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Managing Diversity in Cross-Cultural Environment

Edited by Muhammad Mohiuddin, Md. Tareque Aziz and Sreenivasan Jayashree

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Meet the editor

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Contents

Preface

Globalization and the openness of markets for goods and services have contributed to the ever-increasing mobility of human talent across the globe. The historical background and evolution of societies have also created the coexistence of multiple cultures and modes of life. Even within a given country's borders, there are multiple cultures as well as cultural differences among the inhabitants. Culture slowly develops its own norms, values, and beliefs regardless of the number of its followers. Economic transactions and social cohesion cannot be conceived today without the consideration of cultural varieties and challenges. This is where we need to develop an in-depth understanding of culture and how we can function effectively within a multicultural society and economy. This book explores the cross-cultural, multicultural, and intercultural phenomena in our societies and how we can manage them effectively and develop acculturation of different cultures. It is organized into two sections: "Culture and Society" and "Managing Cultural Diversity for Multiculturalism."

Section 1 includes eight chapters. In Chapter 1, Shireen Shehzad Bhamani, Ambreen Merchant, Zohra Asif Jetha and Tazeen Saeed Ali explore the history of dowry and its practices, its positive and negative impacts, and policy implications in Pakistan. Dowry is the root cause of much violence against women in South Asian countries regardless of religious belief.

In Chapter 2, Pakize Kayadibi intends to transfer to future generations the material cultural product "pouches" with new designs reflecting cultural identity in the warehouse and display of the Bursa Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum. She shows how cultural artifacts contribute to the transmission of cultural identity from past generations to future ones.

In Chapter 3, Sepideh Asadi examines natural and humanmade hazards such as the case of urban development, nature, and public policies that contribute to demolishing cultural treasures and historical sites. This chapter shows how cultural heritage is at risk of extinction, what the causes are, and how to face those challenges.

In Chapter 4, William Franke discusses the philosophy of knowledge that moves from what cannot be said, the ineffable, as the basis for thinking both in the East, with its mystical philosophies focused on what escapes formulation in language, and the West, beginning from the Socratic wisdom of knowing nothing. This negative moment of encountering the other and the unknown, which entails a moment of relinquishing language, is shown to be crucial to knowledge in the humanities and to resisting the pressures toward specialization at the universities.

In Chapter 5, Lori Simons, Sara Schoneman, Madeline Hoffman, and Nancy Blank identify what students learn through participation in a multicultural psychology course.

They found that students increased their cultural, leadership, and problem-solving skills, social justice attitudes, multicultural knowledge, multicultural experiences, and empathy from the beginning to the end of the semester. Qualitative findings indicate that students increase their intercultural contact and perspective-taking skills and develop multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills over the course of the semester.

In Chapter 6, Irina-Ana Drobot presents, from the perspective of intercultural communication, how foreign languages, especially English, could be taught effectively to engineering students by including not only different skills-related topics but also cross-cultural issues along with organizational culture to provide these students with effective communication skills in their respective technical areas.

In Chapter 7, Wouter Van den Berghe shows how the differences in national culture are associated with differences in the level of public support for a range of policy measures. National culture can be operationalized into several dimensions, and can also be a good predictor for public support for several policy formulations.

In Chapter 8, Jong Youl Hong examines the interculturalism adopted as a philosophy as well as the understanding of the intercultural learning policy proposed by the European Union as a policy alternative to cultural diversity.

Section 2 includes four chapters. In Chapter 9, Ciarán Dunne explores the potential of cultural diversity to foster creativity in lieu of viewing it as a deficit model which is a dominant case. This chapter examines the concept of creativity, highlighting its value for individual and collective well-being, before drawing upon cognitive psychology to architect a compelling rationale for the potential value of cultural diversity as a facilitator of creativity.

In Chapter 10, Jens Allwood provides a general model of intercultural communication with a focus on the actual observable features of communication, including written, spoken, and gestural features, and discusses what influences the occurrence of these features. The model is thus different from most other general accounts such as those of Hofstede or Inglehart and Welzel, which mostly focus on values and attitudes and are based on questionnaires rather than observation.

In Chapter 11, Jacky Chun-Leung Li and Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor analyze the role of Masjid Kowloon in maintaining religious function and promoting social harmony. The chapter uses historical and textual analysis to show that coexistence culture is possible in the real world, together with the analysis of prerequisites to achieving a harmonic coexistence culture in society.

In Chapter 12, Evanthia Tsaliki develops multicultural educational models aiming at the promotion of coexistence, tolerance of diversity, and interaction of different cultural groups of either minority groups or the majority are also discussed and criticized along with recent educational dimensions of managing diversity such as the critical multicultural and the critical intercultural model.

This book provides an understanding of the different cultural façades across societies with a view of the diversity of cultures. This diversity is not necessarily a challenge but can be understood from multicultural perspectives and contribute to peaceful coexistence across societies.

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Section 1

Culture and Society

Chapter 1

Perspective Chapter: Social Aspects of Violence – Cultural Dowry Practices and Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) in Pakistan

Shireen Shehzad Bhamani, Ambreen Merchant, Zohra Asif Jetha and Tazeen Saeed Ali

Abstract

Dowry is a transfer of materialistic goods or money from bride's parents to bridegroom family at the time of marriage. However, as dowry demand rises, it has a significant detrimental impact on the lives of women. This chapter discusses the history of dowry and its practices, the positive and negative impact, and policy implications. The keywords used for this search were: "Dowry AND Pakistan," "Pakistan culture AND Violence against women," "social aspects AND Dowry practices," and "Intimate-partner violence AND Pakistan." To ensure that readers would receive valid information on the subject, authors searched from reliable engines. Dowry is a common tradition, particularly in South Asian countries. It is originated from Hindu culture, but later adopted and practiced by other Islamic and European-American nations. Though it provides an opportunity for women to get their share of pre-mortem inheritance from their parent's property. However, it may be the leading cause of violence and abuse that poses an enormous burden on the brides. Violence prevention is achievable, but it requires efforts by the government, health institutions, and civil society. This is an additional contribution by the authors to raise awareness regarding "Dowry," which is one of the preventable predictors of violence.

Keywords: dowry, bride price, intimate partner violence, developing countries, Pakistan cultural dowry, social aspect of violence

1. Introduction

Marriage is a long-established sacred relationship in which two souls unite together in a bond of lifetime promise to cherish this unity and the beginning of a new phase in one's life that involves social responsibilities, attainment of mutual goals, resource allocation, and division of work [1]. This old sentimental tradition brings two individuals closer, but also the respective families of bride and bridegroom bind together sharing mutual interest of happiness and family harmony [2]. Even though, this practice reflects ethical responsibilities of trust, love, understanding, and

unity, etc. Often, it contributes to several problems too [3]. Dowry is one of the old and deep-rooted customs, which plays a pivotal role at the time of marriage [2].

To understand the notion of dowry, dictionary defines it as "money, goods or estate that a woman brings to her husband in marriage" [4]. Basically, dowry is a transfer of materialistic items, mostly tangible and intangible assets from bride's family to the bridegroom's family at the time of marriage [5]. With the passage of time, demand of dowry from bridegroom and his family has evolved to an extent that nowadays, it is not merely confined to property or cash, even it can include number of things such as gold, car, motorbike, clothes, crockery, furniture, spoons, pillows, bedcovers, clothes, for in-laws and other relatives [6].

In this chapter, we will discuss about the conception of dowry in developing countries, how this custom disseminated into other parts of the world particularly in South Asian context and in Pakistan. Moreover, positive and negative impact and consequences of dowry such as violence against women, intimate partner violence (IPV), its social and cultural aspect affecting on women and their families. Lastly, we highlight potential recommendations and ways forward.

2. Dowry practices among developed and developing countries

The custom of dowry has had originated long back. In fact, it has been followed and practiced among various ancient civilizations. Historically, it has been practiced in a variety of forms around the world for centuries, from the Babylonian civilization to Renaissance Europe; from the Roman and Byzantine empires to the Song Period in China [7]. Like the developing world, dowry practices were widespread in European and American countries. According to the records of court cases held in the thirteenth century, dowry practices were very common in England. During that era, marriageable daughters were considered the pride of their families because it enabled noble families to upgrade their social status by expanding their alliances with royal families [8]. Similarly, during the sixteenth century, clandestine marriages and catholic church administration across European countries such as Italy promoted dowry, which restricted brides to choose their partners as parental consent was mandatory. Moreover, in the Iberian Peninsula, dowry was widespread whereby mutual consent in marriages was encouraged due to joint ownership of the property and equal inheritance [9]. Amazingly, in the early nineteenth century, Romania had a distinctive culture of dowry whereby the authority of the asset inherited by the daughter remained under the control of paternal male members of the bride's family, which eventually protected legal security and provided legal empowerment to the abandoned and divorced women and their children [10]. Besides this, European colonies influenced the culture of dowry in native cultures of America. Dowry was in practice there in which the exchange of gifts was made mutually from both the families of the wedding couple [8, 11]. Contrary to the idea of dowry under practice in South-Asian countries, Mexico, and Russian culture, property or asset transferred to the daughter as a dowry will remain under the complete authority of the bride only, and the groom's family reserves no rights to it. Particularly in Russian culture, after the death of the bride, the asset would be used for charitable causes only [12].

Currently, payments at the time of marriage are under practice in many parts across the world with contrasting school of thoughts and are known with different names according to geographical and cultural locations. For example, in Hindi (Dahej), Tamil (Varadhachanai), Urdu and Arabic (Jahez), Bengali (Joutuk), Mandarin (Jiazhuang),

Turkish (Ceyiz), French (Dot), and Nepali (Daijo) and in African countries (Idana) [13, 14]. Let us discuss these concepts attached with marriage payments. Firstly, when the market goods or cash or any kind of asset transfer from the bride's family to groom and his family is termed as "Dowry" as we discussed earlier [15]. However, when transfer of wealth or material takes place other way round like from groom's family to the bride's family is termed as "bride-wealth or bride-price" [16, 17]. Dowry custom is practiced most commonly in South Asia, especially in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal; whereby dowry payments are nearly universal and quite sizable, often amounting to several times more than a household's annual income [18]. Whereas, bride-price custom is widespread in parts of East Asia and some African countries [16].

3. Dowry practices in South Asia

In South Asian context, the dowry tradition was originated from Hindu culture and is still followed mainly in Brahmanical (higher caste) of Hindu societies [17]. According to an ancient Hindu tradition, unmarried daughter was considered as a matter of shame for the family. Therefore, bride's parents need to compensate groom, and his family for accepting their daughter in marriage [19]. Furthermore, among Indian sub-continent, the main reason behind the dowry payment is pre-mortem inheritance whereby woman's share from her parental property transferred to her marital family at the time of marriage, because in patrilineal society like India, women are excluded from the right of parental inheritance. In a society where in practice, women do not inherit parental land, dowry may be the only asset for women and their only source of protection [20, 21]. But, most often these payments surpass woman in terms of benefitting from it and only in-laws enjoy to the fullest having complete rights and control over it [22]. In South Asia, India is mainly a Hindu dominant society following dowry tradition. However, this tradition is equally practiced by Muslim and Christian minorities. Not only this, but this despair tradition has influenced the neighboring countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, and Afghanistan [19].

There are several factors associated with dowry payments that vary between rural and urban areas and from high to low socioeconomic groups [6]. The key reason behind dowry is to provide some financial support to newly married couples to facilitate them in the beginning of new phase of life, thus making them independent for future ahead [23]. However, there is another viewpoint that parents of bride tend to pay higher dowries, so that after marriage their daughter will be able to enjoy her status, well-being, and decision-making authority in her marital family and will also remain protected against any hardships, violence, or any ill treatment by in-laws [18]. Particularly in developed countries where there is a lack of social and legal support for women, allowing injustice to persist [2]. A study suggests that dowry is significantly positively associated with the decision-making power of women not affected by the amendment [20].

Some societies also believe that heavy dowries enable bride's parents to attract better alliance for their daughters in terms of high income, high caste, or high social status of groom [7]. Unfortunately, this mindset has affected the core mandate of marriage so badly that nowadays marriage has become a game of dowry hunters. Grooms from better families, who possess strong social background or have high income and securities, demand lavish dowries from bride's parents [24], thus, posing an enormous financial burden on bride's families [6]. New York Times reported that women of poor financial background in the subcontinent face a serious problem

of dowry provision as they lack capacity to arrange gifts and money for the groom's family, disabling them to get married [25, 26]. These factors are negatively affecting families' desire of having female child. Rather it increases preference for male child, who not only supports the parents financially in their old age but also brings dowry when getting married [2, 20]. Often, the inability of bride's parents to pay high dowries at the time of marriage and/or increased greed of in-laws for more money and material leads to domestic issues after marriage, makes women vulnerable to physical violence, torture, dowry burns, and even murder [24, 27].

Due to the negative impact of dowry such as its devastating effects on unmarried women, posing burdensome economic liabilities and being a major root cause of rise in gender inequality and violence against women [7, 27]. It has been banned in many South Asian countries. Laws have been made to forbid citizens from practicing dowry. The Dowry Prohibition Act 1961 and its amendments in India; the Dowry Inhibition Act of 1980 and its amendments in Bangladesh; the Dowry and Bridal Gifts (Restriction) Act of 1976 and the Marriages (Prohibition of Wasteful Expenses) Act of 1997 in Pakistan. Despite, these laws and prohibitions, dowry practices are not reducing. In fact, it keeps on expanding its roots extending further [22, 28].

4. Dowry practices in Pakistan and other islamic countries

Pakistan is majorly a Muslim country, and in Islam, there is no concept of dowry (Jahez). According to Sharia, financial obligation is not bound on wife or wife's parents. In Islam, dowry practice forbade as the religion has granted a rightful share to daughters in their family property and inheritance. Thus, there is no concept of premortem inheritance as we discussed earlier in this chapter [25]. In fact, Islam teaches the concept of "Mehr" instead of dowry. "Mehr" is the amount or anything paid by a man to his wife as a symbol of honor and respect, which reflects a man's sincere desire to own his wife with a sense of responsibility and obligation on his part [29].

Despite religious prohibition of dowry and banning dowry ordeals by law enforcement agencies in Pakistan, still, it is extensively under practice in Pakistan. Interestingly, dowry has widely been embraced as culture and being practiced by elite class and educated people with zeal and pride [24]. Dowry practices range from 87% to 97% in both rural and urban areas of Pakistan [6]. Pakistani society is a traditional, conventional society where people are expected to spend their life in chains of orthodox customs and rituals of their ancestors. The tradition of dowry is one of the oppressing traditions that is deeply rooted everywhere in the society of the country, affecting and destroying every segment of society [1]. In Iran, dowry tradition is 1000 years old in which bride brings in household materials useful for day-to-day life [30]. Likewise, other Islamic countries such as Turkey, Morocco, and Egypt follow dowry tradition as well. Particularly in Egypt, there are certain expectations from bride and groom regarding the materialistic goods, which they bring into their marriage. Majorly groom will have a house for the couple and bride will bring household goods such as furniture and bread-making machine. Before marriage, all these items must be listed in a legal document for record keeping. They celebrate this tradition of "gehaz" before marriage, thereby all the material goods of bride will be kept on the cars and route those cars throughout the village several times with music so that all villagers can see the gehaz. This way bride's family shows off their financial preparation for their daughter's marriage, which they assume helps in enhancing bride's status and position within her new marital family [31–33].

5. Overview of violence and social aspect at developed and developing countries

Violence is known to be an extreme form of aggression such as assault, murder, rape, and abuse. Physical force, threat, and power are used against people, organizations, or communities in this severe form of violence, resulting in physical and psychological suffering. According to a recent study, violent deaths in the United States are seven times greater than in other industrialized countries, and 90%–92% of women, children, and teenagers in the United States are killed by weapons, compared with other high-income countries [34]. In developing countries, violence against women and children has been overlooked and marginalized. Rape and sexual abuse have long been stigmatized as perpetrators rather than victims [35]. Men and young boys, on the other hand, are frequently subjected to street aggression, abuse, and physical assault. Intimate partner violence is one of the most commonly reported forms of violence in the world. Intimate relationships are responsible for over 30% of females' physical and sexual violence [36], and around 38% experience death [37]. South East Asia is known to witness the highest form of intimate partner violence with a prevalence rate of 37.7% [38], and nearly more than 60 million women are forced to marry before the age of 18 years with South Asia accounting for over half of all young female brides [35]. Although statistics are sparse in the majority of the regions, it is estimated that around 7% of women globally have been sexually assaulted or abused by someone other than a partner before the age of 15 [36], whereas nearly around 20% of females and 5–10% of males reported to experience violence in form of sexual assault and physical abuse as children [39].

Violent conduct is viewed not just as a behavioral act, but also as a factor of health in and of itself, according to a social ecology perspective [40, 41]. Violence against vulnerable populations such as women and children is considered a social problem as well as a criminal offense. Mostly, perpetrators and victims belong to different gender groups; therefore, violence against women is a form of gender-based violence [42]. At the macro level, society, value systems, and any social group are considered as the causes of violence against vulnerable groups [43]. In the majority of low-income nations, patriarchal systems promote male dominance, which is linked to positive perceptions of male aggressiveness and aggression, leading to extreme forms of violence [42].

In addition, exposure to intimate partner violence, whether directly viewed or heard from others, is toxic and detrimental to children and can lead to psychological, emotional, and behavioral problems. Furthermore, in countries with weak law enforcement, intimate partner violence and child abuse commonly coexist, wreaking havoc on the vulnerable population's emotional and physical well-being [44]. According to a qualitative analysis of 27 interviews with 31 civil society representatives in Colombia, the origins of violence have deep roots in patriarchal societies, which have raised a mindset of oppression and weakness in the face of a strong dominant male-oriented society and following them to fulfill their responsibilities [45]. A meta-analysis of potential risk factors for violence against partners reflected that uneducated, younger, and less financially stable males were more likely to exhibit violent behavior in marriage than older, educated, and affluent males [46]. Men are compelled to develop harsh and aggressive attitudes and behavior toward women due to internal or hereditary personality features and witnessing violence in their societies since childhood, according to research; as a result, these violent tendencies are firmly ingrained and resistant to change. Violent spouses are more prone than nonviolent spouses to suffer from psychological problems and low self-esteem concerns [47].

However, not every man who grows up in a patriarchal society, or who experiences marital problems, or who engages in sexual behavior, while inebriated, becomes an abuser. Physical and sexual violence against women and children may be triggered by a combination of these risk factors, as well as a lack of accountability and implementation of laws prohibiting violent conduct [42].

6. Violence in Pakistan

Violence is complex and sensitive phenomenon and is deep-rooted in the cultural value and behaviors. According to World report on violence and health *"The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation"* [48]. There are different types of violence, for example, self-directed violence, interpersonal violence, and collective violence [49]. It is estimated that each year, more than 1.6 million people worldwide lose their lives due to violence, and one in three (30%) of women has been victim to both physical and/or sexual partner in their lifetime. Women aged 15–45 are more subjected to violence from their partner [50]. The violence is not only affecting women physical health, but it has consequences of psychological, social, and emotional health of the women [51].

7. The social aspect of violence in Pakistan

Pakistan is a patriarchal country; the roles are assigned according to gender. Men are culturally brought up with the mindset that they are strong, whereas women's status is low in the families both before and after marriage. Girls are developed from the early age with expectation including taking care of family, house chores, and reproduction. Most of the women get married during their developmental age without their consent. The lack of education, poverty, wrong religious interpretation, and social norms suppress women's decision-making [52]. Studies have revealed that the intensity and rate of violence on women in rural areas (42%) are greater than those in urban cities (32%) [53]. Men's violent attitude in some cultures is counted as bravery (Mardangi) and considered socially acceptable in spite of the law declaring equal basic human rights to all citizens irrespective of gender [51, 54].

Women face the issue of disparity and discrimination throughout their life [54]. Woman has no rights to get education, to marry by own choice. She is raised to follow the cultural rules, including reproducing and taking care of the family [55]. It is believed that those women have to suppress own desires and never raise voice against violence [56]. This low status and lack of empowerment make women more vulnerable for domestic violence from parents, in-laws, and husband [57].

The sociocultural norms are very conservative, and very low education and poverty increase the intensity of violence. Early marriages and exchange marriages are very common in rural areas [58]. According to report by UN Women 2014, poverty is the main root and increases violence. When a person is not able to fulfill the basic needs of the family, they can get frustrated. It is believed that low status of women in the society, therefore, at the end receives frustration translated into violence on women. Economic deprivation also contributes to getting education for women, and the priority is given to men over women. Women must stay at home and help their mothers with house chores. From an early age, they observe their mother's and

father's relationship and learn from it and thereby, never differentiate the difference of right and wrong [52, 59].

8. Cultural dowry practices protect the women against intimate partner violence in Pakistan

Intimate partner violence has recently become a prominent family and social issue. Abuse and violence against women by their husbands have escalated alarmingly in Pakistan during the last few years [60]. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), globally one in every three women, or approx. 35%, will be abused or beaten into sex at least once in her lifetime [61]. These women also reported having mental diseases as well as a risk of suicide ideation and behavior [62, 63].

It is essential to gain an insight regarding determinants that lead to IPV in order to control the level of violence experienced by females in Pakistani society [64]. Literature provides evidence pointing to financial and economic hardships to be a main cause of intimate partner violence within families [16, 65, 66]. Lack of employment has been strongly associated with intimate partner violence. Yet, it has been claimed that having a high level of education reduces the probability of IPV [67–69].

Dowry practices are common traditional customs that are observed in South Asian countries [20], and it is usually a gift given to daughter and with a belief that she would be taken care of by her in-laws and earn respect [70]. Furthermore, research shows that dowry traditions have been and are still in use in several affluent countries, as well as in other regions of developing countries [16, 64]. A recent study conducted in Pakistan explored role of dowry in successful marital life via recruiting 200 participants (77% males and 23% females, aged above 18 years). A study reported that 45% strongly agreed that dowry helps to gain respect from husbands, 31% strongly agreed that due to dowry husband gives honor to his wife, whereas 23% disagreed [70].

Despite this, research has shown that dowry culture has a negative influence on the bride and her family. In recent times, dowry system has been observed to be strongly associated with the status of bride family and, if not provided, leads to family conflicts, violence and dowry deaths, and burning the bride [71]. Impact of dowry is not only limited to the women; however, the expectation of dowry from groom's families and their constant pressure have led to female infanticide and abortions in India [72]. A study conducted in India reported that around 65% of females died as dowry death within the first 3 years of marital life [73]. Theories suggest the emergence and prevalence of dowry culture with a concept of "Sanskritization" hypothesis, [74] which suggests that dowry was traditional practice by upper-class families in an attempt to enhance and improve their social status from lower class. Another theory suggests that changes in men's characteristics and lifestyles are main reason for the rise of dowry practices, prevalence, and culture [75]. Men with higher incomes will want bigger dowries if dowry is portrayed as an equilibrium price to match with a higher-quality groom [76]. Whereas, from a broader perspective, dowry culture has been studied with women empowerment and economic development [77]. In South Asian countries, where female's legal protection is not developed, dowry is interpreted to empower women by increasing their participation in household matters and enhancing their decision-making power in their houses [20]. A survey conducted in rural Punjab, Pakistan, recruited randomly 22 households to explore marriage, dowry, and women's status. Results suggested that higher dowry in the form of jewelry, gold, or cash found to be associated with women receiving high status from their in-laws [20].

According to studies, approximately 87–97% of families in both rural and urban areas of Pakistan encourage dowry culture and practice it openly to demonstrate their worth or due to pressure from the groom's side. However, there is limited literature available to study the relationship between dowry practices and intimate partner violence in Pakistan [16, 64, 78]. Dowry is usually thought to be provided to protect a daughter from any type of violence or abuse, as well as to ensure a stable marriage life [6]. However, a recent cross-sectional study conducted in Karachi from 2008 to 2010 explored the link between the dowry system, marital life perceptions, and intimate partner violence. According to the study, dowry spouses did not receive any protection from physical, sexual, emotional, or psychological assault, yet they nevertheless believed that the dowry system had a favorable impact on their marriage [64]. Regardless of this perception, women who had love marriage also experience IPV. Another study conducted in Karachi qualitatively explored dowry culture and its negative consequences from women's perspective reported that women in this patriarchal society are not secure from violence, either female's family gives dowry or not [6]. A qualitative study conducted in Lahore randomly selected administrative towns and slum areas of the city to recruit 19 married women reported that majority of them experienced intimate partner violence in the form of physical and verbal abuse due to bringing less dowry and not fulfilling their expectations [79].

9. Recommendations to avoid dowry and violence practices in Pakistan and other developing countries

Preventing violence is possible and attainable; but it requires consistent and transparent activities from the government, health institutions, and civil society partners to support and deliver evidence-based informed methods that can be implemented without bias [35]. Women who are subjected to violence have a significant link to the unequal distribution of resources and power between the sexes, which is sadly entrenched by laws, rules, and societal traditions that give men preferential rights [80]. The majority of policymakers and parliamentarians in Pakistan are men, and as a result of this male-dominated society, they have gained a significant amount of power to impose their limiting attitudes, robbing women of their essential rights and justice [47, 51]. In high-income countries where progressive laws exist, the implementation of these laws lags far behind, and impunity reigns supreme. Even in developed countries where gender equality is conceivable, actions that ignore violence and blame females for their victimization persist [81]. At the national level, policies and laws in all education, health, and other sectors should promote gender equality and eliminate all forms of biases and discrimination against women such as access to file the divorce, in ownership of assets, and freedom to enter and leave the marriage without any restrictions. Moreover, within families women should be supported to access education and jobs with the assistance of legislation, the judiciary should be strengthened and enforce laws against all forms of violence with a vulnerable population and support actions and community programs that intend to reduce discrimination toward oppressed women in patriarchal societies [47, 81]. Furthermore, the health sector may play an important role by educating and training students and health staff on how to ask about violence and provide psychological assistance to victims and their families. Furthermore, in all health sectors, the implementation of laws and policies against violence and discrimination experienced by healthcare workers should be a top priority, and complete support for survivors of violence should be encouraged and implemented at the grass-roots and national levels [35].

Dowry practices are common traditional customs that are observed in South Asian countries [20] and are known to have a severely negative impact on the bride and her family members as it is strongly associated with family tensions, violence, dowry killings, and burning of brides [71]. According to the findings of a study conducted in Bangladesh, dowry culture and domestic violence are among the top five most common crimes [82]. Despite the negative impact of dowry culture, it is still being encouraged and practiced in low-income countries as families recognize positive aspects of dowry associated with women's status and decision-making power in her house [20]. It is critical to support nongovernmental organizations that promote intervention programs that attempt to work in communities with women and men to change the societal norms that perpetuate violence and gender inequality in order to provide insight into dowry violence and domestic abuse. Moreover, collaboration with media, nongovernment organization working for women can aware masses especially women about their rights and non-acceptability of violence against women with the help of unbiased legislation and judiciary [35].

10. Conclusion

Pakistani society is considered a traditional society where people are forced to spend their life in chains of orthodox customs and rituals of their ancestors. The tradition of dowry is one of the oppressing traditions that is deeply-rooted everywhere in the society of the country, affecting every segment of society. Research has revealed that dowry culture has a negative influence on the bride and her family. In recent times, the dowry system has been observed to be strongly associated with the status of bride family and, if not provided, leads to family conflicts, violence and dowry deaths, and burning the bride. The dowry and bridal gifts (restriction) act, 1976, provides restriction on dowry. According to the act, "The value of the dowry and presents given to the bride by her parents given to the bridegroom shall not exceed five thousand rupees." It is clearly mentioned in the document about penalty for those who violate the law. The proper implementation, monitoring, and reinforcement of this written document, as well as fair application of penalties to all violators, are all necessary for control. Otherwise, control would be exceedingly difficult [83].

List of abbreviation

IPV	Intimate Partner Violence

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Chapter 2

Perspective Chapter: Examples of Knitted Money Pouches from Our Cultural Heritage

Pakize Kayadibi

Abstract

Pouches are a vital heritage combined with tools such as needles, crochet hooks, needles, silk, wool, cotton thread, flannel, silk, embroidered fabric, and various beads, depending on the material used. Pouches, when in terms of colors, meanings of motifs, and composition, are also viewed as a means of communication through which the locals express their feelings about what they cannot say. Pouch examples can now be found in museums, dowry chests, and private collections because they are complex and laborious to make. The study intends to transfer to future generations the material cultural product pouches reflecting our cultural identity in the warehouse and display of the Bursa Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, to be examined and documented, introduced, and ensure their continuity with new designs. The study's data collection tools included a literature review, museum inventory information, and photographic documentation techniques. Knitted pouches with animal motifs were identified and documented by using technical drawings. The examination reveals that mostly bird motifs use, and animal motifs such as rooster, deer, goat, and butterfly attempt to depict as they were in nature. Furthermore, the significance of pouches as a cultural heritage item emphasizes.

Keywords: traditional arts, intangible cultural heritage, money pouches, culture, cultural heritage

1. Introduction

Cultural heritage includes verbal or nonverbal traditions created by previous generations, traditional production methods, performing arts, social life practices, rituals, festivals, and, most importantly, transferring knowledge that emerges as a result of experiences to future generations [1, 2] or a group of inherited resources from the past that people define independently of ownership as an expression and reflection [3].

The idea of preserving culture within a particular purpose and system in the public and scientific sphere, in parallel with the emergence of experimental science and the emergence of social and human sciences such as archeology, history, anthropology, folklore, and sociology aimed at illuminating the past of humanity, "cultural

property" or "cultural heritage." It was widely adopted and used with the concepts of [4]. With the adoption of UNESCO's Convention for the Protection of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003, cultural heritage expanded to include intangible cultural heritage elements such as cultural practices and expressions and handicrafts. The Convention for the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage promotes the idea that intangible cultural heritage can only protect by being passed down from generation to generation. At the same time, it views conservation as "preservation" rather than "preservation." It sees studies such as scientific compilation, archiving, museums, and application in the artistic field as more supportive aspects of conservation, placing it as the first step of protection [4–6]. On the other hand, culture is a phenomenon that includes not only science and literature but also lifestyles, fundamental human rights, value judgments, traditions, and beliefs [7].

The beginning of the mechanization industrial revolution, and the rapid advancement of technology, contributed to the economic development of societies but also harmed or even destroyed their values [8]. Knitted pouches, one of our lost values and an intangible cultural heritage item, have long been used to transport precious metals such as gold and silver and objects such as tobacco, spices, watches, arrows, and juz, to decorate clothing. The pouches were used as a nonverbal communication tool, as well as to carry people's personal belongings and decorate their clothing. For example, he used warm colors to express happiness, cold colors to express sadness, and motifs to express longing, abundance, or anger. With their elegance, needle and silk thread pouches stood out among the other pouches, such as knitting, fabric, and beads, and were always found in the dowry chest of almost every bride as a set of watches, seals, tobacco, and money, and give as gifts to the man she would marry. In the dowry tradition, the pouches prepared for the groom consist of three or four pieces, including money, seals, and watches [9]. They can now be found in museums, archives, private collections, or antique shops because there is no market for them. Therefore, knitting, Needle, and Crochet pouches must be protected, transferred, and documented. This research is limited to the knitted money bags with seven (7) animal motifs used in the warehouse and display of the Bursa Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, one of our material cultural values that play an essential role in handicrafts. The knitted bags in the museum analyze for technique, material, form, ornament, composition, and motif information to document the work photographs with technical drawings.

2. Pouch definition and history

Pouches are an intangible cultural heritage disappearing in the global and digital age. They are square, rectangular, oval, or triangle-shaped small bags, wallets, bags, or cases made with tools like crochet, needle, needle, shuttle, and materials like silk, cotton, wool, sequins, and beads [10]. Defined as a pouch, a bag for holding money, a wallet, a small or large bag, a container, a money bag carried in the pocket, a cloth bag, and a leather sheath derived from the Persian word "kise" [9]. A certain amount of money (akça) refer to as a "pouch," and gold refer to as a "surre" [11–18]. At the same time, a pouch relates to a small bag made of "jaw-cuff" fabric or knit, a pouch, a pocket (money-tobacco), a shepherd's pouch, a bag worn on the side [19, 20], or a pouch is worn on the side of the waist by being attached to a belt. The pockets are worn in clothing by hanging them on a belt or belt, hiding them in a belt, wearing them around the neck, or carrying them in a jacket pocket [15–17].

"The bag with silver coins," according to Evliya Celebi's Travel Book. Money scale. Every fifty thousand akça was considered a "pouch" [21]. Previously, each tradesman's charity fund, denoted as "Artsmen's Foundation," "Craftsman's Fund," or "Craftsman's Pouch," was used. There were six pouches in the hands of all tradespeople in the Ahi-order system, which express as the atlas, green, knitted, red, white, and black. While knitted pouches are for foundation funds, and other pouches prefer for valuable documents [22]. Since pouches are the product into which shopping money, it has also been associated with the phrases "push the boat out," "pouch-proud," "opening the mouth of the pouch," and "seeing the bottom of the pouch." Since pouches are the product into which shopping money it has also been associated with the phrases "bless your pouch," "trust your pouch," "opening the mouth of the pouch," and "seeing the bottom of the pouch." During the Ottoman period, Fatih and II, a pouch was used as a financial asset. It was thirty thousand akça or ten thousand gold at the time of Beyazt. The "Sultani Gold" pouches in the mints of Tripoli, Tunisia, and Algeria in thousand pieces, as well as twenty thousand in 944 (1537), forty thousand in 1071 (1660–61), and fifty thousand in the years after 1100 (1688) was acknowledged as. The pouch has the names "Istanbul pouch," "Kise-i Rumi," "Kise-i Divani," and "Kise-i Mısıri," and the price is 500 kurus depending on the value of the money [14]. How the place of use as a unit.

Hanging ornaments on belts was a common practice among Göktürks. It knows that during the Gokturks period, bags made of leather or fabric hung on belts with flint and tinder [15]. Karamağaralı's [23] (**Figure 1**) "Miniatures Attributed to Muhammed Siyah Kalem" contains the miniature with inventory number 2153/138A. "It depicts a group including a woman carrying a vase," according to the description. The depiction on the right leg of the miniature's central figure resembles today's rectangular, lidded pouches. The bag-shaped sample hanging on the arm of the female figure on the left is similar to today's knitted and bead bags. Furthermore, pouches can be found in figures in 18th-century miniatures by artists such as Levni and Abdullah Buhari [18] (**Figure 2**).

Figure 1.
2153/138A İnventory number miniature [23].

Figure 2.
One of the civil servants filled tobacco in the Ottoman palace [18].

Seal pouches are pouches used to transport seals. During the Ottoman period, the sultan sent a pouch made of scarlet satin fabric with a golden seal to the grand viziers, who were the sultans' authorized representatives, as a sign of grand viziership. This pouch's lace would be made of gold thread as well. The grand viziers wore this seal, known as the "Seal of Humayun," around their necks and even slept with it [24]. Sealing bags made of leather, fabric, or knitting techniques. The slip (tying cord, cord, or twisted thread), which is specific to closing the mouths of seal pouches by shrinking, usually had a tassel at each end to decorate it, as in other types of pockets. These pouches were smaller than money pouches, worn on the belt, or hung around the neck bags used for transporting documents. The larger ones hung on the waist or worn on the shoulder were meant to refer to as hanging pouches. At the same time, those placed in pockets refer as pocket pouches, and those situated in bundles are called bundle pouches [9, 25].

2.1 Knitted pouches

The pouches are manufactured in the appropriate size and shape for the goods to be used, and they take geometrical forms such as circles, triangles, squares, and rectangles and are named based on the technique and material used.

Knitting involves joining loops of materials such as wool, silk, cotton, beads, and sequins using needles, awls, hairpins, shuttles, or by hand without tools [16, 26–28]. According to Arseven [11], *knitting* defines as "knitted products such as ribbons, slips, belts, and pouches that are wrapped intricately against each other. Knitting is an application technique with different appearances as thin and thick. In knitting,

delicate knits make using silk, cotton silk, sequins, and beads with tools such as a needle, awl, hairpin, and shuttle, and thick knits are made with wool yarn using a drill and needle. Knitting works such as crocheted money, lighters, and watch pouches have remarkable qualities [16].

Pouches can divide into five groups according to the purpose of use and the nature of the material placed inside.

1. Storage and carrying pouches for daily use (such as money, watches, tobacco, and seal pouches).

2. Pouches for storing writing instruments and books (such as divot, inkwell, juz, and Qur'an pouches).

3. Storage pouches for kitchen utensils (such as cutlery, dried legumes, and spice racks).

4. Storage and carrying pouches for war and hunting equipment (such as bow and arrow pouches).

5. Pouches are used for cleaning and storing items (such as bath, face, soap, and comb pouches) [17] (**Figure 3**).

Money, watches, tobacco, and seal pouches, formerly ferace (Women's coat-like top dress with a loose back, collarless, often extending to the skirts) [29], stored in breastplates, jackets, belts, skirts, trousers, and dress pockets, were carried or hung from a thick cloth or rope tied around the waist. Watch pouches consist of small geometric forms from circles, ovals, or money pouches. They are pouches made of needle, crochet, fabric, and leather pieces, usually used by men and stored in the pocket of the jacket, with a space called a mouthpiece suitable for the watch to be inserted.

The pouch's making starts with the chain loop, which is the basis of crochet. The coils produce by pulling through each other with the help of an awl. For triangular or circular pouches, the yarn is started by making a simple loop and creating a loop through this loop [26].

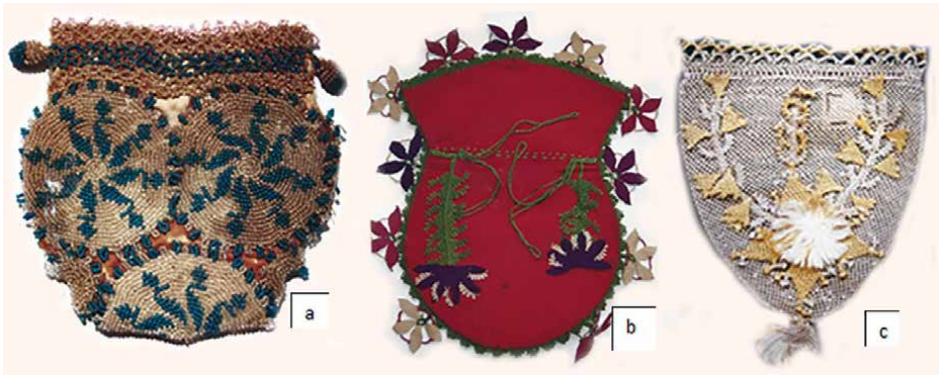

Figure 3.
(a) Bead pouch, (b) fabric pouch, (c) needle lace pouch [Bursa Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum].

3. Findings

Eight (7) animal-shaped knitted pouch samples were examined in the study. As a result of the examination, the pouch dives into sections according to the arrangement of motifs such as vegetable, animal, symbolic and geometric used in triangular-shaped bags. In the research, pouch samples explain according to these sections (**Figure 4**).

