are too difficult because they would be like freeway driving before the learner knows where the brakes are! Giving consideration to the following questions helps the trainer make decisions about the best opening for a particular audience:

- What will be an effective launch to the training?
- How is credibility established with the participants?
- Does the trainer need to convince the participants of the need for the training and/or motivate the participants to be engaged?
- Has there been a recent event that triggered the training that should be mentioned early on?
- How well do the participants know one another, and what type of risks does this knowledge present?

For example, if there are managers in the room with subordinates, trainers should structure activities to ensure that neither group is placed in a significantly negative light. If participants do not know one another at all, trainers should consider the norms of the individuals and groups and how realistic it will be to have participants share information directly about their beliefs, feelings, and reactions to activities.

In designing training methods, the trainer may wish to consider the following questions:

- What types of activities might the participants be familiar with, and what might be new? For example, if the participants are accustomed to, and expecting, a lecture format, then small-group activities requiring significant independent work may be a challenge, especially if the content is new and challenging as well.
- For this audience, what might be low risk, and what would be higher risk?
- For example, have the participants spent time understanding their own cultural values and the cultural values of the other participants?
- Are the participants comfortable sharing their questions openly with others, and if not, how can this level of trust be built?
- How challenging should the training be?
- Are the participants comfortable with learning new things publicly?
- If they are asked to do difficult tasks such as role-playing in a new situation, what needs to happen in the training to support the participants and to ensure that learning occurs, rather than participants shutting down or leaving the environment?

Responses to these questions enable a trainer to select appropriate activities when considering the overall flow. A trainer should be tailoring the flow according to each audience.

Experiential Learning

A hallmark of intercultural training is the rich set of experiential learning activities that can be used in a variety of settings to achieve a significant number of learning outcomes. These activities range from paper-and-pencil or online inventories to critical incidents, to role-plays. A common purpose for using these activities is that they often surprise participants in what they reveal about themselves. For example, an activity about cultural identities may reveal that an individual has not included nationality as a characteristic of her identity, and an upcoming experience in another country will potentially highlight this aspect of her identity for the first time. Moreover, participants learn that what they thought was commonly accepted is really a reflection of their own cultural values and that there is little that falls into the domain of *commonly accepted*. For example, with an identity activity, a person from a position of privilege may not have included skin color or ethnicity as part of her identity. Through the activity, this person learns that for others, this is not only a fundamental aspect of identity but also a component with history, pride, and status implications. Thus, part of the surprise extends from the content of the activity, part from the physical nature of how learners engage the content with their minds and bodies, and part also from the insights gained from processing the activities through the debriefing described below.

Debriefing

All individuals operate within particular cultural frameworks, and often, the role of a trainer is to help participants *see* this framework and *see* other cultural frameworks. A critical component of training is thus to debrief the participants once learning activities are completed. The debriefing is a key opportunity for individuals to reflect on the learning activity and then for the trainer to connect these comments back to the learning outcomes. A common formula for debriefing is to conduct the activity and then to follow up with this sequence of questions:

- What happened during the activity? What did you observe? What was your experience? What was your reaction to the activity?
- What difficulties did you encounter, and how did you overcome it? What surprised you about what happened, and why might that be?
- How does this activity connect to the other topics we have discussed today?
- What learning can you take away from this activity to your life outside this training program? What strategies did you learn today that you can apply in future situations?

Certainly, not every question above will apply to all activities. However, these questions shed light on the general format of asking participants to report on what they have experienced, how their experience connects with the topic at hand, and then how it connects to the broader learning outcomes to ensure that there can be a transfer of the lessons learned to ongoing learning.

Debriefing may be more or less structured depending on the environment, the trainer, the participants, and the activity. In general, the debriefing is semistructured in that there is a plan that the trainer follows, but the trainer must also know when it is time to delve into a particular learning point, when to move on, and where participants might need more challenge and support. Debriefing is considered to be the specific process that follows an activity, while facilitation is the overall process that occurs during the training program.

Art of Facilitation

Facilitating intercultural development is an art. Any training environment contains dozens if not hundreds of individual stimuli that the trainer takes in, processes, and sorts through to guide the participants to the next steps. Trainers must attend to external stimuli from the participants (e.g., hands raised, nonverbal feedback, verbal statements, and participants talking to one another) and to their own personal response to the stimuli (e.g., Is that person okay? Was that comment insensitive to others? Do more people want to talk, or do they seem tired?) and then process the options for the immediate next step (e.g., Should I ask directly about the comment that I thought was insensitive? Should I ask another question to the whole group? Have the connections back to the final learning outcome been made?).

Trainers must not only be skilled at moving from activity to activity, but they must also attend to guiding the participants through the design of the program and make appropriate decisions to change course based on the immediate learning needs of the participants. The training-of-trainers program can highlight the importance of these elements and provide guidance on how these skills are developed into an art form. Ultimately, it will be through mentoring, practicing, coaching, critical self-reflection, and participant evaluations that trainers can develop the art of facilitation.

Barbara Kappler Mikk

See also Culturally Appropriate Instructional Design; Essential Principles for Intercultural Training; Intensity Factors; Intercultural Training Creativity

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Transformative Learning

Living successfully in a second culture for an extended period time can often lead to a transformation. This transformation is a change in perspective requiring a stranger to look at his or her new world from a different perspective, often in conflict with deeply held values and beliefs, leading to a more reflective, inclusive, and open worldview. This transformation is indicative of a learning process of becoming interculturally competent, which can be explained by transformative learning theory, developed by Jack Mezirow. After defining the nature of transformative learning, this entry delineates the relationship between intercultural competence and transformative learning, notes alternative perspectives, and describes current research dilemmas.

Transformative learning is a constructivist theory about the process of constructing a new or revised meaning of an experience to guide future action. It seeks to explain how adults' expectations, framed within cultural assumptions, directly influence the meaning they derive from their experience. Since there are no fixed truths and change is continuous, adults cannot always be confident of what they know or believe. This is particularly the case when learning to live successfully in a new culture. Therefore, it becomes imperative that as strangers seek better ways to understand the world around them, they need to develop a more critical worldview. This more critical worldview helps them understand how to negotiate and act on their own meanings rather than those uncritically assimilated from others; they develop more reliable assumptions about the new culture they are living in, regularly exploring and testing their dependability and making decisions on an informed basis, all of which are central to the process of transformative learning.

As described by Mezirow, *change* in transformative learning is reflective of change in meaning. Structures that act as culturally defined frames of reference are inclusive of meaning schemes and meaning perspectives. *Meaning schemes,* the smaller components, are indicative of specific beliefs, values, and feelings that reflect an interpretation of experience. On the other hand, a *meaning perspective* is a general frame of reference, worldview, or personal paradigm involving a collection of meaning schemes forming a large meaning structure containing personal theories, higher order schemata, and propositions. Meaning structures operate as perceptual filters of experiences. These structures are composed of two dimensions: (1) *habits of mind*, which are far-reaching habitual cognitive practices influenced by deeply held cultural, political, social, educational, and economic assumptions, and (2) a *point of view,* an expression of a habit of mind that comprises a collection of meaning schemes that tacitly influence how a stranger interprets, judges, and makes sense of the world.

Transformative Learning in Intercultural Contexts

As people engage in new experiences, such as learning to live in a second culture, the meaning perspectives act as a lens through which each new experience is interpreted and given meaning. These experiences are explored in relationship to deeply held meaning structures, which either reinforces the perspective (assimilation) or gradually stretches its boundaries (accommodation), depending on the degree of congruency. However, when a radically dissimilar experience cannot be assimilated into the meaning perspective, it is often rejected or acts as catalyst for a transformation. This catalyst (disorienting dilemma), such as cultural disequilibrium or culture shock, can initiate a critical reappraisal of deeply held assumptions by strangers in how they make sense of their world. Often these experiences are stressful and can threaten the very core of a stranger's existence. It is this transformation in a meaning perspective that leads to a perspective transformation—a worldview shift. And it is perspective transformation that is likely indicative of intercultural competency.

Research on Transformative Learning

Since transformative learning theory was introduced to the field of adult education, the abundance of research that followed has often led to an uncontested assumption that Mezirow's (psychocritical) view is the singular conception of transformative learning theory. However, there are a variety of conceptions of transformation that have emerged over the years, such as John Dirkx's psychoanalytic conceptions, Robert Kegan's psychodevelopmental conceptions, J. Johnson-Bailey and M. Alfred's race-centric conceptions, Paolo Freire's social emancipatory conceptions, and Edmund O'Sullivan's planetary conceptions, to mention just a few. Each contains a particular aspect (e.g., ego, epistemology, race, ideology critique) of the transformative learning process. This diversity of theoretical perspectives offers much for the study of intercultural competency, challenging the field to explore a range of changes, individual and social, that occur in the learning process of intercultural competency.

In addition to emerging alternative perspectives, interest has grown in how transformative learning theory can be fostered and the implications it has for teaching in formal and informal settings. Core teaching practices have been identified, including the importance of engaging individual experience, promoting critical reflection, emphasizing a holistic orientation, developing an awareness of context, and establishing authentic relationships, all of which are seen as essential in fostering transformative learning. These and other practices fostering transformative learning offer insight into teaching approaches that could potentially assist in the preparation of individuals who want to live successfully in a second culture.

Finally, research about transformative learning and intercultural competency has continued to increase since transformative learning theory was introduced to intercultural studies in the 1990s. Much of the research has shown that the theory explains a great deal about the learning process of intercultural competency. Research has also broadened its application beyond a focus on Western strangers living successfully in host cultures to exploring a variety of different populations inclusive of immigrants, students from different countries, women, and international humanitarian workers, to mention a few. In addition, short-term cultural experiences are now being explored as potential transformative experiences. Despite the increased interest in transformative learning theory and its theoretical relationship to the learning process of intercultural competency, there are several challenges that researchers face. The most significant are the need to confront the trend of redundant research through a critical review of prior studies, more in-depth theoretical critique, and the application of other research designs (e.g., surveys, action research) beyond an overreliance on qualitative methods, and the need to explore cross-cultural differences in relationship to transformative learning theory. By confronting these challenges and others, a greater understanding will emerge about the transformative learning process of intercultural competency.

Edward W. Taylor

See also Constructivism; Culture Shock; Intercultural Competence Development; Training for Education Abroad; Worldview

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TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETING

Translation and interpreting have been important cultural practices since the earliest times. They can be defined as processes or products of mediation that enable intercultural communication between individuals or within groups who do not share, or do not choose to share, the same language(s). Translation and interpreting involve the replacement of something that preexisted them. Ideas and expressions are therefore represented *at secondhand* in translation and interpreting. In this sense, they are often seen as second best, not the real thing, frequently also leading to some loss of what was originally meant. Translation and interpreting are essentially secondary communicative events. Normally, a communicative event happens only once. In the case of translation and interpreting, a communicative event is repeated for people otherwise prevented from participating in, or appreciating, the original communicative event. So translation and interpreting fulfill a socially crucial service in that they mediate between different languages, thus overcoming linguistic and cultural barriers. This entry discusses the distinctions between translation and interpreting, outlining their many similarities and differences. Next, the various types of translation and interpreting are explained in detail, and the entry concludes with the challenges and benefits of combining the need for functional equivalency and intercultural competence.

Distinctions Between Translation and Interpreting

Translation is the written form of mediation, and interpreting is the oral form. In the field of interpreting, one often distinguishes between the professional forms of simultaneous interpreting (where the act of interpreting is carried out while the speaker is still talking—e.g., at international conferences) and consecutive interpreting (where the interpreting occurs after the speaker has finished) and various nonprofessional forms of interpreting. In former times, nonprofessional interpreting occurred when colonizers and others who ventured into or invaded foreign lands needed an interpreter to conduct their affairs with the natives. Today, it happens in the form of ad hoc dialogue, or community, interpreting by bilingual individuals as a service to persons or institutions in professional or institutional contexts, such as hospitals or government agencies. In written translation, distinctions are often made according to the category of texts to be translated (broadly between pragmatic texts and literary texts), with the former being subdifferentiated into scientific, business, legal, advertising, and so forth.

Translation and interpreting are both similar and different activities. They are similar in that both involve a language switch. They are different in that translation is (usually) a fixed, relatively permanently available and, in principle, unlimitedly repeatable text in one language that is changed from a text in another language and can be corrected as often as the translator sees fit.

In interpreting, a text is transformed into a new text in another language, but the text is, as a rule, orally available only once. Since the new text emerges chunk by chunk and does not stay permanently with the interpreter (or the listeners), it is controllable and correctible by the interpreter only to a limited extent. While some steps or phases in the interpreting process are automatic, needing little reflective thought, others may be more complex and time-consuming. This requires a great deal of cognitive effort, flexibility, and coordination, as the interpreter has to listen, understand, and recode the text bit by bit at the same time. All this is very different in translating, where translators can usually read and translate the original text at their own pace. In translation, the original text is available for translation in its entirety, whereas it is produced and presented bit by bit in interpreting. This poses an enormous challenge for the interpreter, who must create an ongoing text out of these incremental bits, a text that must eventually form a coherent whole.

In written translation, neither the author of the original text nor the readers of the translation are present as a rule, so there is no overt interaction and no possibility of direct feedback. In interpreting, on the other hand, both author and listeners are usually present, so interaction and direct feedback are possible.

Over and above conference interpreting in national and international contexts, another kind of interpreting known as community interpreting, or dialogue interpreting, sometimes also referred to as public service interpreting, has recently gained importance. Given the increasing worldwide, politically or economically motivated migration, and the resulting multilingual and multicultural populations, community interpreting fulfils ever more important mediating functions as it facilitates communication between representatives of institutions and lay persons who speak different languages but need to interact. Community interpreting is almost always carried out consecutively, face-to-face, over the phone, or through new media. Typical contexts are immigration departments, police stations, social welfare and other governmental as well as nongovernmental agencies, hospitals, prisons, and schools. This type of interpreting is carried out either by professional experts in specialist domains (e.g., legal or medical) who have some knowledge of the languages involved or, more frequently, by untrained, lay *natural interpreters*, such as bilingual relatives, friends, or volunteers who happen to be present when the need for interpreting arises. Community interpreters interpret for both sides, switching between both languages. Understandably, community interpreters are, more often than not, neither objective nor neutral vis-à-vis the content of what they are interpreting for relatives or friends. Instead, they often sympathize with or defend whomever they are assisting in the context in which they are working.

Relationship of Translation and Interpreting to Intercultural Communication

The relationship between translation and interpreting, on the one hand, and intercultural communication, on the other, has not been deeply examined. Although there have been some previous attempts at providing such a link, they have largely failed to place this linkage on a firm linguistic basis. One of the major similarities between translation and interpreting is the fact that the purpose of both is to enable intercultural understanding. And intercultural understanding is also the basis for the single most important concept in translation and interpreting: functional equivalence. *Functional equivalence* is a condition for achieving a comparable equivalent function of a text when it is transposed from one context to another. So intercultural understanding exists to the degree to which the linguistic-cultural transposition has been successfully undertaken.

The link between functional equivalence and intercultural understanding is highlighted when considering the concept of the dilated speech situation. The main function of any text is its role as an agent of transmission, providing a bridge between speaker and hearer, who are not at the same place at the same time. It is a text's role as a sort of *messenger* that makes it possible for the hearer to receive the speaker's linguistic action despite the divergence of the production and reception situations. Through such a *transmission* carried out by a text, the original speech situation becomes *dilated*. Because speakers know that their message will be *passed on*, they preemptively adapt their formulation accordingly. For example, speakers make a *text* out of their linguistic action.

Interestingly, the notion of the *dilated speech situation* is relevant for both oral and written communication in translation and interpreting. Both translation and interpreting can be characterized by a specific rupture of the original speech situation, which is the result of a linguistic barrier between author and reader or between speaker (member of Culture 1) and hearer (member of Culture 2). This barrier can only be bridged by the mediating acts of translation and interpreting. In the case of interpreting, there is an *internally dilated speech situation*, where the primary communication participants are both present but unable to communicate directly without mediating action on the part of the interpreter. It is the interpreter who bridges the linguistically conditioned rupture. In the case of translation, an externally dilated speech situation holds, as writer, translator, and reader do not share time and space.

Besides the importance of the dilation of the speech situation in translation and interpreting, another common feature of these two mediating modes is that both are essentially reflective activities, much more so than normal monolingual communicative actions. Reflection is aimed at the achievement of functional equivalence. Functional equivalence is the key notion in translation, interpreting, and intercultural communication. It can be established by referring the original and the translation to the context of the situation enveloping the original and the translation and by examining the interplay of contextual dimensions with features of the text. The contextual dimensions are used to open up the text, such that its textual profile, which characterizes its function, is revealed. To determine the function of a text, the text is analyzed at the levels of register and genre. *Register* is a variety of language according to its use in certain contexts. It comprises the dimensions of *field*, *tenor*, and *mode*. *Field* refers to the subject matter or topic of a text, *tenor* refers to the relationship between participants in language use, and *mode* refers to the use of the medium of communication in speech and writing. *Genre* can be characterized as a type of communicative event (e.g., a sermon, an advertisement, or a market report) that conforms to sociocultural conventions and is textually realized by specific configurations of lexical and grammatical units. Using these dimensions, one can come up with the following scheme for analyzing an original text and, as a second step, comparing it with its translation(s) so as to assess the quality of the translation.

Achieving Functional Equivalence

In using this scheme to determine whether and how original and translation texts are functionally equivalent, it becomes clear that whether and how equivalence can be reached depend crucially on the type of translation one is dealing with. A distinction

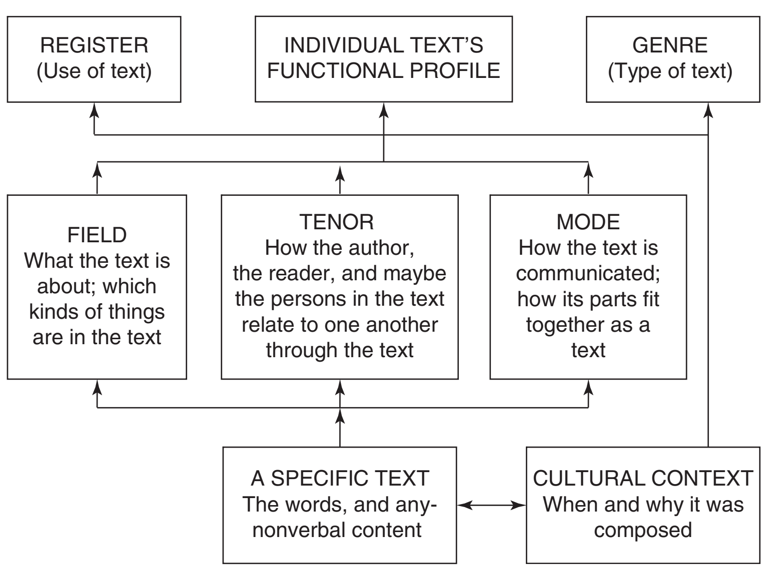

Figure 1 A System for Analyzing Texts for Translation Purposes

is made between two fundamental types of translation: overt and covert. *Overt translation* is a type of translation in which the sociocultural and, as much as possible, linguistic–stylistic features are deliberately retained. In this case, no functional equivalence between the original and the translation is possible; only second-level functional equivalence works, a type of *removed* equivalence, where the original and translation texts do not mean, and cannot mean, *the same* to their respective readers. Examples of texts that call for an overt translation are speeches given by notable personalities at a specific place and time to a specific audience in the original culture. When these are transferred into another language and culture, they obviously fail to *mean* the same thing for the new readers, and functional equivalence is not possible. Well-known classical literary works are also often said to demand an overt translation, such that the literary work is to remain as much unchanged and intact as possible given its travel through time, space, language, and culture. Preserving the original's makeup and letting it *shine through* in the translation has also been suggested for children's literature, on the grounds that children's literature is a medium not only for entertainment but also for widening young readers' knowledge of the world. Such an extension of knowledge would be barred if the translation deliberately betrayed the original, changing names, places, conventions, and so on—if it were, in fact, a covert translation.

A *covert translation* is a type of translation where the translated text is made to appear as though its origins were in the target culture. The translator manages this appearance by applying a so-called *cultural filter*, a means of identifying and eliminating cultural differences between the source and target language communities. The cultural filter should ideally be based on cross-cultural and cross-linguistic empirical research, and not only on the translator's intuition and anecdotal assumptions. Examples of texts traditionally calling for covert translation are advertisements and other promotional texts, such as annual reports by globalized companies or tourist brochures, in which the goal of functional equivalence often necessitates massive textual interventions by the translator.

Both covert and overt acts of translation and the various kinds of interpreting described above are activities of continuously rising importance in today's globalized multilingual and multicultural world. They are highly complex activities that demand sophisticated cognitive work and a high degree of awareness and reflection. Because of their inherently reflective nature, both translation and interpreting have great potential for intercultural communication and intercultural understanding.

Juliane Marie-Luise House

See also Intercultural Code Switching; Intercultural Communication and Language; Language, Culture, and Intercultural Communication

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Trust

From the earliest days of human evolution, survival has depended on cooperation and exchange with others, making trust an indispensable part of existence. To live together in a tribe, band, or community, it was necessary for people to work together collaboratively in nearly all aspects of daily life. To obtain food and materials for subsistence, they needed a basic level of confidence that those who had the resources they needed would engage in a fair and honest exchange of goods and services. To protect themselves from outside threats, they had to depend on the loyalty of family, friends, and allies. Since the dawn of human history, trust has been essential to forming and maintaining successful interpersonal, intragroup, and intergroup relationships.

This entry focuses on trust and the role it plays in communicating and relating with both similar and dissimilar others. The first section looks at the way trust is defined in everyday usage and in popular and scholarly literature. This is followed by an examination of the critical functions that trust plays in multiple aspects of people's lives. The final section describes some of the essential components of building trust in intercultural relationships.

Definitions of Trust

Not surprisingly, the term *trust* appears often in everyday conversation, popular literature, and cultural proverbs. Everyday talk includes words such as *confidence*, *assurance*, *belief*, and *faith*, to indicate trust in someone. One might use expressions such as the following: "I just don't trust that person"; "Trust me, I'll take care of you"; "Our relationship is built on a solid foundation of trust"; or "I've lost trust in the system."

In literature, William Shakespeare offered in *All's Well That Ends Well* to "love all, trust a few, do wrong to none." From Aesop and his fables comes the saying "Never trust the advice of a man in difficulties." Ralph Waldo Emerson suggests in *Self-Reliance*, "Trust thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string." Aeschylus laments in *Prometheus Bound* that "for somehow this is tyranny's disease, to trust no friends."

Popular cultural sayings are often focused on trust. A proverb from Uganda instructs us thus: "Trust is like an eraser, it diminishes with every mistake." A Chinese proverb warns, "Who trusts too many often ends by losing trust in all." A Russian proverb declares, "Mistrust is an axe in the tree of love." An Arab proverb tells us, "Trust in God, but tie your camel." Confucius provides this advice: "It is more shameful to distrust our friends than to be deceived by them."

The English term *trust* has its origins in the 13th century, coming from the Old Norse *traust* ("confidence") and the Old High German *trost* ("comfort" or "solace"). In today's world, it is operative in a wide range of contexts, including trust in self, trust in others, trust in institutions and forms of government, and trust in supreme beings. As such, scholars in various fields of study have defined it in an assortment of ways.

Immanuel Kant, regarded by many as the most important Western philosopher since Aristotle, placed both honesty and trustworthiness at the heart of his theory of how people should live. He believed that promises should always be kept and people should be treated with respect, both of which make trust possible. Morton Deutsch, one of the founders of the field of conflict resolution, defined trust as being confident that the other will act as one expects, rather than doing what one fears. Geert Hofstede, a major figure in the study of culture and international organizations, views trust as expecting others to behave according to the values and norms of what he calls one's *moral circle*. The psychologist Julian Rotter considers trust as an individual personality variable, defining it as the generalized expectancy held by an individual that the word, promise, or statement of another individual can be relied on. Another psychologist, Denise Rousseau, who studies organizations and work teams, sees trust as one's willingness to accept vulnerability when expecting positive actions from others, or believe that they have good intentions. The conflict theorist Roy Lewicki and his colleagues describe trust as involving one's willingness to act on the basis of the words and actions of another. An interesting description of trust is provided by the cognitive scientist Toshio Yamagishi, who described trust as a positive bias in the processing of imperfect information about others. Finally, Herb Kelman, whose work has focused for more than 30 years on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, argues that the development of mutual trust is essential to resolve such conflicts and is key to transforming the relationship between enemies into one characterized by stable peace and cooperation.

While these definitions and views emphasize diverse aspects of trust, most of them revolve around a belief in the reliability, truth, ability, or strength of others. As suggested by many of these definitions, trust plays a significant role in communicating with others. The next section will take a closer look at the functions of trust, particularly in interpersonal relationships.

Functions of Trust

Trust is a complex, multidimensional construct that serves varied functions in numerous aspects of people's lives. It has both extrinsic value in helping with goal achievement and intrinsic value as an important aspect of well-being and quality of life. It makes social interaction predictable and allows individuals to develop solidarity with others. Distrust, on the other hand, can quickly destroy intimate relationships, and it creates conflict that is very difficult to resolve.

The development of trust starts in infancy and has influence throughout one's life. The renowned psychologist Erik Erikson, whose model of psychosocial development is one of the most influential theories in the academic study of personality, proposes that infants need early exposure to relationships characterized by trust to deal with the uncertainty that defines their world. If infants receive consistent, predictable, and reliable care, they will develop a sense of trust that will serve as a foundation for their relationships throughout life. On the other hand, if the care infants receive has been inconsistent and unreliable, then they will not have confidence in the world around them, resulting in anxiety, heightened insecurities, and mistrust of others. Without experiences of trust, these individuals will be hesitant in initiating and sustaining relationships, making it difficult for them to have close friends, work comfortably with teams, and commit themselves fully to a romantic partner.