3.1 Example 1

The money bag study is a paraboloid (half ellipse). With the frequent needle technique, the pouch, which starts from the lower part of the pedestal tip or almond, starts vertically with the motif of "flower in a pot." A water motif in the form of a zigzag patterned ribbon surrounding the pouch body wraps the central figures from above and below. In the middle, there are two bird figures placed on a branch. The shrink mouth of the pouch, lace ends with two-sided laces on the rim, and the base end decorates with tassels (**Figure 5**).

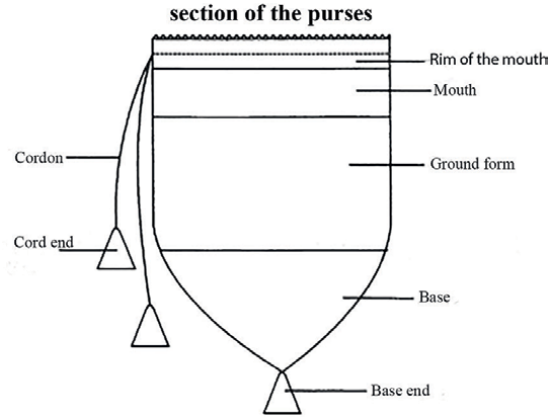

Figure 4.
Section of the pouch [By Kayadibi].

Figure 5.
Bursa Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, İnventory No:1980 money pouch and drawing [By Kayadibi].

3.2 Example 2

A sequential border surrounds the base part of the sac in the form of a wildflower consisting of flowers, leaves, and branches. The figure of "four birds, large and small, perched on two separate branches" is placed on the body part. This motif complements by a thin border called water in decorative art, which repeats in the form of flowers and leaves in rows above and below. To shrink the mouth of the pouch, lace, also called cord, which forms by hand twisting (twisting) of the two-sided threads, is made on the rim, and the lace ends, and the base ends decorate with a flower motif (**Figure 6**).

3.3 Example 3

The pouch's base makes of three hook-shaped triangular geometric patterns. On the body part, a figure of "birds perched on a branch that regularly follows one after the other" place Patterns are created by repeating short, curved lines connected to the upper and lower parts of the figures. Two-sided laces make by knitting a chain handrail around the rim of the pouch to shrink the mouth. Crochet lace decorates the railing, the lace ends, the base end, and the mouth part (**Figure 7**).

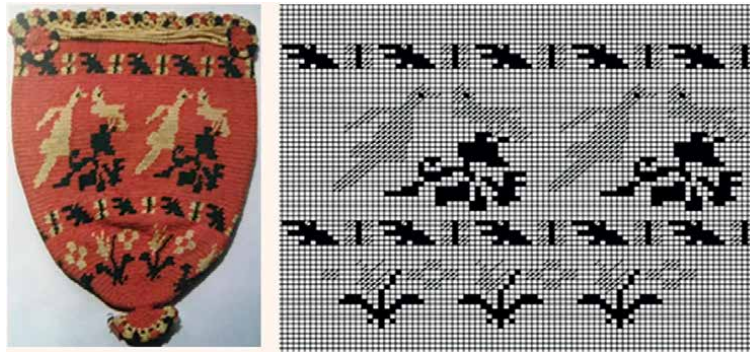

Figure 6.
Bursa Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, İnventory No:2581 pouch and drawing [By Kayadibi].

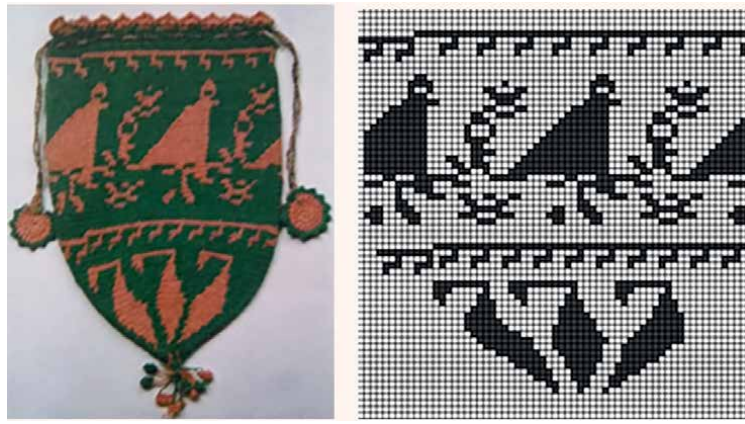

Figure 7.
Bursa Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, İnventory No:1900 money pouch and drawing [By Kayadibi].

3.4 Example 4

The pouch's base started with a border formed so that the long sides of the isosceles triangles were parallel to each other. On the part of a ground form, there is a "goat tied to a tree" figure. Small leaves that repeat themselves are at the top and bottom of the statistics. To shrink the pouch's mouth, the lacing, which forms by twisting the two-sided yarns by hand, is passed through the handrail, the lace ends and base end decorative with tassels, and the mouth cosmetic with crochet lace (**Figure 8**).

3.5 Example 5.

The base part of the pouch starts with a border consisting of symmetrical triangles. Next, the figure of "two deer" is placed on the body part. Next, a chain-shaped frame makes above and below the figures. Finally, to shrink the mouth of the pouch, a braided crochet chain and a braid called a handrail makes on the edge of the rim, decorated with crochet lace (**Figure 9**).

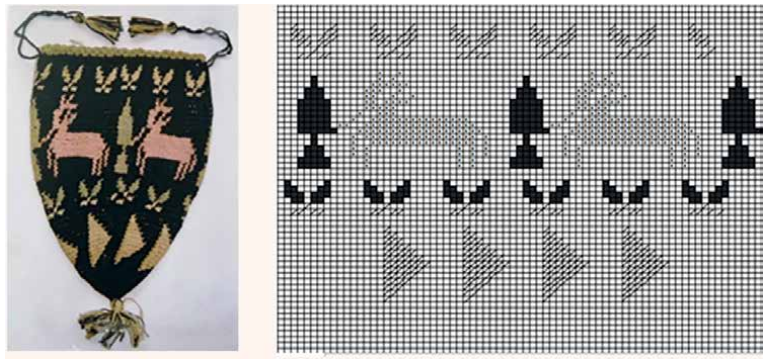

Figure 8.
Bursa Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, İnventory No:2051 pouch and drawing [By Kayadibi].

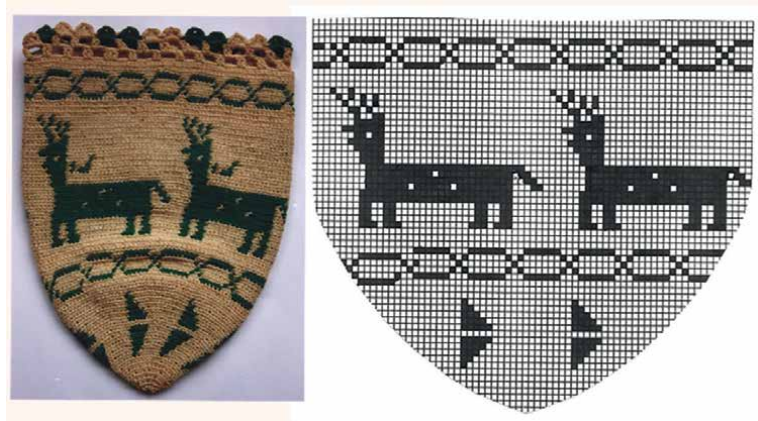

Figure 9.
Bursa Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum İnventory No:2582 pouch and drawing [By Kayadibi].

3.6 Example 6

The "butterfly" figure, formed in a regular sequence, is placed in the middle of the square-shaped pouch, inclined. These figures are bordered by regularly repeating triangles above and below: the mouth and lower part of the pouch decoratives with crochet lace (**Figure 10**).

3.7 Example 7

There is a figure of "two roosters facing each other and a bird on a branch" in a square-shaped pouch. On the right corner of the pouch is "heirloom" in Arabic letters. To shrink the mouth of the bag does not appear to have a crochet chain and a braid called a handrail on the edge of the rim, decorated with crochet lace (**Figure 11**).

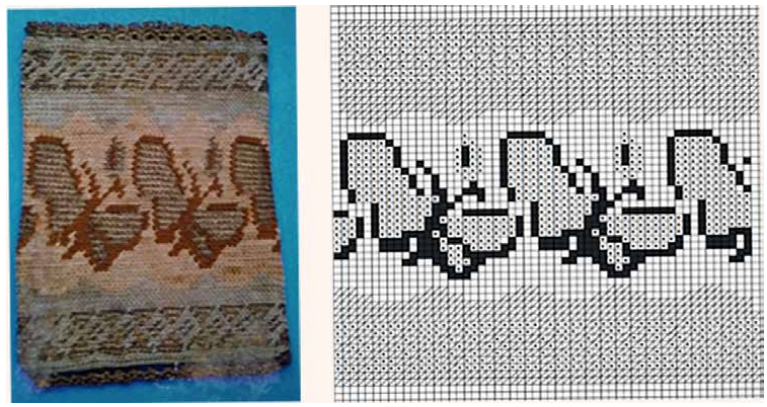

Figure 10.
Bursa Turkish and Islamic arts museum, İnventory No:1644 pouch and drawing [by Kayadibi].

Figure 11.
Bursa Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum, İnventory No:2582 pouch and drawing [By Kayadibi].

4. Conclusions

Pouches are a cultural item used for protection, transportation, storage, and decoration in many areas, including daily use items, writing instruments and books, kitchen tools, war, and hunting equipment, used in cleaning works and cleaning goods.

Pouches change shape depending on where they use; It mainly operates as money pouch in parabolic or triangular shapes resembling an ellipse. However, it also comes in various forms, such as rectangles, pentagons, and squares. There are examples of pouches made according to the oval shackle clock in watch pouches. Tobacco pouches are typically rectangular. Other pouch samples produce according to the form of the goods to be used.

According to the material used, pouches, Fabric is classified as crochet knitting, needle knitting, and bead knitting pouches.

When examined as a composition, a pattern consisting of small motifs in triangular forms uses in the initial part, called a pedestal. In the body part, there are figures in the middle and thin borders surrounding the statistics above and below. Rectangular pouches, it covers by a narrow edge at the top and bottom. Animal figures use as the central motif in the middle.

In the pouches, small or single bird figures perched on a large branch, and animal figures such as goats, deer, roosters, and butterflies can see. In mythology, the bird figure symbolizes the guardian spirit and justice [30]. At the same time, he is a messenger who brings information from his beloved, his son who went to the military, and his wife. As the symbol of the sun and pride, the rooster figure establishes a connection between the rooster's crowing and the sunrise [31]. Thus, the clock, whose chirping signals the morning, takes its duty. Denizli rooster is famous in Anatolia for its beautiful, harmonious, and long crowing [32]. In addition, rooster and chicken figures found in artifacts excavated from pazyryk kurgans consider protective symbols that exorcize evil spirits [30]. Butterfly figures' beauties include abundance, a transformation from caterpillar to butterfly, rebirth, flapping and rising of wings, delicacy, and joy; deer figure fertility, power, and dominance; the goat symbolizes stubbornness.

With the development of technology and the change in our needs, the usage area of the pouch has decreased. Therefore, this study was carried out to transfer our handcrafted pouches, one of our vanishing values, to future generations, raise awareness about our culture, document it, and contribute to its survival.

Traditional handicraft products that have survived today are among the essential elements of cultural heritage preserved with a sense of shared identity and belonging [33]. People not only add esthetic value to the goods they make based on the social and cultural characteristics of the environment in which they live, but they also give meaning to the motifs and colors in handicraft products, which have enabled it to happen [34]. Despite the result of changing preferences, global change, technological development, human life, and tastes have had the most significant impact on cultural heritage. Our knitting sacs and motifs, in particular, are in danger of being forgotten, and examples can only find in museums. Our handicraft products, which are very important in cultural heritage, should be preserved to pass on our values, such as their meanings, motif characteristics, technical and composition characteristics, protection, and sustainability from generation to generation. Various forms of marketing, such as exhibiting these products in museums or introducing various activities such as festivals and festivals, can be evaluated for this purpose [35]. Intangible Cultural Heritage Products can be transferred and preserved by participating in courses at preschool educational institutions, workshops, and museums that include practices and stories.

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Chapter 3

Cultural Heritage Lost: Case Study of Isfahan, Iran

Sepideh Asadi

Abstract

This research examines the natural and man-made hazards such as the case of urban development, nature, and legislation in the city of Isfahan in Iran. The goals are to show how cultural heritage is at risk of extinction, what the causes are, and how to find and offer solutions. Similar cases and previously studied have been conducted but although these studies all concluded how to use CH as a source of income from attracting tourism, and therefore, there were few details on all kinds of threats to our cultural heritage at once in recent years. On the other hand, the unsustainable progress alongside economic breakdown caused by international sanctions created a budget crisis which leads that has caused the Cultural Heritage Organization to not receive adequate funding. The study was designed as a single-case, qualitative method in which data were gathered through in-depth interviews and discussions with randomly chosen local residents, active heritage experts, and managers in the field of heritage preservation and urban planning. Isfahan has been chosen as a representative example of a metropolis with a variety of heritage participation projects. Although solving budget problems requires experts in this field so that we can maintain our CH sites, learning from the traditional art of the past and rethinking the concept of urban development management is essential to end the crisis of destruction of cultural heritage.

Keywords: cultural heritage, management system, UNESCO, tangible heritage, intangible heritage

1. Introduction

Heritage conservation has become a big issue in global society. According to [1, 2], heritage is "our legacy from the past, what we live today, and what we will pass on to future generation".

In 1972, Cultural heritage Center "UNESCO" divided heritage into two major parts: "Tangible heritage such as monuments and buildings" and "intangible heritage such as skills, instruments, and artifacts". And conservation of heritage means all the process of looking after a tangible and intangible heritage to retain its cultural significance and to keep them safe from being destroyed or being damaged as well [3, 4]. Historical area and urban heritage planning in Iran have values as well as cultural, religious, social, economic, and physical concepts.

The Iranian Parliament approved the law on antiquities in October 1930 more than two decades after oil was discovered in the southwest of Iran. There is a consensus

among researchers that Iran has one of the most reliable historical dynasties of any modern country. Having said that contemporary Iranians have not achieved a good score in protecting this sacred heritage, some have even given up on it.

Iran's cultural heritage sites have faced many problems over the years. Since the eight-year Iran–Iraq war, irreparable damage has been done to cultural heritage sites, to the threat of US President Trump to destroy Iran's ancient site on January 6, 2020.

In developing countries like Iran, urban fabrics in most cities are currently faced with similar issues. On one hand, they are experiencing rapid population growth, intense development pressure, rising area of historic districts, and destruction of cultural heritage. On the other hand, the 1930 law on antiquities remained the main source of the later law on the preservation of cultural heritage. These laws have not been revised or extended for several decades, and they cannot properly deal with the necessity of preserving cultural heritage and the development of the country.

In societies, where, on the one hand, financial resources are limited and, on the other hand, the basic social needs of education, housing, and health are urgent, cultural heritage activities usually do not have high priority. This research tries to find the problems that heritage sites are facing in order to be able to protect history and maybe they can be used optimally as a source of income.

In order to do that, this chapter will contain full changes in heritage protection programs and laws in Iran in the period of 33 years after the Islamic Revolution of Iran. This research is important because in the economic conditions of Iran, taking into account severe economic sanctions and the lack of income, cultural heritage sites can be a good alternative to the lack of oil sales. But first, to achieve this goal, all the roadblock problems must be identified, and then, a solution should be defined for them to reach the implementation stage.

2. Dilemmas and challenges in Isfahan city heritage conservation

2.1 Human settlement

2.1.1 Urban development and renewal

Urban renewal is the process of the rehabilitation of city areas by renovating or replacing dilapidated buildings. Urban development plans, particularly those of large and fast-growing cities, routinely declared significant portions of the historic fabric as "areas for urban renewal", meaning that the existing historic structures could be removed to make way for new buildings and any elements [5]. According to Patrick Geddes [6], city of today must be different from the city of the past, but the physical form of a historic city should be considered as a whole, and every urban renewal activity should be done in complete accordance with the spirit of place.

History of Isfahan city core consisted of two parts, the old section, which started from the Old Square, close to the Friday Mosque, and the new section, which started from Naghshe-Jahan square today called the Meydane Emem [7].

Nowadays, Old Square (today called MEYDANKHONEH or Old Square) and JAME mosque of ATIGH are one of the important strength nodes of the city that bypassing of the time it has been changed in the development process. There was one major reason for these fundamental changes in the Old Square of Isfahan city which referred to below: [9, 10] (**Figure 1**).

> *"Isfahan Municipality Renovation & Restoration Organization (IMR&RO) decided to renovation this region because of its revival of historical axis in order to the extension of the city to the south and increase the quality of life in heart of the city [8]."*

As modernization and nationalism were two important bases for King Reza Shah Pahlavi's reign, reigning from 1925 to 1941, a new architectural style was coined inspired by ancient Persian architecture and was applied in modern public buildings like banks, police headquarter and stations, National Museum, administrative buildings, and schools [11].

Although in this period attention was paid to the preservation of ancient architectural heritage, historic centers became the victim of urban development programs. In Isfahan, the former capital of the SAFAVID dynasty with an exemplary urban design from the seventeenth century, the oldest historic square of the city, ATIQ Square, was split into two parts by the new and modern streets. Since then, the square became a marginal place in the city's life.

The historic centers that remained behind the modern developed roads and zones were turned into abandoned and marginal spaces. The original populations of these districts left them and migrated to new parts of the cities. The abandoned city spaces were and are the houses of marginalized people, with high rates of crime.

Once again, in Isfahan, another urban project raised concerns for the historic ATIQ Square.

The square, which was the historic core of the city's expansion and development, had been torn by ABDUL RAZZAQ Road about 50 years ago and had been jeopardized again by another urban project. The development project of the square aims to turn it into a big shopping and business center with an underground road and a multi-story car park. The heavy construction of the project is faced with two major

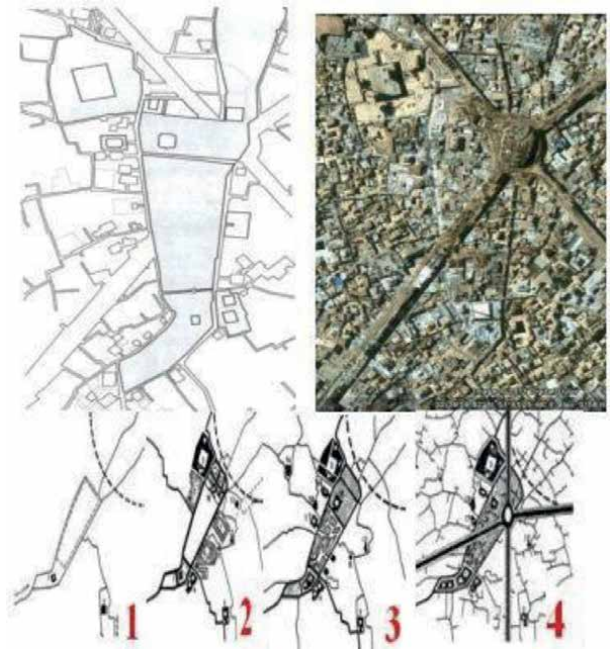

Figure 1.
Process of changing in Old Square. Source: [1, 8].

objections by both the archeologists and architects. Given the historical background of the square, the archeologists believe that before starting any operation, which could destroy the ancient evidence of the city development, archeological surveys had to be carried out, and the findings should be documented.

Construction-era bulldozers in the 1990s, while paving the streets and demolishing old historic baths and mosques, did not have the opportunity to pursue the project and left it to future generations. In the next decade, with the rampant increase in population and car volume in Isfahan, the traffic and the condition of the old city square, which had become the busiest place in the city, was getting worse day by day. This situation led the city managers to go to the old plan of the Old Square and start an important project with the slogan of reviving the history of Isfahan. A project that was supposed to destroy thousands of shops and extensive excavations in order to leave a modern underpass in this area for Isfahan in addition to the trapezoidal field of the Seljuk era.

During excavations in the late 2000s, many antiques were unearthed by loaders. According to Ali JAFARI-ZAND [11] (a prominent Iranian archeologist), building underpasses and squares without archeological research was a crime. The demolition of the circular square, known as the Old Square, and the construction of an underpass caused the destruction of many ancient artifacts and objects (**Figure 2**).

Another example can be the restoration of the dome of Shah Mosque in Isfahan, which ended in "distortion and deformation" of this historical work from the NAGHSHE-JAHAN collection (**Figure 3**).

Figure 2.
Before and after of ATIGH Square. Source: [2, 12].

Figure 3.
Before and after the restoration of the Shah dome of Isfahan. Source: [3, 13].

The published photos of the restoration result of Isfahan's Shah Mosque, which is also known as ABBASI JAME Mosque, show that not only depressions and protrusions have been created in it, but "even the cracks in the dome are not properly placed and the tiling patterns on the dome are not aligned".

According to an interview with Dr. Mir ALAEI, the existence of laws for the protection of cultural heritage, especially registered world cultural heritage, has prevented projects that damage the historical and cultural fabric of Isfahan from being destroyed [14]. But the rest of the sites registered in the national heritage list are not safe from these damages.

According to research conducted by Professor AZADEH MASHAYEKHI [15], charitable foundations and holding companies independent of the municipality and the central government have vital contributions to carrying out urban development planning projects and models in Iran.

In many cases, these companies and independent holdings, regardless of the value of historical contexts, seek to destroy them, but the existence of protection laws for Iranian cultural heritage and international world heritage prevents these actions [14].

According to the Isfahan Cultural Heritage Officer [16], due to the existence of two sites registered in the World Heritage List, the annual municipal budget and urban development are much higher than the total budget of another province. But this budget is not spent on repairing the traditional and old texture of Isfahan city center.

According to direct observations, the central and old textures of the city of Isfahan (the sanctuary of two world heritage sites) are very unsuitable and are far from the standards of urban welfare for residents.

The director of Isfahan Municipality Renovation and Improvement Organization, referring to the existence of 2380 hectares of inefficient approved texture in Isfahan, told HAMSHAHRI NEWS: "According to the approvals of the Article 5 Commission, 12% of the total area of the city is worn texture in the form of 237 spots in 15 areas. The city has been identified and accommodates 23% of the population of Isfahan" [17].

Homes are not safe from the risk of earthquakes and fires, as is the lack of access to roads, infrastructure, and urban facilities, the low share of utility services, and the lack of some cultural and educational services. It can be said without exaggeration that one of the biggest and most complex problems of Isfahan metropolis is dilapidated houses and neighborhoods, which experts introduce with warning letters such as time bombs, unstable and inefficient texture, to draw the attention of national and local planners to the importance of renovation. Improve the living conditions of its residents, but after two or three decades of planning, the survival of many brick and mud houses in the heart of the old neighborhoods of the city center and even the suburbs, indicates that all plans to renovate and renovate these neighborhoods. On paper, it has failed to solve the problems of nearly 23 percent of the city's population or the 500,000 Isfahan' citizens are living in run-down neighborhoods. Mahmoud DARVISH, a pioneer of architecture, says that worn-out texture is very different from historical texture. There is a historical and worn texture that can be identified by architects and urban planners and restorers [18].

He points out that the creation of any access route in the historical context must be done with careful expertise and the need to pay attention to each of its buildings: it is like a surgery performed on worn parts of the body, and for this, it is necessary to evaluate the buildings; what is valuable should be preserved and what is worn out should be used for road construction and access to the historical context [18].

2.1.2 Transportation system

In September 2011, cultural heritage activists and bloggers from Isfahan published some new photos of the bridge (SIO-SE-POL/33 Bridge) that showed the cracks in different parts of the historic structure. They claimed that the Superintendent's office of Historic Monuments in Isfahan was covering the cracks with fillers, before carrying out any structural analysis to distinguish their types. Although scientific analysis has not been carried out in order to distinguish the main reason for the cracks and their typology, many in Isfahan claim that they are the result of underground construction.

The construction of the underground in Isfahan started in 2002. In a part of its route, the underground passes under the historic center of the city and the river. This part of the project has been objected to by the Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization, the experts in conservation, and many activists. They believe that it may cause damage to the irreplaceable historic structures of the city.

The metro construction was stopped once at the request of the Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization, but later the president of the city council revealed that Iran's Interior minister has ordered the construction to be resumed.

According to Dr. GHALEH NOEI for a metropolis like Isfahan with an urban population of 4,760,241, the existence of an efficient and comfortable urban transportation system is a must for the welfare of citizens [14].

In September 2009, the Tunnel-Boring Machine (TBM) that was working under the river was redirected and diverted 40 m from its main way and approached the bridge, because of a technical problem. A cultural heritage activist at that time claimed that the extracted rubbles from the machine, when it was working near the bridge, were a mixture of different materials with different colors, and it might have been a result of hitting the foundation of the bridge [19]. However, this was rejected by both the "Isfahan Urban Railway Organization" and the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization. On August 28, 2011, an expert from the Isfahan Office of Historic Monuments, who wanted to remain anonymous, there is no doubt that the TBM has caused damages. However, these claims cannot be proven unless scientific analyses can be done by an independent organization [11] (**Figure 4**).

Figure 4.
Cracks in thirty-three bridges. Source: [4, 20].

2.1.3 Air pollution

Air pollution is a key factor in the destruction of buildings and monuments. The impact of pollutants emitted into the atmosphere on materials is enormous and often irreversible. Corrosion from chemicals and pollution from particles can lead to economic losses, but most importantly, they lead to the destruction of our cultural heritage, an important component of our individual and collective identity.

Air pollution in recent years has caused damage to historical buildings. **Figure 5** shows the deteriorated wooden ceiling of the Ali QAPU building (NAGHSHE-JAHAN Square), sixteenth century, in Isfahan, Iran. During the last four decades, the number of industrial plants and private cars has greatly increased and has resulted in worsened environmental pollution. As a result, the surfaces of many historical buildings have been affected [19].

There are many basic but essential lessons that can be learned from traditional and regional architecture in Iran. The first and most important one is an adaptation to the environment, climate, and nature. A study of the typology of traditional and indigenous architecture of the country shows that creating architectural forms on the Iranian plateau have always been associated with climatic diversity and energy saving as well. Therefore, a wise reflection on this heritage leads to the emergence of a new

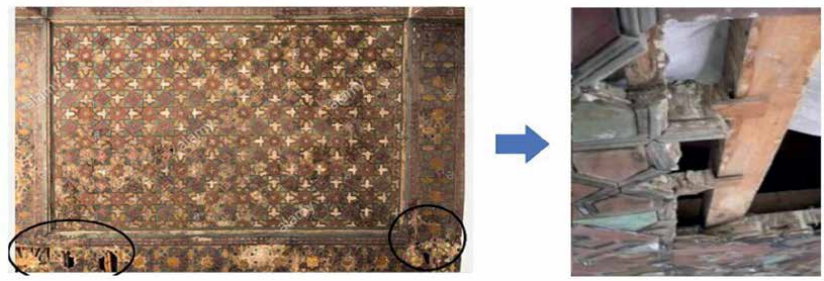

Figure 5.
Deterioration of Wooden Ceiling of Ali QAPU palace. Source: [5, 21].

Figure 6.
ALI QAPU. Source: [6, 22].

understanding of local architecture. **Figure 5** represents the traditional energy-saving architecture in ALI QAPU Palace in NAGHSHE-JAHAN Square.

Architectural patterns that progress carelessly across the country, unfortunately, ignore the features of the environment and the climate, and by reconnecting the architectural patterns and environment, there will be a great difference (**Figure 6**).

2.2 Regulation challenges

2.2.1 Gap in updated legislation

Cultural heritage, in its broadest sense, from the tangible to the intangible, can contribute effectively to the country's development process while remaining safe and respected only when supported by up-to-date protection and policies. The speed of development in Iran has made it necessary to study the real law of cultural heritage. However, not only has this review not been conducted by the Iranian parliament and other responsible organizations, but the gaps in this law open the way for further damage to such heritage [23].

In the post-conflict reconstruction period in Iran, which started in the 1990s, the municipality of Tehran applied a new policy for increasing its economic income, which was a necessity for urban development. In this process, both the approved detailed plan of the city and the protective recommendations for the historic urban fabrics were ignored by the municipality and the city managers [24].

For more than 80 years, Iranian archeologists, architects, and cultural heritage experts have been updating the National Heritage List, hoping that the registration will protect cultural property as an effective legal tool. But the reality is that registration is currently facing a legal challenge that has undermined its purpose. In 2010, a Supreme Court removed several historic buildings from the National Heritage List because property owners had claimed that their property rights had been violated by the Cultural Heritage Organization of Iran. In this case, the right of ownership was a permit to demolish the historic property and build modern buildings. The demolition of some of these properties has already begun. On the other hand, the Cultural Heritage Organization, which is officially the only authority responsible for registering monuments and sites in the National Heritage List, has announced that it will no longer register any statue without the consent and permission of its owners. This means that in the future, less valuable historic properties, especially houses, will be protected by law, as many homeowners prefer to demolish their historic homes and build multi-storey apartments [23].

The process of removing properties from the National Heritage List has just started, but it is not clear when and where it would stop. Since there are still many historic bazaars in Iranian cities, each of them containing numerous historic shops, caravanserais, and TEEMCHEHS (a kind of small passage with shops inside a bazaar), concerns about these places would be growing, if their owners decide to follow the newly opened way for removing their properties from the NHL.

Turning to the initial point, the first domestic law on cultural heritage was approved more than 80 years ago, and the next legislation was formed based on the primary law. The vacuums in the legislation, as shown above, have led to removing cultural properties from National Heritage List. The inefficient structure of the responsible organizations for the protection of cultural heritage has permitted development projects to ignore the economic, social, and cultural values of the historic city centers.

The first and subsequent laws on cultural heritage in Iran were adopted at a time when the idea of sustainable development had not yet been proposed globally. Therefore, the approach to cultural heritage, which is embodied in these laws, does not provide a creative way for such heritage to participate in the development process of the country. This is especially true of urban historical contexts and city centers. Although the law emphasizes the need to protect these centers, it has failed to provide a solution to protect them. Therefore, city managers always complain that they need too much money to protect these historic centers, which is never available. As a result, these sites remain defenseless against various natural and man-made erosion agents.

According to Article.171 of the Fifth Development Plan of Iran (2011, more details: **Table 1**), the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development and all the municipalities annually must rehabilitate at least 10 percent of deteriorated urban fabrics. Here, the law is not explicit about the historic centers and cultural heritage. It just refers to the "deteriorated urban fabrics" that are not precisely historic centers or built heritage. Although the strategy for rehabilitation of the useless urban fabrics and centers is an appropriate policy for using these urban spaces, it could be more effective if the law and the Fifth Development Plan had a particular emphasis on the revitalization and rehabilitation of historic urban centers. Questionably, the role of the Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization (ICHHTO) is not considered in this process. This unique opportunity, predicted in the Fifth Development Plan, would have been a solution for safeguarding the historic centers and integrating them into city life and their quality of life if the participation of the governmental and nongovernmental Cultural Heritage Organizations had been considered [24].

> *"The Supreme Council of Urban Planning and Architecture of Iran is obliged to count the special areas in need of improvement and renovation in worn-out structures and to classify the projects located in these areas, with priority"*

- Projects that are necessary for their timely implementation due to the public interest.

- Projects through the development of rules and regulations and public participation and support of the government, municipalities, and villages. It can be done over time.

Traditional urban culture and the modern spirit of the city must discuss the essence of the city such as the systematic conservation of heritage, the local lifestyle of citizenship, and community spirit. Heritage conservation and local community needs are two important factors that should work together to preserve the city spirit while considering the modernization and development of society in a culturally and historically sensitive manner. In recent years, with growing traffic and air pollution in metropolitan areas such as Isfahan city, it is obvious that there should be more attention to reducing the number of vehicles, especially in the historic city. In order to achieve sustainable development in Isfahan historical city, some suggestions were offered for solving legislation problems:

- Sustainable development regarding to sprit of city and building construction with improving the urban infrastructures.

Periods	Courses	Important events	Policies	Measurements
The first rule of five-year plan	1979–1985 Iran-Iraq war	The victory of Islamic Revolution War	Continuation of Pahlavi's law	Paying attention to renovation of buildings
	1985–1991 Establishment of CHO	Formation of CHO	Strengthening the CH and preparing a plan for the protection and restoration of monuments	Isfahan's neighborhood improvements plan
	1991–1994 Stabilization of CHO	Beginning post-war reconstruction	Planning with different scales to protect historic cities	Isfahan, Yazd, PASSARGAD, and BOSTAN Arch Projects
The second rule of five-year plan	1993–1996 Groundwork for fundamental and economic change	Approval of the second period plan of political, economic and social development	• Increasing the ole of the CHO in development heritage protection plans • Increase attention to restoration • Increase attention to economic part of heritage	Using public participation in TABRIZ Bazar Project
The third rule of five-year plan	1996–2003 Socio-cultural development	Adaption of new laws	• Formation of CH bases • Presence of CHO in the field of laws and development	Reconstruction of many old neighborhoods through renovation plans
	2003–2004 Transformation of CHO	• Merger of the CHO with tourism sector • Separation of CHO from the ministry of Islamic Guidance and joining to the Presidential sector	• Increasing attention to tourism • Expand international cooperation • Development of museums	Creation of 30 museum sites
The fourth rule of five-year plan	2004–2009 Strengthen tourism through heritage improvement The	the merger of the CH and Tourism Organization with the handicraft organization	• Increasing tourism budget • Restoration laws to monitor any interference in the registered sites	Registration of DAMAVAND mountain in the national list of natural heritage
The fifth rule of five-year plan	2009–2012 Increase the registration of CH in the world list	Transfer of the Central headquarter of CH to Shiraz and Isfahan	• More registration in UNESCO list	Registration of Isfahan Grand Mosque in World Heritage List

Table 1.
Changes in heritage protection programs and laws in Iran in the period of 33 years after the Islamic Revolution of Iran. Source: prepared by the author, [24, 25].

- Decentralize planning considering value of cultural heritage and bazaar in city core.

- Making a physical welfare and facilitating the connection of interior structure of texture with urban structure.

- Recognizing the basic elements of the old cities structure (particularly the passages and squares) and preserving them in the new developments.

- Recognizing and adding the traditional architecture elements and using them a new architecture style.

Many private companies and influential individuals, having their own personal and illegal contracts with the municipality and the city council, have taken personal and high-interest projects for themselves, regardless of the quality of life of the residents or the damage that these projects can do to the historical context. As a result, very little of the grand budget received by municipality is spent on renovating and maintaining cultural heritage sites [26]. Therefore, the existence of protection laws for world heritage sites and registration in the world list has prevented many of these projects that are harmful to the cultural heritage of their culture, and their existence is very necessary.

During the author's conversation with the renovators of NAGHSHE-JAHAN Square in Isfahan, they face the problem of a lack of budget, and for this reason, it is not possible for them to repair and maintain in the right way, and the work is very slow [28] (**Figure 7**).

3. Intangible heritage

Based on national and international definitions, intangible cultural heritage refers to behavior, symbols, skills, tools, native knowledge, handicrafts, and cultural spaces of a nation. They are handed down from generation to generation.

Iran's intangible cultural heritage includes performing arts, handicrafts and traditional crafts, skills related to handicrafts and traditional crafts, social traditions, customs, festivals and rituals, science and customs related to nature and the world, verbal traditions and other manifestations like languages and dialects.

Traditional skills of crafting and playing "Dotār" (2019), Art of crafting and playing with KAMANCHEH/KAMANCHA (2017), CHOGAN, a horse-riding game

Figure 7.
Repair and maintenance status of NAGHSHE-JAHAN Square. Source: [7, 27].

accompanied by music and storytelling (2017) and Flatbread making and sharing culture: LAVASH, KATYRMA, JUPKA, YUFKA (2016) are of Iranian Intangible Cultural Heritage elements in UNESCO List.

The UNESCO list also includes Nowrouz (2016). "NOWROUZ is the first day of the Iranian new year, occurring on the vernal equinox (usually March 20 or 21)".

PAHLEVANI and ZOORKHANEI, "a traditional system of athletics and a form of martial arts originally used to train warriors in Iran (Persia)" rituals (2010), the traditional skills of carpet weaving in Fars (2010), traditional skills of carpet weaving in Kashan (2010), and RADIF of Iranian music (2009) are also Iranian Intangible Cultural Heritage elements in UNESCO List (**Figure 8**).

Until now, several historical and cultural works of Iran have been registered in the world by Turkey, Azerbaijan, etc.

Every country has an identity and a birth certificate that distinguishes it from other countries. Countries are trying to preserve their intangible heritage by registering it, their culture will not be interrupted, and more importantly, introduce this heritage to others as an identifier of their culture.

While the first coffee houses were established during the SAFAVID Shah (KING) TAHMASEB's reign, Turkey registered the coffee house in its own name and is trying to confiscate the Iranian bath under the name of the Turkish bath. He also tries to register "TANBUR" which is basically a mystical instrument in Kermanshah and Kurdistan under his name. Worse, it seeks to register the art of calligraphy, which was invented by Iranians, and Iran has been the center of calligraphy in the world for thousands of years. This is also the case in the registration of celebrities.

Turkey confiscated and registered MOLAVI, the great Persian poet, in his own name. This country considered the language of "Avicenna" to be Turkish and built a

Figure 8.
Six intangible cultural heritages of Iran that have been registered in the UNESCO list. Source: [9, 29].

hospital with the same name in the capital of Turkey. Turkey presents ABU-RIHAN, FARABI, and IBN- SINA as the proud people of Turkey [30].

The Republic of Azerbaijan with the support of Turkey has created more acute conditions for the Iranian cultural heritage by taking the lead in registering the intangible heritage that is rooted in the culture and civilization of Iran. Azerbaijan registered the music of "ASHIQLAR" which appeared in the SAFAVID period in Iran under its name in UNESCO. He registered the instrument "Tar" without mentioning the name of Iran. Dolma dish, which is one of the oldest Iranian dishes, was registered for this country [30].

Attempts to register YALDA (one of the oldest holidays in Iran, celebrated on December 21 every year, the YALDA Night marks the winter solstice in Central Asia—the day of the year when the night is the longest and the day is the shortest), Nan (Bread) LAVASH, CHUGAN, and North Khorasan music were other things that he tried to register independently, but failed [31]. The indifference or lack of attention of the officials of our country has caused the countries that emerged from the map of old Iran to take a new step every day to confiscate our heritage and cultural pride, using this weakness. Although the independent registration of a work in UNESCO has limitations; however, in joint and multinational cases, the annual quota is not necessary, and this is an opportunity for our country to register its intangible heritage sometimes with countries like Tajikistan and Afghanistan, which have more cultural affinity with Iranians and prevent their confiscation by other countries [32].

4. Result and discussion

The study of developments and changes in programs and laws for the protection of cultural heritage in Iran shows that in the period from 2009 to 2013, due to more attention to the economic aspect of cultural heritage and more emphasis on the political management of the Cultural Heritage Organization, cultural heritage protection. Gradually, it lost its importance. For this reason, the period from 1996 to 2003 can be chosen as the period of the most support and importance of cultural heritage in the fields of protection and management. To this end, the following table will show all developments, policies, programs, and laws for the protection of cultural heritage.

Based on interviews with cultural heritage experts and local citizens of Isfahan and asking them to explain the problems, according to the results, lack of proper management is the biggest threat to heritage sites. The preparation of the archeology database of Iran's ancient sites was a scientific platform for the legislators and heritage experts, which required the project planners to pay attention to these sites and prevent possible damages. But the database, which was started three decades ago, has not achieved much. Cultural heritage in Iran is now facing a legal and administrative crisis that has threatened its continuity. When these challenges are solved, the lessons learned from this heritage can help advance the concept of sustainable development in the country [33].

5. Conclusion

Iran has followed different paths in the last 100 years. Many types of research show that there is a deep connection between the Iranian nation and its cultural heritage, but these deep feelings should be ignited.

As we have already mentioned, one of the most important reasons for the increase in damage to monuments is the lack of awareness of people about their value and their anger due to various problems. Therefore, efforts should be made to raise the awareness of local people about the value of safe historical monuments. In addition, all possible tools should be used at different levels depending on the task.

The 1930 law on antiquities remained the main source for the next legislation on the preservation of cultural heritage. These laws have not been reviewed and renewed for decades and cannot deal properly with both the necessity of the preservation of cultural heritage and the development of the country. The lack of updated legislation and effective organizations has caused legal and administrative difficulties in the safeguarding of such heritage. In some cases, the existing laws do not support the conservators against destructive development plans, such as the metro system in the historic center of Isfahan [3–11, 33].

In Isfahan, metro construction has become a real concern for the Iranian Cultural Heritage and Tourism Organization (CHTO), conservators, and media, because the project created high risks for the historic bridge of SI-O-SE POL.

Another major issue facing Iranian cultural heritage is the lack of enough budget. While the government is neither able nor willing to make large investments, the people also have the slightest motivation to help as well. Although, people mostly intend to help or donate their contribution to protecting the monuments of their beliefs such as mosques or religious buildings.

Considering all the economic, political, and economic conditions, Iran is in one of its most difficult periods, and these problems have a direct and great impact on all aspects, including cultural heritage. Many financial problems have caused the Ministry of Cultural Heritage to face a shortage of funds, and this lack of adequate funding or investment in this sector is the biggest problem facing the Ministry of Cultural Heritage.

As we can see in the result of the online survey that has been done by the author in Feb 2022, the citizens of Isfahan, considering all the problems that cultural heritage sites and world heritage protection laws have created for their quality of daily life, with 93.7% of votes in favor, want to preserve and maintain all cultural heritage sites (national and global).

According to the conducted surveys, unfortunately, the majority of the general public does not know about the intangible heritage of Iran. And that the news of the loss of intangible heritage is reduced next to other big news such as the news of economic and political problems and not only the attention of the officials but also not the attention of the people.

According to ROSTAM BAHRAMI [32], a senior expert in international relations from KHAWARAZMI University, in order to register a work globally, we must first register them in our country's calendar and information about those works in various media so that people are aware of these works.

Second, the relevant institutions, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Cultural Heritage, Tourism and Handicrafts, the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, the management organization, academies, parliamentary commissions, etc., should formulate the necessary laws, predict future events, and provide solutions while fully coordinating. Provide and include the necessary budget. Considering that the files submitted early (files pending registration) are given priority, the Ministry of cultural heritage should prepare a list of heritage that can be confiscated by other countries and act as a preventive measure by sending it to UNESCO. Cultural heritage should play a key role here.

Thirdly, apart from political issues, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should be highly active in the cultural field and investigate cultural issues by developing regulations and budgets for embassies and cultural consultations, identifying, documenting, and introducing our heritage in the region.

In order to achieve sustainable development in the historical city of Isfahan, suggestions were made to solve these problems:

- Increasing the sense of dependence on historical spaces and convergence with the new structure and creating new forms similar to the old structure.
- Limit the entry of private cars by improving public transport systems and traffic management on domestic roads
- Need for multi-story parking in various crowded places like the city center and BAZARs.
- Updating laws and policies related to heritage protection and adapting new methods related to that issue.
- Employing experts in this field.

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Chapter 4

Perspective Chapter: Liberal Arts Education Worldwide Unlimited Inc. – The Unspeakable Basis of Comparative Humanities

William Franke

Abstract

This essay, originally a keynote speech for celebratory occasions in East Asian universities, works from the personal experience of the author as a professor teaching and researching in Macao and visiting other universities of the region. The essay espouses a philosophy that moves from what cannot be said, the ineffable, as the basis for thinking both in the East, with its mystical philosophies focused on what escapes formulation in language, and the West, beginning from the Socratic wisdom of knowing nothing. This negative moment of encountering the other and the unknown, which entails a moment of relinquishing of language, is shown to be crucial to knowledge in the humanities and to resist the pressures toward specialization at the university. These considerations articulate an alternative vision of what liberal arts education can be today that is informed by both Eastern and Western cultural traditions. Their insights can be applied to pragmatic fields and be plied to place even present and future business relations in the perspective of their historical background and universally human grounding.

Keywords: Socratic wisdom, Daoism, Confucianism, negative theology, apophatic humanism

1. Introduction

The nature of knowledge in the humanities, as *involved* knowing, is to be inextricably contextual and therefore comparative. To this extent, such knowledge is destined also to be inherently international. While working in and visiting universities in Macao, Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, Japan, Korea, Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines, over the years 2013–2016, I had the occasion to observe how traditional humanities are often

being pursued most energetically and ambitiously in East Asia.[1] Ironically, the West can relearn from East Asia the meaning and purpose, in some crucial respects, of studying the humanities. I have found humanities cultivation to be still comparatively youthful and vital in Greater China and its neighbors. The liberal arts there are often still felt to afford accession to a new kind of empowerment and self-awareness. This has been my experience in certain teaching institutions oriented to broad enculturation rather than being strictly geared to serving narrowly defined career goals of professional development.[2] The crisis in the humanities is, of course, worldwide, and in the end, Asia is no exception. However, the timing and effect of history in the evolution of society and culture in the East are not synchronized with their movements in the West. This enables East Asia to offer an intriguing foil, with often surprising perspectives counterpointing and out of phase with developments in Western universities as well as in other types of educational and research institutions.

To the end of interpreting the purport and motives of any such flourishing of the humanities, the issue of the specialization of knowledge in the context of the university, with its double mission of fostering research and general education, serves well as a key focus.[3] Taking up just one aspect of the broader topic of the progressive specialization of knowledge, I wish to pursue the question: Why do we still need *un*specialized knowledge? Our specialized scientific knowledge seems to have become so successful today that we take it to be the absolute paradigm of what genuine knowledge should be. Science has given us prodigious powers to transform our world. Yet, unless we have some measure of understanding of its goals and take responsibility for the final ends of it, this knowing is at risk of becoming only that much more mighty a form of manipulation and even recklessness. Not that we can know, in any definitive way, the ends of human existence or the purpose of the universe. But we can and do need to know or take account of our own ignorance *vis-à-vis* their endlessly open possibilities. This self-awareness is a fundamental premise for the validity of any branch or aspect of our knowledge, and it is essential to protect us from the worst ravages of our own limitations and inevitable blindnesses.

My thesis, then, in its baldest and most outrageous form, is that knowledge in the humanities is—and should be—fundamentally ignorance. The humanities' highest purpose is to teach us our ignorance. This was the lesson of Socrates near the outset of the Western tradition of philosophy: He understood that the oracle of Apollo at Delphi had designated him as the wisest of men simply because he knew that he did *not* know. Instead of being a possessor of knowledge, he was a *lover* of wisdom, a devotee to the pursuit of *philo-sophia* (literally, "love of wisdom"). This Socratic wisdom is

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[1] This chapter originated as a keynote address for a symposium on "Liberal Arts in the Age of Globalization" marking the 10th Anniversary Celebration of Underwood International College, Yonsei University, Seoul, South Korea, October 28, 2015. I thank Professor Anthony Adler for his formal response. Much of the content was subsequently adapted to serve as an inaugural address for a new School of Foreign Studies at Capitol University of Economics and Business in Beijing, China, May 26, 2016. A shorter version appears also as a chapter in my book O*n the Universality of What is Not: The Apophatic Turn in Critical Thinking* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2020), reused with permission from the publisher.

[2] I owe this experience to my position as Professor and Head of Philosophy and Religious Studies at the University of Macao from 2013 to 2016. I was also Visiting Associate Professor of Comparative Literature at the University of Hong Kong in 2005–2006 and was hired there as Professor of European Studies in 2012, but went to Macao instead.

[3] The Yonsei University anniversary symposium addressed specifically the issue of specialization in the humanities.

not without close parallels in the Daoist and Confucian traditions, where the sage is acutely aware of how the Dao persistently escapes from human grasp and from all the constructions of language. Still today, as in all ages, this may well be the hardest thing of all for us to know—or at least to acknowledge and accept. The *un*knowing that underlies, antedates, and conditions all our knowing, however advanced and powerful our technical know-how becomes, remains in essential ways the better part of wisdom. It is what relates us to everything else beyond our ken and releases us from confinement to the narrow sphere of our own familiar territory surveyed and charted by our measuring instruments into grids of information. This cognizance as a form of acknowledgment of what is beyond and other to our own system of rationalized knowing projects us into relation with the all and the unknown.

Humanities knowledge, then, at a certain fundamental level, is about human limits. Such knowing of one's own limits is the gist of the injunction "Know thyself" inscribed over the temple of Apollo, the god of wisdom, at Delphi in Greece.[4] Yet the limit is also what enables us to think past a circumscribed field of knowledge and to intuit an uncircumscribed, undelimited region beyond. The limit opens this "beyond" in another register of awareness trained on what exceeds objective representation and conceptual grasp. The narratives and archetypes of myth and religion offer us a fertile resource for this purpose: they provide what we could call an "imaginary."[5] In millenary traditions across cultures, the deepest wisdom of humanity consists of knowing our own ignorance, and this knowing opens upon an unspeakable dimension of consciousness that is profoundly expressed across cultures in the modes of literature and religion as well as in other artistic genres and humanistic types of endeavor.

The negation of discourse and mystical surrender to knowing "nothing" turns out to be intimately bound up with a kind of (un)knowing of *every*thing or more precisely with an inarticulable awareness of the connectedness between and among all things without limits. The negation of our claim to definitive knowing, our understanding of ourselves as more fundamentally in a state of unknowing or of learned ignorance (*docta ignorantia*), opens this infinite sphere. This is the sort of wisdom that the oldest traditions of myth and religious ritual have perennially intimated by indirect means in their own poetic and symbolic vocabularies. It is also the kind of knowledge that the humanities have a mission to continue to cultivate in our modern, ever more technocratic and managerial civilization. Otherwise, we are ever more fatally gripped in the vice of specialized, technical knowledge that ignores and obliterates all such intuitive, as-yet-undifferentiated awareness. We lose our peripheral vision of a non-objective dimension of existence as underlying everything human and sustaining its meaning.

Whether or not we believe in any special intuitive cognitive faculties, or in any sort of higher mind or reality, still we must concede that the knowledge of every discipline is limited and open on all sides in the direction of other disciplines. Such knowledge necessarily looks toward what remains unknown to the given discipline's knowledge taken simply on its own terms. Without presupposing any kind of mystic sensibilities, we are all nevertheless aware, in any given act of cognition, of the impingement on all our apparent knowing, of background factors that cannot be exhaustively determined

[4] Pausanias [1] records the inscription γνώθι σεαυτόν (*gnothi seauton*) in his second-century A.D. *Description of Greece* (X.24.1).

[5] The term "imaginaire" is used by French critics such as Michel Foucault [2] and Jacques Lacan [3] not just as an adjective but as a substantive designating the cultural construction of a world through symbols and images.

or thematically focused. This circumambient reality, which can never be taken in as a whole, since it is no distinct object of knowledge, is in effect "nothing" insofar as exact knowledge is concerned. Yet it is all-important as a kind of connective tissue for determining contextually the purport and sense of all that we might claim to grasp or understand by our mental powers. This is the unspeakable basis of knowledge in the humanities that these reflections will nevertheless endeavor to make indirectly discernible. We need to recognize and appreciate it as the secret source of value in all our knowing, even knowing of the most technical, precise, and positive sorts.

2. The humanities as involved knowing

Shifting our perspective to East Asia helps us to discern what is truly universal about the university in its vocation to cultivating humanity. However, the universal is also in the end the singular—since we are *all* unique individuals. Accordingly, I will take up this topic in a more personal voice and from an autobiographical angle, with reference to particular occasions. This more subjective dimension—which has some claim to belong to what may be called, as suggested by William Desmond, an "intimate universal"—is, after all, inextricable from humanities knowledge [4].

A recent book of mine—*The Revelation of Imagination: From the Bible and Homer through Virgil and Augustine to Dante* (2015)—mounts a defense of the humanities as an indispensable and universal way of knowing [5]. It considers the humanities specifically as "Involved Knowing," to quote from the title of the Introduction. Concentrating on the tradition of epic and prophetic poetry that sustains Western literature as perhaps its central axis, and bringing this tradition into relation with the claims to personal and inspired knowledge that are characteristic particularly of revealed religion, this book outlines a philosophical theory of the ways and means of acquiring insight in the humanities. Its introduction and conclusion work out a "poetic epistemology of knowledge in the humanities" that contrasts with—but in the end also encompasses—scientific method as itself just one more means of human knowing.

Science, too, as actually practiced by human beings, needs to be viewed, finally, as a kind of poetry. It, too, entails the creative invention of modes of seeing and experiencing. Human knowledge is personal, contextual, historical, and relational, and this includes even scientific knowledge considered as a form of human knowing. Knowledge, at its origins and in its core, is necessarily *involved* knowing: It cannot be made purely detached and objective. As Giambattista Vico (1668–1744) convincingly showed several centuries ago, we know essentially by doing and making. We cannot abstract our knowledge from this human rootedness in existential acts of being. Scientific objectivity apparently demands making some such abstraction. Nevertheless, the *significance* of all our knowing is indissolubly bound to embodied and encultured human subjects. They alone can make knowing meaningful by their conscious and participatory acts of reflection.

This notion of knowledge as a fully concrete act rooted in both physical and social existences is enshrined in the traditional model of the liberal arts. As involved knowing that engages whole individuals at every level of their being, both body and spirit, the liberal arts naturally and necessarily resist the more extreme sorts of pressure toward ever greater specialization. It is impossible to completely objectify and divide up analytically an act of knowing in which one is presently involved. The knower is enveloped within an unfolding process rather than standing outside of it and able to encompass it all with an adequate concept in a bird's-eye view. We can only reflect on

our participation in this process: We cannot fully comprehend it as a whole because we are ourselves within it and are part of it. Our *relation* to and within this imaginable whole remains paramount. We cannot abstract from this wholeness without forgetting or distorting the nature and purpose of knowing as an incalculably meaningful form of life.

Therefore, we must think of the liberal arts not as separate disciplines, a handful of specific options among others on a menu of course offerings, ones that with time seem to have become increasingly obsolete and irrelevant. Instead, every one of the liberal arts, more deeply considered, is an angle of approach to the whole of knowledge. A liberal art is not just a specific subject focused on a designated type of thing or category—such as forms in space for geometry, or different permutations of numbers for arithmetic, or mathematical proportions for music and astronomy (the *quadrivium*), or valences of verbal expressions for grammar and rhetoric and logical figures or syllogisms for dialectics (the *trivium*). According to their long-attested tradition in the ancient and medieval worlds, each discipline of the liberal arts is rather a window on the whole of life and being, a window opening on the overall order (or disorder) and purpose (or meaninglessness) of the universe. Each of the seven *artes liberales* just mentioned, making up the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*, was canonical in ancient and medieval tradition. Today, they are studied alongside many more subjects, including all those designated as sciences and social sciences and humanities in the curriculum of the liberal arts college. Each furnishes a way of exploring the relation to others of the knowing subject self-aware as an individual person. Each brings into focus from a particular angle of vision that person's relation within the world and thus their relation to knowledge as a whole.

One of the perhaps surprising implications of this orientation to wholeness is that each of these disciplines fosters fundamentally a form of *self*-knowing, of knowledge of oneself within the unlimited context of the international community and of the entire cosmos. What is known in liberal arts, and most transparently in humanities studies, is not just an isolated object or even a specific field walled off from others. It is rather the whole of knowledge seen from a particular angle and viewed in terms of a specific disciplinary subject matter by an individual and self-reflective, thinking subject. This is the nature of wisdom (*sapientia*) as opposed to knowledge simply of facts (*scientia*). Authentically human knowledge has a self-reflective structure shaping it into a whole that is actualized by a human being and that is not made up merely by the accumulation of objective data in a definable domain. The specific objects known in any of these arts—geometrical or grammatical or astronomical or whatever—serve chiefly as a material for an exercise in *self-reflection* that is unlimited in scope and that aims at self-comprehension on the part of the knower in relation to others in the global situation. A self-reflective subject is placed in unlimited relations with others throughout the universe.

A college course today, for example, covering US foreign relations since 1945 or the Opium Wars in China, is not just about a certain segment of history and its particular protagonists and special issues and problems. Instead, it illuminates also the way that any of us—and the communities to which we belong—engage in relations with one another, negotiating compromises in the face of real or perceived threats and conflicts of interest. This more general and applied type of insight and awareness is likely, in most cases, to be of more lasting significance than all of the specific knowledge of facts that may also be learned. Most students taking such a class will never become foreign affairs experts or work in the State Department. But all can learn to comprehend something significant about the complex interaction among incalculably

shifting factors in creating and upsetting the delicate sorts of equilibrium in which human relations consist. This specific type of dynamism has a direct pertinence for all in their own lives and struggles and aspirations.

In this sense, humanities educators are all engaged in what can be called "general education." However, it is not by creating another box with the label "General Education" that this purpose can be served best. We should not deceive ourselves into thinking that General Education *as such* can be taught by offering courses earmarked by that label. The general can only be approached through the specific, the global through the local. It is disciplinary courses in the liberal arts that have the duty to carry out "general education," with its vocation of awakening the intellect and attuning the human spirit to become capable of entering into fruitful participation in the general order of things. This type of enculturing study is not a separate and supplementary material that can be added in alongside the others. It is the common goal and purpose of all of the liberal arts, including the natural and social sciences. They approach and achieve it each in their own way and from their own differentiated disciplinary backgrounds. They offer so many different incitements—suited to different students' tastes and talents—to contemplating the overall frame of things.

The essence of specialized knowledge concerning geology, history, art, or whatever discipline taken as a liberal art is to be understood analogically and exemplarily. Whatever the specific subject matter, it involves an instance of an individual human being engaging in a relationship with others in the world as filtered through certain identifiable traditions, with their characteristic concepts and methods of thinking. Saint Augustine understood each of the liberal arts as revealing analogically something about the nature of the divine mind and intelligence that informs the universe in every feature and aspect throughout all levels of reality. In this spirit, knowledge in the liberal arts is not fundamentally about a circumscribed field of objects but rather about a relation to the whole of being. For Augustine, the liberal arts were all ways of contemplating God. Yet they were not merely propaedeutic to theology. They were already themselves implicitly theological in the sense of revealing some aspect of the whole of being in its deepest grounds and cause. The leading role of theology here as "queen of the sciences" became much more explicit later in the Scholastic period with Bonaventure's *De reductione artium ad theologiam* (*Reconducting the Arts to Theology*) [6]. In this light, liberal arts knowledge shows up not as a means to an end but rather as ordered to envisioning a unity or wholeness that reveals all things in their deeper natures in and through manifesting their relations with one another. It is in this sense that humanities consist, from the ground up, of irreducibly relational knowing.

3. Human encounter and the unknown

Unlike the strictly specialized knowledge of the sciences, humanities learning teaches us to pursue knowledge as a way of relating to an infinite or at least an open world consisting of unlimited relations. We are concerned with the quality and vitality of our relation with the whole and not just with solving particular problems within defined parameters and coordinates. This relation to the whole of the universe, however, has to start with our relations to those immediately around us. A humanities course is first and foremost about human encounter with the others in the course—and about the horizon of being human that discloses the unlimited potential of such encounters. From there, its scope expands to touch on the many different contexts of these encounters in the unlimited horizon of the universe and even to its "beyond."

This "beyond" gestures toward the transcendent dimension that, even if unknown, *via* relation, and therewith by a relativizing action, can lend a different kind of meaning to everything that *is* within the sphere of our knowledge and experience.

Already in the ancient world, geometry and arithmetic, for example, were not only about figures and numbers but also about the design of the universe and about the proportions necessary for harmony among people and between all beings. If knowledge cultivates only technical expertise in managing factual information, without moral reflection or spiritual vision and esthetic inspiration, it becomes merely mechanical. We are then no longer educating persons, but are merely programming machines. We might as well be training robots.

Of course, the infinity of our relations is nothing that is ever knowable in any definitive terms. Accordingly, the disciplines of the liberal arts and sciences, together and all at once, are forms especially of relating to the *unknowable*, of what cannot be objectively grasped or controlled. The unknowable is our true starting point in any endeavor to pursue knowledge to its ultimate grounds, and it remains a constant point of reference ever after. This, in the last analysis, is what we need to acknowledge in order to preserve our knowing as human and thus prevent it from turning into a monster—like Frankenstein—that will threaten to destroy us.[6] The unknowable has priority because it is the horizon necessary to allow the unencompassable whole of things to remain operative on our minds in their striving after the unconditioned that lies beyond all the finite limits and conditions of our knowing. Otherwise, we are liable to force a reduction to our own known and artificially delimited frame of reference applied for purposes of defining a circumscribed field of objects that we can manage and control.

This idea of humanities knowledge as orienting us to unlimited relatedness of all with all, and as being based above all on human encounters, requires us to learn to be open to one another as well as to acknowledge what we can never completely know even about ourselves. It leads us ineluctably in the direction of an international, and indeed a global, perspective on learning. Since it entails unlimited openness to others and to the Other, humanities knowledge is intrinsically international and is naturally destined to become global. It fosters communications across national and cultural boundaries. It cultivates knowledge of local and regional traditions, yet it cannot help but seek to place them in a global context. It understands universal human concerns as impinging in crucial ways on the present and on our own decisive and inescapable moment in world history.

My previously mentioned book *The Revelation of Imagination* is exclusively about the Western humanities tradition, but my working in East Asia enabled me to extend my vision of the humanities to comprehend also Eastern traditions. In the course of my three years as the head of a program in philosophy and religious studies at the University of Macao, I wrote a book engaging these traditions: *Apophatic Paths from Europe to China: Regions Without Borders,* now in a series on Chinese Philosophy and Culture (SUNY Press) [8]. As a testament witnessing my trans-global experience, this work elucidates how my pursuit of the unknowable, or of what cannot be said, through what I call "apophatic" thought, led me to East Asia, especially to its ancient mystical traditions, which are so keenly sensitive to and reflective of the limits of language. The preface to the work lays out this itinerary in both an autobiographical and a theoretical register.

Through this experience of geographical displacement, my approach to Western humanities has expanded into a work of comparative philosophy engaging

[6] Alex Garland's 2015 [7] science fiction film *Ex Machina* recycles this myth, which is ever-present in popular culture.

particularly with classical Chinese thinking. I endeavor to explain specifically in terms of my apophatic philosophy what is at stake for me in extending humanities studies beyond the borders of Western tradition brought into conversation with East Asian thought and literature. I focus on currents of apophatic thinking, which are actually very strong in both the East and the West, but especially and most obviously in Eastern traditions such as Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism. The work thus serves to illustrate the deeper grounding for an approach to global humanities education in a postmodern, and now even post-secular, world. Such an approach, as I conceive it, is based on the classical wisdom of unknowing.

4. The imperative of de-specialization in the humanities

Humanities knowledge quite generally proceeds by attempting to understand something in relation to something else—and even, finally, in relation to everything else, for all delimitations of context are relative to certain interests and reflect pragmatically motivated decisions and thus show up as arbitrary in relation to the whole of knowledge. This makes the humanities inextricably comparative in method.[7] Most importantly, comparative humanities studies enable us to glimpse in the interstices something absolute that is neither Western nor Eastern but connects with both and is imaginable as their common source or, equally and inversely, as the global future in which East and West share a common stake, for, in addition to the aggregation of different disciplines, there is also something *between* disciplines, in their mutual critique and reciprocal challenge, as well as in their coherent complementing of one another, that highlights each one's insufficiency in itself. The *inter*disciplinary, as the space between disciplines and diverse subject matters, is not just a matter of gathering together leftover fields of study not quite adequately accommodated within the categories of one discipline or the other. Instead, interdisciplinarity exceeds the disciplinary framework altogether and thereby opens upon a dimension that encompasses, or at least conditions, all disciplines: this in-between space precedes their differentiation and can call them into question. This dimension of the *un*disciplined and absolute opens in and through the negation of every specific discipline as determined by the fiction of a delimited field of objects that is isolatable from the rest and so can be known with certainty on just its own terms. Beyond such artificial constructs lies the dimension of the absolute that is explored in various ways by religion and the arts. It requires being conceived of as *trans*disciplinary and transcultural.

What I have presented so far bears indirectly on the issue of the pressures in our institutions of higher learning toward specialization and contains resources for rethinking this demand. It leads me to undertake, in the name of traditional humanities study, to advocate non-specialized forms of knowing. I defend these humanistic studies not in opposition to specialized knowledges of a technical, scientific nature, but rather as their necessary ground and background. The humanities have a crucial role to play in countering the incessant pressure toward specialization and the consequent loss of global vision and of any kind of awareness reaching beyond the objective field of arbitrarily and artificially defined formal objects. I advocate specifically what I call an "apophatic" (literally "negative") approach to culture, an approach that places the

[7] Here I acknowledge the formative experience of the "Comparative Antiquities" workshop on "Global Classicism," a Humanities Council Global initiative, Princeton University.

emphasis, first, on what cannot be objectively articulated and differentiated but rather abides as an inarticulate ground or background of all possible makings of sense.

Such non-specialized knowing is to be found eminently in literature and art and in other humanities studies. It includes the study of culture and, in particular, a study of religion that remains open to personal imaginative appropriations of symbols. Such appropriations can be motivated not only by religious belief but also by ethical conviction, esthetic vision, and social sentiments of solidarity, etc. However, in any of these cases, an element of de-specialization is vitally necessary for humanities studies aiming at the unity of knowledge. We need to hang on to a kind of knowing that does not and cannot be distilled into various types of expertise with their parceled-up and mutually exclusive fields of research. We require a knowing that, instead, connects us with the unsayable and unclassifiable. As necessary as specialization may be to scientific advance and technological progress, it is the inchoate and global intelligence of what cannot be specifically defined that is the lifeblood of the humanities. This uncategorizable awareness of unlimited potential for connectedness courses through the entire body of human knowledge. It is the cognizance of and sensitivity to this unencompassable and only imaginable dimension of the whole that is most necessary for the vitality of the pursuit of knowledge in a global sense. This pursuit entails, above all, the wisdom of *un*knowing famously articulated at the origins of Western philosophy almost two and a half millennia ago with Socrates's wisdom of knowing that he did *not* know. We have already noted the comparable wisdom of unknowing in the Daoist tradition of Laozi and Zhuangzi in classical China. It is in this sense that we need to understand what de-specialization can mean and why it is so incomparably important.

This perspective, which I call apophatic, contributes, furthermore, to setting up worldwide dialog across humanities disciplines. One concrete step that we can take in the direction of non-specialization is to move toward the study of world literature. Rather than only further dividing humanistic fields and regions from one another with a view to ever more specialized examination in terms of differentiated languages and cultures, something emerges in the cross-cultural comparison of texts and traditions that is otherwise missed. A potential for relation and connection is disclosed through the overarching synthesis that is greater than the sum of its isolated parts.

The idea of world literature is being probed today in the wake of a crisis in humanities education. In part, this global reconceptualization of literature is driven by curricular reform in universities reflecting demographic and cultural shifts. I have explored this idea recently, with other scholars especially of comparative literature, at an international summit on world literature at Beijing Normal University: "Ideas and Methods: What Is World Literature? Tension between the Local and the Universal."[8] This summit discussed the topic of world literature in the tension between the demands of worldwide accessibility and the requirements of language-bound and culture-specific informed reading. Among my conclusions from that event are some reflections—cast in terms of my apophatic philosophy—concerning the paramount place and catalyzing role of literary study and comparative cultural study in humanities education.

[8] "An International Summit Dialog and Forum," School of Chinese Language and Literature, Beijing Normal University, October 16–17, 2015. Acts of the conference have been published in Weigang Fang [9].

5. Meeting of east and west as catalyst to global humanities education

The idea of global humanities education is all too easily misunderstood as making an imperialistic bid for territorial expansion or as aspiring insanely to conquer and dominate the entire world. Yet, what I mean by this idea, cast in an apophatic mode, is rather the opposite. The encounter with the Other places us face to face with our own insuperable limits. Most importantly, it is in crossing borders into encounter with other cultures that our own limits first become visible to us so that they can become objects of self-conscious reflection.

It is necessary, therefore, for us not to set up a dichotomy between Eastern and Western incarnations of humanity, but rather to underline the continuities between them as deriving from a common basis that is properly nowhere, neither East nor West: It is a basis that culture can neither encompass nor confine.[9] The much-maligned Rudyard Kipling stated as much with disarming ingenuousness in an apocalyptic image of overcoming the seemingly fatal divisiveness between peoples inhabiting opposite ends of the earth:

> *OH, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet, Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment Seat; But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor Birth, When two strong men stand face to face, tho' they come from the ends of the earth!*[10].

Kipling's "neither-nor" rhetoric happens to be one of the principal resources also of apophatic thought and writing as used, for instance, in the Upanishads ("neti neti"). It enacts what Madhyamika Buddhism would call "nondualism" and is useful for surpassing dichotomous thinking. I do not mean to attribute deliberate and consciously non-dualistic thinking to Kipling; nevertheless, even such a faint echo or vestige is not insignificant. The universal propensities toward negation and self-limitation, and even prophecy, inhering in our language are operative at the most ordinary and mundane levels, and they can be placed into relief, so as to produce heightened awareness, by poetry of genius. Today, furthermore, we might imagine Kipling extending this logic by supplementing his statement with, "But there is neither man nor woman when two true singularities meet face to face in the fray of the oldest war in the world."

Ernest Fenollosa's essay on "The Coming Fusion of East and West," first published in 1898, is similarly clairvoyant in envisaging not only mutual non-aggression but also a necessary and fertile marriage between Western and East Asian cultures.[11] Situated historically on an international frontier fraught with the mounting tensions of the age of crisis for Western colonialism, the essay prophetically urges such a union of opposites as indispensable for uniting people everywhere into a complete humankind. Each culture needs the other for its own completion. This was a vision appropriate to Fenollosa's age near the outset of the modern period and energized specifically by the modernist movement. This fusion of cultures was imagined by him with an ardent religious fervor true to the prophetic cast of his outlook and communicating its apocalyptic import.

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[9] Such a basis of cognitive universals is posited by cognitive science today. I emphatically agree with cognitive science about the existence and necessity of such culture- and language-transcendent universals, while at the same time disagreeing that our cognitive vocabulary or any other culture's vocabulary can give a universally valid account of them. (See chapter 11).

[10] Edmund Clarence Stedman [10].

[11] Ernest Fenollosa [11].

As the historical record attests, Fenollosa's vision was a crucial catalyst in the West's encounter with East Asian culture. It conveyed vital impulses that proved seminal to the dynamism of the West's own artistic and literary development. Ezra Pound's modernism was to a very significant degree derived from Fenollosa's discovery of the Orient and its esthetic sensibilities. Pound's new "imagist" movement in poetry took its captivatingly innovative *orient*ation especially from Fenollosa's idea of the Chinese written character or *Hanzi* (汉字) as adhering to the language of nature.

Fenollosa was an American philosopher and art historian who, as professor at the Imperial University in Tokyo, participated in the modernizing reforms of the Meiji Era (1868–1912) in Japan. As a prominent educator and political commentator on East–West relations in his time, he disseminated influence and outlined broad historical perspectives that are still coming to fruition and being verified today, especially with the rise to eminence of China as an economic and political super-power on the world scene. New work is necessary, and has been forthcoming, in order to update the analysis of the crisis of encounter and confrontation provoked by the emergence of Asian nations to prominence in the modern community of nations.[12]

More and more scholars everywhere today are responding to this transformation and are beginning to work in this comparative mode. Comparative scholarship by Wm. Theodore de Bary and Anthony Yu, among numerous other contributions, might be taken as exemplary of the sort of cross-cultural literary and cultural studies that this type of work between Eastern and Western traditions can produce.[13] Alongside Chinese and Japanese classics, and the Vietnamese verse epic, Nguyen Du's *Tale of Kieu,* Korean classics such as the epic *Songs of the Flying Dragons* (*Yongbi och'on ka*), *The Memoires of Lady Hyegyong* (1795–1805), and *The Song of the Faithful Wife Ch'unhyang*, the so-called "Romeo and Juliet" of Korea, likewise belong in this curriculum of an emerging world literature.[14]

Today, however, I feel, it is imperative not just to celebrate the completeness that is to be achieved through fusion of universal archetypes but also to emphasize that from the apophatic point of view each culture needs the others in order to remain open to otherness so as to be exposed to its own insuperable *in*completeness. Facing the other is indispensable in order for us to avoid recoiling into a complacent posture of self-enclosure, which would be deadly in our world of shrinking distances and imperative interactiveness. Beyond all descriptive typologies, there is something that no culture grasps on its own or in any terms—"something" that remains, nonetheless, for all that, precisely what is most essential. This sensibility for and openness to the ungraspable and indefinable is what enables each culture also to relate to the others. Comparative criticism between cultures helps make us aware of and sensitive to what otherwise remains invisible: It is a dimension of being that emerges only in and through relations.[15]

Only in relinquishing our relative cultural identities can this elusive non-identity or "Nothing" of our unlimited relatedness to others be glimpsed so as to be remarked at all. It is proper to no culture: It is found only where each and every culture tends

[12] Prasenjit Duara [12] carries the analysis of this crisis forward to our global situation today.

[13] Wm. Theodore De Bary [13]. Anthony Yu [14].

[14] See essays on these works in Wm. Theodore De Bary [15]. The *Hanjung mallok* as "Memoires Written in Silence" prove particularly pertinent to the apophatic theme.

[15] In this apophatic vein of comparative philosophy and religion, see Knepper [16]. Specifically, the comparison between Daoist and Western approaches to unknowing that frames the current chapter receives expert treatment in Louis Komjathy [17].

to lose—or to escape from—itself. This empty space of the *inter* is where identities—whether geographical, national, racial, or sexual—and wars all come from, although it is itself unidentifiable and therefore also unopposable. This dimension is dealt with explicitly in terms of "transcendence" as defined by the Axial Age cultures of the first millennium B.C. embracing Confucianism and Daoism, along with Buddhism in India, the prophets of Israel, the Greek pre-Socratic philosophers, and Persian Zoroastrianism.[16] This exalted and sublime dimension of self-reflexivity and freedom can be touched on provocatively even through the exercise of laughter.[17]

These references suggest the sense in which we might adopt Fenollosa's prophetic anticipation of the future union of East and West. Indeed, I take such prophetic vision to be inherent to the often explicit visionary outlook propagated in humanities texts. I have traced a genealogical line of such texts in *Secular Scriptures: Modern Theological Poetics in the Wake of Dante* (2016). This work, having nothing to do explicitly with Asia, brings my understanding of the prophetic vocation of poetry forward from the ancient world and the Middle Ages into modernity. It thus completes and complements the other recent book (*The Revelation of Imagination*) mentioned earlier in this chapter. The topic of the prophetic inspiration of literature calls for completion through correspondences and echoes from Asian traditions. This prophetic strain running through all ages in humanities knowledge remains more than ever fundamental to our efforts in the present. Universalizing prophetic vision, which in some regards is the most robust precursor to a necessarily global vision today, is essential to humanities teaching aimed at opening a path for us and for the next generation to a future that can be genuinely new. Such a new future must also be regenerative of human wholeness as our collective and common birthright—or perhaps rather imaginable destiny.

6. Business as usual meets and greets *Philosophia Perennis*

In the West, professors tend to think of philosophy and business as being opposites—as stridently antithetical, if not downright inimical to each other. Business is eminently practical, not theoretical. However, it is worth noting that philosophy in contemporary times has again come to place great emphasis on pragmatism, on taking into account the necessary and inescapable practical circumstances that condition and drive any effort aimed at authentic knowing. Reflecting philosophically on the pragmatic conditions, and not least the economic conditions and relations, of any kind of knowing, including philosophical reflection itself, has proven to be incomparably enriching in recent thought. Pragmatism has proven to be indispensable to theoretical truth, the concrete quotidian situation in which one thinks must not be filtered away by a process of abstraction. Instead, it contributes decisively to the actual content and veracity of knowing.

This pragmatic angle of approach was developed in original ways by Martin Heidegger, especially in *Being and Time* (*Sein und Zeit,* 1927), at the source spring of the diverse currents of continental and phenomenological philosophy still being pursued today. Heidegger's hermeneutics of everyday existence (*Hermeneutik des Alltags*) give a practical basis in lived experience of simply being there (*da-sein*) to any operations and contents of knowing. What things are is disclosed by what we

[16] Karl Jaspers [18]. For multiple perspectives on the current relevance of this topic, see Bellah [19].

[17] Alfredo P. Co [20].

can do with them. Their true being is in their being ready to hand (*Zuhandensein*) like a hammer ready for use rather than simply present before us as an object of contemplation (*Vorhandensein*). Our pragmatic engagement with the world is understood as grounding any possibility of knowing it. In the Anglophone world, in turn, and for related reasons, American pragmatism has come back into vogue through voices such as Richard Rorty's and Hilary Putnam's. In fact, philosophers around the world have been turning in great numbers to precisely this heritage looming in the wake of the great American pragmatists William James, John Dewey, and Charles Sanders Pierce.