Trust lies at the foundation of nearly all major theories of interpersonal relationships. Some theorists see trust as the single most important element for the development and maintenance of successful relationships. They view trust as an essential ingredient for establishing healthy and secure bonds with others. Trust has been labeled as a social lubricant that promotes cooperation between group members, sustains social order, and permits beneficial long-term exchanges. It is often said to be the glue that holds relationships together. By reducing anxiety about the intentions of others and allowing oneself to be comfortable in their presence, trust allows interaction to flow smoothly and efficiently. Forming a tripod with positive regard/love and commitment, trust is one of the cornerstones of a stable relationship.

Although trust is critically important in one's communication with friends, family, and colleagues, it is difficult to establish and easy to dissolve. And when trust breaks down, links with others are damaged, often beyond repair. In fact, the betrayal of trust is one of the factors most often blamed for the demise of relationships. The next section takes a look at some of the ways to build trust, particularly in intercultural interaction.

Building Trust in Intercultural Relationships

The establishment of trust is affected by a multitude of factors, from one's own trusting nature to a host of contextual variables that define any situation. When people meet for the first time, they try to fit each other into a category, which enables them to make a prediction about the other's behavior toward them and allows each of them to tailor their behavior toward the other. Based on these categories and subsequent interactions with a person or a group, attributions are made about the other's character, coming to regard the other as reliable or unreliable, trustworthy or untrustworthy.

Even though individuals might occasionally feel an immediate sense of trust when they first meet someone, trust rarely happens instantly. Instead, trust evolves over time and matures as a relationship grows. For trust to take hold, one must put oneself at some degree of risk through self-disclosure, by relying on the other's promises, and by opening oneself to other forms of vulnerability. Then, trust solidifies once confidence is gained, and there is security in the actions of the other and in the strength of the relationship.

Generally, it is easier to trust someone with whom there is familiarity, for example, a member of an in-group, or with characteristics similar to one's own. However, trusting strangers and those with unfamiliar appearances, habits, beliefs, and values requires special attention and effort, making it more challenging to establish trust in intercultural relationships. For culturally dissimilar others, the categories they are placed in tend to separate them, rather than bringing them closer together, making it much less likely that they will develop trust. In such situations, rather than giving the other the benefit of the doubt, individuals tend to view negatively anything that deviates from what is considered normal. Things that might otherwise be overlooked become a cause for suspicion and are seen as evidence that one may not be able to work with this person. In general, building trust with dissimilar others is an uphill climb.

There is no secret formula for trust, but those who study this critical variable have identified a number of factors that are key to building trust in intercultural relationships:

Openness to cultural differences: Although there is a greater inclination to trust someone who is similar than those who are dissimilar, openness to cultural differences allows individuals to overcome this predisposition. If one perceives dissimilarity as potentially positive, there is more willingness to engage in conversation and in shared activities, both of which are important ways to build trust. When people experience comfort in and enjoyment of cultural differences, they are more receptive to variances in values and customs and are less likely to interpret them negatively. Even though individuals may not be ready immediately to place full trust in the other, they give the relationship a chance, allowing it to move beyond the initial suspicion that is usually present when meeting strangers with different ways of thinking and doing.

Comfort with ambiguity: In interactions with dissimilar others, people are often in a situation where they lack the information needed to respond quickly and effectively. It is easy to become frustrated and even hostile to others because of an inability to understand and take appropriate action. Adapting and reacting to ambiguous situations with calm and careful thought allows one to seek out more objective information about both the situation and the people involved. By exhibiting a tolerance for ambiguity, one shows more willingness to experiment and try a variety of approaches to understand the other and deal with the situation. This allows for actively seeking diverse opinions rather than avoiding them. When individuals are not threatened by ambiguity, trust can begin to form, and as both similarities and differences are discovered, the relationship is allowed to grow and develop accordingly.

Listening to learn: In interactions with culturally different others, there is a tendency to focus one's listening on finding ways to refute, correct, or challenge what someone has said. Or someone might listen primarily to prove a point better. In such cases, the goal of listening is to change the other's opinion. In these situations, it is likely that one will learn very little, and neither will the other person. People are often told that they should *learn to listen*, but in building trust, it is more appropriate to place the emphasis on learning, in which case one should *listen to learn*, especially when disagreeing with someone or finding oneself in conflict with another person. If individuals listen to learn, the possibility of transforming the situation is created, so that trust has a chance to develop. Very different things will be heard from the other when one is in a learning mode, both because one's receptivity increases and because the other's willingness to share increases. When the other person sees an indication that one is learning from the interaction, there is a willingness to go further, explaining more about the person's own opinion. Individuals thus develop a more sophisticated understanding of each other's views, building a climate that is conducive to trust building.

Respect for others: Humans have a deep-rooted psychological tendency, at both individual and group levels, to create *enemies* and *allies*. There is a tendency to demonize one's enemies, placing them in a clear category of someone who is unworthy of respect. Suspicions, misgivings, and skepticism create a protective shield, making it difficult for people to get to know one another. But as individuals legitimize and humanize the other, they come to understand the other person's culture and everyday concerns. Respect may slowly emerge when one hears and acknowledges the other's perspective without overreacting or disparaging it. And as respect increases, trust becomes more likely to evolve.

Intercultural empathy: Empathy helps people understand one another. People have been taught to empathize with the situation when friends are going through difficult times or facing a tough road ahead, and that they should put themselves in the other's place to understand how that person feels. In intercultural interaction, however, these suggestions are very difficult to realize. Some scholars suggest that empathy may not be possible in such cases. In spite of the challenges, if empathy is thought of as something that individuals *create together*, rather than as something one has *for* another or does *to* another, there is a much better chance of realizing empathy. From such a perspective, the focus shifts from the individual to the relationship. Instead of trying to see the world through another's eyes, the task is one of creating mutual understanding. In this scenario, one's own truth is not threatened, and although an individual might change the way things are seen, the result is the construction of a truth that both can share. Such an outcome forms the basis for a trusting relationship.

In the final analysis, no relationship can last long without establishing an appropriate level of mutual trust. Even though there is no magic way to create trust in a relationship, particularly one where cultural differences are prominent, the conditions for trust can be created and allowed to emerge if the factors discussed above are brought into play: opening oneself to difference, becoming comfortable with ambiguity, orienting listening to purposes of learning, developing respect for others, and engaging in an active process of creating shared empathy. If individuals are successful in creating a climate of openness and security, they have a strong basis for dialogue, friendship, and collaboration, through which people can start to tear down some of the fences that keep them apart.

Benjamin J. Broome

See also Intercultural Intimate Relationships; Mindfulness; Respect

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U

Underrepresented Groups

The designation *underrepresented groups* is a term used to describe those who lack political, social, and economic equity compared with the dominant group in the society. While other countries have similar groups, such as the First Nations in Canada or minorities in China, this entry will confine itself to the United States of America. The entry provides a context for understanding underrepresented groups, including a discussion of the psychosocial variables that affect the individuals in those groups and the concept of intercultural competence.

Underrepresented groups in the United States have traditionally been identified as racial and ethnic minorities, namely, American Indians and Alaska Natives, African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanic and Latino Americans, and Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders. These groups have been actively disenfranchised from having influence in the various sectors that make life progressively better for their particular group. Although these groups are growing in numbers in many states, they have inappropriately limited power.

Although the concept of underrepresented groups has been discussed for some time, there is no universal agreement about its definition. A case could be made for any number of groups to be classified as underrepresented. Some would argue that individuals who participate in some religious practices, particularly those that are not based on a Christian tradition, are members of underrepresented groups. Some would postulate that people with a gay or lesbian sexual orientation are members of underrepresented groups. Others would surmise that people with physical or mental challenges are underrepresented groups.

However, drawing on a synthesis of intercultural knowledge and examining underrepresented groups from a developmental perspective, what designates a group as having underrepresented status is the extent to which the group has been exposed to an exclusionary ideology that, tactically and legally, resulted in practices that over the generations were designed to reduce the group to an inferior status. Thus, to achieve an underrepresented group status, some of the following must have occurred during the group's history in the United States.

- There is documented evidence that the dominant culture once perceived the group members as property, sexual objects, criminals, or possessing *unattractive* phenotypical characteristics (e.g., eyes, hair texture, skin color).
- They have been forced to live in segregated communities and attend segregated schools.
- Members of the group have been the targets of assimilationist practices that were designed to socialize them into the ideal image of what true Americans look and sound like.
- There are examples of Congressional acts that have affected their citizenship status, preventing them from owning or leasing land, voting, or engaging in intermarriage with the dominant cultural group.

Overall, these actions were intentionally designed to result in restrictions, limit their ability to accumulate wealth, dissolve families, produce high unemployment, and dehumanize the object population. Within this context, the U.S. government has designated these demographic categories of racial and ethnic minorities for underrepresented group status.

Psychosocial Variables That Affect Underrepresented Groups

Underrepresented groups have experienced different paths with respect to inequitable treatment in American society, which means that their reactions and attitudes toward those experiences will be uniquely different. However, one characteristic that members of underrepresented groups share is that many have experienced personal and institutional racism as a normal course of their existence in American society. It is important to recognize that many people in these groups have unresolved psychosocial challenges that they contend with daily. These unresolved variables cause many individuals to suffer from mild forms of depression as they cope with micro-aggressions as well as overt bias. For example, there is a powerful effect on individuals from underrepresented groups who reside in communities where they can legally purchase a home but are surrounded by neighbors who subtly convey the message that they are not welcome. And as they reach a level of achievement in their professional careers, a spotlight is on them constantly, and some people working with them are hoping for or actively contributing to their eventual failure. For many individuals from underrepresented groups, their lived experience is a constant state of psychological stress. They may feel anger toward people who are willing to talk about superficial issues but are reluctant to discuss substantive matters that affect the lives of underrepresented groups.

In addition to anger, experiences with guilt and shame fill the lives of many individuals from underrepresented groups. Ironically, some individuals experience guilt and shame for their successes in America. Knowing that their ancestors were not as fortunate during their lifetime may lead some individuals to find unhealthy ways to anesthetize themselves against the pain that their forebears endured under a system of inequality. Distrust may be the dominant feeling of underrepresented groups, as they can recall the broken promises that they have experienced for centuries. Therefore, individuals may be less likely to trust others outside their group, especially those who have economic, social, and political power over them. These psychosocial factors make it extremely important for anyone in a helping capacity to understand approaches for forming meaningful working relationships with individuals from these groups.

Underrepresented Groups and Intercultural Competence

When forming such a relationship with an individual from an underrepresented group, perceived trustworthiness is a key factor that allows the relationship to be authentic for the two individuals. Trustworthiness is enhanced when people think about others positively, have empathy toward them, and behave in a manner that supports getting to know the other person at a deeper level. Feeling comfortable and interacting effectively and appropriately with a variety of people is what intercultural competency is about. This skill set will be greatly enhanced when individuals from diverse cultural groups are able to perceive one another as equals.

Despite the challenges that some underrepresented groups encounter, many of their members persevere, possessing tremendous strengths that enable them to successfully navigate through life. Many of the abilities and capacities, and the overall resilient nature of many underrepresented group members, are intertwined with their cultural norms and thought to be a pathway by which anyone who is interested in intercultural engagement can find a place to begin.

Jesse A. Brinson

See also Civil Rights; Class; Equality Versus Equity; Ethnicity; History of Diversity and Inclusion; Stress, Coping, and Adjustment

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Universal Human Rights

Human rights are those rights that have been identified as fundamental to all human beings, that are inalienable, and that we are entitled to simply by virtue of being human.

This entry presents a brief history of human rights and explores the awareness and corresponding value of human rights as they have evolved over the course of time. Within that rich history is the evolution of a universal recognition and codification of human rights protections, which have developed through laws, policies, and practices. The entry concludes by recognizing that controversies exist in human rights movements, particularly when considered in and between cultural contexts.

Defining Human Rights

The first known charter of human rights dates back to 539 BCE in ancient Persia; many other efforts to protect human rights have followed. Human rights have historically found protections in national and international laws that guide government actions and obligations to protect the rights and freedoms of human beings. The contemporary architecture of human rights was crafted by the United Nations General Assembly in the wake of World War II, under the leadership of Eleanor Roosevelt, as the atrocities committed during the Holocaust became widely known. Adopted in 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights articulates 30 fundamental rights that are considered central to democratic societies. The declaration continues to shape international understandings of universal human rights, to guide laws and protections, and to direct enforcement and sanctions.

There are many different categories of rights named within the broad definition of universal human rights, all of which are rooted in the foundation of Article 1 of the declaration, which states, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood [sic]." While each individual category of rights is considered indivisible and interdependent, there is a commonly held understanding that the violation of any one right affects access to all other rights. The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights published what was meant to be a comprehensive list of human rights, which includes the following, among many others:

- Adequate housing
- Safety of children
- Civil and political rights
- Climate change controls
- Minimal coercive measures
- Cultural rights protections
- Just detention practices
- Good governance and debt protections
- Disability and human rights
- Protections against disappearances
- Protections against discrimination
- Economic, social, and cultural rights
- Access to education
- Environmental protections
- Abolishment of executions
- Access to food
- Freedom of opinion and expression
- Freedom of peaceful assembly and of association
- Freedom of religion and belief
- Access to healthcare
- HIV/AIDS protections and treatment
- Access to legal support
- Respect for indigenous peoples
- Services for internal displacement
- Protections of minorities
- Protections of older persons
- Efforts to end poverty
- Access to privacy
- Protections against racism
- Rule of law
- Sexual orientation and gender identity protections
- End to slavery and trafficking in persons
- Protection from terrorism
- End to torture
- Access to transitional justice
- Access to water and sanitation
- Protections for women and youth

Protecting Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was created as an ideal standard but was adopted without any means for enforcement. From 1948 until 1966, the Human Rights Commission worked within the parameters of the declaration to create international human rights laws and develop corresponding mechanisms for enforcement. In 1976, the Human Rights Commission created specific international laws, one that focuses on civil and political rights and another that focuses on economic, social, and cultural rights. These covenants are known as the International Bill of Human Rights.

Human Rights Movements

While the topic of human rights is very broad, human rights movements tend to coalesce around specific issues and concerns and typically involve a combination of individual and group efforts focused on increasing human dignity and freedoms. Where there is injustice, there are activist voices raised in response, supporting change toward greater justice. Human rights movements are driven by a combination of activist voices, coordinated organizational initiatives, and attention from celebrities and prominent political figures.

Individual actions in support of human rights can take many forms and depend on individual strategies for initiating change. These strategies may include, for example, signing petitions, attending public events, volunteering for causes, joining groups working for just resolutions to particular issues, and following campaigns.

Organizational initiatives range from grassroots or community efforts, where the people involved are likely to be directly affected by the human rights issues they are fighting for, to international efforts, where nongovernmental and nonprofit organizations focus on bringing attention and change to larger scale abuses of human rights.

Celebrities and political leaders often take up particular causes and champion those issues in the public eye. The involvement of high-profile figures in human rights and social justice issues has the potential to capture the attention of the general public and can catalyze public outrage about human rights abuses and focus efforts to create new policies and practices that preserve and support human rights.

Tensions in Universal Human Rights

While there is a long list of human rights that are widely accepted as universal, and the very definition of universal human rights describes these rights as fundamental and inalienable, there are still tensions in the ways that cultural meaning is interpreted and human rights are identified. Cultural practices vary widely, and to have any one group dictate what is a *right* and what is an *abuse* has created conflict throughout history, which has ultimately denied some groups the opportunity to exercise the very universal human rights that the language, laws, and movements are intended to protect.

This tension is best understood through the cultural anthropological terms *emic* and *etic*. *Emic* refers to the importance and meaning that local people give to their actions, whereas *etic* refers to the importance and meaning that is assigned to local action from outside experts. The argument in favor of etic approaches is that members of any culture are too immersed in that particular culture to be able to interpret the meaning of their cultural group with any impartiality. The argument against an etic approach is that the nuances of culture can be easily misinterpreted, thereby mistaking or misattributing both importance and meaning.

When outside experts are responsible for identifying other cultures' compliance with a universal code of human rights, there is a large margin for error. There are many examples of errors occurring throughout history. One recent example, which continues to be passionately debated, is the alleged human rights abuses that result from female circumcision. The World Health Organization is an example of an etic perspective. They do not call the practice *female circumcision* but refers to it as *female genital mutilation* (FGM), which at face value indicates a more brutal and negative perception of the act in question. The World Health Organization recognizes FGM as a violation of human rights because of its reflection of inequality between the sexes, and its extreme discrimination against women, although since it is commonly carried out on minors, it is considered by some as primarily a violation of the rights of children. In addition, the practice violates a person's rights to health, security, and physical integrity; the right to be free from torture and cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment; and the right to life when the procedure results in death, which sometimes occurs as a result of subsequent infection.

The emic perspective, which comes directly from people who practice female circumcision, is that female circumcision is an important religious and cultural ritual that is practiced around the world. The beliefs that underlie the practice vary, based on religion, culture, and location, but it can be regarded as a ritual purification, a means to ensure fertility, and a confirmation of status. Girls who have not been circumcised may be viewed as outcasts and may be refused other basic human rights as a result. Many women from the cultures that continue to practice female circumcision are the most vocal advocates for its continuation.

Amanda Smith Byron

See also Beliefs, Values, Norms, Customs (Definitions); Ethical and Moral Reasoning; Intercultural Sensitivity

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V

Value Dimensions: GLOBE Study

GLOBE is the acronym for Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness, the name of a cross-cultural research effort that exceeds all other prior studies in scope, depth, duration, and sophistication. The GLOBE team's assumptions, hypotheses, methods, and quantitative findings synthesized in this entry were published in 2004 as a book-length report: *Culture, Leadership, and Organizations: The GLOBE Study of 62 Societies* by Robert J. House, Paul J. Hanges, Mansour Javidan, Peter W. Dorfman, and Vipin Gupta.

The key attributes of GLOBE are (a) that it continued the tradition of using quantitative methods to explore qualitative differences in cultural value dimensions; (b) that it focused on *business* leadership; and (c) that, within the context of business leadership, it sought to address the perennial question of which values tend to be shared by humans across many societies and which tend to be characteristic of humans in one or a few societies.

Practical Background of the GLOBE Study

Conceived in 1991 by Professor House of the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania, and led by him, the GLOBE Project directly involved 170 country coinvestigators, based in 62 of the world's societies, as well as a 14-member group of coordinators and research associates. Over 11 years, this international team collected data from 17,300 middle managers in 951 organizations. There were stringent rules regarding which managers and organizations were suitable subjects; for example, multinational corporations were excluded because their managers were likely to be from multiple cultures, rendering their responses unreliable with respect to each manager's native culture.

The research team employed qualitative methods to inform their development of quantitative instruments. Instruments were developed in consultation with members of each target culture. Instrument translation was done with enormous care. Attention was paid to eliminating the effect of response bias on data gathering and analysis. Relevant previous literature was reviewed and applied. Ultimately, 27 hypotheses were tested.

The 62 *societal cultures* assessed by GLOBE range from Albania to Zimbabwe and include El Salvador, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Namibia, Qatar, and Zambia; not included were Norway and Saudi Arabia. From a few societies, two cultures were assessed, for example, in Germany: former East and West Germany.

To aid in the interpretation of findings, the researchers grouped the 62 societies into 10 *societal clusters*, which were finalized before the research was carried out. The 10 clusters, and the number of societies within each, are listed in Table 1.

Table 1 Ten "Societal Clusters"

Anglo	7
Nordic Europe	3
Eastern Europe	8
Sub-Saharan Africa	5
Southern Asia	6
Latin Europe	6
Germanic Europe	5
Latin America	10
Middle East	5
Confucian Asia	6

Source: Summarizes data in House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, and Gupta (2004).

Some observers have questioned the inclusion of Israel in the Latin Europe cluster with France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Switzerland (French speaking). The researchers explain that, long ago, some Jews from southern Europe migrated to eastern Europe to avoid religious persecution. They were largely responsible for founding Israel, retaining social and business ties with the Latin European region.

Implicit Leadership Theory and the Team's Main Objectives

In planning their work, the team applied findings from a respected body of previous research known as *implicit leadership theory.* This theory holds that, beginning in childhood, people develop a set of beliefs about the behaviors and characteristics of leaders. In most cases, an individual's belief set (theory) remains implicit (outside conscious awareness).

A key element of implicit leadership theory is that *leader* is a term applied by individuals to others whose behaviors and characteristics match their implicit belief sets. It further holds that individuals in an interacting group, such as a team, organization, community, or society, all share similar implicit leadership belief sets.

A key objective of the GLOBE team was to empirically demonstrate that possession of an implicit leadership belief set is a characteristic not only of separate individuals but also of groups of interacting individuals. A related objective was to demonstrate that implicit leadership belief sets include beliefs about both effective, positive leadership and ineffective, negative leadership. And as one of their most important objectives, the team sought answers to two related questions: (1) To what extent are implicit beliefs about positive and negative leadership *similar* across widely separated societies? (2) To what extent are they *different*? Business leadership, as defined by the GLOBE team, highlighted a leader's ability to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute to organizational success and effectiveness.

Describing and Measuring: Cultural Dimensions

To enable them to be precise about the differences among societal cultures, the GLOBE team used *cultural dimensions* to serve as their units of measurement or, in research terms, their independent variables. Cultural dimensions provide concepts and terminology that enable one to measure, and to compare and contrast the characteristics of a variety of cultures. The team inherited a large number of dimensions from previous research, to which they added insights from their own pilot studies. They decided to use these nine GLOBE cultural dimensions (Table 2).

Each dimension was conceptualized in terms of *values*, or *should be*, and of *practices*, or *as is*; this was done in the contexts of both the organization and the society.

Describing and Measuring: Primary Leadership Dimensions

The team began with a large number of possible *leader attributes* (ambitious, subdued, administratively skilled, team builder, etc.). Later, based on the findings from the 17,300 respondents, the team was able to use many of those original attributes in describing 21 primary leadership dimensions that in all societal cultures are viewed, to some extent, as contributing to a leader's effectiveness or lack of effectiveness (Table 3).

Each of the 21 primary leadership dimensions comprises two to four of the original attributes.

Table 2 Nine GLOBE "Cultural Dimensions" (Independent Variables)

Performance orientation	"The extent to which a community encourages and rewards innovation, high standards, excellence, and performance improvement" (pp. 30, 239). This independent variable was found to be especially important.
Uncertainty avoidance	"The extent to which a society, organization, or group relies on social norms, rules, and procedures to alleviate the unpredictability of future events" (p. 30)—that is, to reduce the future's ambiguity and possible threat.
Ingroup collectivism	"The degree to which individuals express pride, loyalty, and cohesiveness in their organizations or families" (p. 30).
Power distance	"The extent to which a community accepts and endorses authority, power differences, and status privileges" (p. 513).
Gender egalitarianism	"The degree to which a collective minimizes gender inequality" (p. 30).
Humane orientation	"The degree to which an organization or society encourages and rewards individuals for being fair, altruistic, friendly, generous, caring, and kind to others" (p. 569).
Institutional collectivism	"The degree to which organizational and societal institutional practices encourage and reward collective distribution of resources and collective action" (p. 30).
Future orientation	"The degree to which a collectivity encourages and rewards future-oriented behaviors such as planning and delaying gratification" (p. 282).
Assertiveness	"The degree to which individuals are assertive, confrontational, and aggressive in their relationships with others" (p. 30).

Source: Summarizes data in House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, and Gupta (2004).

Table 3 Twenty-One "Primary Leadership Dimensions"

Administratively competent	Decisive	Nonparticipative
Autocratic	Diplomatic	Performance oriented
Autonomous	Face-saver	Procedural
Charismatic/visionary	Humane oriented	Self-centered
Charismatic/inspirational	Integrity	Status consciousness
Charismatic/self-sacrificial	Malevolent	Team collaborator
Conflict inducer	Modest	Team integrator

Source: Summarizes data in House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, and Gupta (2004).

For example, the first of the 21, *administratively competent*, includes organized, administratively skilled, orderly, and good administrator. The last of the 21, *team integrator*, includes communicative, team builder, informed, and integrator.

How the Research Team Proceeded

Figure 1 represents the process of the GLOBE researchers as they worked their way from empirical data (bottom) upward to high-order generalizations (top).

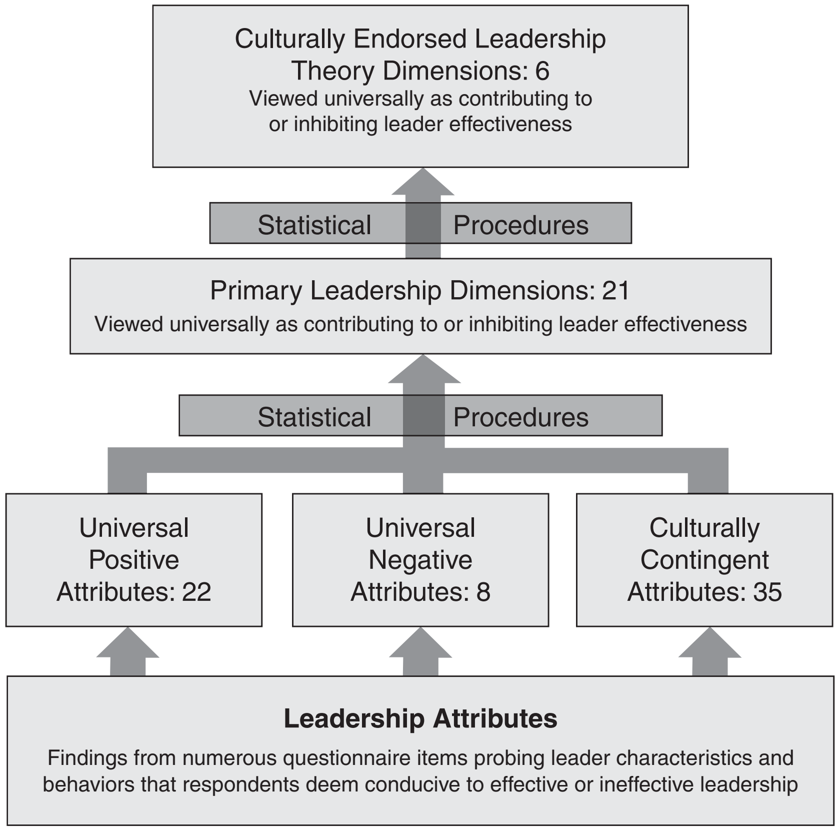

Figure 1 Progress of the GLOBE Research

Source: Summarizes data in House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, and Gupta (2004).

As previously noted, the team began with numerous *leader attributes*. After data from the 17,300 middle managers were in hand, several findings emerged:

- Twenty-two of the leader attributes were found to be *universal positives*, meaning that they were viewed in virtually all societies as contributing to outstanding leadership; examples are *trustworthy* and *motive arouser.*
- Eight attributes emerged as *universal negatives*, which meant they were viewed in virtually all societies as *inhibiting* outstanding leadership; examples are *irritable* and *dictatorial*.
- Thirty-five attributes were found to be *culturally contingent*. Each was viewed in some societies as contributing to outstanding leadership, while in others the same attribute was viewed as inhibiting outstanding leadership. Examples are *cunning*, *sensitive*, *evasive*, and *risk taker*. This was one of GLOBE's most significant findings.
- The above findings regarding the three types of attributes, after being subjected to further statistical procedures, yielded the 21 primary leadership dimensions (mentioned above).

A second round of statistical procedures enabled the 21 primary leadership dimensions to be further consolidated into six value dimensions about effective and ineffective leadership that were found in virtually all of the 62 societies that were studied.

GLOBE's Culturally Endorsed Leadership Theory Dimensions

A key outcome of the GLOBE study were the six universally shared conceptions of leadership, known as culturally endorsed leadership theory dimensions, often shortened to CLTs. Said by the researchers to be similar to leadership styles, these six value dimensions identify the fundamental ways in which middle managers around the world distinguish between effective and ineffective leadership.

The six CLTs are *not* statements of what is outstanding leadership. Rather, they are dimensions (continua), that is, descriptions of the ways in which people worldwide distinguish leaders who are effective from those who are not effective.

The six CLTs are defined in terms of the 21 primary leadership dimensions, with each of the 21 appearing only once (Table 4):

Much of the analysis within *Culture, Leadership, and Organizations* is focused on explaining how the nine cultural dimensions (performance orientation and eight others) relate as independent variables to the six CLTs (charismatic/value based and five others) as dependent variables across the 10 societal clusters. Referenced in all analyses are findings at the *societal* and *organizational* levels and findings in terms of *practices* (as is) and *values* (should be). Regarding the practices/values distinction, the GLOBE team significantly noted this:

> When individuals think about effective leader behaviors, they are more influenced by the value they place on the desired future than their perception of current realities. Our results, therefore, suggest that leaders are seen as the society's instruments for change. They are seen as the embodiment of the ideal state of affairs. (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004, pp. 275–276)

Following is an overview of each of the six CLTs.

Charismatic/Value Based

This dimension received the most attention from the research team because it captures under one heading what many businesspeople worldwide commonly associate with the presence or absence of outstanding leadership. The authors note that this dimension reflects *the ability to inspire*, *to motivate*, *and to expect high performance outcomes from others on the basis of firmly held core values*. The authors also hint that charismatic/value-based leadership might have similarities to what others have called *transformational leadership. Charisma* is defined as the power to inspire devotion and commitment for the group's goals and to produce power through infectious qualities of leadership and influence, involving a leader's aura, dynamism, and persuasiveness.

This dimension is statistically linked to the largest number of the primary leadership dimensions, including an exceptionally strong association with charismatic/inspirational, a very strong association with charismatic/visionary, and associations as well with charismatic/self-sacrifice, integrity, decisive, and performance oriented.

Across all 62 societal cultures, this charismatic/value-based CLT dimension is rated on the 1-to-7 scale from a low of 4.5 to a high of 6.5, meaning that all cultures see this value dimension

Table 4 Culturally Endorsed Leadership Theory Dimensions

Charismatic/Value Based	*Team Oriented*	*Self-Protective*	*Participative*	*Humane Oriented*	*Autonomous*
Charismatic/visionary	Team collaborative	Self-centered	Autocratic[a]	Modest	Autonomous
Charismatic/inspirational	Team integrative	Status conscious	Nonparticipative[a]	Humane oriented	
Charismatic/self-sacrificing	Diplomatic	Conflict inducer			
Integrity	Malevolent[a]	Face-saver			
Decisive	Administratively competent	Procedural			
Performance oriented					

Source: Summarizes data in House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, and Gupta (2004).
a. Reverse scored.

as substantially contributing to outstanding leadership. At the level of the 10 societal clusters, the Anglo cluster most positively associated charismatic/value based with outstanding leadership. The Middle East cluster associated it the least with outstanding leadership, yet the mean for this cluster was 5.35 on the 1-to-7 scale, well above the 4.00 midpoint.

Team Oriented

This dimension emerged in second place in terms of capturing what many businesspeople worldwide commonly associate with the presence or absence of outstanding leadership. It is statistically linked to five primary leadership dimensions: (1) team collaborative, (2) team integrative, (3) administratively competent, (4) diplomatic, and a *reverse-scored* (5) malevolent. The researchers described this dimension as emphasizing effective team building and implementation of a common purpose or goal by team members.

Across all 62 societal cultures, this dimension is rated on the 1-to-7 scale from a low of 4.7 to a high of 6.2, meaning that all cultures experience team orientation as substantially contributing to outstanding leadership. At the level of the 10 societal clusters, the Latin America cluster most positively associated the team-oriented CLT with outstanding leadership. The Middle East cluster associated it the least with outstanding leadership, but the mean for societies in this cluster, 5.47, was well above the scale's 4.00 midpoint.

Participative

This dimension involves collective decision making and focuses on the level to which superiors include others in both decision making and implementation. It is statistically linked with two primary leadership dimensions, *both reverse scored*: (1) autocratic and (2) nonparticipative. Across all 62 societal cultures, participative is rated from a low of 4.5 to a high of 6.1, meaning that managers in all societies saw it in a positive light. At the level of the 10 societal clusters, Germanic Europe yielded the highest mean score, 5.86. The Middle East gave participative its lowest mean score, 4.97, which nonetheless is mildly positive.

A significant finding related to the participative dimension was that the United States was the only culture in which participative leadership was positively correlated with employee performance. Also of note, the United States had the highest actual level of participation in all of the countries included in the study.

Humane Oriented

This CLT dimension focuses on the level of support, compassion, and generosity shown by one's superior. It is associated statistically with two primary leadership dimensions, namely, (1) modesty and (2) humane oriented. Across all 62 societal cultures, the humane-oriented dimension was rated from a low of 3.8 to a high of 5.6; that is, most viewed it as moderately positive. Within the 10 societal clusters, southern Asia gave this CLT the highest mean score, 5.38. Nordic Europe gave humane oriented its lowest mean score, 4.42.

Self-Protective

This CLT is associated with five primary leadership dimensions: (1) self-centered, (2) status conscious, (3) conflict inducer, (4) face-saver, and (5) procedural. The researchers explain that this dimension is about ensuring the safety and security of individuals and groups. They note that power distance and uncertainty avoidance (cultural dimensions) were strong positive predictors of this CLT and that the high power distance values of Asian societies are often associated with face-saving and status consciousness, both of which are elements of self-protective leadership. The authors added that being self-protective is one way to reduce ambiguity. When a society endorses a high power distance, there is an unspoken belief that an effective leader makes decisions autonomously, protects himself or herself from criticism and corruption, and is responsive to humane considerations.

Across all 62 societal cultures, self-protective is rated from a low of 2.5 to a high of 4.6. At the level of the 10 societal clusters, the highest mean score is 3.83 for southern Asia, just below the midpoint of 4.00. The researchers learned that for the Confucian Asia and southern Asia clusters, self-protective leadership was rated neutrally, except for face-saving, for example, which was viewed positively. For Asian cultures, the focus was on group-protective rather than self-protective elements. The Middle East cluster also rated this CLT in an almost neutral manner. Nordic Europe, with a mean of 2.72, associated this dimension with the inhibition of good leadership.

Autonomous

The autonomous CLT dimension, newly defined by GLOBE, is characterized as the tendency to be aloof and to work alone. This is encouraged by superiors to act autonomously and be independent. It is statistically linked with only one primary leadership dimension, also termed *autonomous*, which in turn consists of four attributes: (1) individualistic, (2) independence, (3) autonomous, and (4) unique.

Across all 62 societies, the autonomous dimension is rated from a low of 2.3 to a high of 4.7, meaning that businesspeople in most societies believed it to moderately inhibit good leadership. At the level of the 10 societal clusters, eastern Europe yielded the highest mean score of 4.20, closely followed by Germanic Europe at 4.16. Latin America ranked autonomous lowest at 3.51.

Additional GLOBE Research Reports

The GLOBE team's work occurred in three phases. The first two phases yielded the research report overviewed above, in addition to a second report interpreting 26 individual cultures that was edited by Jagdeep Chhokar and two coeditors. GLOBE's third phase focused on the effects of senior leader behaviors on subordinates' attitudes and performance, and yielded a third major report.

Cornelius N. Grove

See also Culture Distance; Value Orientations; Value Dimensions: Hofstede; Value Dimensions: Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck Value Orientations; Value Dimensions: Schwartz; Value Dimensions: Trompenaars

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Value Dimensions: Hofstede

Gerard Hendrik (Geert) Hofstede is a Dutch-born intercultural scholar with a PhD in social science from Groningen University. Prior to his doctoral studies, he had held a wide variety of jobs, including as middle manager in Dutch industrial companies and, earlier, as assistant engineer in a ship on a voyage to Indonesia; it was there that he first became fascinated by cultural variety. While completing his doctorate, Hofstede joined IBM and managed its Personnel Research Department. Later, he founded the Institute for Research on Intercultural Cooperation in Tilburg. He has collaborated closely with one of his sons, Gert-Jan Hofstede.

The Hofstede Database

While at IBM, Hofstede participated in the collection of opinion surveys from employees in more than 70 IBM subsidiaries worldwide. With more than 100,000 questionnaires awaiting scrutiny, Hofstede sought time to analyze them all by taking a 2-year sabbatical as a lecturer at IMD in

Lausanne; there he supplemented the database by administering the questionnaire to his students, managers from a variety of public and private organizations in 30 nations. Hofstede's analysis of this mass of data continued while he held two other university posts, as he deepened his understanding of the findings by reading sociology, psychology, political science, and anthropology. In 1980, SAGE Publications published his landmark study, *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*, in which the data were said to have been collected from employees of "HERMES."

The 1980 publication reported findings from the 40 national groups from which most of the data had been collected. Since then, Hofstede and others have used updated versions of the IBM questionnaire to expand the number of national groups covered. By 2001, that number had reached 76. The newer questionnaires are known as Values Survey Modules, or VSM.

An Ecological Approach to Understanding Values Data

When Hofstede first attempted to analyze the findings, he proceeded on the assumption that data collected from individuals should be dealt with at an individual level of analysis. Eventually, he realized that he could make sense of such data only by aggregating individuals into their respective societal units: national cultures. Ever since, he has emphasized that dimensions of culture are *group*-level constructs and has cautioned that his societal-level findings must not be used to compare individuals. He once made this culture-and-individual point by applying the forest-and-tree analogy, noting that a forest is not a king-size tree but rather an ecological system comprising a wide variety of life forms. An analysis suitable for a forest has no validity if applied to a single tree.

Hofstede also highlights the fact that any dimension of culture is a *construct*, an inference that arises out of patterns found in people's observable behaviors. The same may be said of values. To this insight, he adds that a dimension of culture by itself cannot explain or predict any aspect of human dynamics. It is one factor among many, including personality, history, and coincidences. He does suggest, however, that dimensions could allow one to predict somewhat better what is likely to happen—so long as one remains at the level of group-level averages.

Hofstede's Six Dimensions of National Culture

Culture's Consequences (1980) described four dimensions: (1) power distance, (2) uncertainty avoidance, (3) individualism, and (4) masculinity. In 1991, a fifth dimension—long-term orientation—was added, based on research by Michael Bond of the Chinese University of Hong Kong. In 2010, a sixth dimension—indulgence versus restraint—was added, based on an analysis of World Values Survey data by Michael Minkov, one of Hofstede's frequent collaborators.

Large Versus Small Power Distance

Power and influence are unequally distributed among the members of every known society and organization. Hofstede's first dimension notes that within some groups, members with less power—the followers—not only accept but also endorse this impactful inequality. In these high power distance groups, the fact that leaders make decisions that determine the behavior of others, and that in many ways those others are dependent on their leaders, is not viewed by the followers as requiring change or justification. This is true regardless of whether the leaders are viewed as autocratic or paternalistic and regardless of the followers' private evaluation of their leaders' decisions.

In other societies and organizations, members with less power tend not to be comfortable with hierarchical inequality, so they devote effort to minimizing the emotional and practical distance between themselves and their leaders. The leaders often cooperate with these efforts. Their shared values include consultative decision making, a spirit of interdependency among all members, and the expectation that followers may—perhaps even should—both act on their own initiative and question their leaders' decisions. The leaders themselves often are friendly toward everyone, avoiding autocratic behavior and eschewing the overt perquisites of rank.

High Versus Low Uncertainty Avoidance

Life brings people and situations that are different from what one expects, or that are not expected at all, creating uncertainty and ambiguity. To what extent are people comfortable when encountering novel, unforeseen, and thus unstructured situations? In some groups, members tend to feel anxious or apprehensive of danger when encountering uncertainty; they put effort into avoiding such situations by exerting as much control as possible over future occurrences, thus increasing predictability. In these high uncertainty avoidance groups, members prefer strict rules (written and unwritten), emphasize safety and security measures, behave intolerantly toward perspectives different from their own, and hold philosophical and religious beliefs in a single Truth (which they possess). Hofstede notes that people in these groups tend to express emotions relatively strongly and to be driven by an inner nervous energy.

In other groups, members are likewise encountering novel, unexpected occurrences. But they do so comparatively comfortably, with more tolerance for a range of differences and less need for rules and laws. In terms of philosophy and religion, they are more disposed to take a relativist stance, allowing a variety of beliefs to coexist. Hofstede also observes that within these groups, members tend to be more contemplative and less openly expressive of emotions.

Uncertainty avoidance is different from risk avoidance. The former, discussed above, is about reducing the extent to which unfamiliarity and ambiguity characterize situations. Risk avoidance is about estimating probability: If I do *X*, then how likely is it that *Y* will occur?

Individualism Versus Collectivism

Every individual is associated with several groups. What is the relationship between the individual and the group? This dimension accounts for the fact that in some groups the emotional and practical ties among adult members are comparatively loose, with each member expected to be largely, if not completely, self-directing, self-sufficient, and self-expressive. In these highly individualistic societies, some adults have tenuous ties even with their own biological families. Generally, though, it is expected that adults will actively care for their nuclear families while furthering their own self-determined ambitions.

In other societies, the emotional and practical ties between individuals and their ingroups are strong—often extremely strong. Hofstede refers to such societies as high in collectivism, which he distinguishes from political collectivism. The biological family is nearly always the primary ingroup; throughout life, an individual is often tightly integrated into that family—meaning the *extended* family of grandparents, cousins, aunts and uncles, and myriad others. There may also be a group commitment to a tribe, a clan, a work group of peers, and other such groups. An adult in this environment makes decisions in terms of “we” (not “I”) because the group is the protection from life’s vicissitudes and the primary source of identity. In return, the person gives the group unquestioned, enduring loyalty. A few other ingroups in an individual’s life—for example, one that coalesced during the early school years—have many of these qualities as well. Hofstede notes that the vast majority of the world’s population lives in societies where this type of collectivism prevails.

Masculinity Versus Femininity

When Hofstede was analyzing the initial findings from the IBM opinion surveys, he found that males showed a marked tendency to value opportunities for high earnings, recognition, advancement in the hierarchy, and challenging work that yielded a sense of accomplishment. Females valued a good working relationship with their managers, collaboration with colleagues, employment security, and the ability to live in a desirable community. Of the original four dimensions, this was the only one that showed, in almost all societies, a systematic difference between males and females. It was labeled *masculinity–femininity.*

Subsequently, Hofstede arrived at societal-level descriptions of the two poles of this dimension. A society is comparatively masculine when its emotional gender roles are distinct, with little or no overlap. Men are expected to be ambitious, assertive, and tough, while women are expected to be relationship oriented, caring, and tender. In this construal, men are focused on achievement and consequent material rewards, and the society as a whole is more competitive, with the women acting competitively, too, but not as much as the males.

Conversely, in Hofstede's terms, a society is relatively feminine when its emotional gender roles overlap significantly, allowing both men and women to value relationships, behave modestly, act in a nurturing and tender manner, and prefer quality of life more than personal aggrandizement. A related finding is that women's values vary comparatively little across the world's societies, while men's values vary substantially. Men's values range from assertive and competitive (in masculine societies) all the way to modest and caring (in feminine societies).

Long-Term Versus Short-Term Orientation

The Hofstede team was concerned that the dimensions described above had resulted from responses to questionnaires drawn up exclusively by Western researchers. So in 1985, the Hong Kong–based Michael Bond asked Chinese colleagues to create their own questionnaire: the Chinese Value Survey (CVS). Analysis of its initial findings, from 22 nations, yielded four dimensions, three of which replicated individualism, power distance, and masculinity. The fourth, showing no similarity to uncertainty avoidance, was recognized as a new dimension.

The new dimension was found to correlate strongly with economic growth between 1965 and 1985 across all 22 nations, both rich and poor; the six with the highest economic growth were all in East Asia. Among the East Asian respondents, the CVS data demonstrated strong adherence to four values conducive to entrepreneurial success: (1) persistence, (2) thrift, (3) the ordering of relationships by status, and (4) a sense of shame. Those values had been strongly advocated by Confucius, so the new dimension was initially called "Confucian dynamism." But the data also revealed that the respondents who scored high on those four values had *scored low* on four other Confucian values: (1) reciprocity, (2) face, (3) respect for tradition, and (4) personal steadiness. Furthermore, filial piety, a quintessential Confucian value, was not indicated by the CVS data.

Consequently, "long-term versus short-term orientation" became the preferred name for this dimension. Societies of the former type tend to espouse pragmatic values directed toward rewards in the future, plus adaptability to changing circumstances. For example, a sense of shame encourages one's sensitivity to others. Conversely, societies characterized by short-term orientation tend to espouse values anchored in the past and present, which are not conducive to entrepreneurial success and do not facilitate adaptability to new circumstances. For example, a high concern with face draws one's attention away from the pursuit of economic gain.

Indulgence Versus Restraint

Happiness, or subjective well-being (SWB), has long been a topic of interest to philosophers and psychologists. The Hofstede team became aware that the decennial World Values Survey had been including SWB-related questions. Carrying out their own analysis, they found that happiness, life control, and importance of leisure were mutually correlated and stable from survey to survey, pointing to a sixth dimension labeled *indulgence versus restraint*.

Societies that value indulgence tend to encourage gratification of human desires related to enjoying life and having fun. Having friends is considered important, gender roles are loosely prescribed, and sexual and other moral norms are relaxed. Significantly, individuals in these societies tend to perceive that they have control over their own lives.

Societies valuing restraint are characterized by a shared sense that personal gratification should be limited, suppressed by strict social norms and moral principles. Individuals tend to find less satisfaction in family life, have less involvement with others outside the family, and be more concerned with the maintenance of order within their nation. Restrained societies have lower percentages of obese people but higher death rates from cardiovascular diseases.

Hofstede's Six Dimensions of Organizational Culture

To begin understanding organizational culture, Hofstede and his team conducted research during the mid-1980s on 10 organizations, five in the Netherlands and five in Denmark. He acknowledges that, due to the small sample size, the findings are preliminary. But many have found the results intriguing, including this distinction: National cultures differ primarily at the level of *values*; organizational cultures differ primarily at the level of *practices*. Shared perceptions of daily practices are the core of any organization's culture; they explain why huge global corporations, with operations in many nations, can function reasonably smoothly.

Process Versus Results Oriented

In process-oriented organizational cultures, employees experience each day as similar to all the others, spend only the necessary effort to discharge their responsibilities, and avoid taking risks. In results-oriented cultures, employees perceive most days as bringing interesting new challenges and expend considerable effort to surmount those challenges. Hofstede cautions against viewing process-oriented cultures negatively, noting that single-minded, routinized attention to process is indispensable in some operations, such as the manufacture of drugs.

Employee Versus Job Oriented

Employee-oriented organizations are those in which employees perceive that their personal welfare and family concerns are being taken into account and that critical decisions are made with employee input. Job-oriented organizations are those in which senior managers make key decisions by themselves and show interest solely in the work that employees perform.

Parochial Versus Professional

This dimension describes how employees self-identify. Employees in parochial cultures identify largely with their organization, view the organization's norms as applying on *and* off the job, and believe that newcomers were hired as much for their "fit" as for their competence. In professional cultures, employees identify largely with the type of work they perform, draw a line between their private and on-the-job lives, and perceive that new recruits were hired mostly for their competence. How an organization scores correlates well with its employees' educational attainment. In parochial cultures, on the other hand, employees usually have less formal education.

Open Versus Closed System

This dimension concerns the extent to which an organization integrates new employees. Organizations with an open system readily accept almost all newcomers; the newcomers report that only a relatively short time is needed for them to feel at home. Conversely, those with a closed system seem accepting of only a narrow range of newcomers and erect barriers to the full integration of all others; these organizations strike some as secretive. The newcomers themselves report needing more than a year, or even longer, to feel comfortable at work.

Loose Versus Tight Control

Employees in loose-control organizations perceive a laissez-faire attitude prevailing among everyone, with meeting times being observed approximately, costs not a major concern, and jokes about the organization common. But in tight-control organizations, cost consciousness prevails, punctuality is expected, and jokes are rarely made about the organization. The latter culture's practices often include expectations about dignified behavior and business attire.

Normative Versus Pragmatic

Hofstede's final dimension of organizational practice concerns customer orientation. In normative organizations, employees perceive their responsibility as primarily to carry out inviolable rules and procedures, with only a secondary focus on good results for end users. In pragmatic organizations, however, high importance is given to meeting the customer's needs, even if doing so necessitates deviation from established procedures. In terms of business ethics, the latter culture adopts a pragmatic view, while the former adopts a dogmatic view.

Cornelius N. Grove

See also Confucian Dynamism; Culture Distance; Value Orientations; Honor, Shame, and Guilt; Value Dimensions: GLOBE Study; Value Dimensions: Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck Value Orientations; Value Dimensions: Schwartz; Value Dimensions: Trompenaars

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Value Dimensions: Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck Value Orientations

Value orientations is a theory, typology, and research method for the study of cultural values developed by the anthropologist Florence Kluckhohn as part of a multidisciplinary, multiyear, groundbreaking research project under the auspices of Harvard University. She conducted her research in a historically and multiculturally rich region of northwestern New Mexico (in the United States) in the late 1950s and early 1960s. As in much of life, credit must be given to timing, as her work appeared at the moment when what would later become the field of *intercultural communication* was looking for models and a vocabulary for what was then inchoate. Little did Kluckhohn imagine that her *value orientations* model would exert such an influence on the new field and would reach internationally far beyond the culturally complex area for which she created her approach.

To place the contribution of the Kluckhohn value orientations in its historical context, this entry will examine the distinctly original perspective that the five-culture study introduced to the examination of cultural values. Outlining the five rationales for the model, the entry explores the unique elements of the research and its usefulness globally.

Kluckhohn was part of a pioneering interdisciplinary team, perhaps the first ever interdisciplinary research project and certainly the first such interdisciplinary study of comparative cultural values, bringing together social scientists from several disciplines. Local folk in the area where the studies were conducted used to refer to the visitors as *the Ologists*. The ambitious, multiyear project was headed by her husband, Clyde Kluckhohn, who was a nationally prominent anthropologist at Harvard, a scholar of Navajo (Diné) culture, and deeply committed to the study of cultural values. Even after many decades, his work on cultural values remains a definitive treatment of the subject.

Variations in Value Orientations, written in 1961 by Kluckhohn and her colleague Fred Strodtbeck, was one of many books, articles, and monographs that resulted from this seminal Harvard values study. It was this book that helped give shape to the field of intercultural communication. The term *value orientations* was appropriated, and it came to be widely applied as a concept and organizing schema for intercultural communication work in the 1970s and 1980s.

Kluckhohn's value orientations theory and design were developed and applied in a small but historically rich and complex, multicultural region within the United States, which framed the study, comparing the ways in which people interact, often on a daily basis. The five contiguous but very different cultural communities that lived in this region included two indigenous, but distinctly different, communities. The Pueblo of Zuni were land based and largely agricultural, while the Navajo/Diné were traditionally nomadic sheep herders who settled in the area only hundreds of years ago and spoke an Athabaskan language unrelated to Puebloan languages. There were also three Euro-American communities: (1) *Spanish Americans* (the term that was used at the time of the research), who have been a part of the cultural presence in the region since the 16th century; (2) *Anglo* settlers, who moved into the area from the dustbowl region of Texas and Oklahoma during the Great Depression of the 1930s; and (3) a *Mormon/LDS* (Latter-Day Saints) community, which established the town of Ramah, New Mexico, in the late 19th century to Christianize the Indians. It was in Ramah that the Harvard team was based, in part because this was the home of Evon Vogt, who was also an anthropologist at Harvard and central to the research team. The area was also the site that Clyde Kluckhohn most loved, and where his ashes are interred.