However, the grounding of knowledge in our practical existence in the world and in our everyday activities is actually a very ancient orientation of philosophy. Pierre Hadot, among others, has brought out ways in which in ancient Greek tradition philosophy was understood primarily as a "spiritual exercise" and even as a "way of life."[18] Philosophy was not about knowing facts so much as about transforming one's life and oneself—and by this means also conforming to the real and harmonizing with the cosmos. This self-transformation entails pragmatic actions and stances of all sorts. It includes contemplative practices but embraces also everyday activities revolving around economic needs and modes of production. Philosophical reflection is a further dimension of awareness, but it must be grounded in the exercise of practical faculties of circumspection and of pre-reflective intelligence. Such intelligence often takes the applied form of "knowing how" rather than "knowing that."[19] The craftsman's practical knowledge of how to make a spoon might be taken symbolically for a wholeness achieved in doing and making rather than in detached knowing. Although but a humble daily-use item, the spoon on its concave, shiny surface can reflect the world surrounding it into a unified, global image.[20]

If we go all the way back in the history of philosophy, it is striking that philosophy originated in close contact specifically with business, the profane daily business of trade, the buying and selling of goods. The exchanges were of commodities such as spices, tea, and silk, of course, but ineluctably a certain exchange of culture and ideas was also part of the mix. The earliest haunts and foyers of Western philosophy, accordingly, were at the commercial crossroads of *Magna Greacia*, in seaport cities of Asia Minor, such as Miletus and Ephesus, homes to Thales and Heraclitus, or else in southern Italy, in the coastal cities of Agrigento and Syracuse in Sicily or in Crotone in Calabria on the Adriatic and Elea in Campagna on the Tyrrhenian coast of the Italian peninsula, from which the pre-Socratic philosophers Empedocles, Pythagoras, and Parmenides hailed. These cross-cultural interfaces and meeting points were located worlds away from Athens, not in the heartland of the Greek peninsula. These coastal and commercial towns of the Greek colonies became the cradle of philosophy and therewith of our humanistic and even of our scientific disciplines.

The academy as a whole traces its origins to the kind of critical reflection that began with philosophy in Greece stimulated by the encounter in the Mediterranean basin between Asian, African, and European cultures. They brought with them their different mythologies and religions, whose comparison gave rise to critical questioning and the dialectic of the *Logos*. Business, which brought these different cultural horizons into contact, also forges its own forms of progressive rationality and is thus in its own right crucial to the history of the

[18] Pierre Hadot [21].

[19] Michael Polanyi [22].

[20] Nicholas Cusanus [23]. See chapter 10.

humanities. It is in this tradition that a university such as Capitol University of Economics and Business (首都经济贸易大学 [Shǒu dū Jīng jì Mào yì Dà xué]) in Beijing can best pursue the vocation of providing a liberal arts education. This tradition can and should be built on parallel forms of wisdom in other non-Western Axial Age civilizations, particularly that of classical, Confucian China. The practical basis of all human intelligence is nowhere more brilliantly reflected on than in the Confucian and Daoist classics, notably the Analects (*Lùnyǔ,* 論語) and the work attributed to Master Zhuang (Zhūangzi, 莊子).

This kind of cultural education, attending to our pragmatic relations as human beings, is not just a fringe benefit but concerns the core vision and overall mission of universities such as Capitol University (CUEB) because business is founded on human relations. Such relations are also the basis for human knowledge and for any kind of pursuit of collective or individual fulfillment. In a contemporary world in which everything is being quantified and digitalized, there is an acute need for this relational knowledge in order to cultivate whole human persons. The narrow specialization of knowledge can tend to extinguish this personal and spiritual dimension of human beings and needs to be counterbalanced urgently by a broad humanistic cultivation.

7. The broader educative purpose of foreign language learning

Foreign language learning in particular is an essential part of this cultivation of the arts of human relations. A foreign language is not just a technical skill, and it is not fundamentally a tool for conveying information. Learning and speaking a foreign language is about a human encounter with a different world and way of thinking. It entails contact with people across frontiers of culture and barriers of language. It challenges us to relinquish the fixed moorings of our established identities and to reinvent ourselves, even as we discover others in their own different, to us foreign, frameworks of reference.

Studying and learning languages is also fundamentally about human encounter. The difficulty of expressing oneself in a foreign language requires one to slow down in order to try to be more direct and transparent about what one means. Paradoxically, the quality of our interpersonal communications can even be enhanced by the effort and concentration required for using a foreign language. One is forced to clarify what one essentially intends to convey rather than being able to glide glibly through exchanges with thoughtless phrases in one's own native tongue that are repeated ready-made and without any effort of reflection.

I have often experienced that a conversation between individuals using a language that both individuals are only in the process of learning might lead to some kind of deep insight and understanding, as incredible as it seems. To make it plausible, we might try thinking of how communication of feeling in poetry can be enhanced by the artificial constraints imposed by a poetic form such as the sonnet or even the sestina, where the very same end words have to be used in each of the six lines in each stanza. In sonnet writing and in language learning alike, one is forced to explore and invent unusual paths of thinking and may well discover new ideas and connections as well as previously unsuspected resources of the language. Speaking a foreign language requires a certain surrender of oneself and of one's accustomed crutches and securities, and this self-divestment is crucial to the emergence of a more authentic expression of self.

8. Conclusion

In an apophatic perspective, we are all most deeply identified not by our differential identities, but by the "nothing" (nothing expressly sayable) that we share in common and that alone can unite us. We must simply find the courage to embrace it as our own rather than running away from the exposure of this nakedness of our common—unqualified and undisguised—humanity. This, finally, is the greatest lesson to be learned from humanities studies, one that has to be constantly relearned again and again in innumerably specific and concrete ways corresponding to the contingencies of our lives and to the extremely variegated explorations of science and literature. This learning is not a matter of being filled up and programmed with information, or of being flush with the pride of knowledge, but rather of knowing our limits and ignorance as harboring our infinite potential for learning. This precious faculty of emptying ourselves and becoming "nothing," "no-thing"—not just some definable thing—in the end, is the source of the constitutive freedom and openness of being human. It emerges in and through apophatic theoretical reflection on human culture and literature—and can touch on the divine.

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Chapter 5

Equity, Inclusion, Diversity, and Belonging in a Multicultural Psychology Course during the COVID-19 Pandemic

Lori Simons, Sara Schoneman, Madeline Hoffman and Nancy Blank

Abstract

Little is known about the degree to which diversity courses facilitate the learning of multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills. The aim of this study is to add to this area of research by identify what students learn through participation in a multicultural psychology course. A total of 71 undergraduate students participated in an assessment of a multicultural psychology course. Quantitative analyses indicate that students increased their cultural skills, leadership skills, problem-solving skills, social justice attitudes, multicultural knowledge, multicultural experiences, and empathy from the beginning to the end of the semester. Qualitative findings indicate that students increase their intercultural contact and perspective-taking skills and develop multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills over the semester. The use of a mixed-method approach increases the reliability of findings that multicultural attitudes, cultural skills, and empathy change over a semester long, multicultural psychology course.

Keywords: multicultural psychology, service-learning, diversity learning, student learning outcomes, cultural competence

1. Introduction

Institutions of higher education have an obligation to prepare students to think interculturally about complex challenges in society [1]. Colleges and universities have institutionalized diversity requirements so that students can think critically about racial and social inequality and successfully work with others who culturally differ from them to solve these problems [2]. Colleges offer a menu of educational pedagogies and practices, diversity programs, and multicultural courses with the goal of instilling cultural competence in students. Multicultural psychology courses serve as an instrumental role in meeting university diversity requirements [2]. It is crucial for liberal arts programs to examine and advance best practices for the promotion of cultural competence. The need for diversity content remains; however, little is

known about the degree to which diversity courses facilitate the learning of multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills. The purpose of this chapter is to identify what students learn through participation in a multicultural psychology course. This chapter will provide an overview of the literature, the research methodology, and data analyses. The results, implications, methodological limitations, and suggestions for further study are described in the discussion.

Research has examined the effectiveness of multicultural psychology courses using a longitudinal design comparing student attitudes from the beginning to the end of the course [2–4]. Most studies either measured pre-post changes in student racial or diversity attitudes in a single course [2, 3] or compared cultural competencies for students in face-to-face to online instructional modalities [1, 5, 6]. Iseminger and colleagues compared psychology majors in an online to a face-to-face diversity course and found that both student groups scored low in empathy [5]. Self-awareness, recognizing racial privilege and changing perspectives, and empathetic communication were common themes detected in qualitative studies of student learning in diversity courses [4, 7]. Fewer studies measured attitudes and skills by comparing students exposed to different high-impact practices (HIPs) [6–9]. Reich and colleagues found that students in a face-to-face counseling course improved their empathetic communication skills more than students in an asynchronous counseling course and those students in an internship [6]. Schmidt and colleagues similarly detected those students assigned to an intergroup dialog (IGD) approach in a diversity course increased their empathetic feelings and awareness of racial privilege from the beginning to the end of the course compared to students assigned to didactic diversity and non-diversity psychology courses [8].

Assessment of multicultural psychology courses has been criticized. Researchers have used different definitions and outcomes to measure student learning in diversity courses [2]. There is variability in the constructs to measure cultural competence [3]. Some researchers measure color-blind racial attitudes and ethnocultural empathy as characteristics of cultural competence [2, 3], while other scholars assess diversity and social justice attitudes as indicators of competence [10, 11]. In addition, the comparison of cultural competencies for students in face-to-face to online multicultural courses have limitations given the challenges associated with virtual or remote learning [1]. Cultural competence outcomes assessed with surveys or reflections in diversity courses limit the reliability and generalizability of findings [12]. Student learning outcomes gathered on students before and after exposure to a single high-impact practice in a diversity course further limit the results. Regardless of assessment limitations, it is imperative that the scholarship continues to understand if and how students develop competencies through participation in a diversity course. The purpose of this study is to add and expand this area of scholarship by measuring student learning outcomes for students exposed to HIPs in a diversity course using a mixed quantitative-qualitative research method. Quantitative analyses are used to assess learning from the beginning of the course, while qualitative findings are used to refine and extend the results. The three major questions that were used to guide this study include:

1. Are there differences in student learning outcomes (i.e., Color-Blind Racial Attitudes, Cultural Awareness and Skills, Leadership Skills, Social Justice Attitudes, Problem-Solving Skills, Empathy, and Multicultural Experiences) from the beginning to the end of the semester for students in a diversity course before, during, and after the pandemic?

2. What did students learn in a multicultural psychology course?

3. Is there consistency between the quantitative results and the qualitative findings about student learning?

2. Method

2.1 Participants

A total of 71 students enrolled in multicultural psychology courses from Fall 2015 to Spring 2022 at a private teaching university in a northern metropolitan area took part in the study. Fifteen percent of students participated in the course before the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, 15% took the course during the outbreak of the pandemic, and 70% participated in the course after the pandemic (i.e., endemic stage). Most students identified as White (76%) and female (66%) with a mean age of 20.63 years (SD = 1.00). The remaining group of students identified as either African-American (8%), Latino/a (4%), Asian-American (3%), or Multiracial (6%), and either male (33%) or transgender (1%). Of these students, 29% reported taking a diversity course and another 35% reported taking a service-learning course prior to the current course.

2.2 Course content

The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic required modifications to the instructional modalities and course assignments in the multicultural psychology course as shown in **Table 1**. The multicultural psychology course was taught synchronous through Zoom video-conferencing software during the COVID-19 pandemic. Course lectures and discussions were revised using a flipped learning approach [13]. The multicultural psychology course fulfills a distribution requirement in the African and African American Studies, Liberal Arts, and Psychology curricula and requires a service-learning component [9, 14]. This course incorporates two HIPs—diversity learning and service-learning [15]. The combination of diversity learning with service learning (DSL) requires students to connect the course content to the service context through critical reflection [10]. Students complete 15 hours of service at either a community-based program or a public school and answer structured reflection questions after each class and service experience. The structured questions are designed for students to critically analyze their thoughts and feelings about race and class concepts within the service and course context over the semester. Students also complete an immersion paper, a movie review paper, and an intercultural interview paper that are designed to increase their multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills. Each assignment was modified because of the COVID-19 pandemic as also shown in **Table 1**. Experiential learning activities are used to generate small and group discussions about stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination, and sexism, classism, and racism, racial identity development, White privilege, micro-aggressions, and cultural competence.

2.3 Measures and procedure

The measures were selected to measure course objectives and student learning outcomes (see [9] for more details about each measure).

Prior to pandemic			**During pandemic**			**After pandemic**		
HIPs	**Modality**	**Assignments**	**HIPs**	**Modality**	**Assignments**	**HIPs**	**Modality**	**Assignments**
DSL	Face-to-face	Immersion paper	Eservice	Online	Multicultural awareness/getting to know you video	DSL	Face-to-face	Multicultural awareness/getting to know you video
Service-learning	Small-group dialog	Multicultural movie review	Diversity learning strategies	Small-group dialog	Multicultural knowledge/ multicultural movie review paper	Eservice or service-learning	Small-group dialog	Multicultural knowledge/ multicultural movie review paper
Diversity learning strategies	Large-group discussion	Intercultural interview paper	Experiential learning activities	Large-group discussion	Multicultural skill/intercultural interview	Diversity learning strategies	Large-group discussion	Multicultural skill/ intercultural interview
Experiential learning activities		Structured reflections			Structured reflections/student choice of format *via* paper, presentation, or video	Experiential learning activities		Structured reflections/ student choice of format *via* paper, presentation, or video

Table 1.
A comparison of educational practices in the multicultural psychology course before, during, and after the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic.

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2.3.1 A demographic questionnaire

A Demographic Questionnaire, developed by the researchers, was used to gather information on gender, race, age, and year in school. Student data were coded according to year of course completion and whether students participated in the course before, during, or after the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic.

2.3.2 The civic attitudes, knowledge, and skills measures (CAKSM)

The Civic Attitudes, Knowledge, and Skills Measures (CAKSM), developed by Moely and Ilustre [11], are measures of constructs related to civic engagement such as cultural competence and social justice. The measures are derived from the Civic Attitudes and Skills Questionnaire (CASQ) [16] yields scores on three domains with 11 subscales: 1. Attitudes (civic responsibility, social justice, community engagement, and cultural awareness); 2. Knowledge (knowledge about political issues, New Orleans culture, and current events); and 3. Skills (problem-solving, leadership, and cultural skills). The cultural awareness (i.e., respondents assess their interest in learning about different cultures) and cultural skills (i.e., respondents evaluate their ability to relate to people from a different race or culture), leadership (respondents evaluate their ability to lead), social justice attitudes (i.e., respondents rate their agreement with items expressing attitudes concerning the causes of poverty and how social problems can be solved), and problem-solving skills (i.e., respondents evaluate their ability to listen, work cooperatively, take the role of the other, think logically and analytically, and solve problems) subscales were used in this study. Coefficient alpha for each subscale ranged from .77 to 78.

2.3.3 The color-blind racial attitude scale (CoBRAS)

The Color-Blind Racial Attitude Scale (CoBRAS) assesses contemporary racial attitudes [17]. The CoBRAS, a 20-item self-report measure, yields scores on three scales: 1. Unawareness of Racial Privilege (i.e., respondents evaluate their lack of awareness of White racial privilege); 2. Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination (i.e., respondents evaluate their lack of awareness of racial issues associated with social policies, affirmative action, and discrimination); and 3. Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues (i.e., respondents evaluate their lack of awareness of blatant racial problems in the United States). Cronbach's coefficient alpha for each scale ranged from .86 to .88.

2.3.4 The multicultural experiences questionnaire (MEQ)

The Multicultural Experiences Questionnaire (MEQ) measures multicultural attitudes on two subscales [18]: 1. Multicultural Experiences is based on the number of multicultural experiences, and 2. Multicultural Desires is based on effort or desire to increase multicultural experiences. Cronbach's alpha for the subscales ranged from .53 to .73.

2.3.5 The multicultural knowledge questionnaire (MKQ)

The Multicultural Knowledge Questionnaire (MKQ), developed by the researchers, measures the degree to which students learn diversity concepts and theories

taught in the multicultural psychology course. Students are asked to rate their familiarity and ability to discuss diversity concepts using a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree (i.e., I am familiar with aversive racism, I am familiar with the research on micro-aggressions). Thirty-six items are added together to produce a total scale. Cronbach's coefficient alpha is .96.

2.3.6 The psychological costs of racism to whites scale (PCRW)

The Psychological Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (PCRW) measures the costs of racism to Whites as an emotional, cognitive, and behavioral consequences experienced by White individuals as a result of racism on three subscales [19]: 1. White Empathetic Reactions Toward Racism (i.e., respondents assess their feelings about racial injustice); 2. White Guilt (i.e., respondents asses the degree to which they feel responsible for racism); and 3. White Fear of Others (i.e., respondents assess how much they trust or distrust people who culturally differ from them). The White Empathetic Reactions Toward Racism subscale was used in this study. Cronbach's coefficient alpha for each subscale ranged from 63. to .78.

2.3.7 The Toronto empathy questionnaire

The Toronto Empathy Questionnaire measures empathy [20]. Sixteen items are added together to produce a total scale. The test-retest reliability score was .81, and Cronbach's coefficient alpha was .87.

A triangulation mixed-methods longitudinal design was used to measure differences in student learning outcomes from the beginning to the end of the semester. Qualitative and quantitative data are collected at the same time, and the qualitative findings are merged with the quantitative results to understand student learning. The quantitative results are used to refine, explain, and extend the qualitative findings [21]. All the students completed an informed consent form and a pretest survey that measured the Civic Attitudes, Knowledge, and Skills Measures (CAKSM), the Color-blind Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS), the Multicultural Experience Questionnaire (MEQ), the Multicultural Knowledge Questionnaire (MKQ), the Psychological Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (PCRW), and the Toronto Empathy Questionnaire (TEQ). Students completed the survey again at the end of the course. In addition, the cultural immersion paper, multicultural movie review, and intercultural interview paper assignments were collected according to the assigned date on the syllabus. Students answered structured reflection questions that required them to analyze their thoughts and feelings about service experiences, connect the service context to the class content, and evaluate how their cognitions did or did not change throughout the semester [14]. Structured reflections and course assignments were analyzed after final grades were awarded.

2.4 Results

2.4.1 Quantitative analyses

A repeated measures analyses of variance with post hoc Tukey's HSD analyses were conducted to examine student learning outcomes, i.e., Civic Attitudes, Knowledge, and Skills Measures (CAKSM), the Color-blind Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS), the Multicultural Experience Questionnaire (MEQ), the Multicultural Knowledge

Questionnaire (MKQ), the Psychological Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (PCRW), and the Toronto Empathy Questionnaire (TEQ) for students in a multicultural psychology course before, during, and after the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic from the beginning to the end of the semester. The COVID-19 pandemic (i.e., before, during, and after) was used as the independent variable, and pretest and posttest survey scores were used as dependent variables. There were no significant differences in student learning outcomes for students who took part in a multicultural psychology course before, during, or after the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic.

A paired t-test was conducted on student learning outcomes, i.e., Civic Attitudes, Knowledge, and Skills Measures (CAKSM), the Color-blind Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS), the Multicultural Experience Questionnaire (MEQ), the Multicultural Knowledge Questionnaire (MKQ), the Psychological Costs of Racism to Whites Scale (PCRW), and the Toronto Empathy Questionnaire (TEQ) for students in a multicultural psychology course. Students increased their cultural skills, leadership skills, problem-solving skills, social justice attitudes, multicultural knowledge,

	Time points					
	Pretest		**Posttest**			
Measures	M	SD	M	SD	n	t-test
CAKSM						
Cultural skills	30.32	4.59	32.95	4.34	49	−3.05**
Leadership skills	19.44	2.84	20.64	2.96	50	−2.12*
Problem-solving skills	43.30	5.54	46.22	2.98	49	−3.28**
Social justice attitudes	31.12	3.03	34.24	4.03	49	−4.06***
CoBRAS						
Racism	10.14	3.35	9.70	3.40	47	.59
Institutional discrimination	15.83	5.59	14.66	5.82	48	.94
White privilege	15.87	5.62	14.31	5.29	47	1.59
MEQ						
Multicultural desires	26.60	2.71	25.29	3.30	48	.45
Multicultural experiences	27.29	5.57	29.87	4.16	46	−2.40**
MKQ						
Multicultural knowledge	92.75	23.10	120.15	28.51	40	−5.03***
PCRW						
Empathetic reactions	27.19	2.42	22.93	2.80	31	5.87***
White guilt	13.44	4.81	14.65	5.91	47	−1.05
TEQ						
Empathy	68.21	7.24	71.78	6.10	28	−2.05*

****p < .001.*
***p < .01.*
**p < .05.*

Table 2.
Mean scores, standard deviations, and paired t-tests for pre- and posttest scores for CAKSM, MEQ, MKQ, PCRW, and TEQ.

multicultural experiences, and empathy from the beginning to the end of the semester as shown in **Table 2**.

2.4.2 Qualitative analyses

Two independent coders read course assignments from a purposeful sample of 36 students. The purposeful sample included assignments from students who participated in the course during the pandemic and endemic phases of COVID-19. Coders compared and analyzed four sources of information (i.e., reflection responses, intercultural interview papers) using open, selective, and axial coding to construct a common framework of student learning in a multicultural

Categories	Open coding	Selective coding
Interpersonal intercultural skills	Intergroup contact/exposure to peer and recipients who racially and culturally differ	Multicultural skills
	Service-learning: Student and recipients learn from each other	
Relationship building	Intergroup contact	Multicultural skills
	Service-learning	
Racial identity development models (African American, White, and Cultural RID)	Racial-ethnic-cultural identity models	Multicultural knowledge
Clark's doll study	Multicultural theories	Multicultural knowledge
Modern racism	Multicultural theories	Multicultural knowledge
Aversive racism	Multicultural theories	Multicultural knowledge
Stereotyping (Recognize racial stereotypes and can respond to them)	Recognize racial stereotypes and how to respond to them	Multicultural skills
Old fashion racism	Multicultural theories	Multicultural knowledge
Perspective-taking skills	Service-learning	Multicultural skills
	Multicultural content	
Communication skills	I learned how to actively listen and reflect on what one is saying and validate one's feelings	Multicultural skills
	Intercultural communication skills	
Self-awareness	Service-learning	Multicultural awareness
	Multicultural content/immersion assignment	
Empathy	Service-learning	Multicultural skills
	Reflection	
	Experiential activities	

Categories	Open coding	Selective coding
Self-reflection	Service-learning	Multicultural awareness
	Reflection questions	
Reflection skills	Intercultural communication skills	Multicultural skills
	Experiential activities	
Micro-aggressions	Multicultural content and experiential activities	Multicultural knowledge
White privilege	Multicultural content and experiential activities	Multicultural knowledge
Male privilege	Multicultural content and experiential activities	Multicultural knowledge
LGBTQ+	Multicultural content and experiential activities	Multicultural knowledge
	Multicultural movie review	
Steps to be an Ally	Multicultural content and experiential activities	Multicultural skills
Service-learning	Service-learning: Connection between the course and field	Multicultural knowledge
Thoughts and feelings about the course at the beginning of the semester	Self-awareness	Multicultural awareness
Thoughts and feelings about taking this course at the end of the semester	Self-awareness	Multicultural awareness
COVID-19 impacts	Service-learning	Multicultural awareness
	Self-awareness	

Table 3.
Open and selective coding.

Timeframe	Major themes	Minor themes	Examples
Beginning of the semester	Multicultural awareness	Self-awareness/ awareness	I was excited to start this class. I was nervous but eager to become educated on the topics we would be learning in class.
			I learned about race from my parents, school, and personal experiences.
			I was taught not to see color.
			I censored my thoughts on controversial and uncomfortable topics because I did not want to offend anyone.
			I felt anxious in the beginning of class.
			Self-reflection taught me about myself and what I need to work on this class.
		Multicultural awareness	I became aware of the recent racial movements which in turn pushed me to reflect on topics of racism.
			The recent protests such as Black Live Matter made me aware that I need to be educated more on racism and other related topics.

Timeframe	Major themes	Minor themes	Examples
	COVID-19 impacts	COVID-19 impacts	I learned to adjust to being online and then learning to adjust to being in-person for class and service was hard.
			I was frustrated that the university did not have a transition period. We went from online to in-person.
Begging to middle of the semester	Intercultural contact	Intercultural contact	I took part in Eservice and enjoyed tutoring and building a relationship with the child I was paired with.
			I felt that service would have been a good experience and was disappointed it had to abruptly end because of COVID-19.
		Relationship building	I learned how to connect with my peers; I learned to make connections to the children.
			I learned to be vulnerable by sharing my thoughts and feelings.
			I learned to actively listen; I learned to listen in group.
Middle of the semester	Multicultural knowledge	Multicultural knowledge	I learned about racial identity development, modern racism, old fashion racism, aversive racism, White privilege, male privilege, micro-aggressions, and steps to become an ally.
			I learned to apply the information from class to my service and vice versa.
	Perspective-taking/ empathy	Intercultural Communication Skills	I learned to actively listen and reflect on what they were saying and validate their thoughts and feelings.
			I learned to go deeper in a conversation.
		Perspective-taking skills	I learned to accept individuals where they are not where I want them to be; I gained perspective-taking skills.
			I gained a new perspective by interacting with my peers and in the community.
		Perspective-taking/ empathy	I gained empathy; I learned to see things from another's point of view. I learned to put myself in a peers/recipients place so I could see things the way they do.
Middle-to-end of the semester	COVID-19 impacts	COVID-19 impacts	I am still emotionally and physically drained from the pandemic; I am disappointed that could take part in Eservice because my fingerprints were held up due to COVID-19; I relearned how to manage school with work and service.

Timeframe	Major themes	Minor themes	Examples
End of the semester	Multicultural skills	Recognizing and responding to stereotypes	I learned to pick up on racial stereotypes that I had not noticed before. I learned to respond to racial stereotypes.
			I developed a critical consciousness. I realize there needs to be continuous change regarding racial issues regardless of what is going on otherwise progress will not be made.
		Multicultural skills	I learned to discuss uncomfortable topics.
			I gained awareness, knowledge, and skills about topics I was unfamiliar with such as White privilege.
			I learned how to be an ally.
			I learned to go out of my comfort zone and reflect on differences.
			Self-reflection taught me about myself and what I need to do to be culturally competent; this course was just the beginning.

Table 4.
Major themes about student learning that emerged from the begging to the end of the multicultural psychology course.

psychology course [21]. Open coding consisted of categorizing and naming the data according to theoretical concepts of service-learning [10], while selective coding consisted of categorizing the data according to diversity concepts [22] as shown in **Table 3**. Categories and themes that emerged from the data were compared using the constant comparative method. Discrepancies between how coders identified categories, and themes were discussed until agreement was reached. Axial consisted of systematically analyzing the data according to time. Major themes, minor themes (i.e., themes that occurred less often), and time periods were further compared using the constant comparative method. Data were grouped into time patterns as shown in **Table 4**. Major themes that emerged from the data included multicultural awareness, intercultural contact, multicultural knowledge, perspective-taking/empathy, and multicultural skills as also shown in **Table 4**. COVID-19 impact on student learning was an unexpected theme that emerged from the data at the beginning and end of the course.

3. Discussion

Institutions of higher education have opened the door to diversity. In fact, the college population has become increasingly diverse over the past few decades, which in turn has prompted institutions to make changes to reflect diversity in both the curriculum and co-curricular programming for undergraduate students. Intercultural contact

and cross-racial exchanges in and out of the classroom provide students with opportunities to develop cultural competencies [1]. The goals of this study were to detect what students learn in a multicultural psychology course that utilized diversity learning and service learning as primary pedagogical strategies, and examine differences in student learning for students enrolled in this course before, during, and after the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic using a mixed quantitative-qualitative methodological approach. There was no observed difference in student learning outcomes for students enrolled in the multicultural psychology course before, during, and after the outbreak of the COVID-19. The COVID-19 pandemic did not impact student learning even though it required the course instructor to make substantial revisions to the multicultural psychology course. This was the first time the multicultural psychology course was taught online and included an optional virtual service-learning component (i.e., Eservice). Making the online course a close replication of the in-person course may have contributed to the lack of observed difference in student scores.

The effects of multicultural psychology education have been investigated and reports document that taking one course can increase cultural competencies in students [3, 5]. Evidence from the current study suggests that students change their attitudes and acquire skills from the beginning to the end of the multicultural psychology course. Key aspects of cultural competence such as cultural skills, multicultural attitudes, and empathy increased over the course of the semester. Students increased their intercultural interactions and improved their ability to relate to and take on the perspectives of others who racially and culturally differed from them, consistent with previous research on cultural competence [2, 3]. In contrast, students reduced their anger and sadness related to racial injustices. The White Empathetic Reaction subscale measures anger and sadness. The political climate and the COVID-19 pandemic highlighted racism worldwide. Students were aware of Anti-Black and Anti-Asian racism, and the protests that occurred in response to racial injustices in the United States, which, in turn, may have contributed to their lack of anger and sadness, thus contributing to their increased empathy. Students also increased their multicultural knowledge, leadership skills, understanding of social injustices, and ability to solve problems by the end of the course, congruent with research on service-learning [9–11]. Our findings advance assessment research that suggests that exposing students to both diversity content and diversity service-learning contributes to changes in their attitudes and skills [9].

Another goal of this study was to detect what students learned in a multicultural psychology course using student assignments (i.e., multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills and structured reflections). Five major themes emerged from the data, including multicultural awareness, intercultural contact, multicultural knowledge, perspective-taking/empathy, and multicultural skills. At the beginning of the course, most students described being excited and nervous to take the multicultural psychology course. Some students felt the need to censor their opinions out of fear they would offend a peer, while other students described the need to become more educated about racism. Students completed a multicultural awareness or an immersion assignment to increase their own self-awareness and cultural awareness. Almost all students opted to complete the multicultural awareness assignment. The multicultural awareness assignment required students to make a video about their own culture and describe how they learned about racism or Whiteness. Students discussed their family's culture, traditions, and history related to racism or Whiteness, as well as their concerns about discussing issues related to race, class, and culture in class. Students watched their own video and then summarized what they did or did not learn about

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themselves and what they need to develop as a learner. The multicultural awareness assignment contributed to students' self-awareness and awareness of multicultural issues. As one student stated, "I am nervous but eager to become educated on topics that we will be covering in class. The recent racial movements made me aware that I need be educated about racism. Self-reflection taught me about myself and what I need to work on." Intercultural competence is a developmental process that is ongoing and challenging because it requires intentional effort from students to examine their own perspectives that are shaped by their cultural upbringing and lived experiences [5].

Intergroup racial contact is an essential component for instilling intercultural competence in students. In a classroom setting, students engage in dialogs with peers who racially and culturally differ from them. Likewise, students who participate in service-learning are often immersed in a cultural that differs from their own. Students learn about the community, forge relationships with service recipients, and acquire information that negates preconceived views [23, 24]. Students are required to systematically analyze their service experiences and connect them to the course content. All students completed structured reflection questions after each class and service experience that required them to critically analyze their thoughts and feelings about race and class concepts within the course and service context over the semester. In addition, almost all students applied their service experiences to the course content in the multicultural movie review (i.e., multicultural knowledge) assignment. Students watched a diversity film (i.e., *Forrest Gump, The Blind Side*), applied diversity theories to explain the main theme of the movie, and described what they did or did not learn in terms of racial identity development and cultural competence. As one student observed, "I learned to apply information from class to my service. I observed racism and classism first-hand. The students did not have access to a computer or technology, so they attended the after-school program to keep up with their studies. The teachers did not respond to my questions, so we had to figure out how to do the math without resources or assistance. Although I could connect this to the movie I reviewed for the assignment, as well as to the class discussions, I was deeply saddened because what I experienced at service would never happen at a White middle-class school." Students developed a deeper understanding of the course concepts by completing the multicultural knowledge/movie review and critical reflection assignments; therefore, it is not surprising that multicultural knowledge emerged as a major theme.

Intergroup racial contact is also central component for student development of perspective-taking, empathy, and intercultural communication skills [3, 6]. Most students noted that they acquired intercultural communication skills and perspective-taking skills in their critical reflections. As one student commented, "I enjoyed building a relationship with the child with whom I was paired with at Eservice. I learned to be vulnerable and actively listen. I would reflect on what he was saying and validate his thoughts. I learned to see the world through his eyes. By doing this I was able to have deeper conversations with him and developed empathy." Student reflections provide insight into how some students develop intercultural communication and perspective-taking skills during the course [5].

Students acquired multicultural skills through their intercultural experiences that occurred in and out of class. Most students described the development of their intercultural communication and interpersonal problem-solving skills through their critical reflections and intercultural interview assignments. The intercultural interview assignment required students to develop interview questions on any topic related to multicultural psychology (i.e., classism, ageism, and racism), interview two

individuals who differ in one cultural characteristic (i.e., age, race, religion, sexuality, nationality, education, gender, or socioeconomic status), and compare participant responses. Students were also required to integrate theory and research to explain the main findings from the interviews. Some students interviewed each other, while other students interviewed family members or participants recruited from local establishments such as Dunkin Donuts or Wawa. The intercultural interview and critical reflections assignments influenced student development of cultural skills. As one student reflected, "I learned to pick up on micro-aggressions. I would not have picked up on micro-aggressions prior to this course. I also learned to respond to them by engaging in a dialog even though it was incredibly uncomfortable. I learned to step out of my comfort zone and engage in difficult conversations. The self-reflections taught me about myself, what I need to do to be an ally in the real sense, and that this course is just the beginning." Student development of cultural skills depends on the interventions (i.e., assignments and activities). Course assignments and activities should be intentionally designed to increase student reflection, cultural awareness, and intercultural skills.

Most students also noted how the COVID-19 pandemic impacted their development of awareness, knowledge, and skills at either the beginning or end of the semester in their critical reflections. The COVID-19 pandemic disrupted in-person service-learning activities. Some students were unable to take part in service-learning either in-person or online because they could not acquire the required clearances to engage in service work. About half of the students who took part in the multicultural psychology course during the pandemic and endemic phases reported that they thought their service work would have been better under "normal" circumstances. Students reported that the felt emotionally and physically drained from the COVID-19 pandemic and had to relearn how to be engaged as a student, consistent with research that found that students had low motivation and lacked engagement during the pandemic [25]. The impact of COVID-19 was an unexpected major theme that emerged from the data.

A final objective is to compare the qualitative data with quantitative data to detect similarities and differences. Except for the impacts from COVID-19 on student learning, similarities were detected between the qualitative and quantitative findings. Similarities were observed in cultural competence between student surveys and course assignments. Students reformulated their attitudes, acquired knowledge, and developed cultural skills through their intercultural interactions with peers in class and children in the community. Students also developed empathy over the course of the semester. In contrast, differences were noted for cultural and racial awareness. Student survey reports revealed that they did not improve their cultural awareness or color-blind racial awareness from the beginning to the end of the semester, although self-awareness and multicultural awareness were detected in their critical reflections, incongruent with previous research [3, 9]. The political and social climate that occurred at the same time as the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic may have influenced students' racial and cultural awareness prior to taking the course. Protests about the removal of statues, the violence against Black and Asian Americans, and Black Lives Matter movement were documented on social media and in other mediums in general. Most students noted that they needed to be more informed about these issues at the beginning of the course; therefore, they may have rated their awareness of White privilege, racism, and institutional discrimination higher than previous student groups [9]. It is also plausible that

ceiling effects are associated with student survey reports of cultural awareness and racial color-blind attitudes [12]. Students may have rated their responses too high at pretest, which would limit the amount of change that could be measured at post-test, thus contributing to the lack of observed difference in cultural awareness and color-blind attitude scores.

3.1 Implications

Student learning in a multicultural psychology course is predicated on the diversity content, pedagogical strategies (i.e., diversity learning and service-learning), intercultural experiences (i.e., in and out of class), and interventions (i.e., assignments and activities) [1]. Diversity learning and service-learning practices were intentionally integrated with each other to increase self-reflection, cultural awareness, and multicultural knowledge in students. These high-impact practices can be incorporated into any undergraduate course to advance student learning of cultural competence. The course assignments were purposely designed to increase students' multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills, while the critical reflections were designed so that students could connect the course content to the service context and examine their own learning over the course of the semester. The assignments also lend themselves to any undergraduate course that includes diversity, social justice, or critical thinking objectives and outcomes.

3.2 Limitations

Assessment of student learning should be ongoing, and data should be used to refine teaching to improve student learning. It is important to point out that we did not detect differences in student learning outcomes for students enrolled in face-to-face and online courses. The multicultural psychology course was taught synchronously and was a close replication of the in-person course. An asynchronous multicultural psychology course that does not replicate in-person activities online may contribute to differences in student learning outcomes. Future researchers should measure differences in student learning of cultural competencies for students in diversity courses exposed to asynchronous, synchronous, and face-to-face instructional modalities. In addition, more than half the sample of students took the multicultural psychology course during the pandemic and endemic phases of COVID-19. There is a degree of uncertainty if the COVID-19 pandemic influenced student attitudes. Similarly, there is a degree of uncertainty if the racial and political climate in the United States influenced student social justice attitudes, cultural skills, or general empathy. The COVID-19 pandemic contributed to racism and violence against Asian Americans in the United States. Protests, movements, and marches occurred as a result. Moreover, on January 6, 2021, a mob of supporters attacked the United States Capital Building in Washington, D.C., in an effort to prevent Congress from counting electoral college votes so that President Donald Trump would retain his position of President of the United States. Student awareness of both the attack and protests (i.e., the attack made me aware that I need be more aware politically, I need to work on my own racism) may have influenced their attitudes. A replication of this study post-pandemic would address some of the historical research limitations that are most likely associated with the results. Homogeneity effects are most likely associated with our sample of White females at a teaching university in

a metropolitan area, which limits our ability to generalize the results. Researchers should expand this area of scholarship by replicating this study with larger and more diverse samples of students.

4. Conclusion

The goal of a multicultural education is to instill cultural competence in students. Multicultural psychology courses provide students with the foundational skills so that they can continue to develop and improve their intercultural competence beyond the course [1, 5]. The most salient finding from this study was that students improve their multicultural and social justice attitudes, increase cultural and problem-solving skills, and develop empathy after engaging in intercultural interactions in and out of a multicultural psychology course. The use of a mixed-method approach expands previous scholarship and increases the reliability of our findings that characteristics of cultural competence such as multicultural attitudes, cultural skills, and empathy shift over the semester in a multicultural psychology course. Additional research is warranted if this area of scholarship is to advance. Future researchers should replicate and expand this study with a larger and more diverse sample of students enrolled in diversity courses in different academic disciplines at multiple institutions located in and beyond the United States. Researchers may want measure differences in student learning outcomes for students enrolled in diversity courses that use different instructional modalities including face-to-face, synchronous online, and asynchronous online formats.

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Chapter 6

Do Engineers Need Intercultural Competence?

Irina-Ana Drobot

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to present, from the perspective of intercultural communication, how foreign languages, and especially English, could be taught to students at the Technical University of Civil Engineering Bucharest, Romania. Starting from what they claim their expectations with respect to how foreign languages would help them in their future jobs, we could devise lessons following several aspects. Among these, the fact that English is a lingua franca, and also the language of intercultural competence at the world level, shows why most students opt to study English. Another aspect has to do with skills that can be taught during foreign language seminars. What is more, awareness of differences among cultures and cultural-specific features could also be included. Last but not least, organizational culture also matters, since in their future jobs, students will need to establish business cooperation and may also need to communicate efficiently with an international team.