Other values models would later emerge and largely supplant Kluckhohn's value orientations theme, most notably the work of Geert Hofstede from the Netherlands. As the subtitle of his major work, *Culture's Consequences: A Study of Work-Related Values*, might suggest, the *work* in *work-related* was the work of salaried, urban-based, corporate, and international white-collar employees—a far cry from where the earlier value orientations research was conducted. With an engineering background and many years of experience with the IBM Corporation, Hofstede's approach, method, and international comparisons would explore values in ways that were quite different from the methods of the Harvard values studies. Kluckhohn's model was designed and applied not only in a rural setting, including what some would call traditional cultures, but also with a concern for social change. The *change* feature of the model largely disappeared in its appropriation by those in the intercultural field. The Kluckhohn (or Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck) model may fit best in comparable settings, including internationally, in regions where the values of generations past remain an omnipresent value force and where the challenges of social change are of critical concern. Land-based communities, such as the Zuni, trace their lineage back thousands of years, even as the encroachment of the Spanish, and later the United States, greatly reduced their tribal lands. The Kluckhohn theory, model, and method, which in its timely appearance was influential in the development of the intercultural communication field, which found it useful for international communication, may find new relevance in an era of global change.

The value orientations model is distinct from previous treatments of cultural values in several ways. Perhaps most important, the Kluckhohn model presented variations along cultural values continua rather than comparisons of inventories of unique, *culture-specific values*, as described by outside observers or inside interpreters. Kluckhohn proposed that (a) there were universal themes, existential challenges that all human beings must contend with, and (b) there are a limited number of responses to these challenges, and these responses constituted the variations. *Universal values*, or even universals of any kind, remain a contentious premise among students of cultures. But in an era when quantitative research, which allows for comparisons, was asserting itself, this approach was appealing. Identifying three points where the variations would coalesce along a more qualitative continuum was especially attractive. In some ways, this perspective, and subsequent alternative models, would bring together the quantitative method associated with sociology and the qualitative methods favored in anthropology.

The Kluckhohn model (Table 1) offered a way to regard cultural values that included, and indeed welcomed, *variations*, as might be marked across historic changes, and that recognized variations in

Table 1 The Florence Kluckhohn Model

1. Innate predisposition	Good (mutable or immutable)	Neither good nor bad (mutable or immutable)	Evil (mutable or immutable)
2. Man's relations to nature	Mastery (man over nature)	Harmony (man in nature)	Subjugation (man under nature)
3. Time dimension	Future oriented	Present oriented	Past oriented
4. Valued personality type	Activity	Being-in-becoming	Being
5. Modality of relationship	Individual	Collateral	Linear

Source: Kluckhohn, C. (1953). Human problems and type solutions. In C. Kluckhohn & H. Murray (Eds.), *Personality in nature, society, and culture* (p. 346). New York, NY: Knopf.

values within any community. In this, the Kluckhohn model remains unique, and largely ignored by those who were initially attracted to it. It also lends itself to application to other, quite different cultural regions that in other ways bear little resemblance to the area of the five cultures where the original work was applied.

The model derives from the following rationales.

First, cultural values may be considered as alternative responses (variations) to universal questions to which every community (culture) must respond in offering direction and guiding behavior, which leads to greater cohesiveness and makes life decisions clear individually and predictable collectively.

Second, in every community (culture), there are only a limited number of responses to be encouraged. In the value orientations scheme, three alternatives are presented. In this, value orientations differed not only from treatments of cultural values as distinct abstractions based on interpretations of past and present behavior, or inductive categories uniquely derived from separate communities, but also from later values schema offering different cultural positions along continua between polar terms (e.g., individualism and collectivism). As a quantitative design, the Kluckhohn model is easily criticized today, but its strength includes Kluckhohn's conception of alternative values or variations that are often lost in generalizations about values in conventional schema. Some of these may be noted more often in the political, ethnic, religious, or generational differences cited in contemporary survey research.

Third, attention to cultural change was integral to the value orientations theory, a theme that was central in the Harvard values studies and was a motivating force for the research project itself. Can cultural values be maintained while one is exposed to the influences of other values that are present in schools, work settings, the media, and other forms, including language influences in all of these contexts? Kluckhohn's value orientations theory was specific about predicting the direction of change, a part of the theory that was ignored, as the model would be applied for contrasts across cultures irrespective of influences.

Fourth, Kluckhohn's work responded to increased attention in the late 1950s, seeking to link quantitative research methods, prominent in other social sciences, notably sociology, with the traditional qualitative research base of anthropology. In this, her approach introduced questionnaire-based data as a research method, in addition to observational and interview reporting, which had previously been the hallmark of anthropological research methods. Her book would become influential in an emergent intercultural communication field in part by ignoring its original application, which was the subject of her book.

Shortly after the Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck book was published, John Condon applied this framework in an international intercultural communication study. In his examination of U.S.–Mexican communication as his doctoral dissertation, Condon expanded Kluckhohn's five value orientations dimensions to 15, adapting the model to a new international, and intercultural, context. As with the Kluckhohn research, these were applied, through questionnaires and interviews, in Mexico and the United States. Later, Edward C. Stewart also drew on the Kluckhohn model for his important book on international intercultural communication, *American Cultural Patterns: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Soon after, from a new perspective in Japan, Condon expanded these values themes to 25 orientations, grouped among six categories, in what would come to be regarded as the first dedicated textbook in the field, *An Introduction to Intercultural Communication* (with Fathi Yousef). The value orientations perspective was an organizing and unifying theme for categories that in Condon's book also served as a template for an overview of the field: values, nonverbal, language–culture links, and reasoning and rhetoric (Table 2).

The value orientations concept and model have endured throughout the 60-year history of the intercultural field and, in one form or another, have continued to be included in intercultural communication textbooks, but the model does not appear to be a significant one for intercultural communication research in this field or in anthropology. Rather, the model has found its way into the intercultural communication consulting professions in a much-modified form.

After retiring from university teaching, Kluckhohn founded a research and consulting institute in Bellingham, Washington. Kluckhohn died in 1986, but the Florence R. Kluckhohn

Table 2 Condon and Yousef (1975) Value Orientations

Self				
1.	Individualism/ interdependence	Individualism	Individuality	Interdependence
2.	Age	Youth	The middle years	Old age
3.	Sex	Equality of sexes	Female superiority	Male superiority
4.	Activity	Doing	Being-in-becoming	Being
The Family				
5.	Relational orientations	Individualistic	Collateral	Lineal
6.	Authority	Democratic	Authority centered	Authoritarian
7.	Positional role behavior	Open	General	Specific
8.	Mobility	High mobility	Phasic mobility	Low mobility, stasis
Society				
9.	Social reciprocity	Independence	Symmetrical-obligatory	Complementary-obligatory
10.	Group membership	Many groups, brief identification, subordination of group to individual	Balance between ← and →	Few groups, prolonged identification subordination of the member to the group
11.	Intermediaries	No intermediaries (directness)	Specialist intermediaries only	Essential intermediaries
12.	Formality	Informality	Selective formality	Pervasive formality
13.	Property	Private	Utilitarian	Community
Human Nature				
14.	Rationality	Rational	Intuitive	Irrational
15.	Good and evil	Good	Mixture of good and evil	Evil
16.	Happiness, pleasure	Happiness as a goal	Inextricable bond of happiness and sadness	Life is mostly sadness
17.	Mutability	Change, growth, learning	Some change	Unchanging
Nature				
18.	Relationship of man and nature	Man dominating nature	Man in harmony with nature	Nature dominating man
19.	Ways of knowing nature	Abstract	Circle of induction–deduction	Specific
20.	Structure of nature	Mechanistic	Spiritual	Organic
21.	Concept of time	Future	Present	Past

(Continued)

Table 2 (Continued)

The Supernatural			
22. Relationship of man and the supernatural	Man as god	Pantheism	Man controlled by the supernatural
23. Meaning of life	Physical, material goals	Intellectual goals	Spiritual goals
24. Providence	Good in life is unlimited	Balance of good and misfortune	Good in life is limited
25. Knowledge of the cosmic order	Order is comprehensible	Faith and reason	Mysterious and unknowable

Source: Condon and Yousef (1975).

Center for the Study of Values continues to offer research and consulting services to clients throughout the world.

The Hofstede research surveyed many times the number of those in the Kluckhohn study and was far more sophisticated statistically. Hofstede's approach provided continua between polar terms, including some that were important in the Kluckhohn model, but also with new themes, such as close–far power distance. It also provided a framework to allow for questionnaire methods to yield data that can be clustered and then statistically interpreted and presented. Kluckhohn and the Harvard team studied small, traditional, contiguous rural communities; Hofstede's very influential study was a comparative study, categorized by national identifications and conducted in nationally separate branches of a multinational corporation. The database and national references attracted the attention of many in the field of intercultural communication, especially with respect to management applications.

Kluckhohn's term *value orientations* lost its original intended distinction from values, and both are often combined with categories from Hofstede or even E. T. Hall, whose approach distrusted surveys. Kluckhohn's tripartite model of value orientations has largely given way to continua of other bipolar dimensions (e.g., individualism–collectivism), which risk becoming dichotomous, either-or categories, in a new era of greater intercultural complexity and the corresponding desire for simple categories. Lost in such continua are alternatives, indeed variations, that do not fit. For example, Kluckhohn's *relational orientation* includes the *lineal orientation*, along with *collateral*, which largely can be read as collectivist and individualist. The lineal orientation references ancestral salience in personal identification, crucial in establishing meaningful relationships across cultural differences, a variation in values that is not well identified within the broad category of collectivist. To illustrate, the Native American cartoonist Roberto Cate, of Cochiti Pueblo, shows a first meeting between an Indian and a White man, perhaps a tourist. The Indian says, "I am Nanook, He-who-watches-the Sunset of the Washinabi Band of the Tokashini Nation of the Confederate tribes of the North." The White man says, "Hi, I'm Nick."

Studies of values have a history of being in and out of fashion in the relatively short history of the intercultural communication field, and also in anthropology, where the term *values* would be replaced by other words, which themselves would soon be discarded (e.g., *national character* or *modal personality*).

It remains curious, and in some ways perhaps also prescient, that Kluckhohn's model in rural New Mexico came to be known and applied internationally, though few realize its origin. It may also be ironic that some questions about values that were crucial in that study but were sloughed off as the intercultural field developed and spread internationally might again be recognized as important, as the global and local have again come together.

John Condon

See also Hall, E. T.; Measuring Values; Value Dimensions: Hofstede

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Value Dimensions: Schwartz

Shalom H. Schwartz is an American-born and -educated scholar who, with his family, immigrated to Israel during the late 1970s and took up teaching at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Identified alternatively as a sociologist, a social psychologist, and a psychologist, Schwartz's enduring contribution to the intercultural field is as the conceptual leader and coordinator of an extensive, decades-long, cross-cultural study of the structure, antecedents, and consequences of value priorities at both the individual and the societal level. He has authored or coauthored numerous articles in at least nine different academic journals, plus chapters in half a dozen edited books.

This entry reviews the contribution of Schwartz to the study of global values, the research method he employed, and the contribution his work has made to cultural value mapping.

Thinking About Values in a More Structured Way

Drawing on the contributions of scholars who preceded him, most notably Milton Rokeach, Schwartz set out to classify values and construct a theory of value types. His objective was to construct a values survey that would be reliably useable across numerous societies, then to use its findings to compare the values prevailing in many societal cultures.

Schwartz defined *values* as desirable trans-situational goals that serve as guiding principles for activity in the life of an individual or other social entity. Values are beliefs that become infused with feeling about what is important in life; they not only motivate action but also give it direction and emotional intensity. They also function as standards for judging and justifying action, although their everyday impact is rarely conscious unless value conflicts arise. Values are ordered by their importance relative to one another, forming a system of priorities; it is the *relative* importance of values that shapes the behavior of the individual or other social entity. Values are acquired through socialization to the value priorities of one's dominant group *and* through the individual's unique learning experiences.

Defining Values at the Individual Level

Commencing his work at the level of the individual (i.e., not at the level of a social entity, as other values researchers often do), Schwartz postulated that, in terms of desirable end states, values represent three universal requirements for existence that all humans must satisfy:

1. The needs of individuals as biological organisms (organism)
2. The needs of groups for survival and general welfare (group)
3. The need for coordinated social interaction among group members (interaction)

Values express these three goals, enabling humans in groups to communicate about their fundamental goals and to cooperate to attain them.

From these three goals, Schwartz derived what he believed to be 10 motivationally distinct types of values at the individual level. In Table 1, the left-hand column lists and briefly describes each of the 10 motivationally distinct values. The right-hand column lists, for each, one or more of the universal requirements from which that value type was derived.

Table 1 Motivational Types of Values at the Individual Level

Value Type and Definition	*Derived From*
Power: Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources	Interaction group
Achievement: Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards	Interaction group
Hedonism: Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself	Organism
Stimulation: Excitement, novelty, gratification for oneself	Organism
Self-direction: Independent thought and action—choosing, creating, exploring	Organism interaction
Universalism: Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection of the welfare of all people and of nature	Group[a] organism
Benevolence: Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact	Organism interaction group
Tradition: Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide	Group
Conformity: Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms	Interaction group
Security: Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self	Organism interaction group

Source: Adapted from Schwartz (1994a, table 1, p. 22).
a. Emerges when people come into contact with those outside the extended primary group.

Interrelating and Modeling Values at the Individual Level

The second step in Schwartz's process was to conceptualize structural relationships among the 10 motivational types of values. He understood that an individual's activity in pursuit of one value could affect the pursuit of other values: The activity could be congruent with or in conflict with the pursuit of others. *Pursuit of achievement* (success for oneself) could conflict with *pursuit of benevolence* (welfare for others). But pursuit of benevolence could be compatible with *pursuit of conformity* (restriction of impulses that upset or harm others).

From this, Schwartz realized that the total pattern of conflict and compatibility among values could be modeled as a structure—a circle-and-spoke diagram—in which conflicting values were opposite each other while compatible values were next to each other, as shown in Figure 1. Note that this diagram is a circular continuum with no beginning or end.

Concerning the wedge shared by *tradition* and *conformity*, Schwartz observed that they share the same broad motivational goal. Tradition is on the outside because traditional values conflict more strongly with the values on the opposite side, *stimulation* and *hedonism*.

Schwartz further observed that this model illustrates two grand bipolar value dimensions in the lives of individuals. As illustrated at the four quadrants of Figure 1, one dimension opposes *openness to change* (independence of thought and action) against *conservation* (self-restriction and preservation of the past). The second dimension opposes *self-enhancement* (pursuit of one's own interests, dominance over others) against *self-transcendence* (concern for the interests and welfare of others).

Measuring and Mapping Values at the Individual Level

To measure the priorities that individuals assign to the 10 motivational values, Schwartz devised the

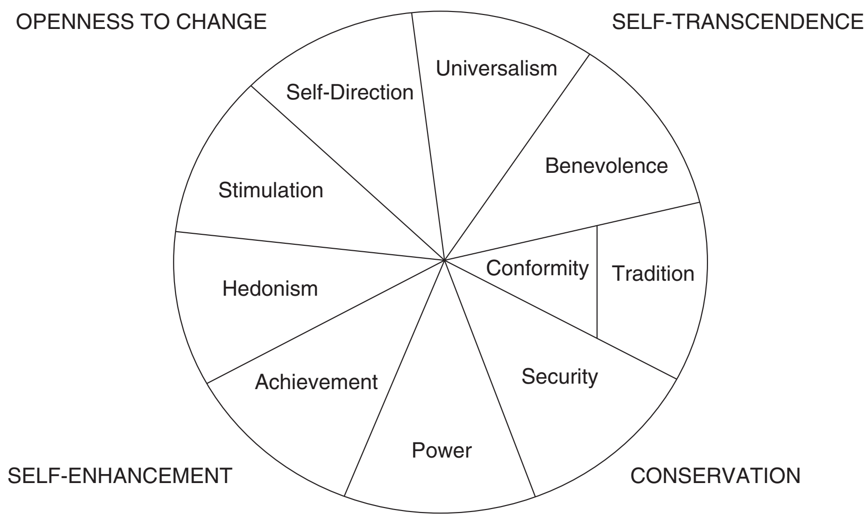

Figure 1 Map of Individual-Level Values Averaged Across 68 Nations
Source: Adapted from Schwartz (1994a, figure 1, p. 24).

Schwartz Value Survey (SVS), which in three differing formats—including the Portrait Values Questionnaire (for children and people not educated in Western schools) and the European Social Survey—was eventually used to gather data from individuals in more than 70 nations. In the SVS prototype, respondents anonymously rated the personal importance of a wide variety of value items, each of which was believed by the researchers to represent one of the 10 motivational types (e.g., achievement was represented by *ambitious*, *capable*, etc.; benevolence was represented by *helpful*, *loyal*, etc.). Each respondent was asked to rate each value item "as a guiding principle in MY life" on a 9-point scale labeled from 7 (*of supreme importance*), through 3 (*important*), through 0 (*not important*), and finally to –1 (*opposed to my values*). This nonsymmetrical scale was adopted based on pretests that revealed the way people think about their values.

Unlike the other values researchers who preceded him, Schwartz took exceptional care to determine the equivalence of meanings across cultures. He observed that back translation is helpful but does not ensure equivalence. This issue can be handled, he said, only by identifying a within-culture meaning of each value, then determining its conceptual equivalence to other within-culture meanings. Schwartz's pursuit of equivalence for 56 value items in his original survey resulted in his discarding 11 for which high cross-cultural consistency of meaning could not be verified.

The original 56 items included four that probed the possibility of an 11th value, representing the goal of finding meaning in life and/or inner harmony, provisionally labeled *spirituality.* Subsequent research did not verify the pan-cultural existence of such a value.

The objective of the research was to determine whether a match existed between the theorized structure of 10 value types (see Figure 1) and what was found by the surveys to characterize individuals across numerous cultures. The possibility of a match was assessed by creating a spatial representation—a map—of the correlations among all the value items, produced by Smallest Space Analysis (SSA). This is a scaling technique that locates each value item as a point in two-dimensional space, such that the distance between any two points reflects their relations as revealed by the surveys. Two values found to have similar meanings—for example, exciting life, varied life—emerge in close proximity; two found to have opposing meanings—for example, exciting life, detachment—emerge far apart. The physical location of any value item on the SSA map, relative to all the other value items, indicates its meaning.

Figure 2 illustrates the resulting SSA map. The arrangement of 10 value types has been rotated, but otherwise they all have the same spatial relationship with one another.

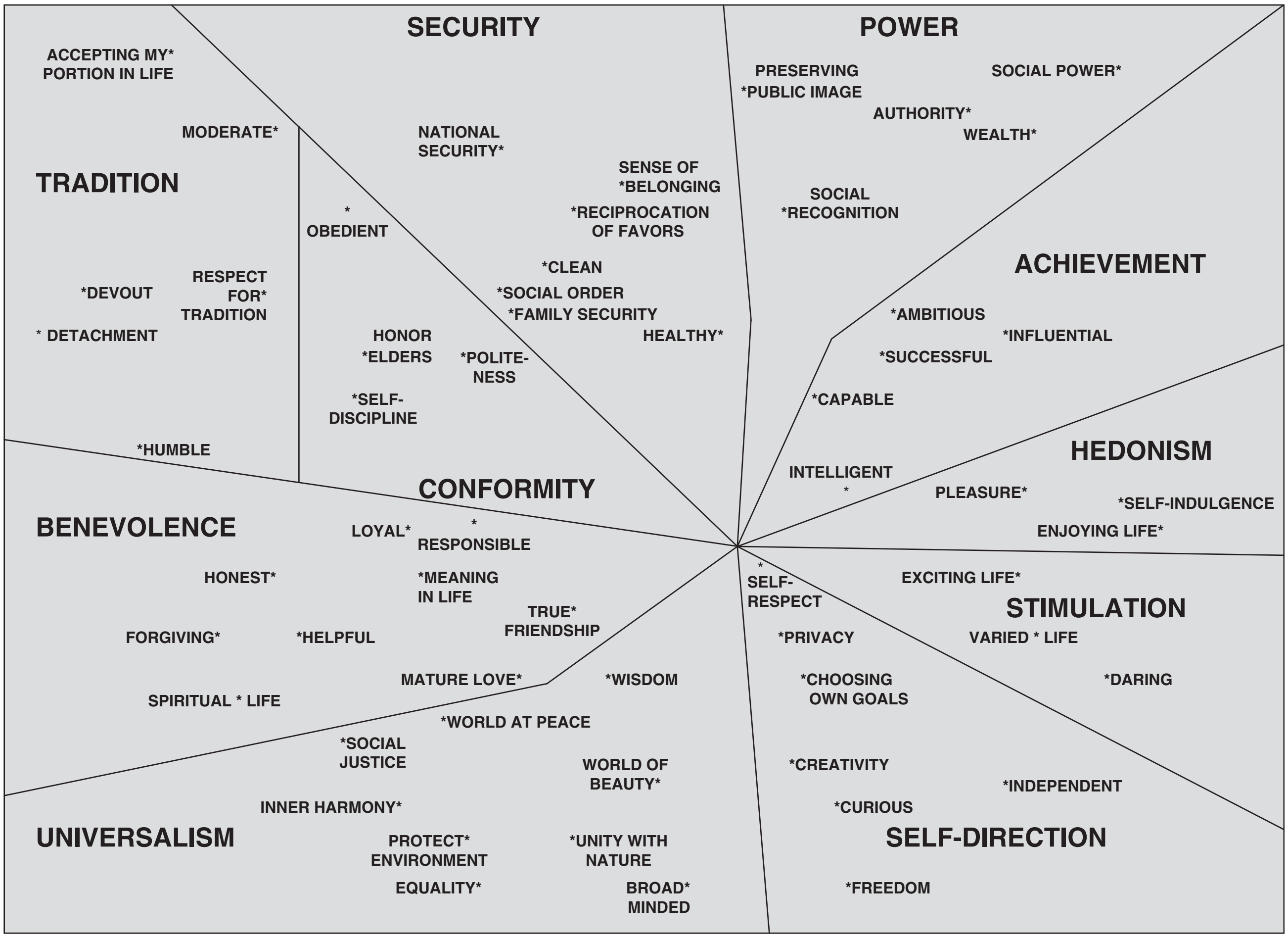

Figure 2 Schwartz's Model of Relations Among 10 Types of Individual Values

Source: Adapted from Schwartz (1994a, figure 2, p. 31).

Defining and Interrelating Values at the Societal Level

To identify value dimensions that differentiate the world's cultures, Schwartz extended his individual-level value set to embrace values at the societal level. He defined culture as a latent, hypothetical variable that can be measured only through its manifestations, adding that culture is not located in the minds of individuals but externally to them in the *press*, to which individuals are exposed by virtue of living in a particular social system.

Press refers to the stimuli that individuals often encounter in daily life, stimuli that draw their attention selectively to certain integrated sets of behavior. For example, is one's attention drawn more often to material concerns or to spiritual concerns? Schwartz also viewed press as the expectations one often encounters within societal institutions. Within a legal system, for example, is the expectation that truth will be revealed or that cases will be won? The relative frequency of such taken-for-granted stimuli and expectations within a given society expresses underlying normative value emphases that are at the heart of culture.

Similar to how he began his exploration of individual values, Schwartz began working at the societal level by postulating a set of three basic societal problems that are central to any society's functioning:

1. The relations and boundaries between the individual and his or her group: The poles of this cultural dimension are labeled *autonomy* (two types, see below) and *embeddedness*.

2. The need for people to behave responsibly and contribute productively to maintain their society: The poles of this dimension are labeled *hierarchy* and *egalitarianism*.

3. The regulation of people's interactions with natural and human resources: The poles are *harmony* (fitting in) and *mastery* (making changes to suit personal or group goals).

Autonomy (opposite of embeddedness), according to Schwartz, was conceived of as being of two types: (1) *intellectual autonomy* encourages individuals to pursue their own ideas and (2) *affective autonomy* encourages them to pursue experiences that they find emotionally positive.

As in the case of individual values, so also at the societal level, these three dimensions are interrelated, yielding a wheel-and-spoke diagram in which conflicting values are opposite each other while compatible values are next to each other, as shown in Figure 3.

Measuring and Mapping Values at the Societal Level

To measure and map the seven value dimensions that differentiate the world's cultures, Schwartz used the same survey findings that he had collected

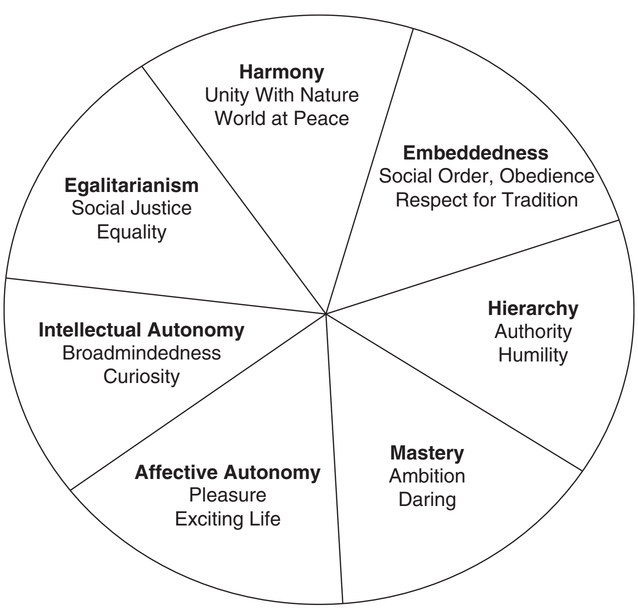

Figure 3 Schwartz's Model of Relations Among Seven Types of Societal Values

Source: Adapted from Schwartz (n.d., p. 64a).

and was continuing to collect. In a paper published around 2007, he reveals that there were 55,022 respondents from 72 countries and 81 cultural groups. He conceives of respondents in terms of samples; for example, there were 88 samples of schoolteachers, 132 samples of college students, and so forth. Each sample's respondents were all located within one country and/or culture.

For each sample, Schwartz computed the mean rating of each value item, thus treating each *sample* as a unit of analysis. He then correlated item means across same-culture samples so that the correlations reflect the way values vary at the country/culture level (i.e., not the individual level). Finally, using the same SSA mapping procedure previously overviewed, Schwartz positioned each value item so that the distance between any two items reflects their relations as revealed by the surveys. Figure 4 illustrates the resulting SSA map.

Using additional statistical procedures that were applied to the combined teacher and student samples from 77 cultural groups, Schwartz was able to standardize each cultural group's scores in such a way that a single score emerged. He then located that group's score as one of 77 points on a two-dimensional map such that, as previously, the proximity of any two points reflects the cultural similarity (close) or difference (distant) of those two cultural groups. The pattern of proximities on the resulting map clearly identifies eight transnational cultural groupings: (1) West European, (2) East Central and Baltic European, (3) Orthodox East European, (4) South Asian, (5) Confucian Influenced, (6) African and Middle Eastern, (7) Latin American, and (8) English Speaking. For example, the points representing Australia, Canada-English, Ireland, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand are in noticeably close proximity to one another; the point representing the United States is nearby but not quite as close. Schwartz identified this group of six nations as the English-speaking group. Similarly identifiable by their close proximities on this map are the seven other transnational cultural groupings.

Cornelius N. Grove

See also Culture Distance; Value Orientations; Value Dimensions: GLOBE Study; Value Dimensions: Hofstede; Value Dimensions: Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck Value Orientations; Value Dimensions: Trompenaars

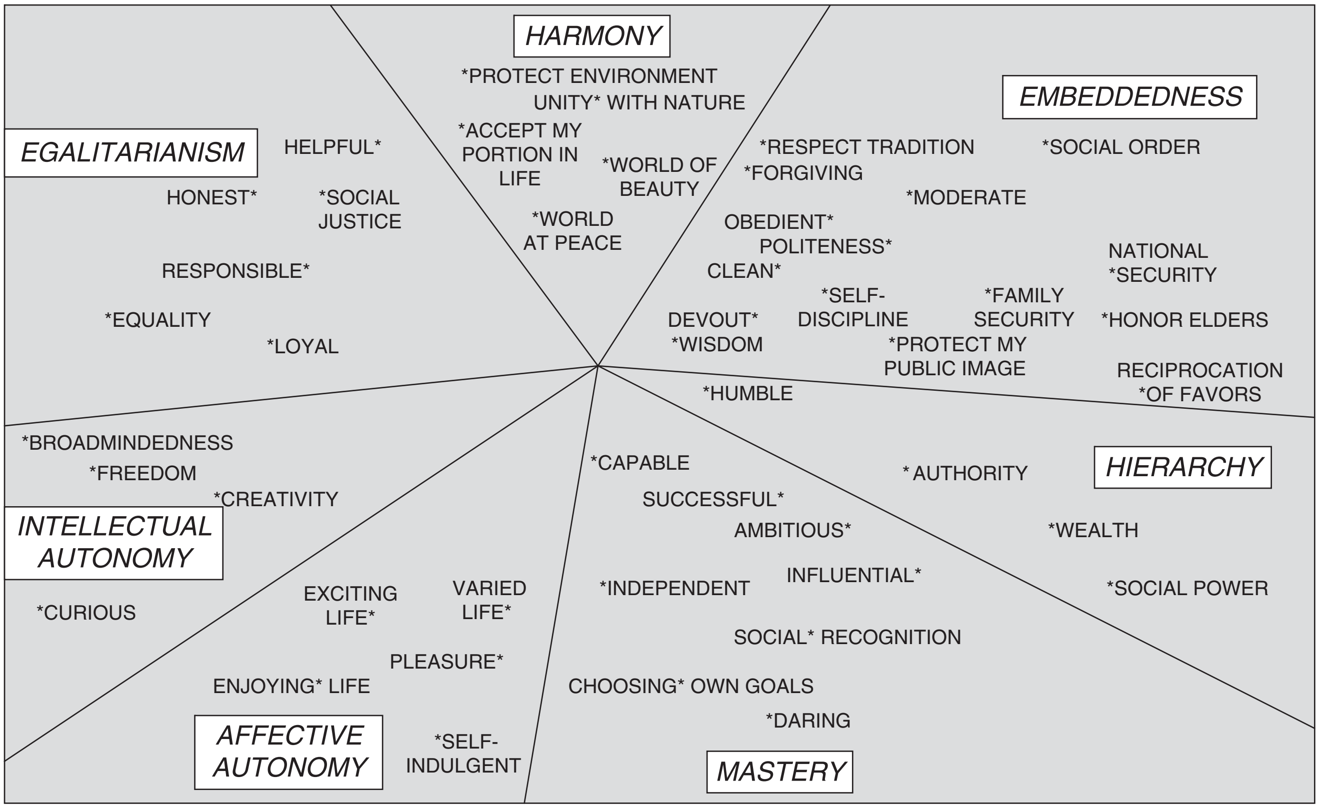

Figure 4 Map of Societal-Level Values Averaged Across 72 Nations
Source: Schwartz (n.d., p. 64b).

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Value Dimensions: Trompenaars

Alfonsus (Fons) Trompenaars is a Dutch-born interculturalist with a PhD from the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania; his dissertation addressed cross-cultural differences in conceptions of organizational structure. After 8 years with Royal Dutch Shell, he founded the Centre for International Business Studies, an Amsterdam-based consulting firm. He has collaborated closely over many years with the British scholar Charles Hampden-Turner.

This entry reviews their work, defining and describing the cultural characteristics developed by Trompenaars, as well as the databases he created and the Corporate Culture Model he designed.

Concepts and Categories for Understanding Culture

Trompenaars understands *culture* as the way in which a group of people solve problems and reconcile dilemmas. Like other interculturalists (he particularly cites Edgar Schein), he views culture as layered, like an onion. The outer layer comprises the explicit, observable features of culture, such as language, behavior, food, buildings, agriculture, fashion, art, and so on.

Under that layer lies another, the norms and values shared within the group. *Norms* are group members' mutual sense of right and wrong. *Values* underlie their definitions of good and bad, and are related to the group's shared ideals, their notions of what is desirable. A value serves as a criterion to determine a group member's choice from existing alternatives; this explanation is behind Trompenaars's frequent use of *dilemmas* as readily understandable devices to help people grasp the impact of cultural values on their day-to-day lives.

At the core of the hypothetical onion are the *basic assumptions*, the implicit, tacitly agreed-on ways for group members to perceive, think, and feel in response to all the common types of events, problems, and choices they encounter in the course of living.

During his dissertation work, Trompenaars identified seven conceptual categories that he believed would better enable people to grasp the impact of culture. Five of the categories concern how humans deal with one another; these were based on the "relational orientations" in Talcott Parsons's *The Social System* (1951). The other two concern the ways in which humans relate to time and the natural environment. These concepts have remained central to Trompenaars's contributions.

The Three Trompenaars Databases

Regarding the databases on which Trompenaars's contributions are based, only general overviews are readily available except to serious scholars. The number of records within the two principal databases has grown over two decades, enabling longitudinal studies.

The primary set of records is the *Cross-Cultural Database*, the foundation for Trompenaars's seven-dimensional model of culture. Focusing on the national culture variable, it is estimated to contain about 100,000 records covering more than 100 countries.

Another set of records is the *Corporate Database*, the foundation for Trompenaars's four-dimensional model of corporate culture. It also contains about 100,000 records.

A smaller set of records is the *Dilemma Database*, said to have coded some 6,000 dilemmas that owe their origin to competing cultural values, including both national and organizational differences. Many of the dilemmas are business oriented.

Regarding the numerous statistical procedures carried out on the Cross-Cultural and Corporate Databases, detailed information is readily available. Each edition of *Riding the Waves of Culture* features an appendix with a lengthy discussion by a British statistician.

Trompenaars's Model of National Culture: Relationships

As mentioned earlier, Trompenaars's conceptual categories for understanding culture, especially national culture, feature seven *dimensions* or *orientations*, five of which characterize key ways in which people within a given culture build and maintain relationships with others.

Universalism Versus Particularism

This first dimension posits, on the one hand, a *universalist* orientation in which people seek whatever ideals are generally good and right; they regard these ideals as rules or laws and attempt to apply them in making decisions about *all* similar cases. On the other hand is a *particularist* orientation in which each case's unique relationships and social context are attended to, making possible a contextualized, nuanced decision about only *that* case. It includes openness to the possibility of making an exception to whatever rule does apply.

The difference between these two orientations is sometimes shortened to the question "Which is more important, rules or relationships?" Another useful way of thinking about it is in relation to fairness: A universalist seeks fairness by treating all similar cases according to identical ideals and principles; a particularist seeks fairness by treating each case according to its contextual merits, including distinctions among individuals based on personal relationships.

Individualism Versus Communitarianism

Every human group must deal with the dilemma of whether its members will regard themselves primarily as separate and unique individuals or as integrated into the group, defined and limited by its characteristics. In other words, is it preferable to emphasize *individuality* so that the members may contribute to the community as, and if, they wish? Or is it more useful to emphasize the *community* and expect each member to adapt and fit in?

The difference between these orientations is sometimes restated as "competition versus cooperation" among group members. As in the case of universalism versus particularism and the other dimensions, these two orientations are complementary, not opposing, preferences; a society that is totally and consistently one way or the other cannot function for long.

Neutral Versus Affective

This dimension grapples with the fact that in relationships among people both reason and emotion play a role. In relatively neutral cultures, it's expected that members will conceal many of their emotions, emphasizing reason and objectivity, although in these cultures, intense joy and grief are unmistakably revealed. In *relatively affective* cultures, it is expected that members will openly reveal their emotions, giving less weight to reason.

Differences in the extent to which emotional openness is expected occur not only across cultures but also across social situations. For example, it might be acceptable, or not, for emotions to be displayed at a business presentation, during a rite of passage, or while riding on a bus or train. Trompenaars also notes that how people use humor, understatement, and irony differs in subtle ways from one culture to another, creating unexpected pitfalls for newcomers.

Specific Versus Diffuse

This dimension concerns how human beings come to know and understand objects, events, and other humans. Trompenaars's primary focus is on how people begin relationships with each other and the ways in which relationships are structured and maintained.

In *specific-oriented cultures*, new relationships begin with each person quickly judging the other and then refocusing attention on the activity at hand. Thereafter, interactions with others tend to be *defined in relation to the situation* in which they occur. For example, in an academic situation, instructors might be accorded overt deference by learners, but encounters with the same instructors outside school might exhibit friendly informality. Among people's acquaintances, each one tends to be associated with a specific activity; less common are relationships that span a wide variety of activities. A person's relationship time is largely spent maintaining transient, comparatively superficial ties with many others; little time is left for maintaining deep, durable, all-pervasive relationships.

In *diffuse-oriented cultures*, new relationships begin with each person taking a long time (over many interactions) to judge the other. Subsequently, interactions with others tend to be *defined in relation to each individual*, for whom stable, cross-situational expectations apply. For example, a learner's instructor is accorded overt deference in the classroom *and* during other encounters *anywhere.* The learner also regards the instructor's views as authoritative on *any* topic, not merely on the instructor's specialty. Relationships tend to be person specific, not activity specific. People have all-pervasive, constantly maintained relationships with relatively few family members and friends that endure over decades. For all others beyond the tight ingroup, little time remains; outgroup people usually are kept at arm's length.

The specific/diffuse distinction also applies to people's understanding of objects and events, in which case its title is analysis/synthesis. In analysis-oriented cultures, people try to understand various kinds of phenomena by physically or mentally separating each into its constituent parts; these are then examined so that the whole can be understood. In synthesis-oriented cultures, people try to understand phenomena holistically, in terms of patterns, relationships, and contexts; they do not necessarily separate each into its constituent parts.

Achievement Versus Ascription

Trompenaars's final relationship-related dimension reflects the fact that in all human societies individuals are hierarchically stratified in terms of the degree of deference and respect they receive from others.

In *achievement-oriented cultures*, people are judged by others and are thereby placed in the social hierarchy largely on the basis of their performances and accomplishments, what they have done. These cultures tend to be more egalitarian; individuals from varying backgrounds have greater opportunities to climb the social-status ladder by virtue of their intelligence and hard work.

In *ascription-oriented cultures*, people are given a place in the social hierarchy on the basis of who they are, what social characteristics they automatically possess. Common factors include parentage and kinship, connections, gender, age, profession, ethnicity or nationality, and the extent of their education; education might be differentially regarded based on the school where it was acquired or the subject in which they specialized. These cultures tend to be hierarchical, with rather rigid social-status arrangements.

Trompenaars's Model of National Culture: Time and Environment

As previously mentioned, Trompenaars's seven-dimensional model for understanding culture includes two dimensions that illuminate how people interact with time and their natural environment.

Two Time-Related Dimensions

In their multifaceted discussion of cross-cultural differences in humans' conceptions of time, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner concentrate on (a) orientations to the past, present, and future and (b) whether activities are carried out sequentially or synchronically.

To illustrate how different groups conceive of the past, present, and future, Trompenaars uses three side-by-side circles (left to right: past, present, and future); he cites the work of Thomas J. Cottle. As shown in Figure 1, the size of a circle, relative to the other two, indicates its importance to group members. Whether, and how much, the circles overlap indicates the degree to which the three time regions influence one another in group members' thinking.

Among the observable differences, the mind-sets of the ingroup members are as follows:

- In *past-oriented cultures*, there is much talk about the origins of families and institutions and about the re-creation of a golden age; respect is shown for the aged and ancestors.
- In *present-oriented cultures*, much interest is shown in current relationships; plans, when made, are rarely executed; and all is viewed in terms of contemporary impact affect and style.
- In *future-oriented cultures*, people focus on youth, youthfulness, and future aspirations and potentials; planning is done enthusiastically, and the plans are usually executed.

The other key difference concerns how cultures conceive of time's passage. In some, members think of time as a linear sequence of events passing by them at regular intervals. In these *sequential* cultures (also known as *monochronic*), people usually engage in only one activity at a time, they make and adhere to schedules and plans, they value efficiency, and they favor schedules over relationships ("I can't chat now, I'm going to a meeting!").

In other cultures, members conceive of time as cyclical or repetitive, emphasizing rhythms, such as the seasons. In these *synchronic* cultures (also known as *polychronic*), activities usually occur in parallel, more or less simultaneously, similar to a juggler keeping several balls in the air. Plans might be made, but there is little expectation that they will be adhered to because relationships take precedence over schedules. In other words, it is of greatest importance that one "gives time" to valued acquaintances *whenever* there is an opportunity.

Orientations Toward the Natural Environment

Trompenaars's final dimension overviews how societies structure their orientation to the natural environment; in turn, this transforms into a question about whether individuals view themselves as controlling their lives or as being subject to forces

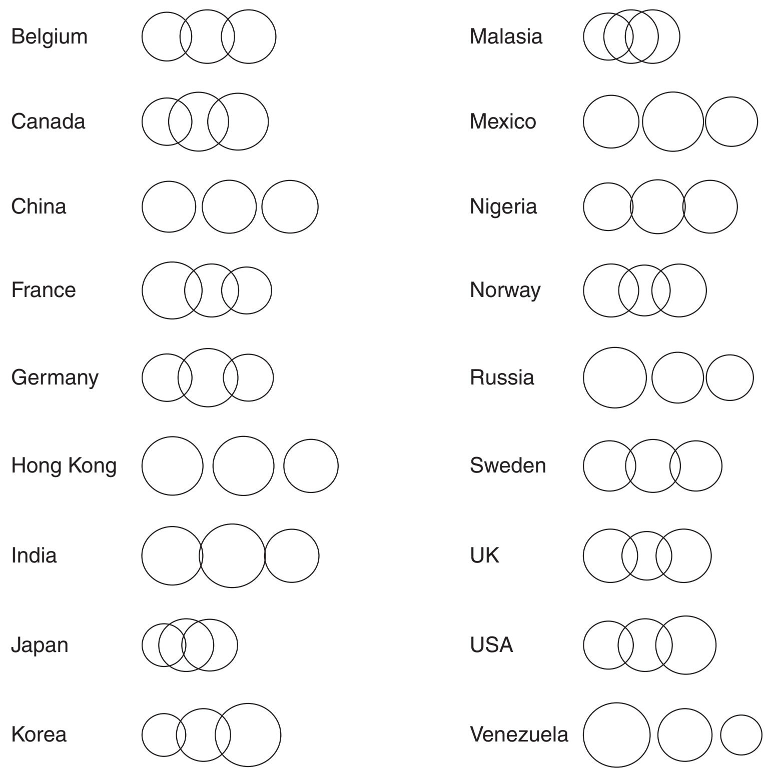

Figure 1 Trompenaars's Model of Thinking About the Past, Present, and Future

Source: Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2012, figure 9.1, p. 156); adapted from Cottle, T. J. (1967). The Circles Test: An investigation of perception of temporal relatedness and dominance. *Journal of Projective Technique and Personality Assessments, 31,* 58–71; no figure cited.

external to themselves. The two poles of this dimension are *internal orientation* and *external orientation.*

The inspiration for these labels came from the American psychologist J. B. Rotter, who coined *internal locus of control* and *external locus of control.* Trompenaars notes that, as first used in the United States, the latter label was associated with people and groups who attributed lack of success to external sources, including the idea of fate. However, as interculturalists use the terms now, internal and external orientations mean something very different.

In societies characterized by an internal orientation, most people try not only to actively control and harness the natural environment but also to gain advantages for themselves, their families, or their organizations by assertively persuading others to make choices to that end. In societies characterized by an external orientation, most people look for ways to adapt to nature, and they seek harmonious relationships by being mindful of and responsive to others' interests, by maintaining a flexible attitude, and by being open to compromise.

Trompenaars's Model of Corporate Culture

Trompenaars's model of corporate culture is illustrated using a 2 × 2 matrix. Both axes are cultural dimensions. The poles of the vertical axis are *egalitarian* and *hierarchical.* The poles of the horizontal axis are *person oriented* and *task oriented.* This matrix yields four corporate culture typologies: (1) Incubator, (2) Guided Missile, (3) Eiffel Tower, and (4) Family (Figure 2).

The *Incubator type* (said to be typical of Silicon Valley) is egalitarian and person oriented; its purpose is to give individuals the freedom to be highly creative. Its strengths are adaptability and openness to improvisation, leading to innovation. Weaknesses include the lack of formal systems, yielding chaos and duplication of effort, and lack of work–life balance.

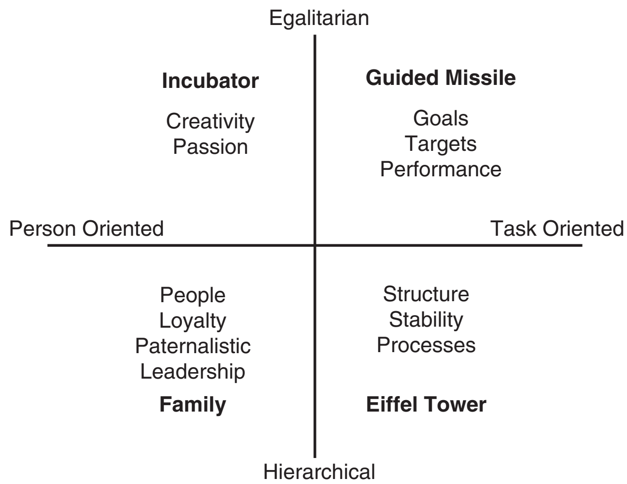

Figure 2 Trompenaars's Corporate Culture Model
Source: Trompenaars and Paud'homme (2004, p. 50).

The *Guided Missile type* is egalitarian and task oriented; this culture focuses on the attainment of goals, which are often pursued by multidisciplinary project groups. Strengths include structured processes and focus on objectives, leading to clarity and predictability. Its weaknesses are lack of creativity and too much focus on numbers and systems.

The *Eiffel Tower type*, which is task oriented and hierarchical, is highly structured, with leaders exercising authority to tell subordinates exactly what to do and how to do it. This culture is predictable, routine, and capable of turning out precise work free of error. Weaknesses include being mechanistic, rigid, and demotivating for employees.

The *Family type* is hierarchical and person oriented. It is characterized by warm, face-to-face relationships and a wide gap separating "children" (employees) from their "parents" (owners or senior managers), who may be revered or feared. Strengths of this type include decisiveness, loyalty, and long-term orientation; overcentralization is its key weakness. This type is found in some publicly owned companies as well as in companies owned by a family.

Cornelius N. Grove

See also Culture Distance; Value Orientations; High-Context and Low-Context Communication; Ingroup/Outgroup; Value Dimensions: GLOBE Study; Value Dimensions: Hofstede; Value Dimensions: Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck Value Orientations; Value Dimensions: Schwartz

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VIRTUAL TEAMS

Virtual teams are dispersed groups of people working together toward a common goal, but who rarely, if ever, meet physically face-to-face. Instead, most of the team's interactions are mediated via technology. Globalization and rapid advances in boundary-spanning communication and collaborative technologies have given virtual teams a prominent role in the work of business, nonprofit agencies, and government.

Virtual teams have no standard form or function; they vary, for example, in their degree of virtuality (the level to which team interactions are mediated only via technology), geographic distribution, time zone spread, cultural and organizational diversity, task complexity, time frame, personalities, and the technologies utilized. They can operate across a city, a region, a country, or even continents.

Virtual teams are attractive to organizations not only because of their time and money savings but also because they allow the most knowledgeable and skilled talent worldwide to be used on projects. This enables an organization to respond rapidly to changes in its environment. Cultural differences make an impact on the functioning of any teams, whether their scope is domestic or global, but being virtual contributes additional layers of complexity.

This entry describes the types of technologies used on virtual teams, and technology effects, and it presents an overview of virtual intercultural competence in relation to technological competence.

Technologies and Technology Effects

Communication on virtual teams is mediated by two basic technologies: (1) synchronous and (2) asynchronous. *Synchronous technologies* allow individuals and groups to communicate live (in real time). Examples of synchronous technologies include the telephone (and Internet-based telephony systems like Skype), texting, instant messaging, audio-conferencing, videoconferencing, and web-conferencing (a web-based meeting also known as a webinar or online workshop). Mobile devices, like smartphones, are increasingly used by virtual teams because many have the capabilities of larger systems, including videoconferencing. *Telepresence* is advanced videoconferencing with greatly improved sight and sound fidelity, giving users the feeling of being in the other location. Some telepresence systems project holograms (three-dimensional images) into virtual meetings. By using a telerobot, an individual can have a "physical" presence in a remote meeting and even wander the hallways with other telerobot colleagues.

Asynchronous technologies enable individuals and groups to communicate in delayed (nonreal) time. Asynchronous technologies include e-mail, blogs, podcasts and videocasts, threaded discussions (in which participants can add comments to previously posted text), and document repositories. Social networking tools like Yammer are most often used in an asynchronous way, although many contain a live chat (synchronous) function. Wikis (collaborative writing tools) have traditionally been asynchronous, but are integrating synchronous features, and web-based team rooms contain many synchronous and asynchronous tools.

Technology is not neutral; it shapes perceptions and behaviors. Videoconferencing, for example, tends to increase agreement and trust among participants in the same room while decreasing it for those in remote locations. Colocated attendees in a videoconference will also tend to attribute the actions of remote participants to personality factors rather than to situational factors such as local culture. Use of videoconferencing, audio-conferencing, and computer-mediated communication also increases the likelihood of opinions and positions being more extreme. Computer-mediated communication, such as e-mail, tends to reduce interpersonal sensitivity and the likelihood of participation and consensus, while increasing polarization.

Cultural differences are sometimes used as an overarching excuse for the failure of virtual teams, but the reality is more complex. While focusing on the effects of cultural differences such as contrasting orientations to time and power, the interculturist must appreciate the interplay of many factors, including technology, economics, and organizational politics.

Virtual Intercultural Competence and Technological Competence

The attributes needed for face-to-face and virtual intercultural competence are the same: cultural knowledge and self-awareness, respect, curiosity, mindfulness, openness, listening and observing skills, empathy, an ethnorelative perspective (one that displaces our own culture as the center from which all others should be judged), and cognitive and behavioral flexibility. The major difference is that intercultural competence and technological competence are interwoven on virtual teams. Technological competence in this context means the ability to choose and use communication and collaborative technologies so as to maximize the benefits of cultural differences while minimizing potential drawbacks.

Maximize Benefits

The major benefit of having cultural diversity on teams is improved decision making, resulting from the mix of diverse perspectives, insights, nonroutine thinking, and problem-solving approaches. To enable cultural differences to produce value, *input flexibility* is required.

Assume that Culture A is comfortable giving input publically and directly. Videoconferencing and audio-conferencing are appropriate for Culture A given its orientations to explicit communication, individualism, risk taking, and egalitarianism. Culture B may find the public openness of videoconferencing and audio-conferencing challenging. Culture B's orientations toward valuing the group, indirect communication, risk avoidance, and greater respect for hierarchy pose a real threat of public embarrassment. If both cultures are on the same team, one consequence could be less participation from Culture B team members. This is likely to increase false attributions made by members of Culture A. For example, Culture A might falsely attribute the lower participation of Culture B to lack of confidence or capability.

To increase the comfort level of Culture B members with a web conference, an anonymous input feature could be used. This would allow viewpoints to be contributed without the threat of embarrassment or loss of credibility.

When there is an "official" language on a team, input flexibility is required to accommodate different levels of verbal and written fluency. Fluent speakers and writers will be more comfortable with synchronous technologies, while less fluent speakers and writers will appreciate the greater length of time allowed by an asynchronous tool like e-mail for accurate encoding and decoding of messages.

While technology choice is important in maximizing the benefits of cultural diversity on virtual teams, a virtual intercultural perspective will, of course, also recognize the importance of the attitudes, awareness, knowledge, and skills listed at the beginning of this section—curiosity, respect, openness, and so on. Virtual team effectiveness requires the choice of an appropriate technology combined with the attributes of intercultural competence.

Minimize Drawbacks

The virtual team environment poses three major challenges: (1) isolation, (2) confusion, and (3) fragmentation.