Keywords: cultural awareness, communication skills, high power distance, low power distance, English as a foreign language

1. Introduction

When we speak about learning foreign languages, we need to look at the reality surrounding us at the respective time. There is always a context, which includes certain ways of thinking and behaving that are distinctive to the time we live in. We speak of a certain culture, defined "as patterns of human thought" [1], and also as "The collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another" [2]. Moreover, those members of the same culture "share a language, a historic period, and a geographic location" together with "the standards for perceiving, believing, evaluating, communicating, and acting among those" [3].

Some countries and cultures where the language is spoken may, at some point in history, be very nationalistic and closed to international collaboration. At other point in time, this may all change to the opposite: the countries and cultures can become very open to international collaboration in all domains. If the country is closed, it is compulsory for the visitor to know its very language; if the country is open to international collaboration and traveling, then the visitor can rely on a lingua franca, or a language that is used at an international level to help people of different culture find a common language to communicate. English is nowadays well-known as the lingua

franca of the world in all areas, such as studying, working, and traveling for leisure. If English can be regarded as a lingua franca of the world, then it is important to make it clear to students the distinction in culture in areas where English is spoken in the world, such as Great Britain, the USA, Australia, English in Hong Kong, English in Africa, and others. When speaking English as a lingua franca, students will need not to rely on body language that is specific to Great Britain or the USA, for example, and they will need to either keep neutral or adapt to the possible extent to the body language of the country those that they are talking to come from.

Today's world can be considered to have globalization as the main value and as the main feature, which leads to frequent contact at an international level. The main contribution of globalization is the following: "the intensity of globalization in recent years has brought intercultural competence acquisition studies back to the center stage" [4]. Thus, globalization appears to be the main trigger for the necessity for intercultural competence. The perspective of "Working across cultures [5] should be taken into account in contemporary foreign language teaching. There is an expected difference between the world in the past and the world as we know it today: "With increasing globalization, countries face social, linguistic, religious, and other cultural changes that can lead to misunderstandings in a variety of settings. These changes can have broader implications across the world, leading to changing dynamics in identity, gender, relationships, family, and community" [6]. Thus, first of all, when we are planning to teach a foreign language seminar, we should understand the main features of our contemporary world. In this way, we can make use efficiently of old textbooks, and adapt them to today's context, or just select some relevant information, exercises, and other activities. With the passage of years, various methods and approaches to teaching foreign languages have emerged, from the grammar-translation method to communicative approaches, and lately teaching methods have focused on the use of technology more than in the past, since various platforms and applications have been made available and developed. We could also just add textbook material created for intercultural communication purposes next to old textbooks material, since some materials can be universal, such as those related to grammar, translation, vocabulary, listening practice, and dialog building. Next to all these we just need to make students aware of today's world values and makeup, so that they have the necessary skills related to intercultural competence to adapt to the professional world.

In 2001, the research mentioned in resource [7] remarked the following about our contemporary world, and the process of change it was going through: "Revolutionary advances in electronic technologies and globalization are transforming the nature, reach, speed, and loci of human influence". Moreover, our contemporary world has been described as "an emerging global village" [5]. However, in spite of this, there is a strong respect for preserving the specificities of each and every culture. Intercultural competence takes this into account.

Intercultural competence could be defined, briefly, as "an individual's ability to function effectively across cultures" [5, 8]. This definition focuses on the capacity of adaptation of an individual to the values and mindsets of members of other cultures, being able to establish communication in a cooperative manner with them. Another definition of intercultural competence has in view "the ability to think and act in interculturally appropriate ways" [9], which continues the ability mentioned previously, adding to it the element of cultural empathy, of understanding other cultures' beliefs and habits, not just being informed about them. Cooperation is the focus of the following definition of intercultural competence, since it is understood as "an individual's effectiveness in drawing upon a set of knowledge, skills, and personal attributes in

order to work successfully with people from different national cultural backgrounds at home or abroad" [10]. Some elements comprised by intercultural competence are the following: "empathy, flexibility, cross-cultural awareness, and managing stress," to which we can add "technical skills, foreign language proficiency, and situational factors," together with "skills to interpret and relate; skills to discover and/or to interact; valuing others' values, beliefs, and behaviors; and relativizing one's self" [11].

Why should the foreign language professor take into account intercultural competence when teaching foreign language seminars to engineering students? This question comes up as preparing students for behaving and adapting "competitively in the global marketplace, and staying abreast of the electronic deluge of information and globalized knowledge" is one of the tasks and challenges faced by institutions of higher education in general [11]. The research mentioned in the resource [12] refers to the particular case of the United States, yet the issue is valid for universities all over the world during the start of the twenty-first century.

Reasons, why intercultural competence can be regarded as one of the students' needs in the context of the foreign language classroom, can be found once we go through the literature review related to this topic. The way that the world is made up today leads to engineers' needing intercultural competence: "technical expertise is not sufficient for engineers today, given the complex intercultural global contexts in which they are required to work" [13]. Intercultural competence would help them "to become competitive specialists at the labor market" [14]. The need for considering intercultural competence when teaching a lingua franca, such as English or Spanish, can be related to the reality that "learners are more likely to interact with non-native speakers of different nationalities" [15]. English language seminars should have in view for engineers the following: "concepts such as intercultural teams, international meetings, geographical mobility, worldwide negotiations, and globalization," since these "are associated with the professional profiles of graduates and reveal the need to include intercultural communicative competence in their courses" [15]. To sum up, the need for intercultural competence has to do with the way the world is structured today, and according to the values that belong to our contemporary world, such as globalization, multiculturalism, cultural awareness, and respect for all cultures. Moreover, in the business world, the value that is appreciated nowadays is cooperation among teams belonging to different cultures. The existence of transnational corporations, which operate in different countries, leads to these values to be crucial for a business to succeed. The way staff works will have implications related to communication having in mind the different cultures, functions of the country where certain corporation parts are based. It is assumed that some engineering students will later work in transnational companies, and will need specific communication skills, which they may expect to acquire in the foreign language seminars.

2. Engineering students' needs regarding foreign language seminars

The findings in this section are based on test one of the groups of students in engineering took at the beginning of the academic year 2021/2022 at the Technical University of Civil Engineering Bucharest, so that teacher and author of this chapter would understand their needs and expectations from the English as a foreign language seminar. The students were from the first year, from the section Engineering and Management in Constructions, within the Civil, Industrial, and Agricultural Building Faculty. This group of students was divided into two further groups to study

the English language: one group studied with the author of the chapter, and the other group with another member of the staff from the Department of Foreign Languages and Communication. Students were divided into these groups mainly according to their own preferences regarding friendships, or according to the way they were divided into two groups for their engineering classes. When the essay was given, during the first class, students from both groups were actually present. This gives all the more a better understanding of the way the students from this section think. Other engineering students at other faculties and sections are divided at the beginning of the academic year through a similar test, consisting of an essay written in English on a given topic, if the majority of the students at that section/ faculty want to study English, while there are too few if any at all students willing to sign up for other foreign languages, such as French, German, or Spanish. What is worth noting here is that these latter three languages are all languages of the European Union as well, together with English. However, the reasons for them choosing English could be due to the fact that they have started to study it as a first language. Some students may have even studied English since kindergarten, and it has likely been the first foreign language studied during their primary school years. It is believed that the earlier learners study a second language, the easier it is for them to express themselves using this language, and up to a point, it could be felt almost like a native language. The English language is also the language of most films that are popular, and of most fictional works, so we could say that the students have shared the same youth culture in a very strong connection with the English language, which makes them feel so attached to it. Games have been or still are part of their interests, as well as social media and all these use the English language. Music hits are also mostly in English. Everything is present in Romania mostly in English, with the exception of cases when other cultures are promoted, for example, Spanish, German, Italian, Russian, Japanese, Korean, Polish, Albanian, Czech, Turkish, etc. Mostly these cultures are promoted as part of various European Union projects, respecting the diversity and uniqueness of cultures. The European Union also tries to raise awareness of the specificity of each and every language. This state of affairs could, in the long run, prove useful for popularizing other foreign languages for these students. However, currently, words from the English language often enter their everyday Romanian vocabulary and are still frequently used by students, as such and not necessarily as neologisms. This can show that they share a similar mindset as a generation, and not studying English can mean for them at some point to feel left out of their peers' groups.

The majority of the students having a beginner, intermediate, or advanced level of English according to the essay will study English, while the rest of them are sent to the other language groups, following their stated preferences of other languages to study. The topic for the students in Engineering and Management in Construction for the academic year 2021/ 2022 was the following: "How is English as a foreign language going to help me in my future job?" Based on the answers the teacher can understand what the students will be expecting from the seminar for the academic year, as well as how their answers correlate with the topic of intercultural competence, which can be suggested by what they mention in their essays. The level of the entire group can also be assessed through such an essay, allowing the teacher to know which notions to insist upon during class, and, if needed, which students should be given additional materials as a recommendation to reach the level of the majority of their colleagues.

In **Table 1**, the author of this chapter mentions the significant aspects students have highlighted in their papers, together with the number of papers mentioning each aspect.

No.	Important aspects regarding knowing English in the Engineering profession	No. of papers mentioning the respective aspect	Comments
1	English is the most known language around the world, a lingua franca for travel and work purposes anywhere in the world.	45	Business collaborations in the domain of engineering are frequently mentioned as being made possible due to knowledge of English. More generally, one student mentions that English represents a means of an international way of interaction. At work level, English is a means to share our ideas at an international level.
	Reasons:		
	Learning the language of various countries is difficult and time-consuming. So, using English for communicating with people of other cultures is very convenient.	6	Communication ranges from work-related ones to traveling for personal enjoyment. One student mentioned communication with investors and with workers on site. There is also frequent mention of using English as an advantage for being able to work abroad.
	English is also useful for collaborating at work in Romania, and with people belonging to different cultures. It can also help find partners from abroad and be involved in projects.	10	
	English is useful for getting informed individually about jobs, culture, and society-related aspects.	7	
	English can help in working as a manager in construction abroad.	1	
2	Knowing English is important for work since this knowledge will bring additional income.	6	The additional income has been mentioned both in relation to working in Romania, as well as working abroad, where jobs are paid higher.
	Making the best of your job.	17	Reasons include finding opportunities for training, collaborating on projects, and developing one's own business in Romania or abroad.
	Helping you find a job.	14	Students believe mainly that employees have on the list the skill of knowing English and that it can also help them to stand out with their CV. Two students also mention their belief that knowing English can help them get a good job in a multinational company in their home country or abroad. One student believes you can barely find a job nowadays without knowledge of English.
	Engineers use computers and programs are most likely in English.	7	

No.	Important aspects regarding knowing English in the Engineering profession	No. of papers mentioning the respective aspect	Comments
3	Learning a foreign language can expand someone's horizons.	3	This could refer to a better understanding of the mentalities of other cultures.
	Learning about traditions and about how people behave and live, and not just the language.	2	
	You will be limited to stay in your country if you do not know English and would like to visit countries whose language you do not speak.	1	
4	It is important to keep up with the most spoken languages in the world. English is the second spoken language in the world after Chinese.	9	
	Most spoken language in Europe and Romania.	3	
5.	For working as an engineer in Romania, your level of English does not need to be very high.	1	This statement contradicts the expectation of the teacher that English would be helpful in the student's future careers. The student who answered this also mentioned that his level for IELTS was not enough for him to be able to study engineering in Denmark. However, he believes the situation in Romania can be different. The student is probably aiming at working in a company based in Romania and will likely receive help from translators/ interpreters if needed.
6	English is also used in video games and in maintaining friendships related to this hobby.	1	Not related to the future job, but to personal life and to a current interest, which also means maintaining communication with friends from different cultures.
	English is used for movies, songs, and entertainment.	4	Students can connect with peers from around the world sharing the same interests.

Table 1.
Reasons mentioned by students regarding how English as a foreign language could help them in their future professions as engineers.

A number of 46 essays were handed in during the first English class by those students that attended the first seminar. Out of these, 45 essays mentioned knowledge related to the fact that English was an international language, a lingua franca, that is, it was spoken all over the world. The 46th paper that did not mention English as a language of the world belonged to students whose level of English was beginner, so he simply used the opportunity to write about himself and his work and personal interests. However, he did mention traveling, so he may have been aware of the role of English, yet lacked enough language skills to express it. Students are well-aware

of how helpful this common language is at an international level regarding situations that are business related, travel-related, or simply related to communication for entertainment purposes with their peers from various cultures related to their current interests in movies, video games, and song lyrics. Students are aware of the role of a lingua franca in their future job opportunities, such as business collaborations with investors or colleagues from other cultures, getting projects for their company, and getting self-development opportunities, both at home and abroad. Some dream of starting their own company, in their home country or abroad, while other dream of working in a multinational company. Some also dream of becoming managers and getting hold of international projects. Some believe that knowing a lingua franca will help them get better salaries in their home country and abroad, and also be regarded highly by colleagues or employees for their fluent skills in English. They seem eager to start collaborations and cooperation at the workplace. They are also aware of other cultures' different backgrounds, values, and ways of thinking, and they are open to learning more about them. English as a foreign language speaker can be regarded as forming a culture, or even a subculture, in itself.

Dreaming about a career is a usual feature of youths their age. We can see this feature in their essays from the above-mentioned aspects. They are eager to improve their skills, which mainly include communication skills, that we frequently hear about in various organized workshops nowadays in Romania, and abroad. English for these students is a problem-solving language that can help them when in need, and can help them achieve a universally needed skill to communicate with anyone from any culture from all over the world. Indeed, the community of foreign language speakers of English seems to share a universal code of communication, which presents English as a very clear, easy-to-use language to make your point go through to your interlocutors. The language, being shared by other non-native speakers as a second language, does not present a barrier between native and non-native speakers.

We could say that the students see themselves as citizens of the world, willing to adapt to the requirements of their domain's standards at the world level. Due to this willingness, they could be regarded as having great potential to sign up for training and scholarships for students' mobility organized and supported by the European Union. In this way, they could improve both communication skills and understanding of how to achieve opportunities in their career by establishing contact with the right persons.

From the essay given as a task to complete in class during the first English language seminar at the beginning of the academic year, the teacher can find out the following: first of all, the students are well-aware of the role of the English language in the world today, both personally and professionally, for communication for various purposes, such as traveling, making friends of the same age and with the same interests all over the world, as well as for professional communication for working together with an international team, being able to be involved in international projects, establishing various partnerships and even being able to start their own business in their home country or abroad. Only one student believes that he could make it eventually even without having a very high level of English proficiency if he did not work abroad as an engineer. However, he is also aware of the extent to which English is helpful in all areas of life. His plan of making it like this is, however, a worst-case scenario. The students who took the test are well-aware of the world situation and of their need to adapt to this world in order to succeed professionally, starting from being, first of all, accepted for a job, and moving on to achieving success and getting high salaries, together with great opportunities for international collaboration in their careers. They

are aware of the existence of the possibilities of working in multinational companies, as well as of the existence of transnational corporations since they mention establishing collaborations with foreign investors and businessmen from abroad with their firm from Romania, but which can have headquarters all over the world. These students are well-aware of the possibilities given by knowing English for communication purposes. They are also aware of the existence of differences in mindsets, in thinking and behaving of different cultures. Given all this information about these students, which is visible from their essays, the teacher can realize that no classes should be dedicated to particular to making them aware of the situation of the world nowadays and of the English language since they already have these notions. The teacher does not need to argue in favor of them knowing English and improving their knowledge, since they are already aware of these issues.

What is left for the teacher of English is to select those materials that will answer these students' needs right away, especially oriented toward their future profession and their future career opportunities. The students have been shaped in their mindset by having been taught according to European Union standards in general school and high school, yet they could benefit from further in-depth knowledge about the relationship between the English language and their main domain of activity. Since most students already have foreign language competencies certificates, such as Cambridge and TOEFL, the main motivator for them to continue the study of the English language would be to further progress from what they already know. If the seminars are only about what they already know, and if they can recognize the textbooks used by teachers in high school, they lose interest.

3. Using English as a foreign language textbooks for teaching intercultural competence

Researchers such as the one mentioned in Ref. [13] have noticed the issue of the need for notions of culture for engineers, that could help them in their profession. According to this research, engineers need to also take into account other skills than those required strictly by their technical knowledge of their jobs. The researcher refers to other notions of culture than those creating stereotypes.

Back in 2006, the issue of a "global engineer" with intercultural competence was raised: "The highly-analytical, technically-focused engineering "nerd" is a person of the past. They seek engineers who are technically adept, culturally aware, and broadly knowledgeable… What they seek is a global engineer" [16]. However, nowadays, as seen from the essays, students are already aware of this issue and prepared for adapting to working in a global world. They only ask for the necessary tools and skills to be given to them in the English language seminars. It is confirmed by research that engineers are required to have intercultural communication skills in order to be hired, as expected by the students who wrote the essays: "engineering companies, professional organizations, and accreditation bodies alike have consistently and increasingly called for graduates with effective communication skills that enable them to collaborate with a diversity of people in a globalized professional environment" [13].

Since most of the students of the group from the academic year 2021/2022 tested by the essay mentioned earlier are, in the majority, either intermediate or advanced level, the teacher can focus on teaching them English for specific purposes, by choosing textbooks for engineers, which are tailored to their domain of activity, with the necessary types of scientific texts, vocabulary, and work-related situations.

One of the textbooks that could be used, at least selectively, is *English for the Construction Industry*, by Graham and Celia Waterhouse, which was published in 1981 [17]. Even if it is so old, it is useful since it applies grammatical and vocabulary notions to real-life situations, such as communication on-site, regarding various professional contexts, and areas specific to the domain, alongside elements of pragmatic knowledge, such as making suggestions, giving advice, giving instructions, warnings, reasons, opinions, showing certainty/uncertainty and agreement/disagreement, making statements about the future (such as estimation, prediction, possibility, and speculation), asking for information, describing things, finding fault, admitting and denying, putting right, expressing permission, obligation, prohibition, making requests, agreeing/refusing, and persuading. On other occasions, grammatical notions are applied to the specific professional context, such as reported speech, in passing on what other people have said on the construction site. Students can improve their English language for social use in their work context by using the dialogs given as a model and also by exercising in creating similar dialogs with a colleague. The units of this textbook are structured according to the progress of work on a construction site, starting with *Unit One: Site Establishment, Setting Out and Substructure*, continuing with *Unit Two: Superstructure*, *Unit Three: Roof*, *Unit Four: Cladding, Glazing, and Scaffolding*, and ending with *Unit Nine: External Works and Landscaping*. Students are presented with elements of language, such as grammar notions, for instance, modal verbs, but applied to a communication context related to the field of work in future for the students. By selecting some of the material from the textbook, and even recommending the rest for individual use and further reference to students, students can get a perspective of how work on a construction site and especially communication can go on in Great Britain. This can be relevant to them since a good part of them would like to work abroad, and even specifically on a construction site, which they would like to lead as construction managers. This textbook can also make the object of discussion during class regarding particularities of culture and the use of language in Great Britain. For example, notions such as specific British politeness could be pointed out from the dialogues. Students could then be encouraged to look for information in other textbooks or even online lessons, regarding the use of language and cultural particularities for construction sites elsewhere in the English-speaking world. This could be the starting point for discussions regarding specific values, ways of thinking, and behaving for different cultures.

Another textbook that could be used for the selection of teaching materials in class and further individual references is *Engleza pentru ingineri si tehnicieni*, a title in Romanian which could be translated as *English for Engineers and Technicians*, by Viorica Danila, published in 1967 [18]. While the first textbook mentioned is an international one, and the only language used in it is English, this 1967 textbook contains information in Romanian on the occasions of translation of vocabulary items and also on the occasion when students are given to translate short paragraphs from Romanian into English. Titles of lessons, including grammatical notions are also translated, together with certain sentences. This textbook is addressed clearly solely to a Romanian students audience. The level of English used starts from beginner, with basic sentences, which are applied to the profession of engineer. Numerals, pronouns, and basic questions such as "What is this?," "What is that?," and "Who am I?" "I am an engineer" are all clearly applied to this field of activity, and are also accompanied by relevant pictures. Tables for drills are also present, based on situations and vocabulary related to the field of engineering.

Another textbook that could be used in a similar way, to some extent during classes and later on individually for reference by students, is *A Course in Basic Scientific English* by J. R. Ewer and G. Latone, published in 1970 [19]. This is, like the first textbook mentioned, an international one, and the information is only in English. The book is divided into units related to various grammatical notions, such as simple present active, simple present passive, simple past active and passive, –ing forms, present perfect, present continuous, past perfect, and conditionals, which are present in scientific texts and based on which exercises regarding comprehension, language, and vocabulary use are present. This book could be used in particular for those students that will, later on, be involved in scientific research. They will need to understand the specificities of technical texts in order to write their own directly in the English language for occasions, such as paper presentations and publishing. These notions are also useful for reports for those involved in international projects.

Another, more recent textbook, published in 2008, *Take-Off: Technical English for Engineering* by David Morgan and Nicholas Regan [20] could also be used in a similar way as the previous textbooks. According to the authors, this textbook "covers general engineering topics, but has an aeronautics focus, so is also particularly suitable for anyone working in the aeronautics industry from co-MRO opera-rives to supervisors, managers, and pilots" [20]. It can be, up to some extent, used for English language seminars for engineers in a broad sense, as engineering students are expected to be interested in traveling, but also in the way that various machine work, so the fact that this textbook is about airplanes in a technical sense may be found attractive by them, at least for a few selected units or sections from units. This textbook "assumes that you have a basic grounding in English grammar and some knowledge of technical terms, but that you need to improve your listening, speaking, reading and writing skills" [20]. The textbook is also accompanied by a CD, so it may be used for listening comprehension exercises for engineering students. At the end of the 2 years of study of English as a foreign language, the students in engineering at the Technical University of Civil Engineering Bucharest will sit for a competence test, which is meant to check their level of knowledge of English using 45 questions, with variants of answers to check, based on listening comprehension, reading comprehension, grammar and vocabulary, and the last section where they write in a single word of their choice in blank spaces. Each unit in this textbook is an engineering subject, such as *Design and Innovation*, *Manufacturing Techniques*, *Safety and Emergency*, *Electrical Systems*, and others. Topics are also from the field, for example, properties of materials, design rationales, aircraft specifications, electrical maintenance, repair, etc. Skills and language are applied to various situations of communication. For instance, students are asked to give safety information and explanations, discuss and interpret diagrams and schematics, or use language referring to measurement and calculations, and others.

Another example of the more recent textbook that could be used related to the technical domain which will be presented in this chapter is *Cambridge English for Engineering*, by Mark Ibbotson, published in 2008 [21]. This textbook is based on units focusing on general engineering, with titles, such as *Technology in use*, *Materials technology*, *Components and assemblies*, and others. The skills involved sound are as follows: describing technical functions and applications, explaining how technology works, describing specific materials, categorizing materials, and so on. There are associated grammar issues discussed such as adverbs of degree.

These textbooks, however, focus on engineering culture, and not on raising cultural awareness with respect to taking into consideration the current opening of

the world, or the age of globalization related to work. In addition to selecting materials from these textbooks, which have the advantage of making students feel that they are learning something new during the English seminars, and not just repeating the same notions related to grammar and vocabulary from high school, feeling that it is worth attending English class at university, other international, English-only textbooks could be used to select materials from. These textbooks could contain units related to job interviews, small talk in a professional environment, where people from various cultures meet and English is their common language, as well as professional communication textbooks, which focus on various situations of communication at the workplace in various domains of activity.

Certain culture-related notions could be helpful to be given to students in engineering such as the group whose essays have been discussed previously in this chapter. Another faculty within the Technical University of Civil Engineering Bucharest, namely the Faculty of Engineering in Foreign Language, offers in its curricula a course of lectures focused on culture and civilization, called humanity science. The students in engineering at the faculties in the Romanian language do not have such a course, at least not in a compulsory format. It is only available at the request of the students, as an optional course. However, lately, there had been discussions regarding the too much burdened curricula for students at the engineering faculties, and since students already have a high workload for their technical subjects, they have not signed up lately for the course in culture and civilization in optional format. However, certain notions from such courses could be introduced, briefly and occasionally, during the English language seminars.

Hofstede started from the analysis of corporations to develop his theory of cultural dimensions, to see in what ways and according to what criteria mindsets differ across cultures, to the extent that, "if we go into another country and make decisions based on how we operate in our own home country—the chances are we will make some very bad decisions" [22]. The dimensions apply not only to corporate cultures but to the mindset of the respective cultures at large, in their personal lives and in the way various institutions and even the state, work.

Hofstede has identified five cultural dimensions: high vs. low power distance, individualism vs. collectivism, masculinity vs. femininity, high vs. low uncertainty avoidance, and short vs. long-term orientation. Power distance has to do with the way people relate to authority. If the relationship with authority is relaxed, the power distance is low, if the authority has to be obeyed and people have to do as they are told at all times, the power distance is high. If power distance is high, in the family, the father and mother are obeyed, in school pupils have to do as they are told, same for university and the workplace. If power distance is low, at school, for instance, the teachers and students can talk from equal to equal, and students can be creative and negotiate tasks. Individualist cultures focus on the good and opportunities of achievement for the individual, while collectivist cultures focus on the good of the entire group and society. Masculinity refers to the focus of culture on achievement and competition, while femininity focuses on welfare and cooperation. High uncertainty avoidance cultures take strict measures against unexpected situations, while low uncertainty avoidance cultures are more open to the unexpected and are not so anxious about it. As for long- and short-term orientation, the focus is on the following values: "Values associated with long-term orientation are thrift and perseverance; values associated with short-term orientation are respect for tradition, fulfilling social obligations, and protecting one's 'face'" [22]. Regarding high scores for high power distance, collectivism, masculinity, high uncertainty avoidance, and long-term orientation, these can

generally be found in Asian cultures. Low scores for these dimensions, short-term orientation, together with individualism, can generally be found in the Western world. Students can be helped by keeping this theory in mind when they start working abroad, collaborating in international projects, and establishing connections with specialists from other cultures. However, they should also keep in mind that sometimes there can be distinctions between organizational culture and the overall country culture and that these tendencies may not be homogeneous at all levels of life and institutions.

Students could also benefit from getting informed about which countries value punctuality, which countries expect people to be in time for a job interview or business meeting, or even a few minutes ahead of the established time, and which countries are very relaxed in this respect and do not even expect you to ever show up on time.

Just like Spain, mentioned in the study in Ref. [23], Romania also needs to prepare engineering students to be able to work abroad, yet at the same time maintain their relationship with the country of origin. This is why cooperation at the international level is preferable to having them migrate. Romania needs engineers in order to build and maintain existing engineering works. With the COVID-19 crisis, and the difficulties encountered to travel abroad, Romanian students are more numerous in the university. This can be encouraging for the future, yet teachers need to do their best in order to keep them experiencing learning suited to their needs. Otherwise, before COVID-19, there were few students remaining in Romania for university studies and few graduates remained in the country to work here as well. Awareness of their own identity at the national level should also be communicated to students during these foreign language classes, so that they do not neglect their own country by focusing on communicating with other cultures *via* English to the benefit of their domain and career.

The teacher should also keep in mind the advice given by the research paper [24], which mentions that "intercultural communicative-professional competence" should not be the only focus of teaching English to engineering students. At the same time, attention should be given to teaching English having in mind the development of "technical thinking" for these students. We can take this advice to the extent of paying special attention to the way the activities are structured and formulated. Problem-solving activities could be relevant to these students' mindsets. These activities, in turn, could be achieved through project-based activities. These activities based on project form are suggested as means of "optimal combination of theory and practice," as well as "to encourage students to resolve their everyday issues themselves" [25]. Therefore, we could treat engineering students as forming a subculture and as having shared values and preferred practices.

During foreign language classes, students can develop cultural awareness next to improving their knowledge of the language. Through various exercises, they can improve their communication skills related to their future profession. Aside from the textbooks and notions of cultural dimensions already mentioned, students can be presented in class with watching videos of interviews or business meetings, and commenting on the way the interview or business meeting goes on, including body language, style of dress, small talk, focus on experience, and cv. Other types of exercises may include allowing students to organize themselves in pairs or groups and collaborate together on various tasks, including presenting some materials related to culture or to engineering, making up dialogs related to professional situations, as well as working together on a translation. This can be regarded as training

for communicative and collaboration skills, which are needed for teamwork. Some students may be more suited as leaders, coordinating everything, while some others may be more suitable as team members, doing the work. This can be good training, especially considering students in their first year, the first semester hardly know each other and can practice their collaboration skills with different personalities, as it will later happen with people from different cultures.

4. Conclusion

The question in the title of the chapter has been answered positively, by examining existing research, as well as by looking at the opinions of a group of students at the Technical University of Civil Engineering Bucharest. A few textbooks that have been used to teach English to engineers during English language seminars have also been examined, as to how they could improve the students' communication skills. Since students have been aware of the role of English as an international language and the way the engineering profession can nowadays be carried out having in mind collaborations from international partners, these notions were not taken in view to be developed upon during the seminars. Instead, notions related to cultural awareness and differences among cultures, both corporative and national, were taken into account.

Since the students in the group mentioned had the majority, at least at an intermediate level of knowledge of English, improving their language came up with applying the language to the engineering domain, as well as communicative situations related to professional situations, and exercises meant to improve their collaboration skills. The communicative approach to teaching English could be efficiently used with students that are in the majority, at least at an intermediate level of English language knowledge.

As some students have mentioned in their essays, or better put, implied, all professions nowadays can benefit from intercultural competence. What is more, intercultural competence could be considered, as they suggested, a must and one of the basic needs for a candidate to be successful at a business interview.

Teaching foreign languages having intercultural competence of students is mind is, after all, a common practice, legitimated at the European Union level, for example, by the Council of Europe's guidance present in the *Common European framework of reference for languages* [26]. Therefore, every teacher should keep it into account during classes and adapt the requirements present there to the very needs of the particular group of students that they are teaching. Both students and teachers need to integrate themselves into this culture of teaching and studying foreign languages based on intercultural communication competencies proposed by the European Union, and to make the best of this experience for their future benefit. While the skills of the students are both supervised at national and supranational levels through controls, they should also come up naturally, at least to some extent, since the younger generation may have already had contact with these practices and have been raised according to them. Different generations are educated differently. However, both teachers and students should keep open to learning new notions and skills and use them to their advantage.

The English language has a special status: that of an international language, used for common understanding at the world level, and also that of a language that can be used for comfortable intercultural communication [27].

The author of the chapter has applied the notions of intercultural competence to her own experience with one particular group of students, starting from the very beginning, based on the needs they suggested at the beginning of the academic year.

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Chapter 7

Intercultural Differences in Road Safety Performance and Support for Road Safety Policy Measures

Wouter Van den Berghe

Abstract

Road safety policy measures are meant to improve road safety, i.e., to reduce the number of people injured or killed in road traffic crashes. Despite the obvious benefits of such policy measures, often public support is low, because often such measures require road users to give up some of their freedom of movement. In this chapter, it is shown how differences in national culture are associated with differences in the level of public support for a range of policy measures. National culture can be operationalized into several dimensions. Using data from a recent update of two of Hofstede's cultural dimensions (labeled as "Independent" and "Confucianist"), it is first shown that these dimensions are strongly associated with economic indicators and road safety performance. Subsequently, it is illustrated that these dimensions can also be good predictors for public support for several road safety measures, in particular when these are perceived to restrict freedom of movement.

Keywords: culture, road safety, fatality rate, public support, policy measures, ESRA, Hofstede, independent, Confucianist

1. Introduction

'Road safety' refers to both a policy area and a scientific discipline, addressing incidents, accidents, and injuries that occur in traffic. A collision with a vehicle, road user, or an obstacle on the road is often called an 'accident' or a 'road accident.' Increasingly, however, experts and policy makers prefer to use the term 'crash' or 'road crash,' because in English, 'accident' includes the connotation that the event could not have been avoided. The European Commission has recently decided to use the term (road) crash in its communications on road safety. 'Crashes' are also used in the recent international Stockholm declaration on road safety [1]. In this chapter, the terms 'crash' or 'road crash' are used. Please note that in road safety research and policy, the focus is on 'injury crashes,' referring to road crashes in which at least one person is injured or killed.

Road crashes are one of the major causes of deaths and injuries across the globe. The World Health Organization (WHO) estimated that in 2016, over 1.35 million people died on public roads and over 50 million were injured [2]. Despite considerable

progress over the last four decades, particularly in Europe and other highly developed countries, it remains an important challenge for all countries to reduce the number of road casualties and fatalities. Actually, over the last years (except during the Covid-pandemic), in several European countries, the number of road crash fatalities was no longer decreasing [3, 4]. In many low- and middle-income countries (LMICs), the numbers are still increasing [5].

Despite lack of consensus on what national culture exactly entails, it is in generally accepted that it is a key characteristic underlying systematic differences in behavior between countries [6]. The insight that national culture also affects road safety performance is not new. In 2000, a road safety target hierarchy was developed in New Zealand under the form of a 'road safety pyramid' [7]. This concept subsequently gained popularity in the road safety world [8]. The pyramid included several layers, with the basic layer being 'structure and culture' (of a country). This road safety pyramid has often been used as a framework for assessing national road safety performance [8, 9] and for benchmarking – e.g., [10]. Within this logic, culture is seen as an input factor (in addition to demography, geography, climate, political organization, etc.) for road safety policy and interventions. In other words, cultural characteristics influence how and what policy measures can be taken, and eventually road safety performance. However, for this 'culture and structure layer,' there are no internationally comparable quantitative indicators.

2. Operationalization of 'culture'

2.1 What is culture?

The Oxford Learners Dictionary (https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/) gives six meanings of the term 'culture,' of which the first one comes close to the concept of culture used in this chapter: "*the customs and beliefs, art, way of life and social organization of a particular country or group.*" Scientific consensus tends to emerge around two key characteristics of this concept of culture: (a) culture as a collective phenomenon that is shared among members of a cultural group – this 'shared' component tends to distinguish one group of people from another, and (b) culture is learned and passed on through socialization processes within these cultural groups [11].

Culture shapes society and vice versa. Culture itself is a product of various factors, including tradition, history, and how systems such as regulation, education, law enforcement, the labor market, social security, public health, and infrastructure function. For instance, in many societies, the attitudes toward drunk driving have changed considerably since the late twentieth century [12] – a cultural change that was the result, at least in part, of changing legislation and increasing enforcement levels.

Culture is not static. There is some evidence for a global shift in the direction of cultural traits typical of the rich Western individualist countries [13]. This is strongly linked to economic and human development and the associated evolution from a priority on existential security toward expressive freedom [14]. In general, greater economic prosperity and equality eventually lead to more tolerant, egalitarian, autonomous, and trusting societies [15]. Younger generations across the world have become more individualistic and more joyous [16]. On the other hand, it was also observed that roughly half of the variation in national cultural orientations is unique

to each country. The latter observation is consistent with another finding [17] that despite increasing international interconnectivity, national culture remains strong due to it referencing itself when interpreting new information.

2.2 Natural culture

Following Hofstede et al. [18], national culture should be seen as the collection of norms, beliefs, values, and practices that distinguish the citizens of one country from those of another. Hofstede assumed that all societies face similar basic challenges such as inequality, an uncertain future, and the relationship between individuals and groups [19]. However, societies tackle these challenges differently, and these different practices are part of their culture. National culture has a regulatory role in that it determines the behavior that is considered normal and acceptable within a country – see e.g., [20].

An important achievement of Hofstede was his finding that (national) culture could be operationalized through a number of cultural dimensions. This paved the way for comparing the culture of countries numerically and also incorporate national culture as a variable in statistical modeling and analysis. A range of cultural variables, factors, and dimensions have been developed by different social scientists using different perspectives. While Hofstede started from measuring culture in the workplace in general, Schwartz' cultural value orientations were based on analyzing common problems faced by every society and the societies' preferences in addressing these issues [21]. The GLOBE (Global leadership and organizational effectiveness) study was mainly interested in the effect of culture on leadership styles [22]. The World Value Survey analyses [14, 22–25] focused on the effect of culture on political attitudes and changes thereof over time.

Hofstede initially introduced four dimensions and later expanded these to six (see **Table 1**). Scores not originating from Hofstede's initial research have been added over the years, mostly through various specific research projects, such as those reported in [26, 27].

It was recently shown [29] that most dimensions of the different cultural models can be clustered into two main factors: one 'superfactor' that reflects the combined effects of development and modernization, together with social-psychological effects such as collectivism, conservatism, regality, and tightness. The second factor combines several effects related to East Asian cultures and possibly also differences in response style.

2.3 Two key dimensions of national culture

Recent research has led to an update of two of Hofstede's original dimensions: 'individualism versus collectivism' and 'long-term versus short-term orientation' [30–32]. The update of the other dimension was called 'Flexibility versus Monumentalism' [33]. Some characteristics of these two dimensions are shown in **Table 2**.

In individualist cultures, the ties between individuals are loose and people are expected to look after themselves. In collectivist cultures, people are integrated into cohesive in-groups that continue protecting them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty and oppose other in-groups. Collectivist societies tend to divide people into in-groups and out-groups. In-group members get tolerance, respect, and various privileges, but people from out-groups are excluded from the circle of those who deserve

Power distance	How a society generates solutions to resolve inequality among members
Uncertainty avoidance	The cultural tendency to be uncomfortable when encountering an unknown future
Individualism versus collectivism	The societal position on the value of loose ties among members versus the integration of members with their own groups
Masculinity versus femininity	The cultural tendency for differentiating emotional roles based on gender
Long-term versus short-term orientation	The cultural preference of placing individuals' focus on the future versus on the past and present
Indulgence versus restraint	The culture preference for gratification versus control of basic human desires related to enjoying life

Source: [28], based on publications by Hofstede [18, 19].

Table 1.
Hofstede's six traditional cultural dimensions.

Individualism versus collectivism *('Independent')*	Individualistic societies stress the needs and rights of the individual while collectivist societies start from the needs of the group as a whole. Important values in individualistic countries include personal freedom, autonomy, uniqueness, self-reliance, hedonism, and assertiveness. Within collectivist societies, important attitudes are conformity, restrictiveness, power seeking, dependency, conflict avoidance, and in-group favoritism.
Flexibility versus monumentalism *('Confucianist')*	Flexible cultures emphasize adaptability, a modest opinion of one's self, and reluctance to help people. In monumentalist cultures, people prefer to stay the same, have high self-regard and self-confidence, and want others to feel good about them.

Source: [28], based on publications by Minkov [30, 32–34].

Table 2.
Hofstede's two updated cultural dimensions.

any privileges. Nepotism and corruption are more widespread in such cultures. On the other hand, in 'individualist' cultures, the distinction between in-groups and out-groups is much smaller. There is a more universalist treatment of all people in the public sphere, and there is more transparency and rule of law [35, 36]. Collectivistic cultures are predominantly found in the developing world.