Isolation

Ubiquitous technological connectivity is an outstanding human achievement, but it can foster dehumanization and isolation, particularly in the digital workplace, where relationships are often fleeting and transactional. Isolation on virtual teams can be reduced with better communication and good planning. This team plan should be inclusive of all members and should address questions such as when and how to communicate. There must be not only room for spontaneity, enabled by technologies like instant messaging, but also room for the formal team meetings needed to help build team identity and cohesion. Frequent communication is vital; without it, team members can feel marginalized.

Frequent and regular communication is necessary but not sufficient. The "human touch" in those communications is also essential. Virtual colleagues are not just nodes in a network despite appearing "real" as only a package of words in e-mail or a disconnected voice in an audioconference. Virtual colleagues have needs for belonging, achievement, expression, and feeling valued. The challenge is to build human connectivity, not just technological connectivity.

Confusion

Increased ambiguity is pervasive on virtual teams. The official language of a team might be English, but there is no guarantee of shared meaning. A simple phrase like "as soon as possible" can have many meanings depending on the time orientation of a culture.

Increased ambiguity also comes from the fact that communication via technology is usually less rich in the contextual cues needed to decode messages accurately, including body language, gestures, voice intonation, facial expressions, and touch. Some technologies are contextually richer than others: Videoconferencing is contextually richer than a telephone call, which, in turn, is richer than e-mail. However, missing cues are not always disadvantageous. Sometimes team members find it easier to communicate their meaning across cultures by writing rather than talking. When messages are stripped to bare words, miscommunications can be reduced. Whenever possible, a message should be spoken *and* written.

Another source of confusion is assumed similarity or dissimilarity. With reduced communication opportunities on virtual teams, there are wider and deeper gaps in team members' knowledge of others.

The tendency is to fill these gaps with assumptions, stereotypes, and stories that might have little basis in reality. Additionally, virtual identities can be more fluid and unpredictable than those in face-to-face interactions. Shallow understanding of others might serve for routine and short-term virtual team assignments, but eventually it can be destructive. Over the longer term, some team members may feel that their cultural identities are being dismissed.

Misapplied cultural knowledge and assumptions can create confusion and often anger. Knowledge of other cultures can be helpful in describing differences, but that knowledge should not be applied in a heavy-handed way. Understanding high-level cultural tendencies in a group or team is one thing, but relating to individuals from that team is another. For example, saying to a fellow team member, "Welcome, Wantanabe-san, to our virtual team. You're Japanese, and I expect you won't be comfortable speaking up in our meetings for fear of losing face" would be presumptuous. At this point, nothing is known about Wantanabe-san—his life experiences, personality, and organizational culture—and how these shape his current worldview and behaviors. For example, he may be more explicit and individualistic than expected because of an expatriate assignment in the West. Drawing conclusions based on someone's nationality is very problematic. Team members need to remember that they are not working with statistical culture profiles but with complex individuals.

Fragmentation

Any organism—including a virtual team—needs both the ability to change and grow and enough stability to function effectively. Diversity is a well-known benefit to teams of all types because it supports adaptation and creativity—in other words, change and growth. Distributed teams must balance this dynamism with enough cohesion to align individual energies toward shared goals.

One answer to virtual team fragmentation is combining a shared technological space with a shared cultural space. The technological space could be in the form of an online team room. It would act as a central hub where virtual team members could connect and coordinate their work. Team members could schedule meetings, share files and folders, conduct threaded discussions, clarify who is doing what and by when, and invite other members who are online for a "chat" via instant messaging. A team room might support increased connectivity and coordination, but it wouldn't address the problems that differences in approach might cause.

The answer is cultural co-creation—the negotiation of team operating agreements that form a shared cultural space. An operating agreement might be like this: "We do not interrupt or talk over each other in our virtual meetings." These specific agreements focus on behaviors and provide simple team rules. Trying to bring a team together around shared values, rather than specific rules, can be a lengthy and contentious process, especially given the vagueness and openness to multiple interpretations of many value statements, such as "We will respect one another." It is important in this co-creation process to focus only on agreements in areas of greatest importance to team effectiveness, such as communication and decision making.

The human–digital landscape is volatile. Some organizations are already finding the work capacity and creativity of internal virtual teams to be too limiting, and they are turning to digital crowds for ideas and skills. Whatever forms emerge, organizations must be alert to their impact on intercultural competence.

Terence Brake

See also Attribution Theory; Co-Creation of Meaning; Leading Global Teams; Online Global Communication

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Visual Intercultural Communication

Alongside the worldwide implementation of the Internet, visual communication has become globally predominant. This entry discusses the importance of visual communication and related issues of power—who actively looks and who is passively looked at (*agency* and *gaze*), how people are socialized to learn to see (visual *priming*), and the way images travel in global contexts (*flows*). The final section presents practical implications.

Importance of Visual Communication

The French social anthropologist Marc Augé reflects on a dynamic in which people themselves are part of the global flow of visual objects. In homes via television or computer screens, images flood in from the most remote parts of the world. With mobile phones, individuals actively shoot photographs of themselves (*selfies*) and of what they see around them. They then post these for innumerable people to see. On Facebook, the exchange of pictures, including selfies, is a central feature in keeping up with social contacts. Passive images like commercials and active images such as pictures created on mobile phones are thus globally available to anyone with an Internet connection.

Visuality has always been central in our way of life, and there are many indicators that it will become even more important in the future. In common parlance, people say, "See what I mean?" or "Oh, I see." Facial expressions, body language, and clothing are the first—and therefore the most crucial—elements of information on the basis of which interpersonal communication evolves. This is why all over the world vast amounts of money and time are spent on refining one's appearance. This is not a new phenomenon. On the other hand, there are aspects of it that are new. The career and wealth of some modern-day stars (e.g., the Kardashians) appear to be based wholly on looks, selfies, and a willingness to sacrifice any semblance of a private life. Even in business and academic environments, PowerPoint presentations are increasingly enriched with images to the extent that the visual domain dominates the verbal one. The image is viewed first, and then, attention is paid to the text.

Source: Photo by Christa Eder. Reproduced courtesy of 123RF Stock Photos.

Visual messages are not only conveyed from person to person but also mediated via displays. Scientists and doctors exchange three-dimensional simulations, complex diagrams, magnetic resonance images, and other forms of visual imagery via the World Wide Web. Increasingly, global companies provide usage instructions or marketing materials only in pictographic form, in print or on the Web, and YouTube videos are downloaded to view information for everything, from learning how to play the piano to how to train dogs. At airports or tourist sites, travelers *read* the needed information by *looking* at pictograms. Feelings or moods are shared via emoticons. This is like a move back to the future. People used to learn by watching and imitating, not by reading. After the invention of the printing press, reading became the way to learn. Now it is back to watching and imitating, albeit in a new format with a global reach. Visuality has become so central in contemporary life that a so-called visual turn has been proclaimed in cultural studies. As the topic cuts across various academic fields of research—visual studies and art history, communication studies, psychology, sociology, social and cultural anthropology, gender studies, ophthalmology, and neuroscience, among others—it is researched in a transdisciplinary way. This *visual turn* led to the contextualization of visual perception as being shaped primarily by environmental, sociological, political, and religious contexts and conventions.

Agency and Gaze in Visual Contexts

Not only world*view* but also the way people look at other persons and objects is transmitted from generation to generation and depends—at least to a significant degree—on a gendered, an ethnic, and a social genealogy. Who is looking at whom reflects hierarchical conventions. Although photography might be considered to be a neutral medium to document reality, it reveals the photographer's motive. An example is the way inhabitants of slums are depicted visually. Photographers looking at slums from the outside tend to display slum dwellers as passive objects, whereas those with close links to the people portrayed may also capture their agency and resilience.

Gendered Gazes

Gender studies have exposed the extent to which print and electronic commercials have reduced women to sexual objects. As Luce Irigaray points out, women even tend to not only see themselves through their own eyes but also imagine themselves through the eyes of men. As a result, impeding and even crippling effects such as high heels and bound feet—or their modern-day equivalent of surgically removing the little toes to fit into a pair of Manolo Blahniks—are met with little resistance and even approval or envy. Similarly, women expose themselves by showing their breasts in a décolleté or their thighs in a miniskirt or—alternatively—cover themselves in a burka when they leave a *women-only* space so that their visual attractiveness remains the privilege of their husbands. In either case, the women are reduced visually to objects in a male-dominated social context.

Racist Gazes

In his first book *Black Skin*, *White Masks*, Frantz Fanon, a French citizen from Martinique, articulated a very intimate, colonized person's perspective on European racism. In his last book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, he exposed European pretensions for wanting to formulate a universal standard of civilization while at the same time engaging in brutal wars justified by the presumption that people in the colonized world were inferior. According to Edward Said, in his foundational book of the same name, *Orientalism* is a way of seeing the Arab world through European eyes as exotic, backward, and uncivilized. Based on the writings of these groundbreaking authors, postcolonial researchers and social scientists working on critical studies on *whiteness* have uncovered political and cultural hegemony in the way people look at those with another skin color.

Social Distinction

As described in Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*, during the process of socialization, individuals unconsciously internalize specific ways of thinking and behaving that underscore the distinctive attributes of their social class and are visually expressed in body language, appearance (fashion, jewelry, hairstyle), and lifestyle (cars and habitats). As a result, interactants differentiate between the backgrounds of the persons they interact with and tend to modulate their behavior accordingly. For example, in situations where less educated and poorer people form the majority, members of the educated elite might *dress down* to avoid standing out and becoming the objects of microaggression.

Visual Priming

The physiological act of confronting enormous amounts of visual clues, selecting from among them, processing the input mentally, and eventually forming an image is an astonishingly complex activity. People permanently and unconsciously make choices about the visual information they take in and process. How images are selected, processed, and interpreted depends on the viewer and the visual context of the person's upbringing. This means that an image does not exist on its own but is constructed. What is considered worth noticing or not, what is beautiful or ugly depends on the viewer's interpretation according to his or her visual priming.

Cultural Differences in Visual Priming

Facial recognition of members of other groups is more difficult than facial recognition of members of one's own group; thus, the decoding of information based on facial expressions can be misleading. So might body language: In South Asia and in parts of southeastern Europe, a wobbling of the head is an expression of acceptance, whereas elsewhere it indicates negation. Depending on regional convention, a simple gesture can have a positive or negative meaning: A thumbs-up signal, positively regarded in Europe and North America, is negatively perceived in Asia and the Arab world. Eye movement might also be guided in different directions according to the culture: Arabic scripts are read from right to left; East Asian ones are read from top to bottom and also from right to left. The speed with which image sequences are presented and processed—for example, in a video game or a movie—differs considerably among age-groups and across regions.

Colors and Structures of Images

Color becomes especially important when emotions are involved. And here again, visual expressions tend to be different regionally. In some regions of the world, red is the color signifying strife or fighting. With such visual priming, it might be hard to think of red roses as symbolizing love. The prevalence of specific colors in a natural environment is reflected in a differentiated perception. Although the Eskimos' "fifty words for snow" myth has become the subject of ridicule among linguists, Inuits nevertheless describe what many call the color *white* with many nuances. Green—as the color of an oasis in a desert—in Islamic countries and communities is considered to be a holy color. In Europe today, green (from the color to the political party designation) represents ecological mindfulness. For example, McDonald's uses it—instead of red as in the United States—as the background color behind their logo to promote a more environmentally friendly image.

During the Italian Renaissance, depth in images and the creation of perspectives became important and has remained so ever since. There is a convergence in the central perspective, which is highlighted, and a periphery, which is secondary. The viewer generally focuses on the single central scene that holds the person's attention.

By contrast, icons on a desktop and many non-European images tend not to guide the viewer's attention to the image's central—thus one-dimensional—authoritative message. Chinese paintings often contain voids, which are just as important as the images contained. Instead of a prescribed movement of the eye via a central perspective, the painter leaves space for the viewer's eyes to wander around and interpret the painting. This void leaves space for interpretation or imagination by the viewer.

Spatial Features

Habitats are traditionally divided into spaces for men and spaces for women and children. Changes of women's social roles, especially due to women's participation in industrialized work, opened up spaces that were traditionally reserved for men. Yet even for a highly successful businesswoman traveling around the globe, *glass walls* still prevent her from freely using public space the way men do. While on a business trip, in the evenings, she is more likely to be found on her own in a hotel room, whereas a male colleague would likely feel free to hang out at a bar by himself and to start a conversation with a peer in the same situation.

Perceptions of space are also based on social class and ethnicity. Among the wealthy all over the world, in gated communities, private space is often well protected with high walls or fences and guards to prevent intrusion. In contemporary India, an informal spatial separation based on social lineage (*jati*) still exists. Millions of members of higher castes continue to keep a physical distance from Dalits (once known as untouchables). Some might even avoid crossing the shadow of a Dalit, despite the fact that discrimination based on caste is against India's constitution and affirmative action for this large section of the Indian population has long been established.

In architecture and interior design, space is used in various ways depending on a multitude of factors, such as the religious or social background of the people who are doing the commissioning, and also regional circumstances and needs. This stands in contrast to the ambitions of contemporary cosmopolitan architects who design the same building in Shanghai, Bilbao, Dubai, and New York and proudly declare, "Forget context!"

The Global Flow of Visual Objects

Not only people but also technology, capital, media, and ideas move or are moved around the globe. In many urban neighborhoods, there are now communities of diaspora, where food, clothes, literature, and music from around the world are a part of daily life, making it possible for migrants to emotionally reconnect to the region from where they or their families came. Due to a resourceful way of using technology, diasporic communities can link to the visual traditions of the world they left behind. When they combine these visual images with those of their new environment, hybrid images are created. This dynamic of interweaving different visual priming, however, can also be accompanied by a rejection of the dominant visual culture of the place where the migrants live. As reactions to hybridization, imagined or reinvented so-called native forms of design, apparel, and forms of communication might reappear in various contexts. An example is the use of a head scarf by a second generation of women whose mothers have stopped wearing it.

Practical Implications

The way people construct images on an ongoing basis means that in an intercultural visual context, they are challenged to leave their familiar visual world and allow themselves to be confronted with images from outside their accustomed visual environment. Moreover, visual intercultural communication is always an act of mutually overcoming differences in the construction of images, in which at least two people with different visual biographies are involved.

The ability to bridge the gaps created by different forms of visual priming is central to almost all aspects of contemporary, daily private and professional life. Intercultural and international management and marketing, website presentation, and advertising nowadays require professional cross-cultural visual knowledge and skills, both of which will be even more in demand in the future. To give one example, pictograms used at international locations, like airports, railway stations, tourist sites and hotels, hospitals, highways, and so on, will become more and more important, as will experts who can design internationally decipherable icons.

Present-day customers will hardly be convinced when international brands simply adjust their branding and website designs according to assumptions made about the national visual preferences of their target groups. Nowadays, it would, for example, be naive to place only one person in advertisements in the United States (individualism) and a group of people in Indian ads (community) because this corresponds to attributions of *individualism/collectivism*. The reverse might be more attractive for potential customers; for example, showing a group of people in U.S. ads might subliminally address the desire to overcome isolation. Moreover, customer groups may be composed of highly diverse groups of people and not necessarily structured according to assumed national entities. People are also not at all static entities but are constantly exposed to new influences, which may change their perceptions.

For sustainable visual intercultural communication, sincere interest, precise observation, and personal involvement are thus more important than static national attributions of culture. Above all, the ability to shift perspectives, to overcome the ethnocentric perspective of an outsider, and to learn from unmediated experience with cultural insiders will enhance visual intercultural communication. In conclusion, it would be useful to realize that in visual intercultural communication, there is no one singular world*view* but a plurality of world*views*, and not one direction of looking but always a *gaze back*.

Christiane Hartnack and Karin Schreiner

See also Intercultural Nonverbal Communication; Internet Identity; Media in a Globalized World; Museums; Perceptions; Social Media and Networking

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W

WOMEN IN GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

The subject of women in global leadership is a relatively recently developed topic in U.S. and global management studies. This is partly due to the increased participation of women in the workforce and their ascendance to leadership positions in greater numbers, although they remain a distinct minority. Women in global leadership is often treated as a subset of leadership, management, international, and women's studies. The subject may also be viewed through an integrative lens, incorporating elements of each of the separate disciplines. This mix is complex; however, it is clear that most of today's global women leaders are often pioneers in their domains.

Although women constitute approximately 50% of the global population, they are yet to be directly represented within the world's leadership in commensurate proportion. That said, significant inroads have been made to increase representation by women, and there are men who have also worked to help pave these roads. These pioneers, both men and women, have made a significant difference in how women are viewed. This has occurred in many areas of human achievement.

This entry provides an account of famous women in leadership positions, beginning with Cleopatra through the present-day leaders. Some characteristics of women leaders are discussed, and the entry concludes by highlighting emerging female leaders.

Women have long held leadership roles as monarchs in diverse cultures. Cleopatra (Κλεοπάτρα), the last active Pharaoh of Egypt (69–30 BCE), was of Greek origin and remains a legendary figure nearly two millenniums after her reign. Elizabeth I, Queen of England and Ireland (1558–1603), and Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia (1729–1796), are widely recognized as leaders of golden ages in English and Russian history, respectively. All three were highly influential within and beyond their own countries and would be considered global women leaders in the modern era. Their ascendance to power was due to their family positions, yet each had a distinct influence not only within but also outside their national borders.

Women as National Leaders

Although historically most national rulers have been men, numerous women have also led their countries. Many have emerged from a culture in which women may not have been expected to be leaders. Indira Gandhi, the fourth prime minister of India (1966–1977); Benazir Bhutto, former prime minister of Pakistan (1988–1990, 1993–1996); and Corazón Aquino, former president of the Philippines (1986–1992), are a few examples. All were very capable women and were well equipped for their roles. These women had a history of family political influence that, although not officially sanctioned by bloodline, is similar to that found in monarchies.

Indira Gandhi was the daughter of former prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Benazir Bhutto was the eldest daughter of former president Zulkifar Ali Bhutto, who was hanged after a military coup ousted him from power; she, too, was killed before her time during a campaign attempt for what would have been her third term as prime minister. Corazón Aquino's husband, Benigno, was politically active, with a family legacy in this arena, and was assassinated in 1983, a casualty of martial law under the rule of Ferdinand Marcos. After his death, Corazón became more active in politics, becoming the Philippines' 11th president after the "People Power" revolution in 1986, a marriage between a political dynasty and the masses. These are but a few examples. In many countries, women leaders at high levels often possess strong family connections. While this is also true of men, women have less often had access to this privilege.

It is important to note that this level of privilege was not always necessary. Joan of Arc (Jeanne d'Arc, 1412–1431), of humble origins, is an iconic figure and a Roman Catholic saint, martyred for her role as a military leader in an effort to recover France from English rule during the Hundred Years War; she was captured by the English and burnt at the stake.

More recently, there have been increasing numbers of women leaders who do not fit a pattern of privilege. Among them are Golda Meir, the fourth prime minister of Israel (1969–1974) and Baroness Margaret Thatcher, former prime minister of the United Kingdom (1979–1990). Both women rose from modest backgrounds and have been described as "Iron Lady" in their governing roles, and their records justify this label. Notably, both were well educated, a factor that likely contributed to their success. They both also broke ground for women entering politics in their respective countries.

Other women national leaders have emerged from scientific backgrounds. Gro Harlem Brundtland, the first woman prime minister of Norway (1981, 1986–1989, 1990–1996) was a physician prior to her political career and is a member of the Council of Women World Leaders, a network of current and former women prime ministers and presidents. Germany's chancellor Angela Merkel, (2001–), also a member of the Council of Women World Leaders, had a prior career as a research scientist. Women national leaders are quite diverse, as are other women who lead organizations.

Women as Business and Organizational Leaders

There are several influential women leading both businesses and other organizations, including nongovernmental organizations and nonprofit centers. A classic example in business is The Body Shop, founded by Dame Anita Roddick in the United Kingdom. It is a well-known cosmetics company that has always featured natural products. During her lifetime (1947–2007), Roddick was also active in environmental issues and made a significant impact on the industry by challenging the norms and advocating for limiting or stopping the use of animals in testing the safety of cosmetics. Her influence extended beyond the reach of her company.

Carly Fiorina, chief executive officer of Hewlett-Packard (1999–2005), was controversial at times in her leadership roles, yet she always made a strong impact on the organizations she led and was the first woman to lead a Fortune 20 company. She remains active at this writing on several corporate boards of directors and in political circles.

With a background in technology, Sheryl Sandberg, chief operating officer of Facebook since 2008, has made an impact on the profitability of that company. She has also sought to influence women aspiring to leadership roles with her book *Lean In: Women, Work and the Will to Lead* (2013) and her intentional practices for women to *lean in* to advance their careers and avoid the pitfalls of the corporate world.

Christine Lagarde, a lawyer and the first female managing director of the International Monetary Fund (2011–2016), is another example of a highly regarded woman who has significant influence over global economic issues in organizations throughout the world by virtue of her position. This has not come without controversy, from which neither women nor men in high-level positions are exempt.

Global Women Leaders in Diverse Fields

Global women leaders are found not only in traditional government or organizational structures. Women in the arts and sciences, as well as in other fields, have exercised extensive influence that reaches beyond their areas of expertise, and these women are worthy of recognition. They may be writers, artists, or musicians who have caused people to think differently and have been inspirational. They lead in a different way and with increasing interaction across cultures, and their influence has been felt worldwide.

• Beginning with her classic novel *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* (1969), Maya Angelou arose from humble beginnings in the United States. Her works, translated into many languages, have touched people around the globe.

• Isabel Allende of Chile has also influenced many, often through the exploration of women's lives through her writing. Her background resembles that of some of her earlier female counterparts in the political realm, with connections that were at times advantageous, and not so during times of disfavor, determined by political changes.

• Murasaki Shikibu's *The Tale of Genji* (1021) is a Japanese classic that remains influential nearly 1,000 years after its original publication, giving insight into a traditional culture of aristocracy and courtesans. Widely recognized as the first novel ever published, the work has been the subject of many interpretations for more than 900 years.

• Mother Teresa (1910–1997) was noted for being very influential in helping people, and not only in her adopted home of Kolkata. Her organization remains active in more than 100 countries and continues to help people worldwide.

• The American artist Georgia O'Keeffe (1887–1986), known especially for her work in New Mexico, and Frida Kahlo of Mexico are two women who had a significant influence in visual art, a field long dominated by men. Artists are not usually included in leadership categories; however, they can be very influential in sparking creative thinking. This can be seen in the relatively recent emergence of arts leadership programs in business schools.

• Marie Skłodowska Curie (1867–1934), born in Poland, is recognized for her groundbreaking scientific research on radioactivity. As codiscoverer with her husband Pierre of the elements radium and polonium, she was the first woman to win the Nobel Prize, not once but twice, living up to and exceeding her family's legacy in the sciences.

Women in these diverse areas are rarely recognized as leaders. Perhaps they are known as icons in their respective fields, yet they should be considered leaders because they have broken new ground in ways that had not been seen prior to their work, and they offer different paths to leadership.

Characteristics of Global Women Leaders

Historically, the majority of women leaders worldwide emerged from privileged circumstances. Perhaps the one constant for global women leaders regardless of origin or circumstances is a high level of education. One challenge that women have faced is negotiating their leadership and communication style to fit in male-dominated leadership structures. Cultural perceptions of women in leadership roles vary widely, and to be a global leader, especially in a government or organizational context, a very high level of intercultural sensitivity is important. To some extent, a woman must be chameleon-like in adapting to contextual roles. This is also true for men, but adaptation is more complicated for women given their changing roles in different societies. They must also maintain their leadership role at the same time. Successful global women leaders appear to embrace the challenge of this balancing act and thrive.

It is important to note that women have leadership styles as diverse as men's in both global and domestic contexts. Their country of origin may have an influence on their styles, but they remain quite different depending on their backgrounds and other environmental factors. As with men, each woman leader must determine her own style in the context of both her identity and her environment.

Future Women Global Leaders

Malala Yousafzai, a young woman from a northwestern district in Pakistan, is seen as representing many of the world's future women global leaders. She has fought for education for girls and women in a region where this is not considered a right. Eventually, because of her activism she was targeted for assassination and in 2012 was shot and seriously wounded on her way to school. The incident resulted in international outpouring of support for Yousafzai and her work. She is also the youngest person, at age 17, to have been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, which she received in 2014. Education for girls throughout the world has become a greater priority partly through her efforts and sacrifices.

Throughout history, education has been vitally important for most women leaders. The early female monarchs were all well educated and used this foundation to their advantage. Education has enabled women leaders to stand out in any era, and it continues to be essential for women leaders to emerge in the future.

Allison Gundersen

See also Global Leadership; Global Leadership Development

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Workplace Conflict

Workplace cultural conflict has at least three different varieties. Only one variety relates closely to the conception of *culture* most often described, the learned and shared values, beliefs, and behaviors of a community of interacting people. These communities of interacting people can refer to groups based on nationality, gender, ethnicity, education, class, ability, sexual orientation, religious affiliation, or other differences. Two other conceptions of culture are more specific to the workplace but less conspicuous. Clashes between the professional cultures of different occupations, or the organizational cultures of different departments, and conflicts between the ostensible culture of the organization as a whole and its stakeholders' personal interpretations of that culture are common. For a variety of reasons, they are less commonly treated as forms of workplace cultural conflict. In modern workplaces, where many kinds of employees interrelate, all of these conceptions of culture may be operating at once, and it is easy to misidentify the true source of a problem.

This entry briefly reviews these three types of workplace conflict. Because other entries relate to different forms of culture and the related conflicts, the primary focus here will be on varieties of workplace conflict that may not be so well described, or so easily analogized, elsewhere.

Workplace Conflict Between Cultures, Traditionally Defined

The workplace provides various opportunities for cultural conflict defined along classical lines—based on religious or ethnic differences, and so on. Gender is also increasingly viewed as a culture in the workplace and as a pervasive element in all kinds of relationships and conflicts.

Especially in the United States, people commonly think of workplace cultural conflict in terms of legal rights to be free of discrimination based on race, gender, age, and other specific factors. Historically, such discrimination was both widespread and quite obvious. More recently, typical workplaces have evolved. While discrimination and its consequent conflicts persist, the forms have changed, in ways that make it more difficult to prove—and also difficult for members of the majority culture in each workplace to even perceive the existence of continuing discrimination. One result is that when discrimination cases are taken to trial, they have a success rate of not much more than 1%, giving many organizations a false sense that there is not much of a problem.

At the same time, many organizations now recognize the potential for conflicts based on microaggressions to interfere with productivity. Other issues that do not rise to the level of a legal case can make work life miserable for many employees. Formal programs to address interpersonal conflict in the workplace, including cultural conflict, are now common. Whether they are capable of effectively addressing the more subtle types of exclusion is much debated. A more thorough discussion of many of the likely elements of such conflicts and programs will be found in other entries on religious, ethnic, and related topics. Indeed, many of the examples of intercultural conflict commonly described derive from workplace environments.

A conflict that appears on the surface to be based on ethnic, religious, gender, or other cultural differences may actually be based on something else, a fact frequently unrecognized even by the participants. The obviousness of racial or religious difference can even mask rather than reveal what is going on. Similarly, an understanding of these other varieties of workplace cultural conflict can help participants understand what is happening and what might be done in situations where no one is even thinking in cultural terms because all the conflicting parties seem to come from similar backgrounds.

Professional and Occupational Cultures

Most organizations of all sizes include workers of different educational levels, different aspirations, and quite different training. Each of these can be an aspect of a person's identity, along with other cultural influences, such as ethnic or religious makeup. In classical labor relations terms, an obvious dichotomy can be described as the difference between the culture of labor and the culture of management; but modern workplaces are often far more complex than that. A ready example is the famous U.S.-syndicated cartoon series *Dilbert*. This popular depiction of the day-by-day, ongoing conflict between the culture of a company's engineers and that of its management hints at an enduring organizational reality. The conflicts exist for a reason.

Often, the reason is that the conflict actually serves some kind of unacknowledged organizational purpose. In this case, the purpose is that the self-image and career progression of the engineers depend on maintaining a rigorous approach to the quality and efficacy of what are seen fundamentally as engineering solutions. The careers and self-image of the managers are based on very different criteria, hinging on sales or market share in a quite short-term calculation.

Similarly, a classic complaint of lawyers is that clients call them too late. In cultural terms, this is most interesting when raised by in-house corporate counsel (i.e., lawyers who work directly within a company's management structure). Routinely, they are heard to say that managers within the company tend not to call them in at a time when they could readily help a new venture or change a management policy to avoid trouble in the future. Instead, even when the lawyer works right down the hall, he or she might not find out about the issue until the trouble has already happened. Why? Both parties are in the same corporate culture, but there is an occupational culture difference. Lawyers are trained to look for possible trouble in the future and try to avert it, often by nailing down every detail in complicated, hard-to-understand, and legalistic contract clauses. Managers who are trying to close a deal, meanwhile, may be trained in the values of bonhomie, flexibility, creativity, and speed of execution. A cultural clash is entirely predictable. But when a deal or other move is pending, managers often hold that information "close to the vest," so they can easily avoid a clash by withholding the information even from their lawyers. Anyone who has studied actual disputes between organizations has seen the result. Evidently, lawyers' protestations that they are "only trying to help" and that they "understand fully well the need to run a business on businesslike principles" are often not enough to get them in the door at the right moment.

The Organization: Stated Culture Versus Actual Culture(s)

The third major kind of workplace cultural conflict is even less obvious, but it is pervasive. Organizations of many kinds feel a need to state what they are about—in other words, to define their organizational culture through mission or vision statements. Often, this is part of a top-down strategic planning exercise, and the management committee charged with it may agonize over exactly how to describe the core values of the organization.

The difficulties of actually describing something as subtle as an organizational culture, together with the possibility that an executive's ego may be involved, can produce a certain sameness between the self-descriptions of very different organizations, combined with a degree of drift from what an informed outside observer might call its culture.

It is worth emphasizing that in a workplace, the people who are insensitive to cultural differences and the people who are sensitive to them have, paradoxically, one thing in common: They are likely to *ascribe* conflict to cultural differences between those in conflict, even while they are likely to *describe* it in quite different terms. This tendency occurs in both groups because differences such as gender, age, and ethnicity may seem somewhat obvious, while other factors that may really be more responsible for the conflict are often obscure.

Recent writing has started to focus more on this, analogizing workplace conflict to far more complex and self-sustaining conflict environments than it traditionally has. Howard Gadlin uses the example of two disputing managers, a Jewish woman and a Muslim man. Both were scientists, and each headed a branch of a high-level government scientific organization. The two branches had to work closely together; the ongoing conflict between the two chiefs was affecting the work of both branches. Higher management called in Gadlin as a mediator, under the impression that the religious and gender differences between the parties were the major factors.

The protagonists, queried in detail by the mediator, certainly raised sharp criticisms of each other's work and style. But neither seemed particularly bothered by the ethnic or gender difference as such. It gradually became apparent that their conflict arose largely because of differences in style combined with two other factors: (1) the lack of any process for branch chiefs to get together and examine critically what could be done to improve processes all round and (2) a lack of critical feedback from above—even though annual feedback was, in theory, required. A previous analysis by Gadlin and his colleagues suggested, also in terms consistent with this conception of workplace culture, why the upper-level managers might be avoiding this requirement.

This example shows a science-driven organization, with ostensibly clear lines of authority, neither using basic scientific method in its management nor exercising the formal command-and-control structure it claimed to run by. Viewing this as a form of conflict between the organization's stated culture and its actual culture helped make the discussion more productive, suggesting solutions that did not demonize any of the participants—both of whom evidently felt constrained by elements of the culture as it really operated. Reframing this particular dispute did not eliminate it completely; the past history and the differences in style could not be entirely overcome. But the reframing allowed the protagonists to see their personal relationship as less important.

Analyzing unexpected similarities between workplaces and very different environments, such as city politics in South America and peacekeeping in the Balkans, helped Gadlin and his coauthors identify some useful principles. As applied to workplaces in particular, these included the concept that workplaces are *systems* that routinely contain tensions, problems, or conflicts that are not openly identified and that may be triggered by some feature or process elsewhere in the system that contributes to the system's stability and continuity.

One implication is that workplace conflict may be far more complex than it first seems to be. More specifically, when someone first describes a conflict in a workplace as cultural, it may be advisable to try all three of the varieties described here as possible screens. The result may reveal that the true sources of the conflict, and the most promising options for resolving it, may not be even close to what the protagonists or their managers first thought.

Christopher Honeyman

See also Dimensions of Diversity; Diversity and Inclusion, Definitions of; Gender as Culture; Human Resource Management; Identity; Trust

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World Englishes

The term *World Englishes* refers to the many varieties of the English language that have been developed and used across the globe. English is now spoken by about 2 billion people in more than 70 countries and territories, either as their first, their second, or a foreign language. In countries where English is used as a second language, it has an official status in areas such as government, law, and education. In countries where English is spoken as a foreign language, it is mainly used as a means of communication with foreigners and for international communication with people from other countries.

It is now widely recognized that international and intercultural communication in English involves, in many cases, the use of English by speakers of different varieties of English. Naturally, intercultural competence that supports successful international/intercultural communication requires awareness of at least a certain degree of linguistic and cultural-conceptual variation across World Englishes. This entry presents a brief introduction to the term *World Englishes* and discusses the relevance of World Englishes to intercultural competence.

The study of World Englishes, and the coinage of the term itself, is predominantly associated with the name of Braj Kachru, a distinguished linguist from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Kachru developed a model of concentric circles to categorize varieties of English in terms of their status, their function, and their spread across the globe. He used the term *Inner Circle* to refer to countries where English is the first language of the majority, such as the United States, Britain, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. The second term in this model is *Outer Circle*, which captures countries where English plays an important, and often an official, role, such as the former colonies of England and the United States. This circle includes countries such as India, Malaysia, Singapore, and Ghana. Kachru used the term *Expanding Circle* to refer to countries and territories where English is used as a foreign language, such as China, Japan, and Korea. In terms of spread, English has been associated with two types of diasporas. The first diaspora involved large-scale migrations of speakers from the United Kingdom to North America, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. The second diaspora resulted from the colonization of Asia and Africa, leading to the development of several Outer Circle varieties of English, such as African varieties of English (Cameroon English, Ghanaian English) and the varieties of English in South and Southeast Asia (Malaysian English, Indian English).

The varieties of English associated with Inner Circle countries are viewed as *norm providing*, whereas those used in Expanding Circle countries are viewed as *norm dependent*. This is because the varieties in the Inner Circle have traditionally provided the norms of language use in English for those in the Expanding Circle. The varieties of English in the Outer Circle countries are viewed as *norm developing* as they have developed their own norms. Studies of the sociolinguistic, sociopolitical, and educational aspects of the varieties of English in this circle are referred to as the paradigm of World Englishes. The academic outlet for publishing such studies is the journal of *World Englishes*, which is the official journal of the International Association for World Englishes.

In more recent years, the concentric model discussed above has been revisited in terms of the changes that have characterized the English language in recent decades. For example, it is argued that the cross-national mobility of speakers now makes it difficult to associate only one variety with one nation. That is, migrants and migrant workers bring their varieties of English to their new countries, for example, to Inner Circle countries, and thus countries that host migrants are now home to many varieties of English. For example, many people in the United States speak Indian English, Chinese English, and so on. Also, some Expanding Circle countries, such as China, are now developing their own varieties of English and increasingly rely less on Inner Circle countries for their norms of the use of English.

In recent years, studies of World Englishes have received significant attention from scholars interested in exploring intercultural communication. Traditionally, intercultural communication in English was predominantly viewed as occurring between native and non-native speakers of English, where non-native speakers would need to learn the norms of language use that characterized native speakers, often considered to be a homogeneous speech community. However, in recent decades, demographers of English have pointed out that more than 80% of communication in English is between non-native speakers of the language. Many of these speakers use varieties of English that would have traditionally been classified as Outer Circle and Expanding Circle varieties. Thus, it is now becoming increasingly recognized that intercultural communication in English is in many cases *communication across World Englishes*. It is also becoming apparent that successful intercultural communication in English requires skills that would enable speakers to negotiate intercultural meanings using different varieties of English. For example, speakers living in multivarietal societies, such as the United States, Britain, and Canada, would need to be equipped with receptive competence in more than one variety of English as part of their intercultural competence. It is to be noted that the use of the new technology for international and intercultural communication has also brought World Englishes closer to one another, which again makes awareness of the variation of norms across World Englishes more relevant to the notion of intercultural competence.

Farzad Sharifian

See also English as a Lingua Franca; Linguaculture; Multilingualism

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Worldview

Worldview, or *Weltanschauung* in German, is the basic cognitive or mental orientation of a culture. Early appearance of the term occurred in the 18th and 19th centuries in the work of philosophers like Immanuel Kant and social scientists like Wilhelm Dilthey. By the 20th century, the expression gained currency in English and among anthropologists such as Robert Redfield. It is a composite concept applied to a designated culture group, but it is textured with the numerous individual expressions of those involved in research, work, and travels. A simple definition of *worldview* suggests that group beliefs, values, and norms constitute a culture and that this culture constructs a framework for dealing with the information and experiences an individual encounters. This entry examines the elements that form a culture's worldview, illustrated by examples that show how to apply these ideas to develop competency in intercultural exchanges in fields such as healthcare and education. A discussion of the relationship of language and worldview follows. The entry concludes with a consideration of outcomes in worldview encounters.

The Relationship of Worldview to Intercultural Competence

The 2014 Portland, Oregon, International Film Festival had a logo in which the world *globe* formed the pupil and iris of a human eye. As the person blinked, the globe spun, revealing all of the continents. The concept of worldview does not suggest that an individual merely stare out from the static filter of a personal framework. Movement is implied. In other words, there is a need to go beyond simply listing the traits that make up another culture. Like that spinning globe, the interculturalist adopts a dynamic approach to explore the beliefs of others. Just as those rotating continents go by, the intercultural explorer compares these discoveries among cultures to enhance present and future interactions. This new knowledge can also be employed to reflect on the individual's own belief system, accompanied by encounter, comparison, and self-reflection. This may include expanding the capacity to better predict the outcome of encounters with others. Reviewing the anticipated and unanticipated consequences of these interactions also provides the possibility of mitigating potential conflicts.

One benefit of the concept of worldview is that it allows an examination of an individual's culture and its rules. Another benefit is that there can be movement beyond the dualism of "us and them" to consider multiple other ways of conceiving and coping with the world.

Consider the stresses and conflicts that can arise in the field of healthcare. In the stage of diagnosis, is the condition designated only as negative or as something sent by the spirit world conferring special status? Is the cause something invisible to the nurse or doctor unless special technologies are used and, thus, more difficult to imagine for the patient's family? Is the nurse allowed to withdraw fluids from the patient for testing, or is this viewed as diminishing the patient? Can the family leave the patient alone in a culture that is more group oriented and where the belief exists that malevolent forces might beset the compromised patient? If the understanding of time differs among cultures, is the administration of medicine in one large dose by the family rather than at specific times per day a form of abuse?

Elements of Worldview

The Self

Where does the self begin, and where does it end? Is it at the fingertips or the tip of the nose? Think of those whose injury results in a loss of a limb. Do they feel themselves to be whole after such events? How does the view of technology affect the view of prosthetics and the self? The individual is given prominence over the group or collective in some cultures. In the United States, unique names and spellings are common for newborns. In other cultures, adults may not be forthcoming in providing such names. The important thing is your relationship to the group. Being the older sister or younger uncle is the desired referent. Each of these cultural values has consequences for a healthcare worker trying to document the provision of services and vaccines, for example.

Another example illustrates the possible impact of a group-oriented worldview in educational settings. The importance of saving face and protecting the group's reputation can lead to a situation that appears to be cheating to someone with a more individualistic worldview. As English language exam papers are distributed to a class, all of them are systematically passed to the best student to fill out under the amazed gaze of the teacher, who is from a different culture. Given the teacher's individualistic view, such behavior is seen as an obstacle to the advancement of each student. For the group, this outcome means that all look smart since no one fails, and the government official who placed the students in this class is not embarrassed. The teacher can assume that all the class members came from the area adjacent to the official's home village.

The Other

The category of *others* forms an element of the worldview. Whom does an individual include as those outside of the self? Cultural misunderstanding can arise concerning those related by genetics in a group culture and those categorized as friends. The aid worker in another culture may assume a very close relationship with a colleague from the local area. However, at a time of crisis, the colleague's behavior may be completely unanticipated when the person's loyalty to kin supersedes ties to even the closest of friends.

Another example relates to negotiating peace during a conflict. Those seeking to make international peace may look at the local geography and the concept of the *other* very differently from the local population. The local residents may see the world as family first, then clan, followed by tribe, village, valley, and region, and only last, if at all, the nation and its interests.

Gender

The category of gender and the perceived appropriate roles for men and women constitute a third element. Current debates in the United States over compensation and equal pay and access to certain jobs reveal wide differences across cultures. Some of these are related to the spatial dimension, to be discussed later in the entry. Should men control public spaces and women have domain over private spaces? The United States moved through dramatic changes in the 19th and 20th centuries with respect to the rights of women to property, to a place in the lives of their children, and to vote. Although women compose slightly more than half of the U.S. population, the percentage of women serving in the U.S. Congress today is about 20, compared with 40 in the Scandinavian countries.

Invisible Entities

In a given culture, the category of invisible entities may include gravity and cosmic black holes, or spirits and spiritual beings. Current astrophysicists speak of gravity holding humans on the earth, traveling around a sun, traveling within a galaxy, and traveling within a universe or perhaps multiple universes. Constant motion is the case for those who seem to be standing still or in past generations at the very center of a static system. On the other hand, in the worldview that includes the spirit domain, ghosts and evil spirits are an integrated part of everyday life, with shamans or medicine men readily available to counter black magic.

Animals

Cultures approach the animal world and nature quite differently. Is the cow, pig, dog, horse, or insect edible? How should it be properly killed if suitable for food? Anthropologist Marvin Harris offers explanations for the culinary practices of various cultures from an ecological theoretical base.

Birth and Death

Views on birth and death vary widely, from one life to lives in a multiple cycle of births and deaths facing an individual's essence. The distinction of human and person illuminates some of the differences across cultures. Some might not deem all births as human. This may be a means of explaining neonates that appear with quite abnormal features. A birth may not necessarily result in an immediate assignment of personhood. In cultures with high infant mortality rates, designation as a person may not be assigned until survival is evident.

Temporal and Spatial Orientation

In his life work, Edward T. Hall eloquently discussed two of the most intriguing components making up a worldview: temporal orientation and spatial orientation. Misunderstandings may arise when an agriculturalist who is event oriented makes a plan to meet an aid worker in the village. The farmer rises, stirs the fire, feeds the animals, eats breakfast, and walks to the village. The aid worker in the village, who is chronologically or clock oriented, waits impatiently at the appointed hour. Fifteen minutes pass, then 30, and eventually, the aid worker concludes that the farmer does not value the worker's time and thus departs. The farmer arrives and wonders why the aid worker is so unreliable. Event versus chronological orientation can create conflicts as well for the staff and residents in domestic senior care facilities. The care provider may need to wake and prepare six residents in the morning for breakfast with 10 minutes allotted to each. Senior residents may feel that each day threatens an even greater loss of autonomy. To exercise a degree of power, the seniors may express event orientation and refuse assistance. They may suggest that another resident be prepared first.

Proxemics, the study of the use of space, varies across cultures. Part of the worldview of any culture includes recognition of the appropriate distances for private and public encounters. The cultural uses of space offer important insights into the ontology of a given group. For example, the different uses of space as expressed in a formal English garden in contrast to a traditional Japanese garden can provide the knowledgeable observer with insights into the worldview of each culture.

Other Elements of Worldview

The list above is not meant to be exhaustive. Cultures may be described in terms of a wide variety of values, beliefs, and assumptions that constitute the worldview of the group. Culturally influenced styles of communication, conflict resolution, cognitive processing, and decision making affect the worldview. Assumptions, those taken-for-granted beliefs, constitute a powerful influence as part of a worldview, particularly when they are out of awareness. For instance, the U.S. American assumption that each individual has agency and can take actions that matter is hardly universal across the globe, where contrasting worldviews assume that personal agency is irrelevant in the face of fate.

Terminology Associated With Worldview

Ontology

Is this just a matter of seeing the world differently? A fundamental question is whether this is a case of labeling the same given world with a variety of terms by separate cultures or whether the world being labeled is fundamentally different for each culture.

The term *ontology* is defined as the study of reality. If a person studies yoga, then that individual might inquire after the physical benefits of the practice. However, if the person included questions of ontology, greater insights may be gained about the geography of the body that differ vastly from one worldview to another.

Epistemology

To seek out another's worldview is to confront the question of what constitutes knowledge about the ideas of others. For the positivist, the world is filled with facts to collect. These can be gathered and assembled for use in testing causal relationships. This involves the five senses (sight, smell, touch, hearing, and taste) as methods for this collection. For the phenomenologist, knowledge comes from the exchange between two persons as they create joint meaning. That interplay is necessary for the knowledge to form. Additional sources of knowledge operate in our quest to understand others. For instance, intuition is a sense beyond the usual five. This may be a mother's sudden concern for the health of a child when nothing appears medically amiss. Another source of knowledge is common sense, which presents the investigator with shared "common" knowledge. Such common sense is relative, however, and often appears in the form of proverbs. The adages *Look before you leap* and *Those who hesitate are lost* both offer sage advice but might come from the same person exiting the casino depending on his or her earlier success or failure within. Logic offers a source of knowledge, and authority is one of the most frequently used sources. If you are not an astronaut, you rely on astronomers and the scientists at NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration) for information about the distances to stars and the composition of planets. Faith and revelation provide a source of knowledge for some, but these are outside the domain of forming a scientific basis for knowledge.

Cosmology

This term refers to the origins and characteristics of the universe. These may be explained in the form of epic stories and sacred myths or at scientific conferences focusing on the Big Bang.

Language and Worldview

The knowledge of others comes from observation of both verbal and nonverbal behavior. The beliefs, values, and norms of a culture can be revealed in words and pauses and moments of silence. Benjamin Whorf and Edward Sapir, on the basis of studies with the Hopi, are associated with the view that language shapes worldview. For example, this position argues that those without a future tense in their language have a very different temporal orientation. The counterpoint to this is that cultures with very similar languages do not always change at the same rate. Additionally, a given culture may change much more rapidly than its language. A modified approach to this discussion has emerged that contends that worldview is influenced rather than determined by language.

Worldview Encounters

When cultures with vastly different worldviews meet, a number of possible outcomes arise. If the power relationship is extremely uneven, the contact may lead to complete assimilation. A second possibility is the modest exchange of some portion of the two worldviews, symbolized by overlapping circles as in a Venn diagram. A third outcome follows a dialectical model in which the two meet but what emerges is a new entity exhibiting combined elements. A fourth option is the double-swing or Mobius strip–like model. Muneo Yoshikawa describes such cultural exchanges in his work, which maintains the integrity of each, provides a means for benefits to accrue to each, and bases this dynamic interplay on empathy.

Michael Osmera

See also Beliefs, Values, Norms, Customs (Definitions); Cross-Cultural Communication; Developing an Intercultural Vision; Double-Swing Model; Intercultural Communication and Language; Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis

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Appendix A
Selected Readings on Intercultural Relations

This bibliography is divided into six sections:

1. Education in U.S. Domestic and International Contexts
2. Global Business
3. Diversity and Inclusion in Organizations
4. Multicultural/Virtual Teams
5. Culture and Conflict Resolution
6. General Intercultural

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Appendix B Professional Associations and Organizations

The following is a listing of professional associations and organizations that focus on intercultural relations or that have a major division that addresses that topic. Most have periodical publications, annual conferences, and other services.

America-Mideast Educational & Training Services, Inc. (AMIDEAST)

AMIDEAST is an organization engaged in international education, training, and development activities in the Middle East and North Africa. For more information, see http://www.amideast.org.

American Council on Education (ACE)

The ACE is a national umbrella higher education association that serves as a forum for the discussion of major issues related to higher education. For more information, see www.acenet.edu.

American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL)

The ACTFL is a national organization representing teachers of languages at all education levels. For more information, see www.actfl.org.

American Counseling Association (ACA)

ACA is a national organization of mental health professionals, which has various organizations addressing specific areas: for example, Association for Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Issues in Counseling (AGLBIC); Association for Multicultural Counseling and Development (AMCD); and Counselors for Social Justice (CSJ). For more information, see www.counseling.org.

American Field Service (AFS)

AFS is an international, voluntary, nongovernmental, nonprofit organization that provides intercultural learning opportunities. For more information, see www.afs.org.

American Forum for Global Education—"The American Forum" (TAF)

TAF is a private, nonprofit organization serving as a forum for the exchange of ideas about the directions of global education. For more information, see www.globaled.org.

American Society for Training and Development (ASTD)

ASTD is a 70,000-member professional association in the field of workplace learning and performance. For more information, see www.astd.org.

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL)

ADL is the world's leading organization fighting anti-Semitism through programs and services that counteract hatred, prejudice, and bigotry. For more information, see www.adl.org.

Arab West Foundation

The Arab West Foundation aims to encourage and promote tolerance, understanding, and dialogue between Muslim and non-Muslim communities and societies, as well as between the Arab and Western worlds. For more information, see http://www.arabwestfoundation.com.

Asia Society

The Asia Society is one of the leading institutions in the United States dedicated to fostering an understanding of Asia, and communication between Americans and the peoples of Asia and the Pacific. For more information, see www.asiasociety.org.

Association for Asian Studies (AAS)

The AAS is the largest society of its kind in the world—a scholarly, nonpolitical, nonprofit, professional association open to all persons interested in Asia. For more information, see www.aasianst.org.

Association for International Education Administrators (AIEA)

AIEA members are institutional leaders engaged in advancing the international dimensions of higher education. For more information, see http://www.aieaworld.org.

Association for International Practical Training (AIPT)

The AIPT arranges overseas training in 46 countries for undergraduate and graduate students who specialize in engineering, architecture, math, science, computer science, hospitality, tourism, and agriculture. Fluency in the host country's language is preferred. For more information, see www.aipt.org.

Association of American Colleges & Universities (AACU)

The mission of the AACU is to make liberal education and inclusive excellence the foundation for institutional purpose and educational practice in higher education. For more information, see https://www.aacu.org.

Association of Black Psychologists (ABPsi)

The ABPsi is an international resource for addressing the psychological needs of African people in the diaspora. For more information, see www.abpsi.org.

Association of International Educators (NAFSA)

NAFSA is a professional organization for those who promote and manage the exchange of students and scholars to and from the United States and engage in international education activities. For more information, see www.nafsa.org.

Australian Intercultural Society (AIS)

AIS has been operating in Melbourne since 2000 with the aims of promoting multiculturalism and fostering intercultural and interfaith dialogue. It provides a platform for cultural and information exchange. For more information, see http://www.intercultural.org.au.

Business Association of Latin American Studies (BALAS)

BALAS is the first international business and economics professional association to focus exclusively on the study of economics, management, leadership, and industry in Latin America and the Caribbean. For more information, see www.balas.org.

Center for Creative Leadership (CCL)

The CCL is an international, nonprofit educational institution committed to enhancing the understanding and effectiveness of leadership in an increasingly complex and demanding world. For more information, see www.ccl.org.

China Institute in America

China Institute in America is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, educational and cultural institution promoting the understanding of China's civilization, culture, history, and current affairs. For more information, see www.chinainstitute.org.

The Forum on Education Abroad

The Forum is a global membership association whose exclusive purpose is to serve the field of education abroad. It was created by experts in the field specifically to meet the needs of the profession. For more information, see www.forumea.org.