The dimension 'Flexibility versus Monumentalism' explains some of the cultural differences between the Confucian societies of East Asia at one extreme and Africa, the Middle East and Latin-America on the other [30]. It is closely related to Fog's 'East-Asian factor.' The cultures which are strong on this dimension exhibit thrift, persistence, ordering relationship by status, and sense of shame, all of which are characteristic of East-Asian countries [29, 37]. Unlike for 'Individualism versus Collectivism,' the theoretical concepts behind this dimension appear to be incoherent. It is also difficult to explain why these cultural characteristics are related to each other [34, 38].

Like in my PhD Thesis [28], I have given these two updated dimensions a shorter name. *'Individualism versus Collectivism'* is renamed as '*Independent.'* This avoids confusion with the traditional Hofstede cultural dimension 'Individualism' and stresses the independent thinking which characterizes individualist societies. The dimension '*Flexibility versus Monumentalism*' is called '*Confucianist.'* Please note that the traditional Hofstede dimension 'Long term orientation' was initially actually labeled as 'Confucian work dynamism' [37].

2.4 Cultural clusters of countries

Figure 1 is a scatterplot based on the data of Independent and Confucianist, similar to one initially published by Minkov [30]. He stated that *"This new map of the world is very much like the real one, drawn from a traditional European perspective, without the world's oceans. There is one logical exception: the English-speaking countries are not scattered across the world but form a fairly compact cluster right above the center of the map."* ([31], p. 251). Or, simplistically but also thought provoking, the two dimensions could also be labeled as "North-South" and "East-West," with the "Anglo world" in the center.

Despite their different perspectives, the different international cultural models often identify similar cultural clusters of countries. The GLOBE researchers divided the world into regional cultural clusters with some typical value characteristics, which are shown in **Table 3**.

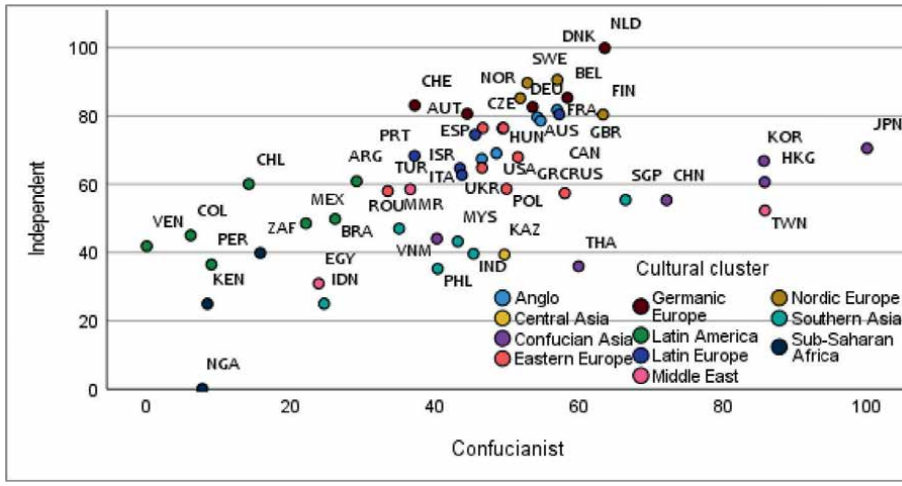

Figure 1.
Mapping of countries based on the two main cultural dimensions. Data source: [28], Based on data provided by Hofstede insights.

Cultural cluster	Some typical value characteristics
Anglo	competitive; result oriented
Germanic Europe	value competition; aggressiveness; more result oriented
Eastern Europe	forceful; supportive of co-workers; treat women with equality
Nordic Europe	priority on long-term success; women treated with equality
Latin Europe	individual autonomy
Latin America	loyal and devoted to their families and similar groups
Middle East	loyal and devoted to their own people, women have less status
Sub-Sahara Africa	concerned and sensitive to others; strong family loyalty
Southern Asia	strong family oriented; deep concern for their communities
Confucian Asia	result driven; encourage working together over individual goals

Table 3.
Cultural clusters of countries, based on the GLOBE project [39].

Other researchers have come to very similar clusters [40]. These authors observed that some clusters, such as the Arab (Middle East) and the Anglo one, are much more cohesive than others, such as the Latin American and Confucian cluster.

2.5 Association of culture with socioeconomic indicators

Table 4 shows the correlation between the Independent and Confucianist dimensions and some economic, social, and educational indicators. All these correlations, except between Gender Gap and Confucianist, are (very) strong and significant at the $p < 0.01$ level. Thus, the Independent and, to a lesser extent, the Confucianist cultural dimensions are strongly associated with economic, human, and social development.

Given the very high correlation, one can even consider the Independent dimension to be a good proxy for human development, equality, and gender equality. The strength of these correlations is striking; they are also stronger than those found in earlier analyses based on the old Hofstede values. This result is even more surprising because the data sources for these indicators are very different: the independent dimension is based on questions to people about their values, attitudes to people and society, behavior, etc., while HDI, the Inequality Index, and the Gender Inequality Index are derived from national social and economic statistics. For example, HDI is based on life expectancy, education level, and income (http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-index-hdi). **Figure 2** illustrates the association between Independent and HDI.

As **Table 4** shows, the correlations between Confucianist and the socioeconomic indicators are also high, except with Gender Gap. The findings in relation to education are consistent with those of Minkov, Bond, et al. [34] who observed the strong association between Long-Term Orientation and educational performance.

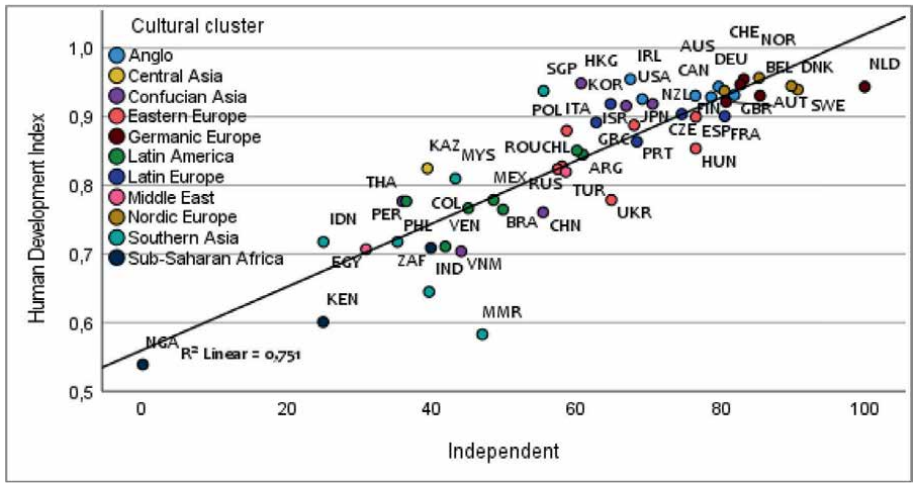

Figure 2.
Association between the human development index and the independent cultural dimension. Data source: Hofstede insights (culture) and UN (human development).

	Independent	Confucianist
Gross National Income per capita (WHO)	0.756**	0.546**
Human Development Index (HDR-UNDP)	0.867**	0.614**
Gini index (World Bank)	−0.461**	−0.356**
Inequality Index (HDR-UNDP)	−0.834**	−0.621**
Gender Gap (WEF)	0.567**	0.110
Gender Inequality Index (HDR-UNDP)	−0.861**	−0.682**
Education index (UNESCO)	0.844**	0.539**
Skilled labor force (ILO)	0.726**	0.575**

***: $p < 0.01$.*

Table 4.
Correlation between culture and economic, social, and education indicators.

3. The association between culture and road safety

3.1 Indicators for road safety performance

Several indicators can be used for analyzing and comparing road safety performance. The road crash fatality rate most used in international comparisons is the crash fatality rate per capita, and more specifically the fatality rate per 100,000 population. I will refer to this as the 'crash fatality rate' or 'fatality rate.'

The World Health Organization (WHO) collects data on road safety fatalities and context information. The data are reported in the Global Status Report on Road Safety, of which I used the most recent version, referring to fatalities in 2016 (WHO, 2018). The fatality figures published by the WHO are estimates based on statistical modeling. Particularly in LMICs, these estimates are considerably higher than the countries' official statistics on fatal road crashes.

Table 5 includes average fatality rates across cultural clusters of countries. The best performance is achieved in Nordic, Germanic, and Latin Europe, while Sub-Saharan Africa scores worst. The poor road safety performance of LMICs is not a new phenomenon; it has been observed and documented in the past [5, 41].

3.2 National road safety culture

The behavior of road users in traffic can be seen as an expression of the national culture. For example, if the national culture in a particular country highly values risk taking, risky behaviors on the road are likely to be more acceptable in that country than elsewhere. And if the national culture is strongly opposed to governmental interventions, one can imagine a strong resistance against road safety measures seen to restrict freedom of mobility.

Minkov mentions various studies showing that compliance with traffic law is more typical of the rich individualist countries than of the developing collectivist countries [36]. A literature review showed that people in high-income (and hence more individualistic) countries are more likely to comply with red traffic lights than people from developing countries (which are more collectivistic) [42]. Based on a

Cultural cluster	N	Fatality rate
Anglo	6	6.5
Nordic Europe	5	4.2
Germanic Europe	6	4.7
Latin Europe	5	5.4
Eastern Europe	24	10.1
Central Asia	8	16.2
Confucian Asia	8	17.9
Southern Asia	13	15.2
Middle East	19	16.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	44	27.5
Latin America	26	17.4
Other	9	12.6
Average		16.9

Data source: WHO.

Table 5.
Crash fatality rates by cultural cluster of countries.

study of 15 EU countries, it was found that the social willingness to comply with the law had significant positive effects on traffic fatalities [43]. Other researchers found that law enforcement can explain the relationship between culture and fatality rates, in particular for speed, helmet, and child restraint systems [44]. Thus, compliance with traffic regulations and the scope and extent of traffic law enforcement shape the national road safety culture and hence the road safety performance.

'Road safety culture' can be seen as a container concept referring to road users' safety attitudes and behavior in traffic. Taking such a perspective on road safety culture has the advantage that a huge number of research findings are available on the behavior and attitudes of road users. Some of these studies include sufficient variables to create sub-groups and compare components of road safety culture between groups, such as, for instance, attitudes toward drunk driving, using a helmet, respecting red lights, and approaches to law enforcement. It has also been argued that the relatively high crash risk of young drivers is related to a subculture encouraging risk engagement and risk taking [45]. In particular, sensation seeking appears to correlate with risky-driving mistakes in driving and road crashes [46–48].

'Traffic Safety Culture' (TSC) is a recent perspective on road safety culture. The TSC concept evolved out of organizational safety culture in the United States [49], where it was of particular importance for companies working in hazardous environments. Originally TSC referred to a strong road safety culture within companies, but it was gradually given a broader meaning and gained interest outside the United States (e.g. [50]). Edwards et al. define TSC as "*the assembly of underlying assumptions, beliefs, values and attitudes shared by members of a community, which interact with the community's structures and systems to influence road safety related behaviours*." [55, p.296] Another definition by Ward is: "*The shared beliefs of a group that affect behaviors related to traffic safety*" [56, p.32]. The authors further state that "*the traffic safety culture of a group emerges from actions taken by stakeholders across the social*

ecology" (ibid. p.33), whereby stakeholders not only refer to public authorities but also to families, schools, and workplaces. Within a country, there can be a series of nested cultures that together form TSC and have an effect on safety [51].

Efforts have been made to operationalize TSC into quantitative indicators. One study found that the factors that explained the most variance in TSC were support for increased government attention to traffic safety, strict monitoring and control of alcohol-impaired drivers, disapproval of speeding, and avoidance of aggressive driving [52]. It has been proposed to measure traffic safety culture by analyzing the components of shared beliefs, such as values, assumptions, attitudes, perceived norms, perceived self-efficacy, etc. and link these to behavior [53]. A study showed that data from the fourth SARTRE survey [54] allowed to distinguish five TSC components and compare these across European countries: acceptance of safety technology and enforcement; attitudes toward risks; behavior control; personal concern for road safety; and perception of other road users' safety performance [55]. Yet, despite such efforts, there appears to be no scientific consensus on what TSC really entails and what indicators would be most appropriate.

3.3 Association of culture with behavior and perceptions of road users

International data on risky behavior in traffic can be obtained from the ESRA2 database. ESRA2 refers to the second version of ESRA (E-Survey of Road Users' Attitudes). The ESRA data are collected through online market panels, the sample of respondents being representative for the adult population of the participating country [56]. The ESRA indicators refer to the percentage of people self-reporting to have engaged in such behavior at least once over the last month. In the WHO Global Status Report, some estimates on risky behavior are also available, based on observation studies [2].

Table 6 lists the Pearson correlations of Independent and Confucianist for several risky behaviors in traffic, derived from ESRA and WHO data. The table shows strong associations between Independent and the risky behavior listed, but these have different directions. In more individualistic societies, people exceed speed limits more often than in collectivist ones, despite the more numerous speeding controls. This is not just a result of culture, however. In many collectivist countries, which are often less developed, speed limits are often high or inexistent and the state of the roads and vehicles makes it difficult to exceed the speed limits. As regards distraction and use of protective systems, Independent societies seem to behave less risky in traffic. There is no correlation between driving with a BAC above the legal limit and independent, neither at global nor at European level. On the other hand, Confucianist is moderately negatively correlated with driving with a BAC above the legal limit. Thus, there tends to be less drinking and driving in Confucianist societies even though the level of alcohol consumption is higher ($r = 0.368$, $p = 0.008$).

The ESRA2 survey also included a question on the safety perceived by different road users, measured on a scale of 0 to 10. The correlations of the national averages of these values with the two key cultural dimensions are shown in **Table 7**. All correlations are positive, which means that in countries that are more Independent and Confucianist, road users feel safer. The correlations for the Confucianist and Independent dimensions do not differ much; for some road users, the correlation value is even higher for Confucianist than for Independent.

Results on national differences in road safety culture are in general based on questionnaire surveys that were conducted in several countries at once. Examples of

(% of road users)	Source (# of countries)	Correlation with	
		Independent	Confucianist
Car drivers exceeding speed limits in built-up areas	ESRA (41)	0.533 *(p < 0.001)*	0.291 *(p = 0.074)*
Car drivers exceeding speed limits outside built-up areas (except motorways)	ESRA (41)	0.658 *(p < 0.001)*	0.295 *(p = 0.062)*
Car driver exceeding speed limits on motorways	ESRA (41)	0.572 *(p < 0.001)*	0.107 *(p = 0.507)*
Car drivers driving over the BAC limit	ESRA (41)	−0.283 *(p = 0.073)*	−0.322 (p = 0.040)
Car drivers reading text messages while driving	ESRA (40)	−0.703 *(p < 0.001)*	−0.445 *(p = 0.004)*
Cyclists cycling without a helmet	ESRA (41)	0.203 *(p = 0.203)*	0.218 *(p = 0.171)*
Rear passengers of cars wearing seat belt	WHO (32)	0.814 *(p < 0.001)*	0.552 *(p = 0.001)*
PTW riders wearing helmet	WHO (38)	0.620 *(p < 0.001)*	0.125 *(p = 0.453)*
PTW passengers wearing helmet	WHO (33)	0.618 *(p < 0.001)*	0.039 *(p = 0.827)*

Data from ESRA are based on self-reported behavior, data from WHO on observed behavior.

Table 6.
Correlations between cultural dimensions and risky behavior in traffic.

Subjective safety (SS)	Correlation with	
	Independent	Confucianist
SS of pedestrians	0.611 *(p < 0.001)*	0.592 *(p < 0.001)*
SS of cyclists	0.411 *(p = 0.008)*	0.434 *(p = 0.005)*
SS of moped riders	0.352 *(p = 0.026)*	0.413 *(p = 0.008)*
SS of motorcycle riders	0.348 *(p = 0.028)*	0.404 *(p = 0.010)*
SS of car drivers	0.531 *(p < 0.001)*	0.366 *(p = 0.020)*
SS of car passengers	0.444 *(p = 0.004)*	0.414 *(p = 0.008)*
SS of bus passengers	0.522 *(p = 0.001)*	0.620 *(p < 0.001)*

Data sources: ESRA (subjective safety), Hofstede Insights (culture).

Table 7.
Correlations between cultural dimensions and subjective safety (N = 40).

surveys that have been used for international comparisons are the Manchester Driver Behavior Questionnaire (DBQ) (e.g., [57]), SARTRE [58], and ESRA (e.g., [59]). Some recurring findings from such surveys are as follows:

- people are often well aware of the risks of engaging in traffic;
- females and older people engage less in risky behaviors;

- there are considerable differences between countries in terms of risky behavior in traffic, particularly in relation to drink driving, speeding and seatbelt use;
- in LMICs, people drive on average more risky and less safe than in HICs; and
- survey participants often state that certain behaviors are unacceptable but admit to engaging in these behaviors anyway.

Smaller-scale international surveys, involving a more limited number of countries, have also been conducted and confirmed such findings (e.g. [60]).

3.4 The association between culture and the road crash fatality rate

Since national culture appears to be associated with risky behavior in traffic and risky behavior is linked to the prevalence of road safety crashes, one would expect that culture is associated with the crash fatality rate. This is indeed the case. In the past, researchers have examined the relationship between several dimensions of national culture and the road fatality rate [19, 36, 44, 61–63]. In these studies, the dimensions of uncertainty avoidance, individualism, masculinity, power distance, embeddedness, and autonomy have been found to be correlated positively or negatively with the number of road traffic fatalities. It should be noted that the studies mentioned were conducted at different moments in time and used different sets of countries. The findings should, therefore, not be generalized, nor should it be assumed that all findings still hold.

In the context of my thesis [28], I analyzed the association between the two key cultural dimensions: Independent and Confucianist – which are based on more recent data than the studies referred to in the previous paragraphs – and the fatality rate per capita. The Pearson correlation between Independent and fatality rate was $r = -0.746$ ($p < 0.001$) and between Confucianist and fatality it was $r = -0.414$ ($p = 0.002$). Thus, the correlations between Independent and the fatality rate are negative and very strong; the correlation is weaker with the Confucianist dimension, but still moderate. In other words, the higher a society is ranked on the Independent and Confucianist scales, the better its road safety performance. The associations still hold when only European countries are considered; this is illustrated in **Figure 3**. Not only globally but also in Europe over 50% of the variation in fatality rate between countries can be explained by the cultural dimension Independent.

Given the strong correlations between the cultural dimensions and socioeconomic indicators (see Section 2.5), one might expect that the strength of correlations would diminish when controlled for such factors. This is actually the case, as shown in **Table 8**.

For Independent, the correlation with the fatality rate remains moderately negative and statistically significant ($p = 0.001$) when controlling for gross national income (GNI) per capita. Even after controlling for the Human Development Index (HDI), with which the Independent dimension is very strongly correlated, the negative correlation is still almost statistically significant ($p = 0.076$). These results imply that in countries with a similar level of development, the more collectivist countries will tend to have higher fatality rates. An example is the difference between Denmark and the USA, with very similar levels of GNI per capita. The USA has a more collectivist culture than Denmark, and its fatality rate is more than three times as high as in Denmark (12.4 versus 4.0).

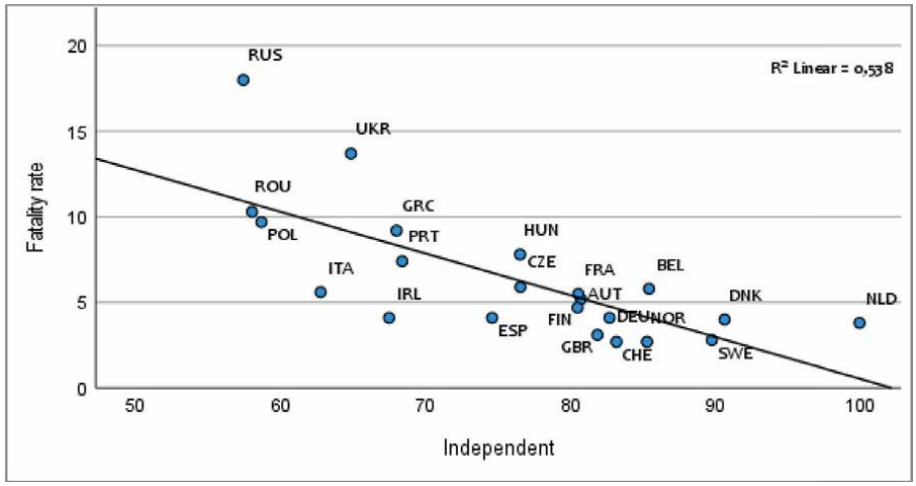

Figure 3.
Fatality rate by independent (Europe only). Data sources: Hofstede insights (culture), WHO (fatality rate).

	Correlations with fatality rate		
	Zero order	**Controlling for GNI**	**Controlling for HDI**
Independent	−0.747 *(p < 0.001)*	−0.448 *(p = 0.001)*	−0.251 *(p = 0.076)*
Confucianist	−0.435 *(p = 0.001)*	−0.038 *(p = 0.789)*	0.074 *(p = 0.604)*

Data sources: Hofstede Insights (culture), WHO (fatality rate), UN (development).

Table 8.
Correlations of fatality rate with cultural dimensions after controlling for GNI and HDI.

4. Support for policy measures in road safety

4.1 Policy measures considered

The ESRA2 survey included a question on support for fifteen policy measures in road safety. A Likert scale from 1 to 5 was used for collecting the responses. The question and the measures are shown in **Table 9**. When reporting on the analyses in relation to these measures, a code or short name or the code will be used; these are also included in the table.

The ESRA2 database is quite unique because it includes comparable data for 48 countries. A drawback for the cultural analysis was that ESRA2 included only one Latin-American country (Colombia). However, the ESRA1 survey, which was conducted in 2017 in 13 Latin-American countries, also included questions on public support for policy measures, several of which were (almost) identical. By using the average (small) difference between the results for ESRA2 and ESRA1 for the countries that participated in both surveys, an estimate was made for 12 Latin American countries for the measures ALC, ZEN, ZER, HEL, and NMP; these estimates were added to the dataset that was used for the analyses.

Code	**Original formulation** *(after the intro "Do you oppose or support a legal obligation to …")*	**Short formulation**
ALC	Install an alcohol 'interlock' for drivers who have been caught drunk driving on more than one occasion (technology that will not let the car start if the driver's alcohol level is over the legal limit)?	*Alcohol interlock for recidivists*
ZEN	Have zero tolerance for alcohol (0,0‰) for novice drivers (license obtained less than 2 years ago)	*Zero alcohol novice drivers*
ZER	Have zero tolerance for alcohol (0,0‰) for all drivers?	*Zero alcohol all drivers*
ISA	Install intelligent speed assistance (ISA) in new cars (which automatically limits the maximum speed of the vehicle and can be turned off manually)	*Install ISA system*
SWS	Install dynamic speed warning signs (traffic control devices that are programmed to provide a message to drivers exceeding a certain speed threshold)	*Install Speed Warning signs*
SRE	Have a seatbelt reminder system for the front and back seats in new cars	*Seatbelt reminder all seats*
HEL	Require all cyclists to wear a helmet	*All cyclists wear helmet*
HEC	Require cyclists under the age of 12 to wear a helmet	*Children cyclists wear helmet*
HEP	Require all moped drivers and motorcyclists to wear a helmet	*PTW (powered two wheelers) wear helmet*
RFL	Require pedestrians to wear-reflective material when walking on the streets in the dark	*Pedestrians wear-reflective material*
RFC	Require cyclists to wear-reflective material when cycling in the dark	*Cyclists wear-reflective material*
RFP	Require moped drivers and motorcyclists to wear-reflective material when driving in the dark	*PTW wear-reflective material*
NMP	Have zero tolerance for using any type of mobile phone while driving (handheld or hands free) for all drivers	*No use mobile phones in cars*
NHP	Not use headphones (or earbuds) while walking on the streets	*No use headphones by cyclists*
NHC	Not use headphones (or earbuds) while riding a bicycle	*No use headphones by pedestrians*

Table 9.
Exact formulation and shorter version of the 15 policy measures in ESRA2.

4.2 Level of support for policy measures in road safety

Different indicators can be used to measure the level of support for these policy measures. The conventions commonly applied in ESRA publications are to consider the respondents who gave a 4 or 5 on a scale of 1 to 5 as 'supportive.' Overall, most of the respondents tend to support the policy measures that were included in ESRA2 (see **Figure 4**). For 12 of the 15 measures, over 60% of respondents are in favor. The highest level of support (9 respondents out of 10) is for the obligation for all PTW riders to wear a helmet, a measure which is already implemented in most countries. The lowest public support, slightly below 50%, is for forbidding pedestrians to wear headphones

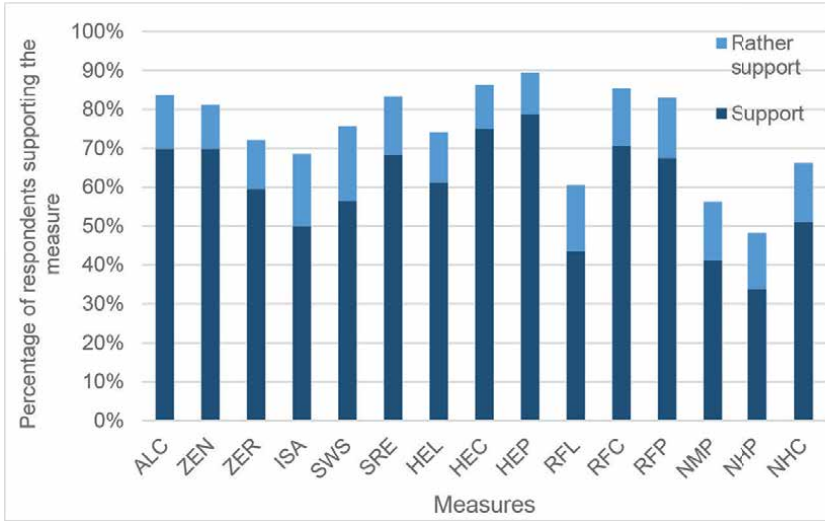

Figure 4.
Percentage of "full support" and "rather support" of the 15 ESRA2 measures. Data source: ESRA.

or earbuds when walking in the streets. One could also take a stricter approach and only include those who gave the highest score; then the percentage of supporters would decrease. However, as illustrated in **Figure 4**, the overall pattern remains very similar, and most measures are still supported by over half of the sample.

4.3 The relation between national culture and support for measures

Table 10 shows the correlation between the percentage of the population supporting the fifteen measures and the cultural dimensions: Independent and Confucianist. For eight measures, there is a strong negative correlation with Independent: two measures related to alcohol (ALC and ZER), the two speeding-related measures (ISA and SWS), two distraction-related measures (NMP, NHC), SRE, and HEL. Thus, the more the autonomous thinking in a society, the higher the opposition against policy measures, in particular those that are perceived to restrict freedom of action.

The correlations of Independent with the six other measures are negative but not statistically significant at the $p < 0.05$ level. These measures include the three ones concerning reflective clothing, zero alcohol for novice drivers and helmet wearing by children cyclists and PTWs. At least for these measures, national culture is *not* a good predictor for the level of support.

Twelve measures are moderately or strongly negatively correlated with Confucianist. For most of these, the strength of the association is weaker than with the Independent dimension, except when it comes to measures which could be perceived as paternalistic, such as having to wear helmets or reflective clothing.

Overall, these results illustrate that for many types of governmental interventions in road safety, dimensions of national culture can be a strong predictor of the public support for these measures. The Independent dimension is often a strong predictor of resistance to policy measures. Yet, there are policy measures and interventions, for which national culture does not appear to be linked to the level of support. This applies for most measures for which public support is very high.

Measure		N	Corr. with Independent	Corr. with Confucianist
ALC	Alcohol interlock for recidivists	41	−0,503**	−0,321*
ZEN	Zero alcohol novice drivers	40	−0.192	−0,396*
ZER	Zero alcohol all drivers	41	−0,673**	−0,519**
ISA	Install ISA system	35	−0,801**	−0,403*
SWS	Install Speed Warning signs	34	−0,847**	−0,576**
SRE	Seatbelt reminder all seats	34	−0,612**	−0,500**
HEL	All cyclists wear helmet	41	−0,576**	−0,691**
HEC	Children cyclists wear helmet	34	−0.172	−0,524**
HEP	PTW wear helmet	34	−0.177	−0.286
RFL	Pedestrians wear-reflective material	35	−0.026	−0.051
RFC	Cyclists wear-reflective material	34	−0.211	−0,379*
RFP	PTW wear-reflective material	34	−0.198	−0,393*
NMP	No use mobile phones in cars	40	−0,584**	−0,520**
NHP	No use headphones by pedestrians	34	−0,740**	−0,434*
NHC	No use headphones by cyclists	34	−0,362*	−0.234

Data sources: ESRA (measures), Hofstede Insights (culture).

**: $p < 0.05$; **: $p < 0.01$.*

Table 10.
Correlations between support for policy measures and the cultural dimensions: Independent and Confucianist.

4.4 The relation between culture, fatality rate, and support for measures

Given the associations between culture, development, and fatality rate, one might expect the strength of the association between national culture and support for policy measures to diminish after controlling for fatality rate. **Table 11** shows the correlations of the Independent and Confucianist dimensions with support for measures, when controlled for fatality rate. The strength of association indeed decreases, but for several measures, the partial correlations are still high and statistically significant. For the Independent dimension, the typical decrease of the correlation coefficient is about 0.3; for Confucianist, it is smaller. The findings on the partial correlations mean that when comparing countries with similar fatality rates, the opposition to policy measures, in particular those that restrain individuals' behavior, will often be higher in the more Independent and Confucianist countries.

4.5 An example – Public support for use of ISA systems in cars

To illustrate national and cultural differences in public support for measures, let us consider the 'ISA measure' in ESRA2. The question in the ESRA survey asked the respondents whether they would support a legal obligation to install intelligent speed assistance (ISA) systems in new cars. **Figure 5** shows that support for ISA varies considerably across cultural clusters: the values are lowest in the Anglo world, Germanic, and Nordic Europe; the highest support is found in Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East.

	Correlation Independent and support for measures	**Correlation after controlling for fatality rate**	**Correlation Confucianist and support for measures**	**Correlation after controlling for fatality rate**
Alcohol interlock for recidivists	−0,503**	−0.221	−0,321*	−0.143
Zero alcohol novice drivers			−0,396*	−0.363*
Zero alcohol all drivers	−0,673**	−0.487**	−0,519**	−0.387*
Install ISA system	−0,801**	−0.544**	−0,403*	−0.151
Install Speed Warning signs	−0,847**	−0.636**	−0,576**	−0.444**
Seatbelt reminder all seats	−0,612**	−0.210	−0,500**	−0.327
All cyclists wear helmet	−0,576**	−0.312*	−0,691**	−0.611**
Children cyclists wear helmet			−0,524**	−0.517**
Cyclists wear-reflective material			−0,379*	−0.359*
PTW wear-reflective material			−0,393*	−0.378*
No use mobile phones in cars	−0,584**	−0.259	−0,520**	−0.373*
No use headphones by pedestrians	−0,740**	−0.433*	−0,434*	−0.214
No use headphones by cyclists	−0,362*	−0.155		

Data sources: ESRA (measures), Hofstede Insights (culture).

**: $p < 0.05$; **: $p < 0.01$.*

Table 11.
Correlation between the cultural dimensions and support for measures, without and with controlling for fatality rate.

Table 10 already shows that the support for ISA is (very) strongly associated with the two key dimensions of national culture: Independent ($r = -0.801^{**}$) and Confucianist ($r = -0.403^{*}$). **Figure 6** is a scatterplot of the relationship between the support for ISA and the Independent dimension.

It is noteworthy that 64% of the variation between countries can be statistically explained by the cultural variable Independent. The figure shows that the highest level of support is found in LMICs, in which there is often a high collectivist culture. But even after exclusion of such countries, the strong negative correlation between Independent and resistance to ISA persists. In other words, the more autonomous

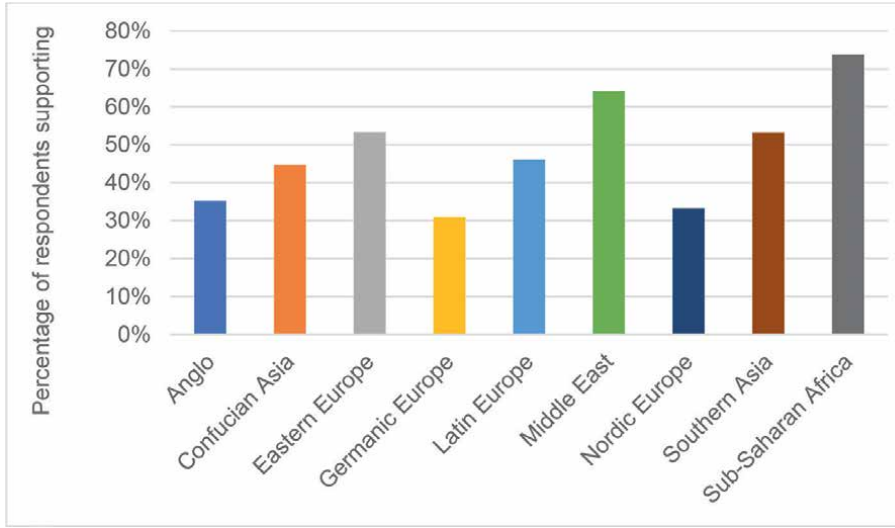

Figure 5.
Support for ISA by cultural cluster. Data source: ESRA.

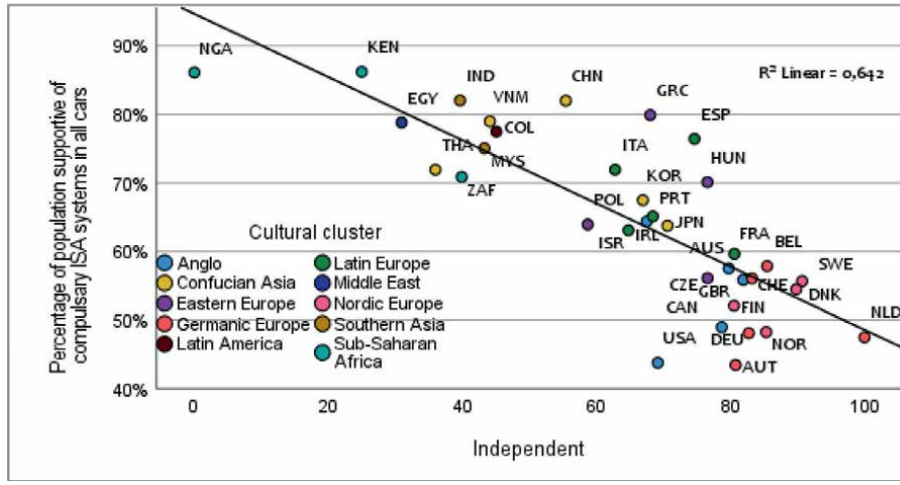

Figure 6.
Support for ISA by independent cultural dimension. Data sources: ESRA (support for ISA) and Hofstede insights (culture).

thinking is highly valued within a country, the higher the opposition against measures like ISA, which are believed to restrict autonomous decision making – in this case about speed choice.

5. Conclusion

This chapter discussed the relationship between national culture, road safety performance, and public support for policy measures. The analyses of the fatality rates and the operationalization of national culture showed that these phenomena are

strongly associated with human development. Key findings include the differences between HICs and LMICs, the lower fatality rates in more individualistic countries, and the very strong relationship between the cultural dimension 'Independent' and indicators for human development and equality.

The findings on road safety performance and national culture provided the context for an analysis of the level of support for the fifteen policy measures that were included in the ESRA2 survey. In general, people of LMICs are more supportive of policy measures in road safety than those of HICs. Low fatality rates and the feeling that the roads are safe are factors associated with lower support for additional measures in road safety. The analyses also illustrate that for several types of road safety measures, national culture can be a good predictor of public support. The Independent dimension is often a strong predictor of resistance to policy measures, in particular in relation to speeding. Yet, for some measures, national culture does not appear to be linked to the level of support.

With this research, the associations between public support, culture, countries, and road safety performance have become understood better. Not only several findings from the literature were confirmed but also many new insights were gained. Much remains to be done, however, to understand better these associations and to contribute to better policy making in the field of road safety. It was beyond the scope of the study to develop a theoretical model with cause–effect relationships for public support, but elements to create such models have been identified and are a solid basis for further research. Of particular, importance will be gaining a better understanding of factors causing differences between road safety performance between low-, middle-, and high-income countries. The cultural differences between these countries impact on behavior in traffic and, hence, on the fatality rate, while the economic difference determines the capability to implement (expensive) measures. The combined effects of these differences lead to quite different "road safety contexts," in which some of the models and concepts traditionally used in road safety thinking, developed in the Western world, become less appropriate.

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Chapter 8

Multicultural Society and Intercultural Citizens

Jong Youl Hong

Abstract

The European Union is a diverse community with 27 member states and 24 official languages. Obviously, with such cultural diversity, the European Union should solve wisely for reconciliation. As a solution, the European Union is putting forward an intercultural policy based on interculturalism. This is a matter directly related to the solidarity of the community, which is requested in the process of the European Union integration, and its policy efforts cannot but be important. As a practical alternative to this, the European Union is making a policy of intercultural learning together with the Council of Europe. This chapter intends to examine interculturalism adopted as a philosophy along with the understanding of the intercultural learning policy proposed by the European Union as a policy alternative to cultural diversity. First, I examine the policy changes in Europe's unique multicultural society. Second, I analyze the key differences between multiculturalism and interculturalism. In addition, I explore cultural intelligence, which is emerging as an intercultural competence. I also refer to the citizens with high intercultural competence such as cultural intelligence as intercultural citizens.

Keywords: European Union, interculturalism, intercultural learning, intercultural competence, cultural intelligence

1. Introduction

According to cultural anthropologist Edward Hall, the ultimate goal of studying and understanding other cultures is to understand oneself [1]. Understanding a completely different exotic culture is the same as understanding one's own culture. In culture, there are more hidden things than visible things; however, people who actually live in a culture are unaware of the things that are hidden and not revealed in their culture. Therefore, the new awareness and vitality gained by projecting oneself into an unfamiliar culture can lead to interest and understanding of one's life. This is because there emerge "thinking" about the things that are unconsciously taken for granted, the automatic repetition of patterning, and the cultural habits that are inadvertently performed.

This "thinking" is emerging as a new competence and being developed is intercultural competence. Through a specific learning system called intercultural learning, the capacity development is being practiced in various ways. It is the joint work of the European Union and the Council of Europe that is most actively developing and

implementing an intercultural learning program for strengthening intercultural competence. This chapter aims to examine the interculturalism adopted as a philosophy along with the understanding of the intercultural learning policy proposed by the European Union and the Council of Europe as a policy alternative to cultural diversity. Accordingly, first, let us look at the multicultural situation and policy change process in the European situation mentioned by the European Union.