Gay, Lesbian & Straight Education Network (GLSEN)

GLSEN is the largest national organization bringing together teachers, parents, students, and concerned citizens to work together to end homophobia in schools. For more information, see www.glsen.org.

Independent Scholars of Asia (ISA)

ISA is an organization dedicated to making the expertise of scholars of Asia available to the public. It also publishes a quarterly newsletter. For more information, see www.shamanismconference.org/index.php.

Intercultural Development Research Association (IDRA)

IDRA is an independent, nonprofit organization that is dedicated to ensuring educational opportunity for every child. For more information, see http://www.idra.org.

International Academy of Intercultural Research (IAIR)

The aim of the IAIR is to provide a forum where senior intercultural researchers, academics, and trainers can exchange ideas, theories, research, and successful training approaches. All disciplines are welcome in the academy. For more information, see www.intercultural-academy.net/.

International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP)

The IACCP has a membership of more than 800 persons in more than 65 countries. It aims to facilitate communication among persons interested in a diverse range of issues involving the intersection of culture and psychology. For more information, see http://iaccp.org.

International Association for Intercultural Education (IAIE)

The IAIE brings together professional educators interested in diversity and equity issues in education. For more information, see http://www.iaie.org.

International Association for Translation and Intercultural Studies (IATIS)

The IATIS is a worldwide forum designed to enable scholars from different regional and disciplinary backgrounds to debate issues relating to translation and other forms of intercultural communication. For more information, see https://www.iatis.org/index.php.

International Association of Universities (IAU)

The IAU is the UNESCO-based worldwide association of higher education institutions. It brings together institutions and organizations from some 120 countries for reflection and action on common concerns and collaborates with various international, regional, and national bodies active in higher education. For more information, see http://www.iau-aiu.net.

International Communication Association (ICA)

One of the ICA's primary goals is to promote the exchange of knowledge among scholars studying communication across cultures. For more information, see www.icahdq.org.

International Federation of Training & Development Organisations, Ltd. (IFTDO)

The IFTDO is a worldwide network committed to identifying, developing, and transferring knowledge, skills, and technology to enhance personal and organizational growth, human performance, productivity, and sustainable development. For more information, see http://www.iftdo.net.

The International Schools Association (ISA)

The ISA works to supply teachers to outlying areas where recruitment is difficult. For more information, see www.isaschools.org.

International Society for Performance Improvement (ISPI)

The ISPI is an international association dedicated to improving human production and performance in the workplace. Its international membership base represents more than 40 countries, with more than 10,000 chapters in the United States and internationally. It seeks to develop quality workplace improvements in systematic and reproducible ways. For more information, see www.ispi.org.

International Studies Association (ISA)

The ISA sponsors an annual convention as well as regional and sectional meetings. It also holds world assemblies of international studies. For more information, see www.isanet.org.

International Union of Psychological Science (IUPsyS)

The mission of the IUPsyS is the development, representation, and advancement of psychology as a basic and applied science nationally, regionally, and internationally. For more information, see www.iupsys.net.

Latin American Studies Association (LASA)

The LASA is an international educational organization whose members are professionals of various disciplines engaged in the study of Latin America. Its membership numbers more than 4,800, at least 25% of whom live outside the United States. For more information, see http://lasa.international.pitt.edu.

League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)

The LULAC is the largest and oldest Hispanic organization in the United States. It advances the economic condition, educational attainment, political influence, health, and civil rights of Hispanic Americans through community-based programs operating at more than 700 LULAC councils nationwide. The organization involves and serves all Hispanic nationality groups. For more information, see http://lulac.org.

Meridian International Center

Meridian International Center is a private, nonprofit, educational institution committed to cross-cultural research, training, consulting, publications, business, development, and student exchange. For more information, see www.meridian.org.

National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE)

The NABE is the only national organization exclusively concerned with the education of language-minority students in American schools. For more information, see www.nabe.org.

National Association for Multicultural Education (NAME)

The NAME brings together individuals and groups with an interest in multicultural education from all levels of education, different academic disciplines, and diverse educational institutions and occupations. For more information, see www.nameorg.org.

National Association of Japan-America Societies (NAJAS)

The NAJAS is a private, nonprofit organization offering educational, cultural, and business programs about U.S.–Japan relations. For more information, see www.us-japan.org.

National Communication Association (NCA)

NCA is a nonprofit organization with a mission to promote the study, criticism, research, teaching, and application of the artistic, humanistic, and scientific principles of communication. For more information, see www.natcom.org.

National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS)

NCSS is the largest association in the United States devoted to social studies education, with members in all 50 states and in 69 countries worldwide. For more information, see www.ncss.org and www.socialstudies.org.

National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations

The National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations is an educational organization dedicated to improving

American knowledge and understanding of the Arab world. For more information, see http://ncusar.org.

National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF)

The NGLTF is a leading progressive civil rights organization that supports grassroots organizing and advocacy for issues related to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender rights. For more information, see www.ngltf.org.

Organizational Development Network (OD-NET)

The OD-NET is an association of organizational development practitioners representing a range of professional roles in a wide variety of organizations. For more information, see www.odnetwork.org.

Society for Human Resource Management (SHRM)

SHRM is the leading voice of the human resource profession, representing the interests of more than 95,000 professional and student members from around the world. For more information, see www.shrm.org.

Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research—Europe (SIETAR Europa)

SIETAR is Europe's largest association of interculturalists and is part of the worldwide SIETAR network. For more information, see www.sietar-europa.org (this website contains links to most SIETAR Europa chapter sites).

Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research—Japan (SIETAR Japan)

The purpose of SIETAR Japan is to foster international and intercultural communication and cooperation through the promotion of intercultural education, training, and research in Japan. For more information, see www.sietar-japan.org.

Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research—USA (SIETAR USA)

SIETAR USA is a point of connection for people who explore differences on many levels; engage in cutting-edge research related to the cultural dimensions of interactions between and among individuals, organizations, and political entities; continually search for and provide avenues to effective relations across cultures; and work with students and others to expand worldviews and build skills for successful interactions in intercultural arenas. For more information, see www.sietarusa.org.

Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research—Young SIETAR

Young SIETAR is an organization for people under 30. Young SIETAR is an international association that combines the efforts of students and young professionals from a wide range of practical and academic disciplines who share a common concern for intercultural relations. For more information, see www.youngsietar.org.

Society for International Development (SID)

SID is a global network of individuals and institutions concerned with pluralistic, participative, and sustainable international development. For more information, see www.sidw.org.

Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)

TESOL is an organization dedicated to developing the expertise of its members and others involved in teaching English to speakers of other languages. For more information, see www.tesol.org.

World Education, Inc.

World Education is a private, nonprofit organization committed to cross-cultural education, consulting, publications, and development, as well as assisting refugees. Language fluency and an advanced degree with field experience in a developing country are required for training and consulting positions. For more information, see www.worlded.org.

Youth For Understanding (YFU) USA

YFU is a nonprofit, educational organization that offers opportunities for young people around the world to spend a summer, semester, or year with a host family in a culture different from their own. For more information, see www.yfu.org.

Appendix C
Intercultural Timeline

The Intercultural Timeline lists chronologically some of the significant landmarks in the nascent field of intercultural relations. Because of the wide variety of disciplines that influenced the development of the field, the chronology is limited to events that illustrate the growth in intercultural communication and training over the last seven decades. For those interested in the origins of the field, this brief and admittedly incomplete timeline provides an introduction to this material.

The 1940s and 1950s: The Decades of Early Interdisciplinary Explorations

1930–1940s The seeds of intercultural communication were planted in the work of Margaret Mead and the Institute for Intercultural Studies, whose assumptions, terminology, and research were the predecessors of intercultural work.

1946 The American Graduate School of International Management (Thunderbird) was founded.

1948 The National Association of Foreign Student Advisers (NAFSA) was founded in 1948 to promote professional development for academic officials in international education. It is now called NAFSA: Association for International Educators (thus retaining the acronym).

1932–1951 International educational programs grew as travel became easier and global curiosity increased. International exchange and study programs abroad proliferated (Council for International Educational Exchange, 1947; American Field Service, 1947; Experiment in International Living, 1932; Institute of International Education, 1932; 4-H Youth Exchange, 1948; Youth for Understanding, 1951).

1951 Anthropologist Cora DuBois is often credited with coining the term *culture shock* in her presentations.

1954 Standard Vacuum Oil Company established the first documented in-house training program for employees in Indonesia.

1954 Gordon Allport published the now-classic text *The Nature of Prejudice*.

1955 Sverre Lysgaard first identified the U-curve of cultural adjustment, which was later extended by Gullahorn and Gullahorn's W-curve in 1963.

1955 Anthropologist Edward T. Hall became the director of the U.S. State Department's Point IV Training Program at the Foreign Service Institute. Along with George L. Trager and Raymond Birdwhistle, he developed a culture-learning program for foreign service officers that emphasized, for the first time, experiential training techniques for intercultural learning. In 1956, Hall wrote *Orientation and Training in Government for Work Overseas*. Hall was attempting to extend the purview of anthropology into intercultural interactions.

1958 Kalvero Oberg initially discussed culture shock in 1958 at the Foreign Service Institute; he published "Culture Shock: Adjustments to New Cultural Environments" in 1960.

1958 The Business Council for International Understanding (BCIU) was founded to provide training for the corporate world.

1959 Edward T. Hall's first book on intercultural communication, titled *The Silent Language,* outlined, for the first time, the impact of nonverbal communication on intercultural communication. This book and his article "The Anthropology of Manners" in *Scientific American* (1955) offered a new model for experiential intercultural training. Edward T. Hall is often called the father of the field of intercultural communication.

The 1960s: Decade of Identifying and Addressing Intercultural Needs

1960s Washington International Center was established; it is now called Meridian House International. Created to enhance global leadership, the center works with governments, NGOs, and corporations to offer programs.

1960 Communication scholars began organizing university courses and programs in intercultural communication, wrote books and articles, and joined specialized academic organizations.

1960 The East-West Center was developed at the University of Hawaii to promote intercultural relations in the Pacific and Asia.

1961 The Peace Corps was created, inspired by the vision of John F. Kennedy, and many young people joined to work overseas in a host country. Initial training was conducted at universities in the United States. Many of the past and present leaders in the intercultural field emerged from the Peace Corps.

1961 Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck wrote their seminal work *Variations in Value Orientations*, a model still recognized as a pioneering explanation of value structures and a process for cultural comparison and contrast.

1962 Everett Rogers published *Diffusion of Innovations*, a useful review of research and models for intercultural change agents. It is now in its fifth edition.

1962–1966 Edward Stewart, Jack Danielian, Robert Foster, and (later) Alfred Kraemer conducted a project at the Human Resources Research Organization (HumRRO) at George Washington University, which led to the development of the Contrast-American Training Model, sometimes known as *Mr. Khan*.

1962 Dean C. Barnlund wrote a seminal theoretical article titled "Toward a Meaning-Centered Philosophy of Communication" in which he provided a conceptual perspective on meaning making.

1964 The Experiment in International Living (now called World Learning) created the School for International Training (SIT), offering degrees, study abroad, language learning, and intercultural communication training for the Peace Corps and other organizations applying an experiential approach. SIT later designed simulations such as The Albatross and The Owl.

1964 Richard Hoggart founded the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham, U.K. The field of cultural studies later expanded to the United States in English and communication departments, among others.

1966 Edward T. Hall published *The Hidden Dimension*, his second examination of intercultural nonverbal behavior, in this case examining spatial issues.

1966 The first intercultural communication workshop was conducted under the auspices of the Regional Council for International Education in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Clifford Clark also trained facilitators at Cornell University to conduct Intercultural Workshops (ICW), a program format that became widespread throughout universities in the United States.

1966 LaRay Barna, at Portland State University in Oregon, is often called the mother of the field and was one of the first to develop and teach an academic course in intercultural communication. She was the first to use what would come to be known as intercultural training techniques in an academic course.

1966 The U.S Navy used the *Cultural Assimilator* developed by Harry Triandis, Fred Fiedler, Lawrence Stoluron, and Charles Osgood, which they later published in 1972. They developed sets of culture-specific critical incidents based on the countries and cultures where the navy had installations.

1966 TESOL, the association devoted to issues concerning Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, was founded with the support of five other associations in language learning, communication, and international education.

1967 Loren Ekroth, the first PhD with an in-depth focus on intercultural communication, graduated from the Speech Communication Department at the University of Minnesota, under the direction of William S. Howell.

1967 Overseas Briefing Associates, operated by Alison R. Lanier, published *Updates* and, in 1973, *Living in the USA*.

1968 The United States Information Agency began offering an intercultural communications course.

1969 Yehuda Amir wrote "The Contact Hypothesis in Ethnic Relations," elaborating on the initial work of Gordon Allport.

The 1970s: Decade of Education and Innovation

1970s Early in the 1970s, Michael Tucker developed the Overseas Assignment Inventory (OAI), one of the earliest assessment instruments in the intercultural field.

1970s During this decade, critical theory came to U.S. departments of communication from the Frankfurt School in Germany and the Institute for Cultural Studies.

1970s During the 1970s, Critical Race Theory (CRT) was developed by Derrick Bell, Kimberle Crenshaw, Mari Matsuda, and Patricia Williams to address the role race and racism plays in society.

1970s Many small intercultural consulting companies were created to address the growing need for intercultural training and education.

1970 The first intercultural training manual was developed for the Peace Corps, *Guidelines for Peace Corps Cross-Cultural Training* by Albert White, Mary Anne Hammons, and William Wight. This manual transformed the university model of training to one that was more experiential.

1970 The Regional Council for International Education (RCIE) published the newsletter *Communique* to provide a way to communicate widely about intercultural training. RCIE also published a series called *Readings in Intercultural Communication* edited by David Hoopes, with articles about research, theory, and programs in the field.

1971 LaRay Barna published her popular article "Stumbling Blocks to Intercultural Communication" in *Readings in Intercultural Communication: Vol. I. The Intercultural Communication Workshop*, edited by David Hoopes, executive director of the Intercultural Communications Network.

1971 Garry Shirts developed the first intercultural simulation for the U.S. Navy to teach naval personnel to interact more sensitively. BaFa BaFa became available to the public in 1974, and it is the mostly widely used simulation.

1972 Edward Stewart published *American Cultural Patterns: A Cross-Cultural Approach*, which was often used in intercultural communication courses. It was one of the earliest culture-specific academic books in intercultural communication.

1972 In his position of leadership with the International Communications Network (later called the Intercultural Network), David Hoopes edited *Readings in Intercultural Communication: Vol. II. Teaching Intercultural Communication: Concepts and Courses*, which contained seventeen syllabi for teaching in this new field.

1972 Larry Samovar and Richard Porter published the first edition of their edited book *Intercultural Communication: A Reader*, now in its 14th edition.

1972 Harry Triandis, Fred Fiedler, Lawrence Stoluron, and Charles Osgood developed and researched the cultural assimilator, a paper-and-pencil training method.

1974 The professional association SITAR (now known at SIETAR), the Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research, was born during a meeting with consultants working on a contract with the Peace Corps. David Hoopes was selected as the first executive director.

1974 SIETAR, a professional organization for interculturalists, held its first conference in 1974. It became SIETAR International in 1982. SIETAR produced some of the first publications in the field. SIETAR has since expanded to include SIETAR Europa (1991) and SIETAR Japan and SIETAR USA in 2000.

1974 The Speech Communication Association (now the NCA) published the first *International and Intercultural Communication Annual*, edited by Frederick Casmir.

1974–1984 George Renwick conducted the State of the Art Study on the intercultural field from 1932 to 1984.

1975 John Condon and Fathi Yousef published *An Introduction to Intercultural Communication*.

1975 Founded by Clifford H. Clarke and King Ming Young, the Stanford Institute of Intercultural Communication held its first of ten summer programs at Stanford University.

1975 In the United States, Nessa Loewenthal began pioneering work with Bechtel Corporation, offering services for families living overseas. This was believed to be the first time families were required to receive relocation services in addition to the workers themselves.

1976 The late 1970s produced an array of new intercultural communication textbooks to serve the rapidly increasing number of intercultural courses being offered.

1977 Milton J. Bennett built on LaRay Barna's efforts at Portland State University, where he instituted the ICW model as part of the curriculum and, with Janet M. Bennett, expanded its graduate student facilitator training component.

1977 *The International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, edited by Dan Landis, began publication.

1977 The Intercultural Press was formed by David Hoopes, Margaret Pusch, and George Renwick to support publication of intercultural theory, training, and culture-specific books.

1977 In the field of counseling, Paul Pedersen developed the triad model of cross-cultural counseling.

1978 CIDA offered the first reentry programs, called *Canadian World Youth,* for Canadian Crossroads International.

1978 Michael Prosser published the 1977 Proceedings of the Intercultural Communication Course at the International Communication Agency.

1979 Interest from the corporate world prompted publication of the *Survival Kit for Overseas Living* by Robert Kohls, as well as *Managing Cultural Differences* by Philip R. Harris and Robert T. Moran.

1979 The first *Handbook of Intercultural Communication* was edited by Molefi Kete Asante, Eileen Newmark, and Cecil Blake.

The 1980s: Decade of Intercultural Theory and Domestic Diversity

1980 About 60 U.S. universities offered graduate-level courses in intercultural communication, and about 200 offered one or more undergraduate-level courses.

1980 In Europe, Geert Hofstede founded the Institute for Research on Intercultural Cooperation and published the landmark study *Culture's Consequences*.

1980 The simulation *Barnga* was created by Sivasailam "Thiagi" Thiagarajan in 1980 while working for USAID in Gbarnga, Liberia.

1981 David Kolb's Learning Styles Inventory (1976) and experiential learning cycle became a major influence in intercultural training and teaching.

1982 SIETAR became SIETAR International.

1983 *Going International*, a series produced by Copeland Griggs Productions, was the first video material produced for corporate training and made *culture shock* a household term.

1983 The Multicultural Institute in Washington, DC, was formed to address domestic diversity issues and provided diversity training techniques and learning modules.

1985 SIETAR JAPAN was founded in 1985 as an affiliate group of SIETAR. SIETAR Japan has been publishing an academic journal, *Journal of Intercultural Communication,* annually since 1997.

1986 The Intercultural Communication Institute was founded by Janet M. Bennett and Milton J. Bennett. The Stanford Institute became the Summer Institute for Intercultural Communication (SIIC), moving to Portland, Oregon.

1986 The *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* published a special edition on Theories and Methods in Cross-Cultural Orientation that focused on state-of-the-art training methods.

1987 In Europe, Fons Trompenaars founded the Center for Intercultural Business Studies, as interest in intercultural effectiveness increased in the corporate context.

1987 The Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory (CCAI) was created by Colleen Kelley and Judith Meyers to help trainees assess their ability to successfully adapt to different cultures.

1987 Harry Triandis published the classic *Individualism vs. Collectivism: A Reconceptualization of a Basic Concept in Cross-Cultural Psychology.*

1987 Copeland Griggs created *Valuing Diversity*, a video training series focused on domestic diversity to address the growing need for materials on U.S. domestic ethnic diversity.

1987 *The Hudson Institute Report on Workforce 2000,* by William B. Johnston and Arnold E. Packer, alerted the corporate leadership in America to the changing demographics transforming its world.

1989 As management programs began to recognize the need for intercultural competence, publications from academics in those areas became more frequent, such as Christopher Bartlett and Sumantra Goshal's *Managing Across Borders: The Transnational Solution.*

The 1990s: Decade of Intercultural Competence

1990 The National Association for Multicultural Education (NAME) was founded in 1990 to bring together professionals from all disciplines and diverse educational institutions, with a focus on multicultural education.

1991 SIETAR Europa was formed.

1993 Milton Bennett published "The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity," creating a model for recognizing the individual's response to cultural difference and a theoretical rationale for sequencing training.

1993 Charles Hampden-Turner and Fons Trompenaars published *The Seven Cultures of Capitalism* and *Riding the Waves of Culture.*

1993 Jaime Wurzel produced a video for classroom use called *A Different Place: the Intercultural Classroom* to teach communication styles and cultural values.

1993 Lee Gardenswartz and Anita Rowe combined ethnic domestic diversity with intercultural training strategies in their influential book *Managing Diversity: A Complete Desk Reference and Planning Guide.*

1993 Dianne Hofner Saphiere of Nipporica Associates created a now widely used simulation, *Ecotonos.*

1994 George Simons and his colleagues developed a board game, *Diversophy,* that is now available online.

1994 To address the classroom need for diverse voices, Alberto Gonzalez, Marsha Houston, and Victoria Chen published *Our Voices: Essays in Culture, Ethnicity and Communication,* now in its fifth edition.

1997 Richard W. Judy and Carol D'Amico published *Workforce 2020* as a follow-up to the earlier study, this time including globalization as a force for greater workplace diversity.

1997 The International Academy for Intercultural Relations (IAIR) was created to bring together practitioners and researchers, hosting their first conference in April 1998.

1998 William Gudykunst wrote the AUM theory, describing Anxiety and Uncertainty Management as core to intercultural learning.

1998 Milton Bennett and Mitchell Hammer created the *Intercultural Development Inventory* (IDI) based on Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity.

1999 David Pollock developed the Global Nomad Profile.

1999 Addressing the racial concerns of privilege and identity, Judith Martin and Tom Nakayama wrote *Whiteness: The Communication of Social Identity.*

1999 In *Communicating Across Cultures*, Stella Ting-Toomey brought together both global and domestic perspectives on intercultural concerns.

The 2000s: Decade of Disciplinary Dissemination

2000 Gary Wederspahn created a resource directory of trainers and consultants to address the many firms and organizations that had begun in the 1990s, called *Intercultural Services: A Worldwide Buyer's Guide and Sourcebook*.

2000–2003 Funded in part by a U.S. Department of Education grant, *What's Up With Culture?* was developed by Bruce LaBrack at the University of the Pacific. With online units on pre-departure as well as reentry, the website (http://www2.pacific.edu/sis/culture/) offers material for cultural adaptation and learning.

2001 A synthesis of existing research and perspectives on culture shock titled *The Psychology of Culture Shock* was published by Colleen Ward, Stephen Bochner, and Adrian Furnham.

2001 Mark Orbe and Tina Harris published *Interracial Communication: Theory Into Practice,* as the field embraced both domestic and global differences.

2002 To reach the growing number of students studying abroad, a student's guide titled *Maximizing Study Abroad,* along with a faculty handbook, were published by R. Michael Paige, Andrew Cohen, Barbara Kappler, Julie Chi, and James Lassegard.

2002 Jaime Wurzel produced the video *Cross-Cultural Conference Room*, which explored negotiating styles in the workplace.

2003 The term *cultural intelligence* gained traction in the business world, with multiple texts using the term, including those by P. Christopher Earley and Soon Ang, David Thomas, and others.

2003 The first instrument to measure both intracultural and intercultural adaptation was developed by David Matsumoto, titled the Intercultural Adjustment Potential Scale (ICAPS-55).

2004 *Cultural Detective*, a core process for improving cross-cultural collaboration that had been used on a proprietary basis since 1989, was made publicly available for training and education.

2004 The GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness) team published a report on values studies titled *Culture, Leadership, and Organizations: The GLOBE Study of 62 Societies* by Robert J. House, Paul J. Hanges, Mansour Javidan, Peter W. Dorfman, and Vipin Gupta.

2006 John G. Oetzel and Stella Ting-Toomey (2006) edited *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Communication: Integrating Theory, Research, and Practice*.

2007 Kichiro Hayashi and Ryuhei Yagi explored a significant communication construct in their work "Construction and Validation of a Psychometric Test for Measuring Analog and Digital Mindsets of Individuals."

2007 One of the first books to relate intercultural communication to online learning was *Globalized E-Learning: Cultural Challenges* by Andrea Edmundson.

2008 Interest in global leadership has long surpassed interest in do's and don'ts, and a significant number of texts have been published, such as the 2008 *Global Leadership: Research, Practice and Development* by Mark Mendenhall, Joyce Osland, Allan Bird, Gary Oddou, Martha Maznevski, Michael Stevens, and Gunter Stahl.

2007–2009 The Kozai Group developed two psychometric instruments to assess intercultural competence. The Global Competencies Inventory became publicly available in 2007, and the Intercultural Effectiveness Scale, in 2009.

2009 Michael Vande Berg, Jeffrey Connor-Linton, and Michael Paige completed the Georgetown Study, an influential investigation of study abroad.

2009 *The SAGE Handbook of Intercultural Competence,* edited by Darla Deardorff, summarized models and research on intercultural competence, the term of choice for the 2000s.

2010 to 2015: Years of Intercultural Handbooks, Encyclopedias, and Media

2010–2015 These years brought new ways to bring intercultural material to the contemporary student, including a variety of encyclopedias such as *The Encyclopedia of Diversity in Education* by James Banks and *Multicultural America: A Multimedia Encyclopedia,* edited by Carlos Cortes.

2010–2015 Equally significant has been the appearance of handbooks that bring interdisciplinary perspectives to bear on intercultural topics, such as the *Handbook of Ethnic Conflict: International Perspectives* edited by Dan Landis and Rosita Albert and the *Routledge Handbook of Language and Intercultural Communication* edited by Jane Jackson.

2010 Michael Page and Gerald Fry and their research team completed a longitudinal research project on the impact of study abroad as it relates to global engagement, the SAGE project.

2011 In response to a need for international standards on diversity practices, Julie O'Mara and Alan Richter and 79 expert panelists developed *Global Diversity and Inclusion Benchmarks: Standards for Organizations Around the World.*

2011 Thomas F. Pettigrew and Linda Tropp published their important meta-analysis of more than 500 studies on intergroup contact, *When Groups Meet: The Dynamics of Intergroup Contact.*

2014 Indicative of the burgeoning interest in global leadership, *Advances in Global Leadership* by Joyce Osland and Ming Li represents the salience of international research on this topic.

Janet M. Bennett and Franki Trujillo-Dalbey

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