The European Union and the Council of Europe emphasize the role and utility of metacognition in designing intercultural learning, and cultural intelligence is being talked about as part of the intercultural learning capability that is the basis for this. Cultural intelligence theory is an intercultural communication theory that emerged in the early and mid-2000s. In order to go beyond a cross-cultural approach centered on knowledge transfer about other cultures, it actively embraces intrinsic motivation, self-efficacy, and metacognitive effects to strengthen the intercultural competence. Cultural intelligence theory is contemplating what kind of intrinsic motivation is needed to communicate with people from different cultural backgrounds and what methodologies can be used to create more mature intercultural encounters. By actively using metacognition as its methodology, it is systematizing the reinforcement of interactive global communication capabilities. In what follows, we will discuss cultural intelligence, one of the important intercultural abilities.

2. Multicultural society and policies

The European Union explains the background of adopting interculturalism as a basic philosophy for community solidarity by presenting and explaining the process of change in Europe's response to the multicultural situation. Jointly with the Council of Europe, the European Union emphasizes the necessity and vision of interculturalism as the last step while proposing a five-step change in policy history in the European context. In what follows, I discuss the process of policy change in the multicultural situation shown by the European Union and the Council of Europe during the period after World War II. In European Union, the policy change pattern for multicultural situations in Europe can be defined by the following trends: 1) no policy; 2) guest worker policy; 3) assimilation policy; 4) multicultural policy; and 5) intercultural policy [2]. Although this series of policy terms and process of change cannot be directly applied to all individual member states of the European Union, the general multicultural response and contents in the European context have been developed in the order presented above.

If we look at the contents in more detail, the following observations can be made. First of all, "No policy," which was the first stage, literally referred to a state in which there were no policy alternatives and practices for multicultural situations or societies. In the past, before the World War II, Europe focused only on securing its colonies by predatory powers as the struggle for supremacy between the imperialist powers reached its peak. Naturally, no consideration was given to the people of various cultural backgrounds within the colony. Their lives and human rights were so miserable that it could be said that they were no different from those of slaves. This situation continued until just after World War II in most European countries. People who emigrated from other countries were simply outsiders who were not recognized as belonging to the state, society, or city. In the end, the problem of migrants and minority groups was regarded as a short-term, temporary phenomenon that was not very important and that would not have a lasting impact. They were also seen as an

unwelcome group. It was not recognized that a policy response was necessary on the national or city level.

The second step described in the EU is the "guest worker policy." It was the first time to come up with a policy alternative to the issue of migrants, and the core of this policy was that migrants were regarded as temporary and short-term labor force. After World War II, many migrants who were actually invited to supply labor for such a need worked in various European countries. Definitely, the country that invited the workers thought that they would eventually return to their own country. So the policies were also designed to fit the short term, taking into account their expected working period. Naturally, from the perspective of the host country, it was expected that those who migrated as short-term workers would have little impact on the host country's citizens. However, there were things that such expectations and the corresponding policies did not foresee, such as the long-term expansion of migration, including family migration and chain migration, and long-term settlement. Not only the labor force of migrants came in, but also a new culture entered the host countries.

Guest worker migration was originally a form of labor migration, allowing only temporary stays. However, contrary to expectations, many migrants who entered the country quickly adapted and settled down, and, in many cases, there was no reason for employers to force the replacement of skilled workers with new ones. Even from the perspective of the host country, it was not easy and costly to expel all migrants who came in after the labor period [3]. Due to these various reasons and circumstances, the number of cases of extended stays increased. There was also an increase in family migration based on family connections and serial migration, which is further extended to relatives and friends. In addition, children born to immigrant parents were also becoming a major national policy target to be resolved in the future regarding migration and multicultural issues.

The third stage is the "assimilation policy." Assimilation literally means that, if migrants from different cultural backgrounds want to enter and settle in a new country, they must abandon their own culture and adopt the culture of the country they want to settle in. Only under these conditions was the long-term stay of migrants permitted. Of course, it was assumed that migrants should be absorbed into the new country and its culture as quickly as possible. Sanctions may be imposed if new migrants wish to adhere to their existing cultural customs or norms and were therefore considered a threat to national unity.

According to the assimilation policy, migrants must abandon their own culture and adopt the culture of the new country they migrated to. Another potentially problematic point here is migrants' sense of inferiority to their own culture. This is a phenomenon found especially in the children of migrants, and it is said that a sense of inferiority to the parents' culture is formed. Conversely, the sense of superiority that the culture of the newly emigrated country is more enlightened and developed leads to an exclusive self-culturalism based on superiority and inferiority in culture [3].

The fourth stage is "multicultural policy." Multicultural policy is a new policy alternative that emerged as a reflection of realistic difficulties and violence of assimilation policy. Multicultural policy based on multiculturalism basically contained the spirit of tolerance and inclusiveness whereby migrants from various cultural backgrounds could maintain their cultural identity when they want to settle in a new country. Compared to the previous policies, it was a fairly innovative and inclusive policy. Immigrants could stay for a long time in the country they wanted to settle in while maintaining and upholding their cultural customs and norms, and they could also be protected by laws and institutional arrangements.

Since people from the same cultural background could live together, the problem of separation from the mainstream culture could be raised, but it was adopted as a policy practice in a larger dimension of acknowledging cultural diversity.

As time passed, multiculturalism, which emerged as a developmental policy alternative to respect for cultural diversity, started to point out to various problems. It was a vicious cycle of poverty and exclusion of minority groups that appeared along with the fixation of segregation. Towns formed by minority groups, for example, concentrated in certain areas such as Koreatown and Chinatown, emerged as a new ghetto problem. They were increasingly separated from the mainstream community and had little contact, so exaggerated or unfounded prejudices grew among different communities. Areas densely inhabited by minorities were reduced to spaces of social and cultural exclusion, and places labeled as poor or rogue areas also emerged. As these problems began to become visible, one of the things that emerged amid the search for new alternatives in society was the intercultural policy. Of course, it should be noted that this is being developed with the European situation in mind. This historical policy development cannot be applied to other continents, as it is the EU's own understanding and position on the multicultural situation.

The last step is the "Intercultural policy." The biggest problem of this policy with respect to the existing multicultural policy is the "strengthening of segregation" due to the "absence of contact." Multicultural policy based on multiculturalism recognized cultural diversity, protected it with laws and institutions on the national level, and guaranteed the settlement and livelihood of migrants. However, as separation from the mainstream community came to the fore, the absence of mutual contact emerged as a new problem. Based on this awareness of the problem, intercultural policy adopts interculturalism as its policy philosophy, rather than the existing multiculturalism. Therefore, interculturalism values contact and communication between cultures. Said differently, it emphasizes the necessity of "communication" between cultures and sees intercultural communication as dynamic, rather than static. Therefore, intercultural competence and intercultural communication skills are inevitably highlighted in policy and educational aspects [4].

According to the intercultural policy, migrants can be accepted and settled in the long term, and their differences in cultural customs and norms should also be recognized and protected by laws and institutions. This policy emphasizes the importance of policies and systems that create mutual understanding and empathy between cultures. It aims to reduce the situation of ignoring diversity (guest workers policy), rejecting diversity (assimilation policy), or building up cultural walls high by overemphasizing diversity (multicultural policy). Interculturalism is about articulating the value of diversity by mobilizing everything possible to promote interaction and blending between culturally different communities [5, 6].

3. From multiculturalism to interculturalism

Interculturalism positively interprets the recognition of the value of cultural diversity and the hybridity brought about by cultural diversity. This point is in line with what the European Union pursues through its cultural and educational exchange policy. The European Union sees diversity as a source of dynamism, innovation, and creative growth. That is why diversity is regarded as a valuable European heritage. Therefore, in the public domain, including educational systems such as schools and

universities, the European Union is trying to create a lot of places where people of various cultural backgrounds can interact with and contact each other.

Multiculturalism has the characteristic of giving priority to groups in the relationship between groups and individuals. Said differently, group identity precedes individual identity. Specific groups are identified and categorized. This characteristic is pointed out as the limit of multiculturalism and is a key characteristic that has an important influence on many other problems. The problems of multiculturalism include spatialization of differences, attitudes of alienation and exclusion, and restrictions on social mobility [7].

However, in the intercultural approach, it is the "person" that is important, not his/her culture. Accordingly, in the relationship between the group and the individual, the identity of the individual has a more important meaning. When looking at others, people try to avoid comprehending or comparing them only by confining them to a specific culture or ethnicity. The intercultural approach emphasizes "relationships," rather than the individual or culture itself that is regarded as a monad. In this respect, cultural differences should not be objectively given with static properties, but should be viewed through the prism of a dynamic relationship between two entities that give meaning to each other. It is also important to point out that these "movements" are "interactive."

Multiculturalism emphasizes respect for cultural diversity, and its main purpose is to educate minorities and immigrant groups to adapt to the society. On the other hand, interculturalism emphasizes that not only the culture of the country to which a small group of migrants migrated, but also the majority group that welcomes migrants must learn the culture of migrants or minorities in return. The concept of "inter" emphasizes not simply juxtaposing different cultures without close connection, but making them constantly face each other. The positive meeting between the two is a channel that makes communication possible.

Interculturalism aims to share and understand different cultural backgrounds, values, and experiences through a dynamic and interactive dialog. While the core of multiculturalism is to acknowledge the multiple coexistence of different cultures, interculturalism places importance on dynamic and interactive interactions between these cultures. Interculturalism also very positively interprets the potential for cultural hybridization brought about by cultural diversity. Thus, it seeks to maximize the advantages of diversity through intercultural innovation. It is a belief and aspiration for creative diversity. The basic principle here is openness. It leads to the ability to constantly go beyond one's realm and become curious and not afraid of new things.

An intercultural society can be defined as a society that recognizes the environment of cultural diversity and dreams of a harmonious society through a smooth communication among different cultures, and a society that uses cultural diversity as a source of creativity to produce positive outcomes. In order to realize such a society, we need the skill and ability for communication among different cultures. The European Union emphasizes the need for educational efforts in order to realize a mature intercultural dialog, as desirable human relationships begin with mature attitudes toward each other. Based on this, as time goes by, we can gradually understand each other's feelings and even share emotions. The European Union sees this as a significant task, while the goal of intercultural dialog is to lead to a positive understanding of diversity and the evolution of intercultural relationships.

4. Intercultural learning and intercultural competence

The European Union and the Council of Europe clearly recognize that, above all else, the ability to peacefully coexist based on intercultural understanding is necessary to constructively solve the problem of diversity in present-day Europe. As the UK eventually left the European Union, the European Union now consists of 27 member states, with 24 official national languages. The cultural diversity of 27 member states and 24 official national languages means that it can become an obstacle to future development or be reborn as a new development engine, depending on how Europe solves the challenge of diversity. Due to this realization, the European Union promotes the development of intercultural learning based on interculturalism.

According to the European Union and the Council of Europe, which are most actively presenting the necessity and meaning of intercultural learning, intercultural learning is regarded as a process of lifelong learning. Through intercultural learning, it is intended to positively accept cultural diversity, pursue equality of human dignity, and enhance capacity development for mutual solidarity and coexistence [8]. It has not been long before the full-scale discussion and implementation for intercultural learning on the EU level. The European Union and the Council of Europe republished the Intercultural Learning Guidelines first created in 2000 with major revisions and supplements in 2018. The contents that had been briefly conceived in 2000 were presented in more detail through additional revisions and supplements in 2018.

The reason for the version upgrade can be explained as follows. It is for the continuous development of intercultural competence as a competence that European young people must have in the "globalized and interconnected multicultural world." Five directions for intercultural learning to develop intercultural competence include the following [9]: 1) promotion of an understanding of the structures of power in society and the relationships between individuals and groups; 2) extension to the open identity concept; 3) cultivating young people's cross-cultural communication skills; 4) promoting curiosity and understanding of the world's diversity; and 5) acquiring the value of diversity and human rights. What all these five directions pursue is, in a word, to learn and nurture how to live peacefully with respect for each other in a multicultural world.

Now, what specific topics are the learning objectives in this broad framework connected to in full-fledged learning activities? The educational activities presented as a pilot model for intercultural learning reveal that the thinking process on six topics is deepened. The goal is to set six major themes judged to be the core of intercultural learning and ultimately induce "changes in attitudes and thoughts toward myself and others" through reflection on the issues.

These six major themes are as follows [9]: 1) identity; 2) culture; 3) difference of perspective; 4) stereotype, prejudice, discrimination; 5) intercultural communication; and 6) social and political context. These six core themes are not independent, but are organically connected. Here, one important characteristic of the six major themes that we should pay attention to is that they all require deep thinking and reflection. Then, let us take a look at what leads to intercultural reflection.

1. Identity: Identity has been formed through the past, but also continues to change through the present and the future. Accordingly, identity has the duality of being and becoming at the same time, and is constantly exchanging and receiving intercultural influences. The question of whether it is the development of a more open and mature identity, or the trigger of a conflict, is an important task and is the first core topic in intercultural learning.

2. Culture: Identity and culture have a very close relationship; similar to identity, culture is not a fixed entity. Also, we want to make it clear that, through learning, there is no hierarchy between cultures, avoiding the view that certain cultures are superior or inferior to others. Therefore, what is needed in the process of intercultural learning is the continuous exploration of different cultures and identities.

3. Difference of perspective: Cultural diversity can lead to abundant coexistence when it presupposes inclusive acceptance of different lives, perspectives, and attitudes, rather than cultural homogenization or an approach to intercultural hierarchies. In intercultural learning, an open attitude to diversity and understanding and embracing various perspectives are important as practical learning tasks.

4. Stereotypes, prejudices, discrimination: It is necessary to understand how stereotypes and prejudices are formed and persist in daily direct and indirect experiences. The metacognitive ability requires stepping back and thinking about the stereotypes and prejudices that are being created for oneself. Furthermore, we critically think about discrimination in various societies and their causes and consequences.

5. Intercultural communication: It reduces preconceived notions and prejudices about other cultures and leaves hasty assumptions and judgments by asking enough questions before making a value judgment. In intercultural communication, we increase our metacognitive ability to think, speak, and act on the process itself. It is necessary to accumulate positive communication results and achievements by focusing more on the solution, rather than sticking to the problem. This also contributes to the improvement of self-efficacy in intercultural communication.

6. Social and political context: As a topic related to gradual future social change, it is necessary to have an insight into the impact, change, and task of cultural diversity on society as a whole. It is a matter of capacity to recognize changes in the social and political landscape and to consider what kind of response is required. Long-term perspectives and thinking capabilities are necessary to sustain the concerns that can be taken as a mature citizen beyond vague short-term reactions and thoughts.

5. Cultural intelligence as intercultural competence

Cultural diversity not only implies that a plurality of different and unique cultures exists in the world, but also includes the justifiable proposition that these should be shared and enjoyed as a rich asset of mankind beyond the conflicts caused by cultural differences. Intercultural competence can play an important role in this regard. Said differently, seeing unfamiliar and heterogeneous cultures without prejudice and enhancing understanding through mutual dialog can contribute to cultural diversity. Through this, it ultimately contributes to the development and peace of human culture.

This can be thought of in connection with the concept of "confirmation bias." Confirmation bias is a tendency to accept information consistent with one's beliefs

and ignore information that does not agree with one's beliefs; that is, it is a phenomenon where cognitive distortions are committed to confirm one's thoughts [10]. In this case, they look at others with a preconceived notion and continue to maintain their stereotypes without new discoveries or changes through encounters. It simply reflects the psychology of wanting to continue to look at the world as I thought it would; however, biased thinking that creates and classifies categories makes the consideration of diversity itself uncomfortable and easy to develop a sense of superiority. It is a common error we make when we perceive the other in a multicultural society, and this explains why it is not so easy to meet and communicate between cultures.

The most obvious way to reduce intergroup conflict and prejudice is to allow members of different groups to meet more frequently, breaking down boundaries and building bridges between closed communities. As such, the most urgent prerequisite in meeting people of different cultures is the ability of an intercultural dialog. UNESCO proposes the following three basics of intercultural dialog [11]. First, "listening" as a basic ability for intercultural encounters is an effort and attitude to "sympathize with experiences and gain insight into the hearts of others." Second, "conversation" is "understanding from the inside, i.e., a conversation to meet the other as myself." The third is "curiosity." It means "active openness" and refers to the ability to understand the possibilities of other existential choices. When intercultural dialog is possible based on these three abilities, intercultural competence as a cultural literacy can be developed.

Previous research on understanding and adaptability to various cultures has been conducted for several decades due to the changes in various social environments brought about by globalization, and its importance is constantly growing. In this context, cultural intelligence has recently emerged as one of the intercultural competences. The distinctiveness of cultural intelligence is the development of a systematic methodology that scientifically proves and quantifies this ability. The view on the ability to adapt between cultures as an intelligence presupposes that each individual is different and that it can be improved through will and effort. Therefore, cultural intelligence is a concept that is open to anyone, and various methods for developing it have been proposed.

In global business, it has been previously acknowledged that IQ (intelligence quotient) alone cannot judge competent talent. In addition to IQ, EQ (emotional intelligence) and SQ (social intelligence) are also central concepts. However, although these may also be effective within the same culture, it is difficult to guarantee whether they will be effective in the face of multicultural situations. Therefore, considering the global market where cultural diversity is emerging as an important business environment today, it is very natural for CQ (cultural intelligence) to get scholarly attention. Cultural intelligence is often referred to as "CQ (Cultural Quotient)" in the sense that it is one of several forms of human intelligence.

The concept of cultural intelligence is based on theories of comparative cultural management that started in the 1980s, that is, the achievements of scholars such as Geert Hofstede [12], Fons Trompenaars [13], and Edward Hall [1, 14–16]. While most of their cross-cultural approaches focused on knowledge of cultural differences, cultural intelligence sought to find a more holistic methodology that could effectively adapt to other cultures using this knowledge. Existing theories on intelligence are also accepted as important prior research. It is used based on the components of motivation, cognition, meta-cognition, and behavior that are common in various types of intelligence.

The main discussion on the concept of cultural intelligence is *Cultural Intelligence*, published by Brooks Peterson in 2004 [17], and *CQ: Developing Cultural Intelligence at Work*, authored by Christopher Earley in 2010 [18] with two colleagues. Recently, David Livermore has been promoting the concept of cultural intelligence worldwide through his active writings and various activities through the Cultural Intelligence Center. Cultural intelligence is the ability to effectively respond to multicultural situations. No one today can be said to be independent of the problems posed by multicultural situations.

According to David Livermore [19], cultural intelligence refers to the ability of humans to effectively cope in culturally diverse situations. For example, it refers to the ability to effectively work together through intercultural communication skills in various situations of cultural diversity, including schools, workplaces, and organizations. He proposed four steps to understanding and developing cultural intelligence: CQ-drive, CQ-knowledge, CQ-strategy, and CQ-action. CQ-Drive refers to an individual's interest, curiosity, and confidence in cultural diversity as the first factor that enables to effectively collaborate in culturally diverse contexts. CQ-Knowledge is the knowledge of differences and similarities between cultures and is the second factor for cultural intelligence. Next, the CQ-strategy is a strategy for how individuals can empirically make cultural diversity meaningful. Finally, CQ-action refers to the ability to act maturely when confronted with a situation of cultural diversity, verbally or non-verbally.

According to Christopher Earley [18], cultural intelligence refers to the ability to observe and understand in encounters with other cultures, to feel motivated to interact, and to put them into action. Earley divided the elements of cultural intelligence into three components and analyzed how each concept is interrelated, presenting the process of developing cultural intelligence. The three elements of cultural intelligence include "cultural strategic thinking," which encompasses cultural knowledge and mindset, "motivation" to take action with patience and confidence, and "action" to appropriately respond to a given situation. Cultural Strategic Thinking is related to the general thinking techniques used to understand the ways and reasons for the behavior of people from different cultures. This allows us to capture and understand the beliefs and value systems of people from other cultures, as well as the procedures and practices of behavior. The motivation of cultural intelligence is given according to the core values and preferences, and through this, purpose and intention can be articulated. The behavioral aspect of cultural intelligence refers to the ability to observe, perceive, regulate, and act appropriately when in contact with other cultures.

Furthermore, Brooks Peterson also argued the concept of cultural intelligence and emphasizes its importance [17]. He saw cultural intelligence as the combination of knowledge and perception of culture and specific skills. In this context, knowledge of culture refers to knowledge of cultural facts and characteristics, awareness refers to awareness of oneself and others, and specific skills refer to actions. That is, cultural intelligence refers to the ability to act by demonstrating the skills and qualities to respond appropriately to the cultural value standards and attitudes of others with whom one interacts. Skills refer to language ability or interpersonal relationships, and qualities refer to, for example, the degree to which one can tolerate ambiguity or flexibility.

Cultural intelligence can be defined as ability to integrate cultural diversity. Cultural intelligence, which is compared to a single organism with a head, heart, and body, connects various culturally distinct dimensions as a whole to make them perceive, experience, and act. In fact, this neologism, which combines intelligence

with an extremely broad and difficult concept of culture, is highly likely to be controversial. In this regard, Christopher Earley suggested that, rather than measuring the cultural intelligence quotient, we should focus on defining it and increasing cultural intelligence [18]. Earley argued that the idea that cultural intelligence is immutable and cannot be increased is wrong. He emphasized that cultural intelligence can be improved through continuous effort. A series of processes of acquiring knowledge about various cultures and a framework for strategic thinking, feeling self-motivated, and taking action appropriate to the situation is difficult to accomplish overnight.

6. Conclusion: towards intercultural citizens

If we consider intercultural learning strategies proposed by the European Union and the Council of Europe, "awareness of the ability to think" is the focal concept. It is the development of the metacognitive ability of "thinking about thinking." In addition, citizens with high intercultural communication capacity can be called intercultural citizens. Since culture is not easy to define as a simple concept, it may be misused or misunderstood. Moreover, culture has a concreteness that is deeply involved in everyday reality. Therefore, culture cannot be separated from social reality, and we all are influenced by culture and vice versa. Since culture is a dynamic combination of both the visible and the invisible, intercultural learning must also require very dynamic thinking. The importance of the keyword culture in intercultural learning is because it influences understanding the world, interpreting the world, and forming a specific worldview [9].

Another relevant concept is cognitive mischief. This term is used in cognitive psychology to refer to a person who refuses to think deeply [20]. A changing world encounters with unfamiliar cultures and people, and the anxiety and ambiguity of the unfamiliar, all of which can induce new mental fatigue, can turn humans into cognitive mischief. It is a category that cognitive mischief conveniently uses as a means of justifying the self. This is because people can find peace of mind and peace of mind within several artificially and arbitrarily selected categories. It is a situation of a paradox, rather than being trapped in a category, an imperfect tool made to understand the world.

The same category problem is being discussed in the cultural intelligence strategy. Everyone has their own category width. According to the breadth of categories, attitudes toward people and the world change, the wider the category, the more tolerant and inclusive. Intercultural learning should be able to contribute to broadening the range of categories, and the cultural intelligence strategy emphasizes the training of the mind, and more specifically, "mindfulness." It is the practice of looking at the world through a bigger picture, and "awareness of the mind" that broadens the horizon of awareness about the diversity of the world that exists [19]. When this occurs, people can expand their horizons and take a more mature attitude in dealing with values.

Currently, in Europe, the European Federation for Intercultural Learning has been launched, and the first strategy is being established and materialized [21]. From a long-term perspective, European policy makers seem to have started making efforts to make intercultural learning a reality on the European level. It is expected that program development and cooperative policy seeking will continue. In the era of cultural diversity, it appears that both the European Union and us need to delve deeper into how far people can understand, empathize, and coexist with each other, as well as explore to what extent intercultural learning and practice to enhance it can be possible.

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Section 2

Managing Cultural Diversity for Multiculturalism

Chapter 9

Harnessing the Potential of Cultural Diversity to Foster Creativity

Ciarán Dunne

Abstract

Despite recent increases in investment in initiatives relating to equality, diversity and inclusion, phenomena such as immigration and the resultant societal and organisational diversity are often seen through the lens of a deficit model - perceived as an issue that needs to be addressed, or a potential problem which needs to be neutralised or minimised. This, however, is a myopic lens. Cultural diversity affords many potential benefits, one of which is as a stimulus for arguably the most important human attribute of all, creativity. Having explored in detail the meaning of culture and the relationship between multiculturalism and intercultural, this chapter examines the concept of creativity, highlighting its value for individual and collective well-being, before drawing upon cognitive psychology to architect a compelling rationale for the potential value of cultural diversity as a facilitator of creativity. Importantly, by examining the factors which foster creativity, the discussion offers managers, leaders, policy makers and those in positions of power to identify the values and conditions which underpin a culture of creativity in a culturally diverse context, and highlights how interculturalism is preferable multiculturalism in this regard.

Keywords: creativity, culture, diversity, innovation, interculturalism, multiculturalism, affordances

1. Introduction

International migration levels have been increasing notably in recent decades, with the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) [1] estimating that in 2020, some 281 million people were living in a country other than that of their birth. This compares with a figure of 153 million in 1990, an increase of almost 85% over a 30-year period. Such human mobility inevitably alters the composition and dynamics of societies, albeit some more than others, given that certain geographical regions and corridors experience much higher levels of migration than others. Indeed, the mass migration of millions resulting from the conflict in Ukraine, which commenced in 2022, is a stark example of this.

To suggest that the diversity which emerges from migration does not bring with it a variety of challenges would be naive. Indeed, to ignore humans' natural proclivity

to gravitate towards familiarity, and instead rush to stigmatise such homophilic behaviour as inherently racist or xenophobic, is profoundly myopic, often serving to undermine the potential for honest, respectful and productive dialogues which can benefit everyone. That said, in many countries, migration and the diversity it brings is often disproportionately viewed through the lens of a deficit model, framed as a problem which needs to be addressed, minimised or neutralised, rather than a potential resource which can be cultivated to enrich society. This perspective can become yet more blinkered in the context of scarce resources, such as growing unemployment, limited accommodation or food shortages, which has come to characterise many societies in recent years. The resulting narrative, which often comes to dominate, is a manifestation of the tribal discrimination explained by in-groups and out-groups and, regrettably, moves discussions further away from exploring curious perspectives which seek to harness the many affordances of diversity within society.

Nonetheless, beyond the romance of intuitive assumptions about the value of diversity, which some people may hold, there exists a compelling rationale for not simply accepting or tolerating, but actively seeking out interactions with difference. This is perhaps most explicitly articulated in the 2001 UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity [2]. Several of the 12 articles which comprise this document refer to the relationship between cultural diversity and creativity, and crucially present the former as constituting both a source and catalyst for the latter. In particular, Article 7 contends that creativity 'flourishes in contact with other cultures'. This is a statement of profound importance, as it appears to offer us a mechanism to cultivate what Sir Ken Robinson [3] referred to as 'the greatest gift of human intelligence': namely, human creativity. Indeed, in the context of an increasingly unscripted world defined by exponential technological and social change, and the volatility, uncertainty, complexity and ambiguity (VUCA) which characterise our lives, the need for creativity is more pressing than ever before. However, despite the seductive nature of such declarations, the cited beneficial outcomes are neither automatic, nor guaranteed. Like any resource, the accruable benefits of diversity have to be both firstly recognised and then actively fostered and harnessed. It is precisely here where notable divergences between multiculturalism and interculturalism are brought into sharp relief, given that the former recognises cultural plurality, but does not necessarily promote interaction, while the latter seeks to promote mutually enriching contact and communication across cultural boundaries.

2. Culture, multicultural and interculturalism

Whether exploring or discussing multiculturalism or interculturalism, or indeed ideas such as 'cross-cultural' or 'intracultural', the unifying concept is that of 'culture'. Despite having been referred to as 'the most central problem of all social science' [4] way back in 1939, culture is a complex and slippery construct, which stubbornly eludes a universally accepted definition. Indeed, Keating, Martin and Szabo (2002) [5] remind us that as far back as 1952, Kroeber and Kluckhohn identified more than 160 definitions of 'culture'. While examining such a diversity of definitions is beyond the remit of this chapter, Singer's [6] description of culture as a *"pattern of learned, group-related perceptions – including both verbal and non-verbal language, attitudes, values, belief systems, disbelief systems, and behaviors – that is accepted and expected by an identity group* (original italics)", is particularly useful. Firstly, it conceptualises culture as shared knowledge that is acquired as part of a socialisation process. Although, it

is worth pointing out that knowledge is not necessarily shared equally within a given culture, a point we will return to later on in our discussion. Secondly, it proffers various components of culture, such as values, language, norms and behaviours, according to which cultures may be differentiated from each other. Thirdly, by citing an identity group, it implies that culture is fundamentally a collective phenomenon. An individual, for example, while being culturally unique on the basis of being simultaneously a member of multiple distinct cultural groups, cannot be a culture unto her/himself. As Levine, Park and Kim [7] succinctly point out, "culture is something people have in common with some people, but not with others".

Given that culture is then inherently a group phenomenon, the challenge therefore is identifying the boundaries lines that separate groups. Historically, these have been pragmatically drawn according to predetermined socio-political constructs, such as nationality. Certainly, from a research perspective, the ease of operationalising culture according to nationality makes cross-cultural and intercultural research much easier to conduct [8]. However, in recent decades the shortcomings which the expediency of this approach offers have been increasingly highlighted, challenged by the argument that diverse cultural groups may exist within, or indeed across, national boundaries [9]. Depending on the context, alternative markers, such as age, ethnicity, gender, race and others have been used to operationalise culture and, by extension, frame interactions as intra- or intercultural in nature. In terms of multiculturalism and interculturalism, however, the primary difference is not how the boundary lines of culture are delineated, but rather the nature of the relationship and interaction that exists between cultural groups.

Emerging from movements in countries such as Australia and Canada during the 1960s and 1970s, multiculturalism was associated with liberal values and sought to recognise cultural plurality and pursue equality for members of cultural groups within a nation-state, who were often disenfranchised indigenous communities. In the European context, however, multiculturalism came to be discussed primarily in relation to immigration and through the lens of identity markers such as race, religion and ethnicity. The primary goal of multiculturalism, therefore, was not to promote *interaction* between cultural groups cohabiting within a given territory, but rather to recognise differences and address more fundamental inequalities that characterised these societies. In this sense, the recognition of difference and calls for accommodation of the same, which characterised multiculturalism, meant that it was preferable to assimilation policies, which negated societal diversity. As such, one could argue that multiculturalism is in some way comparable to first-wave feminism, which sought to secure basic rights for women within a long established patriarchal social system, but did not necessarily explore how the sexes might most productively coexist. However, subsequent criticisms levelled at multiculturalism have argued that it promotes social divisions, solidifies boundary lines within societies, and inadvertently facilitates balkanisation within nation-states [10]. This is a key point for our current discussion: the idea that multicultural societies, while very possibly having high levels of structural diversity, are not organised in a manner that promotes meaningful and authentic interaction *between* diverse cultural groups. This not only means that in-group and out-group boundaries may crystalise, leading to tensions between groups, but crucially, that the affordances of diversity are not realised, including the opportunity to stimulate creativity, which will be discussed later.

In contrast to multiculturalism, interculturalism is premised on the idea of promoting dialogue and interaction between diverse groups. It espouses the thesis that such interaction may foster the co-creation of a synthesised, richer, more

multifaceted individual and collective identity. Furthermore, it may also help overcome the problems of cultural relativism, such as an aversion to questioning cultural behaviours, sometimes associated with multicultural societies. However, as mentioned at the outset, the disproportionate dominance of a problematising mindset and narrative in relation to cultural diversity within many societies - perhaps due in part to the unintended negative consequences of multiculturalism - has meant that the potential benefits associated with societal diversity have not be adequately explored and articulated by individuals and groups in positions of influence. The tokenistic, moral-based support for interculturalism and the goal of integration is insufficient and, arguably, damaging. In this sense, the current chapter is an attempt to offer some kind of counterbalance to this, by examining in depth how diversity can foster greater levels of creativity in our societies - a pursuit that commences with an attempt to clarify precisely what is meant by creativity.

3. The value of creativity

Many of the most important and influential concepts which shape and inform human existence and our lived experiences - ideas such as health, happiness, love and identity - are notoriously difficult to define. As we have seen, this is true for 'culture' and it is equally true for 'creativity'. Much like culture, the complexity and abstrusity of the concept of creativity has precipitated multiple definitions over many decades. Despite this, however, there is a broad consensus that the creativity of an idea, product or other output, regardless of the domain in which it is located, or the medium through which it is expressed, is characterised by two fundamental criteria; novelty (originality, uniqueness) and value (usefulness, purposefulness, appropriateness, effectiveness) [11]. Importantly, such novelty does not emerge *ex nihilo*, but rather emerges from the synthesis of different knowledge sets. That is, novelty and the perceived value attributed to it, which combine to satisfy the fundamental criteria for creativity, stem from connections made between discrete, and at times apparently unrelated, knowledge sets [12]. This is an important point, as it implies that exposure to a greater variety of knowledge sets constitutes a valuable resource or stage in the creative process.

The diversity of perspectives about how to define and indeed operationalise creativity can be juxtaposed with the agreement about its importance to humans' individual and collective wellbeing. Across multiple domains, tributes to the centrality of creativity to the survival and development of human civilisations can be found. Simonton [13], for example, suggests that were we to '[r]emove everything about us that was not the product of the creative mind ... we would find ourselves naked in some primeval forest', while Tina Seeling [14], adopting a more individualistic perspective, remarks that "without creativity we are not just condemned to a life of repetition, but to a life that slips backwards". Indeed, the utility function of creativity is increasingly highlighted given the myriad challenges stemming from the highly unscripted nature of our contemporary world [15, 16], with Montuori [17] declaring that creativity constitutes 'a vital human capacity for postnormal times', defined by the aforementioned conditions of VUCA. The implication of this is that wherever possible, creativity should be actively fostered, given its acute importance to both societies and individuals. This, in turn, raises the question as to whether creativity can actually be fostered and, if so, precisely how this might be achieved.

Formal interest in the field of creativity is relatively recent, and the idea that it can be nurtured is relatively new. Pre-1950s, creativity was a heavily gendered and individualistic concept, viewed as the quasi-mystical characteristic of a small number of lone male geniuses operating independently of their external environment. Individuals were born to be creative (or not), and the thesis was that regardless of external variables, an individual's creative capacity would inevitably manifest itself. However, this rigid, Galtonian mindset shifted significantly from the 1950s onwards, as creativity, influenced by the field of cognitive psychology, became 'democratised' and reconceptualised as a universal human attribute, a cognitive process within the reach of all individuals. Crucially, this shift also implied that creativity could be both fostered and hindered. That is, contrary to the historical perspective, an individual's or group's creativity capacity could be enhanced if certain conditions were satisfied. As we shall see, this recognition of the potential influence of environmental factors and lived experiences on creativity is central to the idea that engagement with cultural diversity in the form of intercultural contact may foster creativity.

4. The creative process

The 1950s paradigm shift away from the idea that individuals' creativity is predestined and fixed, towards a mindset in which creativity became democratised and conceptualised as a malleable, universal human trait, sparked huge interest among those who were interested in, (i) identifying how it might be stimulated, and (ii) understanding how it might be assessed. As regards the former, in his 2011 book, The Geography of Creativity, Törnqvist [18] reflects upon how a certain cultural milieu which dominated in particular cities at particular points in history appeared to promote creativity and innovation. Examples include 5th century Athens, Florence during late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Vienna from 1880 to 1930 and Paris in the period between the two world wars. Importantly, Törnqvist's observation raises the important question as to what specific factors combine to promote a culture of creativity within a large social context, or perhaps even a private organisation. Over the decades, various scholars [19–22], have suggested factors which they believe can foster creativity. One of the first was Arieti [23], who as far back as 1976 proposed nine socio-cultural factors which underpin a 'creativogenic culture' - understood as a culture which facilitates, but does not guarantee, the realisation of creative potential. Factors he proposed include openness, the availability of cultural resources, freedom of access to cultural media, incentives and rewards for creative endeavours, the ability to interact with significant cultural agents, and, crucially for our discussion, exposure to diversity, as well as tolerance of diverse perspectives. Csikszentmihalyi [19], meanwhile, also acknowledges the value of diversity as a stimulus for creativity when he argues that "hubs of creativity tend to be at the intersection of different cultures, where beliefs, lifestyles, and knowledge mingle and allow individuals to see new combinations of ideas with greater ease". It is here we see an explicit link between creativity and intercultural contact, and an echoing of the ethos, which underpinned the UNESCO declaration on cultural diversity. But why would exposure to diversity, which includes intercultural contact, serve to stimulate creativity? This is the fundamental question, given that it underpins the rationale for seeking out contact with culturally different others in order to stimulate creativity.

The idea that intercultural experiences can foster creativity is part of what is referred to as the 'value-in-diversity' hypothesis [24], and contrasts with

aforementioned tendency to view diversity as a problem that needs to be addressed, rather than an opportunity to be harnessed. In exploring the relationship between creativity and intercultural contact, it is first useful to present the theoretical argument, before citing the results of empirical studies. In order to elucidate this, we must examine the cognitive approach to creativity in some detail, including the two central processes; namely, the generative and exploratory process. By doing this, we, and others, can articulate a far more compelling, evidence-based approach to promoting interculturalism, rather than relying on solely emotional appeals and moral arguments.

In creativity, the *generative* process essentially involves producing and combining ideas. Specifically, it is associated with the capacity to demonstrate 'fluency' (the ability to produce many ideas in a given timeframe), 'flexibility' (the ability to produce a variety of qualitatively different ideas) and 'originality' (the ability to produce unusual or novel ideas), which are encapsulated under the conceptual umbrella of 'divergent thinking'. This is seen as an important component of the overall creative process and is facilitated by what is termed 'conceptual expansion'. This is a cognitive process whereby the boundaries of an existing concept are expanded by adding attributes of other *seemingly irrelevant* concepts' [25]. In addition to this, the creative process is facilitated by 'cognitive flexibility', which refers to the ability to diverge from, or transcend, established cognitive patterns and make novel associations between concepts [26]. Importantly, the cognitive approach to creativity supports the thesis that creativity involves accessing a variety of apparently unrelated knowledge sets and making connections between them in order to produce novel and useful outputs [27–29]. The implication of this is that individuals can benefit from experiences that enable them to increase both the variety and density of their knowledge sets, given that this can facilitate more productive divergent thinking. That is, creativity emerges at the nexus between diverse domains.

Crucially, it can be posited that intercultural experiences have the *potential* to facilitate both conceptual expansion and cognitive flexibility, and as a result stimulate the generative process, by exposing individuals to new forms of social organisation and the diversity these entail. Intercultural experiences, by bringing individuals into direct contact with difference, often expose us to novel or unexpected phenomena for which we have no predefined 'script'. This means that there is a level of uncertainty that needs to be addressed. According to development theorists such as Newcomb [30], the psychological discontinuity and incongruence resulting from exposure to such novelty, subsequently encapsulated under the term 'disequilibrium' by Piaget in 1971 [31], are conducive to stimulating cognitive activity in order to re-establish 'equilibrium'. That is, in the same way that humans collectively seek to mitigate uncertainty via (i) the use of technology, such as traffic lights or sensors, (ii) the creation of laws, which are essentially legalised coercion used to predict and control behaviour, and (iii) religion, which offers us an reassurance to counteract existential angst, we take action to reconcile incongruence resulting from intercultural interactions, given the uncomfortable cognitive and emotional states these can generate. This, in turn, is said to counteract the common tendency towards what Langer [32] terms 'mindless' thought processes. That is, automatic, unengaged, sub-optimal forms of thinking. Not surprisingly, such preconditioned, uncurious, predictable thinking is argued to be unconducive to generating novel ideas, which we know is part of the creative process. In addition to this, the idea of 'minority influence' [33], which can arise when diverse perspectives are introduced into a relatively homogeneous group, counteracts the proclivity towards routinised 'groupthink' [34] within groups. Importantly,

intercultural experiences often involve exposure to such diverse perspectives, and this in turn can challenge mundane thinking styles and help to develop a more flexible mindset [35]. As such, based on the premise that intercultural experiences involve exposure to diverse information, alternative knowledge sets, and alternative value and behavioural systems, which challenge conditioned mindsets, there emerges a strong rationale, from a cognitive psychology perspective, for the potential for such experiences to stimulate the generative cognitive process associated with creativity.

Meanwhile, following on from the generative process, the *exploratory process* adopts a more exacting lens and examines and evaluates 'candidate ideas to determine which ones should receive further processing, such as modification, elaboration, and transformation' [36]. Upon consideration of this in greater detail, a strong rationale for the potential of intercultural experiences to stimulate the exploratory process can also be constructed. This is because such experiences often see individuals confronted with norms, values and behaviours which may be incongruent with those to which the individual has been conditioned within his/her core cultural group. Therefore, seeking to reconcile alternative and potentially conflicting cultural systems, individuals can engage in a process termed 'perspective-taking' [37]. This cognitive process involves trying to understand another person's viewpoint through the conscious and deliberate adoption of their perspective. This process, in turn, is associated with 'integrative complexity', which is 'the capacity and willingness to acknowledge the legitimacy of competing perspectives on the same issue (differentiation) and to forge conceptual links among these (integration)' [38]. Importantly, for our discussion, this is proffered as an important mediator of creativity, facilitating several mechanisms associated with the creative process, including the ability to frame problems flexibly from different perspectives. Indeed, over fifty years ago, in 1966, Tuckman [39] suggested a link between integrative complexity and creative performance. This implies that the process of actively attempting to engage with another's perspective in a manner which suspends judgement, in order to achieve integration, can stimulate cognitive reframing, which along with challenging assumptions and making novel connections between ideas, is key to the overall creative process. With regard to this idea of challenging assumptions, intercultural experiences offer the opportunity to challenge stereotypical assumptions by using cognitive adaptation and flexibility to resolve inconsistencies that emerge during or pursuant to the interaction. While the cognitive process of creativity is complex, collectively, these processes can facilitate the overall exploratory process, including the elaboration stage, which Csikszentmihalyi [19] contends is the most labour-intensive stage of the creative process.

In sum, a detailed literature review indicates that when creativity is conceptualised as a cognitive process, which encompasses both the generative and exploratory stages, the constituent sub-processes - such as cognitive expansion, cognitive flexibility, integrative complexity, inconsistency resolution, perspective-taking, cognitive reframing and integration - may be stimulated by intercultural experiences. As such, there emerges a compelling, albeit complex, theoretical rationale for the potential for intercultural experiences to foster and stimulate creativity. In addition to this, there is an increasing body of empirical evidence to support this thesis. Dunne [11], for example, reviews fourteen empirical studies published since 2008 that explored the connection between intercultural experiences and creativity, and presents a growing body of empirical data in support of the argument that intercultural experiences can enhance creativity. Indeed, this review indicates that the adoption of integration, rather than assimilation strategies offer the greatest likelihood of achieving enhancements in

creativity. This, in turn, is part of a broader narrative and body of empirical data that examines the potential of diversity, which can be operationalised in myriad ways, to foster creativity. This is more recently outlined in detail by Hundshell, Razinskas and Backmann [40], in their detailed multilevel review of 119 empirical studies which explores the effects of diversity on creativity. Such findings, in turn, bring us on to another question, which relates to the conditions which ought to characterise an intercultural society in order to maxmise the probability of realising the creative potential which such a society affords us.

5. 'Creativogenic' interculturalism

By now, we have drawn upon knowledge from cognitive psychology to highlight the potential for interculturalism, understood most simply as the interactions between diverse cultural groups – or individuals from diverse cultural groups - within a society, to foster creativity. That is, interculturalism, rather than multiculturalism, given the lack of interaction which often characterises the latter, affords societies the opportunity to generate greater levels of individual and collective creativity. However, in the same way as any resource needs to be carefully managed in order for its benefits to be realised, and indeed its potential drawbacks to be minimised, it is necessary to consider the specific conditions which an intercultural society, community, or organisation ought to espouse and prioritise, in order to fulfil this creative potential. This is an important point for organisations that are explicitly espousing initiatives relating to equality, diversity and inclusion – that is, the vital importance of not simply engineering diverse workforces or communities, but the equally important task of architecting and 'infrastructuring' an organisation in such as a way as the affordances of such diversity are both recognised and fostered. Indeed, the empirical studies conducted to date indicate a complex, rather than simplistic relationship between creativity, diversity and intercultural experiences. Importantly, these conditions may be categorised under two broad headings, (i) resources and (ii) values, which will be discussed below.

As regards 'resources', we must not only consider the nature of these resources, but also the manner in which they are distributed within an intercultural context. This relates to the definition of culture presented at the outset, and the idea that culture involves the sharing of knowledge among a group. This means that the ability for individuals and groups to access these resources must be carefully considered. Such resources may be technological, material, informational, human and capital in nature. Beyond the more obvious ones, such as finance, raw materials and labour, other resources which can be highlighted as important include communication channels and the ease of access to existing knowledge sets. This is a key point: in order for intercultural societies to foster creativity they need to be architected in such a way that access to knowledge is both easy and equitable. This means that intercultural societies should actively develop strategies and create environments which not only provide migrant or minority communities with access to knowledge, but also offer members of the 'host', dominant or majority communities - all of which, we must acknowledge, are contentious terms - the opportunity to access the cultural knowledge which resides primarily within the migrant and minority communities. Therefore, a robust and quality knowledge sharing exchange, whatever format that might take, is an important resource to have in order to foster creativity within an intercultural society. At an organisational level, the same is true, and there are important implications for

internal structural and hierarchical design to ensure appropriate access to resources if the full potential of a diverse workforce is to be realised.

The easy and equitable access to diverse knowledge sets is directly linked to the level of social capital within society. This is arguably one of the most important concepts in sociology, and can usefully be applied to differentiate interculturalism and multiculturalism. Specifically, multiculturalism is often strong on the first level of social capital. This is the concept of bonding, understood as connecting with others who are like you. Bonding has certain benefits and is important in relation to having a strong identity group, a sense of security and validation of one's self-concept. However, from a knowledge sharing perspective, bonding offers minimal opportunities to engage with different knowledge sets, as relationships and communications are kept primarily within the in-group. As such, multiculturalism as a model does not promote creativity in the sense that it does not promote meaningful interaction between different cultural groups and therefore nor does it facilitate the sharing of diverse knowledge sets. Interculturalism, meanwhile, in principle at least, espouses the second and third levels of social capital: namely, bridging - creating links with those who are different to you - and linking - connecting with people and groups in positions of power within society, or even within an organisation. Both of these levels are characterised by giving individuals access to knowledge and other resources, including power, which bonding does not. We also know that societies with high levels of social capital and the social cohesion it promotes, tend to enjoy disproportionate benefits vis-a-vis societies with low levels of social capital. Again, this is true of organisations which promote healthy and rewarding relations among co-workers. As such, interculturalism is far better positioned to promote a culture of creativity within society than multiculturalism. However, the cautionary note is that these potential benefits will not automatically accrue unless purposefully cultivated.

With regard to the second umbrella concept of 'values', this encompasses the dominant values within a society or organisation, including the norms, attitudes, systems and behaviours, which reflect these values. Furthermore, it also includes the value which a given cultural group ascribes to creativity itself, which is typically reflected in the form of incentives or disincentives, rewards or punishments relating to creativity and creative pursuits. For example, if a society is defined by high levels of power-distance, this will have a direct impact on how the aforementioned resources are shared within society. Specifically, high power distance societies are those in which power is very unequally distributed among the population and, as a consequence, such societies will not realise their creative potential, given that a large proportion of those within the society would be limited in their ability to access to the aforementioned resources and knowledge that facilitate and stimulate the creative process. This point is made by Hoegl, Parboteeah and Muethel [41] who, when exploring how cultural values promote creativity, conclude that power distance plays a negative role when promoting creativity. This point equally applies to organisations, whereby employees who feel valued and have access to resources are more likely to produce creative outputs. That is, outputs which are both novel and of value to the organisation.

Furthermore, if one of the dominant values within a society were to minimise uncertainty, be it via the aforementioned mechanisms of technology, laws or religion, then several factors which have been identified as fostering creativity - tolerating ambiguity, risk-taking, suspending judgement, embracing novelty, sensation-seeking - would be implicitly or explicitly discouraged. Fortunately, the values of interculturalism are typically aligned with low power-distance and encourage mixing

with difference, which augurs well when it comes to fostering creativity. However, it is imperative that any intercultural society actively espouses and enacts the values it claims to prioritise. A concept which is closely related to this, is that of 'failure'. Often framed as an a priori negative outcome, and one with which individuals and organisations are deeply uncomfortable, there is ample opportunity to reframe 'failure' as a mechanism for reducing uncertainty, given that each attempt constitutes a step closer to a desirable outcome and also eliminates one possible course of action.

In addition to this, Kim [42], having examined the relationship between Confucian values and creativity, concluded that Confucianism could stifle creativity based on the values it espouses. Specifically, she highlighted the values of gender inequality, unconditional obedience and the suppression of expression, which are associated with Confucianism, as representing significant obstacles to creativity. It is perhaps within this context that Lubart [43] noted how during the 2000s several Asian societies, including China, Taiwan, and Singapore, began to set specific objectives to foster creativity in their education systems. That said, it is important to keep in mind the problems associated with 'sophisticated stereotyping' of cultures, and recognise that different cultures may have discrete approaches to stimulating creativity. In sum, however, the fundamental argument is that the dominant values within a given culture, national, societal, organisational, or otherwise, may play a significant role in the level of creativity which is permitted, encouraged and produced within that context.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have raised the idea that interculturalism, understood as a situation which involves constructive interaction between diverse cultural groups, is a preferable model to multiculturalism. This thesis is based on the idea that multiculturalism is defined by cultural plurality, but does not necessarily involve interaction between groups, yet we know that such interaction has the greater potential to foster higher levels of creativity within such a society. This is important because creativity is arguably the most valuable human attribute of all, and is central to humans' individual and collective well-being, progress and, ultimately, our survival. The rationale for this thesis is grounded in the field of cognitive psychology and supported by an increasing number of empirical studies which provide supporting data. However, a key message which is highlighted is that a society or organisation which embraces interculturalism will not reap the potential benefits of enhanced creativity unless the values which define this society and the manner in which its resources are managed and distributed are such that creativity is encouraged to flourish. In this sense, this chapter serves the dual purpose of counteracting the deficit model which often problematises diversity in society, by presenting a compelling, evidence-based argument in favour of cultural diversity within societies, while also cautioning against a naive passivity in relation to how such diversity is managed. Only through an intentional, careful, evidence-informed and ongoing consideration of the potential benefits of diversity, can such benefits be fully realised.

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Chapter 10

A Model of Intercultural Communication Revisited

Jens Allwood

Abstract

This paper provides a general model of intercultural communication with a focus on the actual observable features of communication, including written, spoken and gestural features, and what influences the occurrence of these features. The model is thus different from most other general accounts such as those of Hofstede or Inglehart and Welzel which mostly focus on values and attitudes and are based on questionnaires rather than observation. The paper also includes a discussion of problems and solutions related to intercultural communication on an individual and societal level. The paper opens with a discussion of terminology and concepts relating to communication, culture, and intercultural communication. A model is then proposed of similarities and differences between languages and cultures concerning individual and interactive-collective communicative behavior (Sections 2–5). As part of the model, there is a discussion of the contextual factors that influence both types of behavior (Section 6). Comparisons between different languages and cultures are made throughout. In the next sections, I return to a consideration of the context and discuss some of the problems related to intercultural communication (Sections 7–8). Following this, I consider some solutions to these problems (Section 9). Finally, I attempt to formulate some conclusions (Section 10).

Keywords: intercultural, communication, stereotypical descriptions, gestures, vocabulary and phraseology

1. Introduction

1.1 Terminology

Intercultural communication or communication between people who have different cultural backgrounds has always been and will probably always remain an important precondition of human co-existence on earth [1, 2]. The purpose of this paper is to provide a framework of factors that are important in intercultural communication within a general model of human, primarily linguistic, communication. It is not cultures that communicate, whatever that might imply, but people with different cultural backgrounds that do. This is so, even if sometimes people do so as representatives of social institutions like companies, associations, or countries. The alternative term "cross-cultural" is probably best used for comparisons between cultures (as

in "cross-cultural comparison"). Even if the study and description of intercultural communication go back to antiquity, the term "intercultural communication" itself, was probably first used by E.T. Hall in the 1950s, see [3], in his work as a teacher and trainer at the Foreign Service Institute (FSI) in Washington D.C., USA.

1.2 What is culture?

Let us more closely analyze the concepts that can be found in the term "intercultural communication". One of them is **culture** which has been analyzed in several different ways by different researchers. See [4] for an account of about 200 ways to define the concept. It will be used here in the following way. The term "culture" refers to all the characteristics common to a particular group of people that are learned and not given by nature. That the members of a group have two legs is thus not a cultural characteristic but a natural one, while a special but common way of walking would probably be cultural. Analytically, we can differentiate between the following four primary cultural dimensions:

i. **Patterns of thought**—common habitual ways of thinking, where thinking includes factual beliefs, values, norms, and emotional attitudes.

ii. **Patterns of behavior**—common habitual ways of behaving, from ways of speaking to ways of conducting commerce and industry, where the behavior can be intentional/unintentional, aware/unaware, or individual/interactive.

iii. **Patterns of artifacts**—common ways of manufacturing and using material things, from pens to houses (artifact = artificial object), where artifacts include houses, tools, machines, or media. The artifactual dimension of culture is usually given special attention in museums.

iv. **Imprints in nature**—the long-lasting imprints left by a group in the natural surroundings, where such imprints include agriculture, trash, roads, or intact/ruined human habitations. In fact, "culture" in the sense of human-engineered "growth" (i.e. a human transformation of nature) gives us a basic understanding of what the concept of culture is all about. In general, we can say that culture is always "cultivated nature".

All human activities involve the first two dimensions. Most activities involve the third dimension, and ecologically important activities also involve the fourth. When a particular activity lastingly combines several of these traits, one usually says that the activity has become institutionalized and that it is thus a **social institution**. Perhaps, the most important of these social institutions is the **language** which combines all four dimensions thought (meaning), linguistic behavior, writing systems and tools of writing (artifacts), and biological readiness combined with acoustic, and optic transmission (traces in nature).

One may speak of a **culture** or a **subculture** when one or more of the characteristics are lastingly connected with a certain group of people. In the context of intercultural communication, the groups are often associated with national states, and we may speak about Swedish culture, French culture, etc. but the group does not necessarily have to be a national group. It may be any group at all that is distinguishable over a longer period. We can thus speak about teenage culture, male culture, working-class

culture, bakers' culture, or the culture of the city of Gothenburg. Cultural differences between groups of these types are often just as great or even greater than those that exist between national cultures. However, our focus in this article will be on studying intercultural interaction between persons with different national or ethnic backgrounds as well as on some of the similarities and differences found in comparing national and ethnic cultures. In doing so, we will pay much attention to language which is, probably the most important identifying characteristic of a national, or ethnic culture and also identifies many subcultural groups (dialects, sociolects) in a nation.

Cultures (including languages) are not static but under constant development. However, since social habits and traces in nature are involved, change is usually gradual and allows continuity with the past. We can still read Shakespeare and perhaps be influenced by features of Elizabethan culture. Among the drivers of cultural change change in the natural environment itself, technological development, imitation of new behaviors, and political and scientific ideas and ideologies. For this reason, we should always be ready to update our descriptions of cultures (and languages).

1.3 Intercultural communication

As for the other key concept in intercultural communication—**communication**—I mainly follow the analysis presented in [5, 6]. For the present purposes, we can briefly characterize "communication" as the sharing of information between people on different levels of awareness and control.

The concept of "sharing" rather than "transfer" implies the active role of both speaker/sender and listener/recipient. Communication is not transfer from an active sender to a passively receiving listener. The perceiving and understanding activity of the recipient is essential. The concept of sharing also implies the importance of commonality. The purpose of communication is to increase the information the communicators have in common. The more they already have in common, the less needs to be said. This means that similarities between communicators are basic. It also means that when we study intercultural communication, we should pay attention to similarities as well as differences between cultures. Finally, we should note that the sharing can take place on different levels of awareness and control. This is important since, in an intercultural context, it can become a problem, particularly with features of communication about which people have a low degree of awareness and find difficult to control. Critical examples of this include how we show and interpret feelings and attitudes of ourselves and others.

If we use what is said above about "culture" and "communication" as a base, we are now able to define "**intercultural communication"** as the sharing of information on different levels of awareness and control, between people with different cultural backgrounds, where different cultural backgrounds include both ethnic-national cultural differences and cultural differences which are connected to participation in the different activities that exist within a national or ethnic unit.

1.4 The danger of stereotypical descriptions

Studies and teaching programs that deal with intercultural communication are often based on attempts to understand national cultures; therefore, there is a great risk of neglecting the significant differences which exist between activities, groups, and individuals on a non-national level. An orientation toward national cultures combined with efforts to find easily conveyed generalizations gives a further risk,

namely that of taking over stereotypical notions of a "national character" that often have arisen to serve what a certain group sees as its own or national interests, see [7, 8]. For example, Swedes may be characterized as envious, Scots as stingy, French as vain, Americans as superficial, etc.

The danger of misleading and biased generalizations is one of the greatest risks in research on intercultural communication, and that danger increases as soon as someone tries to describe the differences between groups from the perspective of a particular group's interests.

1.5 Social identity and ethnicity

Two important concepts in this discussion are ethnicity and social identity. I believe that these concepts can be related to culture and national states in the following way. A group is an **ethnic group** when certain of its cultural characteristics are used to organize it socially and politically, and when this organization is allowed to continue for a relatively long period. The group's **ethnicity** includes those traits which a politically cohesive power. If the ethnic group has or strongly aspires to have its own politically independent nation, the characteristics are termed **nationally ethnic** and the desire to emphasize and/or spread them is called **nationalism**. Depending on the strength of this nationalism or the evaluation of it, it can further be characterized as chauvinism or patriotism.

Social identity can be related to culture in the following way. At a particular point in time, culture provides some properties and relations around which individual persons can organize their lives. People construct their **social identity** by regarding a part of these properties and relations as decisive for who he/she is. In this way, a person can identify him or herself with his/her age, sex, family position, profession, political ideology, religious belief, regional residence or national affiliation, etc. As social organizations can be constructed around most of these characteristics, by identifying with them, one often simultaneously comes to belong to a group of people who think alike. Most people have a potential for identifying with several of these characteristics but gradually come to focus on a few as primarily creating their identity.

One of the possibilities is that you strongly identify with characteristics that you consider important for your national or ethnic group. You mainly become a Swede, a Finn, a Basque, or a Sami. Being a father or a teacher may become less important. For a person of this type, national or ethnic membership is what gives him/her their main identity. But as we have seen, identity can of course be constructed based on other characteristics. Personal preferences and degree of social recognition are among the decisive factors in constructing one's identity. This probably means that people with high-status jobs will be less prone than people with low-status jobs to let ethnic membership be the characteristic they mainly identify with (possible exceptions here might be found among the leaders of an ethnic group).

In studying what I am here calling "intercultural communication", it is particularly important to be aware that there are no necessary relationships between identity, on the one hand, and ethnicity or nationalism, on the other. Lack of reflection concerning this point can easily lead to hasty assumptions about stereotypical cultural differences in trying to understand your co-communicators.

1.6 Culture and activities

One way to escape the danger of stereotypes, at least to a certain extent, is to connect the concept of culture with the concept of **activity**, see [6]. A culture, which is a

way of thinking, behaving, etc., surfaces in the activities which the people in a certain group pursue. By an activity is here meant anything from arguing to hunting, fishing, or farming. Most people participate in several different activities and can often think and act in substantially different ways in these. There is a great difference between being a father, a pastor, and a lover but, at least in Sweden, it is completely possible for one person simultaneously to have each of these roles. By taking into consideration the variation in activities and roles among a group of people, we can begin to get an understanding of the nature of intranational and international cultural similarities and differences. To complete this understanding, the variation in activity must at the same time also be supplemented with other differences that are e.g. biological or regional.

2. Components in a model of intercultural communication

When people of different cultural backgrounds meet, differences between them can potentially lead to misunderstandings and other related problems. One of the ways of grasping the problems that can arise in intercultural communication is therefore to investigate how communication patterns can vary between different linguistic and cultural communities. A way of doing this is to make use of a model in which we take into account communication behaviors and what can influence these types of behaviors and then try to analyze differences between linguistic and cultural communities with regard both to communication behavior and influencing factors.

As for communicative behavior, a distinction can be made between behavior that is produced or perceived by a single individual and behavior that requires the interaction and/or cooperation of several individuals. I will call the first type of behavior "individual behavior" (Sections 3 and 4) and the other type of behavior, "interactive" behavior (Section 5). That behavior is individual does not mean that it is not influenced by other people, such as by another person's words or actions. It only means that some types of behavior, like the uttering or understanding of words, can be ascribed to an individual while other interactive types of behavior, like turn-taking, need to be ascribed to several interacting individuals. After having considered individual production and perception as well as interactive-collective behavior, I will turn to some of the contextual factors that influence both types of behavior (Section 6). In going through components of the model, I will, when relevant, to facilitate understanding, be making comparisons between different languages and cultures. In Sections 7 and 8, I will return to a consideration of the context and discuss some of the problems related to intercultural communication. In Section 9, I consider some solutions to these problems. Finally, in Section 10, I attempt to formulate some conclusions.

3. Individual production

On the level of individual production (sending) of communicative behavior it is often convenient to consider the following four aspects:

1. Body movements.

2. Sound and writing.

3. Vocabulary and phraseology.

4. Grammar.

3.1 Body movements (gestures)

When we speak, our speech is continuously accompanied by gestures, facial expressions, and other body movements that add to what we are saying in different ways. There are clear differences in how people from different cultures communicate with their bodies. The largest differences probably occur in the use of hands to convey different meanings. Gestures for such things as "*money*", "*great*", and "*come here*" vary considerably between for example Sweden and the Mediterranean countries. Other differences can be found concerning when and where a person is permitted to express something, perhaps particularly certain emotions. There can also be variations from culture to culture in how intensely people show different emotions. In certain cultures, such as the Mediterranean cultures, it is ok to show strong feelings such as happiness, anger, and grief in public. In others, such as Sweden or Japan, there are restrictions against this. See [9].

3.2 Sound and writing

Two very obvious differences between different languages are their sound and writing systems. The differences in sound can be seen from two main perspectives:

1. Each language has its store of "phonemes", that is, the smallest meaning differentiating sound units. These vary in the languages of the world between 16 in the Polynesian languages, and about 80 in Caucasian languages.

2. Together with phonemes, there is also what is usually called "prosody", "intonation" or "melody," that is, sound characteristics whose range is longer than separate sounds. The primary functions of prosody are the following: (1) to indicate biological, social, and regional identity, e.g. that the speaker is a middle-aged female convenience store cash register operator in Gothenburg; (2) to indicate rhythm and tone; (3) to indicate what linguistic units belong together in meaning; (4) to indicate feelings and attitudes.

Not least, the way of expressing emotions and attitudes using prosody is probably not the same in all languages and cultures. In a study of how prosody is interpreted, Abelin and Allwood [10] got the following two main results:

1. There seem to be culturally given, relatively stable patterns for expressing emotions using prosody. The way of interpreting vocal emotional expressions does not vary much from person to person within a culture.

2. The way of interpreting vocal expressions of emotion is dependent upon linguistic and cultural background. People with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds make their interpretations in different ways. As most persons probably have a low level of awareness of the prosodic patterns of themselves and others, this means there is a risk of incorrect interpretations, also on a low level of awareness, in communication between people with different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

The differences between different writing systems are often more obvious than differences in sound systems. A main division of the world's writing systems can be made between (1) **ideographic**, where each written unit in principle expresses a morpheme (smallest meaning bearing language unit), and (2) sound-based system that either can be **phonemic**, based on phonemes (the smallest meaning differentiating linguistic sound) or **syllabic**, based on syllables. The differences between writing systems can be less obvious, for instance when two languages use the same written letters but with different pronunciations. Compare the pronunciation of (j) in English and in Swedish, where (j) is pronounced like English (y)).

In addition, it is important again to remember that all communicative means of expression, not only prosody, can signal identity, and that phonemes, prosody, gestures and ways of writing can all show considerable internal cultural differences between different dialects, sociolects, genders, ages, activities etc.

3.3 Vocabulary and phraseology

The differences between different languages, which people who learn several different languages probably most easily can become aware of, are the differences in vocabulary, in terms of words and phrases.

In every culture, the words and phrases of everyday language mirror the needs, values, and attitudes that have been common and strong and for this reason have been necessary to communicate. People who live in a desert, in their everyday language have a vocabulary that allows differentiation between many different types of sand, while people who live in areas, with a great deal of snow, instead develop a vocabulary that allows differentiation between many types of snow.

One of the differences in vocabulary that has been investigated a lot has to do with differences between the words for color in different languages. **Table 1** adapted from [11], shows the great differences that can exist with regard to color vocabulary.

Jale, New Guinea	**Tiv, Nigeria**	**Hanunoo, Philippines**	**Ibo, Nigeria**	**Tzeltal, Mexico**	**Lowland-Tamil, India**	**Nez Perce, North America**	**Swedish, European**
						Dark	Dark
					Dark	Brown	Brown
Dark	Dark	Dark	Dark	Dark	Blue	Blue	Blue
							Grey
		Red	Red	Red	Red	Red	Purple
	Red	Green		Green	Green	Green	Pink
			Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Yellow	Green
							Red
							Orange
							Yellow
Light	Light	Light	Light	Light	Light	Light	Light

Table 1.
Color words in eight languages.

The languages range from Jale in New Guinea where there are only two words, one for all dark and one for all light nuances of colors to Swedish where there are at least nine distinct color words in ordinary use and several more in technical use. For a discussion of the effects of differences in vocabulary such as these, see e.g. [11, 12]. It is clear that problems in understanding can arise in communication between people from different cultures as they have different expectations as to what distinctions and nuances they should be able to express using their vocabularies.

Another important area in uncovering differences that can be significant in intercultural communication is different types of standardized phrases and metaphors.

Among such expressions are what usually is called proverbs, that is, standardized phrases that directly or metaphorically express what is seen as wisdom of life, often by many people in the culture. Swedish, for example, has the following phrases that can all begin with "Man Skall" which in English corresponds to *one should* or *you should* (**Table 2**).

Swedish	**English literal**	**English idiomatic**
Man skall	One should	One (you) should
vara karl för sin hatt	be man for one's hat	shoulder one's (your) responsibility
göra rätt för sig	do right for one-self	do one's (your) duty
inte göra bort sig	not do away one-self	not make a fool of one-(your)self
inte ligga andra till last	not lie (on) others as a load	not be a burden on others
sköta sig själv och skita i andra	take care of one-self and shit in others	mind one's (your) own business
inte tro att man är något	not believe that one is something	not have a "swelled head"

Table 2.
Proverbs in Swedish with English translations.

Phrases of this type, sometimes as here stated as rules, reflect values that are shared by many people and thus give a good insight into the values and attitudes that are common in a particular culture. The phrases thereby function both as a guiding and legitimizing instrument: you should behave in such a way that is consistent with the proverbs and you can also use a proverb to justify your actions or opinions.

3.4 Grammar

A fourth dimension that can be used to differentiate languages is grammar, e.g. the inflection, derivation, and syntactic patterns that exist in the language. For example, in Swedish, it is possible using forms of inflection to indicate whether a noun is plural or singular and has the definite form e.g. *flick*[girl]-*or*[s]-*na*[the] (the girls), while this is not possible in Chinese, where it may either be understood implicitly through context or explicitly through the use of independent words that express number or definiteness. Besides morphology, languages also exhibit great differences in basic word order patterns (syntax). A very well-known way to classify language introduced by Joseph Greenberg, a California linguist (see [13]), is based on the basic word order in statements between subject (S), verb (V), and object (O) (**Table 3**).

SVO	SOV	VSO	VOS	OVS	OSV
Swedish	Japanese	Arabic	Malagasy	Hixkaryana	No certain cases

Table 3.
Basic word-order types in five languages.

An interesting similarity can also be noted by classifying the languages of the world in this way, namely that 99% belong to the first three categories, SVO, SOV, or VSO. The subject comes before the object in all three types. However, no satisfying explanation has yet been offered for why this pattern is the most common. See further [14].

4. Individual reception

4.1 Producer and recipient (sender and receiver)

The four aspects of linguistic behavior on the individual level mentioned above can be viewed from two main perspectives: the perspective of the producer or sender and the perspective of the recipient or receiver. All communicators are both producers and recipients. You hear what you say and see what you write. However, in interactive, face-to-face communication, rather than one-way communication, you take turns to mainly do one or the other and you can mostly hear and/or see the reactions of your recipient, while you are producing your message.

To be able to express his/her message, the producer must simultaneously plan, maintain control of and produce his/her message in all the four dimensions discussed above. He/she cannot control everything with an equally high degree of awareness but must continuously rely on pre-existing "programmed, automatic subroutines". Among these automatic routines, we find routines for pronunciation, body movements, and grammar, while our choice of words probably has a lesser degree of automaticity.

The automatization of certain linguistic behavior is probably one of the reasons why it is so difficult for adults, when they attempt to learn a new language, to alter many patterns of grammar, pronunciation (especially prosody), and body movement, even if they can learn new words.

In the same way, as for the producer, the recipient's task implies control and integration of several different dimensions at the same time. The recipient probably also uses automatic routines, which he/she is not able to control with any higher degree of awareness. However, it would be a mistake to believe that the recipient is only passive—a sort of clay tablet on which the incoming message makes an imprint regardless of the recipient's reactions. The recipient's inner activity (perhaps even the part that can be controlled) is at least as great as the speaker's, see also [5]. At least the following must be included among the recipient's activities and reactions:

a. Influence on a low level of awareness.

b. Perception (apprehension).

c. Understanding.

d. Other reactions.

4.2 Influence on a low level of awareness

The first type of reaction is the influence or the processing of information without a high degree of awareness and control. In a series of experiments, Marcel [15] showed that we can be influenced by a text without having consciously perceived it. Other studies show that we can be influenced by the size of pupils of other people without being aware that this is what is influencing us [16].

4.3 Perception (apprehension)

The second type of reaction is the perception or apprehension of information. This means that information is also consciously registered by the receiver through his/her five senses. This type of reaction is necessary for such specialized activities as reading.

4.4 Understanding

Some of the information that is perceived is also understood. Whether understanding can be said to take place depends on if the receiver can put the information, he/she perceives into a meaningful context, a context that is, for example, based on understood logical or causal relations. The difference between perception and understanding can be illustrated by considering a person not well-versed in mathematics who attends a lecture on topology. He/she probably perceives in some sense what is being said but probably does not understand. To be able to put perceived information into a meaningful context, a person must have already stored a certain amount of information. One must already understand to a certain extent. This relationship is often formulated as **"understanding requires pre-understanding"**. If you already understand a great deal, then not so much needs to be said to make you understand more.

This relationship is continuously used in everyday conversations in which we normally succeed in sharing more information than we express. By building upon the information that we assume we share with other people, we can take a great deal for granted and be satisfied with hints. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that half of the information we are sharing in ordinary conversations is implicitly understood and is based on the receiver, through his/her process of interpretation and understanding, successfully reconstructing the message the sender intends.

The consequences of these considerations that have to do with linguistic communication, in general, are relatively important if we wish to understand the difficulties that can exist in intercultural communication. Some of these difficulties occur when the persons who communicate lack a relevant common cultural background, that is, they lack common beliefs, values, and norms (see also below, Section 6). They have no shared pre-understandings on which to build.

The strategy I recommend here is to try to clarify, through the use of language, what is normally taken for granted, by making explicit as many requirements as possible for what is said. This is the strategy used in certain legal traditions, see for example [17] when you want to be sure that the law is being applied in the same way in all places without opportunity for differing interpretations by any individual reader. The process requires a great deal of thought and consideration and is probably more easily applied in written language, where passages can be changed and added to in retrospect.

In an intercultural face-to-face communication situation, the solution indicated by legislative texts is normally not available. You are mostly limited to spoken language

and gestures, and the spoken language is often not shared and therefore perhaps poorly used/understood by at least one of the parties.

The starting point for reaching mutual understanding in intercultural communication is thus a difficult one and can be improved only by carefully observing and noting what types of pre-understanding are necessary for different contexts, by building a sensitivity concerning the points at which misunderstanding between people with different cultural backgrounds can occur and, secondly, by becoming acquainted with and learning about other people's cultures.

So what types of understanding, values, and attitudes can represent relevant differences in pre-understanding? Unfortunately, the general answer to this question probably is that whatever represents a difference between two people's understanding in any particular context can be relevant to their interpretation and understanding. However, on a general level, the following areas can be mentioned:

1. Realia: geography, history, religion, political and economic systems, industrial and commercial branches, traditions concerning food, clothing, and housing.

2. Esthetic culture: music, art, and literature (including both fiction and poetry).

3. Expert knowledge: activities with special subject areas, roles, and tools.

4. Attitudes and values: a particularly important part of a person's preunderstanding is his/her attitudes and values. These unite his/her factual understanding with his/her emotions, desires, and actions. Although attitudes and values can differ in a national or ethnic group of people, to a certain extent they are also given by their common cultural environment (see Section 6 below).

4.5 Other reactions

Parallel to factual **understanding**, emotional and attitudinal reactions are integrated with the process of understanding. Factual understanding is concurrently combined with emotional and attitudinal reactions. We become interested, bored, upset, sad, angry, happy, or irritated about what we hear and we direct these reactions toward the contents of what we are hearing and toward the person who is speaking. Reactions of this type occur among all people in all communication situations and can only by training and analytical abstraction be differentiated from the more factual understanding. For example, most people have a very difficult time differentiating between claims made and the person making them. They are not aware of the fallacy of ad-hominem argumentation. If I do not respect X, then what X is saying cannot be true, or the reverse if I respect X then what X is saying must be true. Factual understanding and emotional reactions always function in an interplay with one another.

Emotional and attitudinal reactions often have a relatively low degree of awareness and are difficult to control. However, this does not stop them from showing a systematic pattern. They are the results of the norms and values that a certain individual has accepted through his/her biological nature and his/her upbringing in a particular environment. In this way, it is possible for certain emotional and attitudinal reactions to become dominant in a particular culture and we can observe phenomena like the following, "Most Swedes do not like to speak loudly and shrilly in public situations when they are sober."

Our emotional and attitudinal reactions are thus additional factors that must be considered in intercultural communication. An intercultural situation can be open to misunderstandings connected with hasty emotional reactions on a relatively low level of awareness. These reactions, in turn, can further be connected to other reactions that have to do with desires and dispositions toward behavior. To the extent that the reactions are positive, the complex nature of the receiver's reactions can lead to a quicker establishment of good contact between the parties. To the extent that they are negative, we can, however, based on small misunderstandings, get reactions that involve prejudice, suspicion, dislike and discrimination.

5. Communication behavior on an interactive level

Above we discussed communication behavior that can be produced and interpreted by individual speakers and listeners. We will now look more closely at characteristics of communication behavior that refer to the interaction between producer and recipient. The aspects we will discuss probably make up the most important characteristics on the interactive level, but they do not represent an exhaustive list of all the interesting aspects of interaction in intercultural communication. The aspects I will discuss here are (1) interaction sequences, (2) turn-taking, (3) feedback, and (4) spatial configurations.

5.1 Interaction sequences

The concept of an "interaction sequence" is derived from the fact that a specific type of communication can often be said to go through a number of distinct stages. For example, you begin, continue and complete a communicative interaction in a particular way. The initial sequences include greetings, introductions, and routines for opening channels between the sender and the receiver, such as the initial use of the word *hello* in a telephone conversation.

Different cultures and linguistic areas vary considerably in terms of how much body contact is permitted in the greeting and introduction routines of different situations. In a relatively neutral contact, body contact can be completely lacking, as in classical China, or a handshake may suffice, as is most common in Sweden at present, or one may use hand contact together with an embrace and a varying number of kisses, as is currently the practice in France. The same types of differences and preferences can also be observed in closing sequences such as in leave-taking. For a more exhaustive review of differences of this type, see [18]. It is important at this point to again warn against simple generalizations. In each culture, there are several ways to, for example, greet people and take leave from people, which are dependent on the situation and the activity at hand. Important factors that influence what should be done are here the purpose of the activity and the person with whom you are speaking. I greet my children differently than I greet my colleagues and what I say and do in parting is different if I will be taking a long trip than if I will be meeting the person with whom I am speaking again in a few hours. Purpose and interlocutor probably influence the variation in communication patterns in all cultures but do so in different ways in each culture.

Thus, the interaction sequences that take place are dependent upon the activity that the communication serves. The different purposes of the activity lead to an organization of linguistic and other behavior in the activity. This, in many cases, results in

a sequence of sub-activities that is typical for a particular activity. In a conversation in which advice and counsel are given, for instance in a meeting with someone who works at an employment agency, or social welfare office, or in a psychological consultation, one or more of the following activities would probably be included (at least in a Swedish cultural setting).

1. Greetings

2. Introductions

3. Identification of problems/desires

4. Gathering of relevant background information (this point can probably be given a very large number of subdivisions depending on how much of the individual's life is relevant.)

5. Suggestions

6. Discussion

7. Conclusions/agreements

8. Summary

9. Leave-taking

The number of activities included and the order in which they come can vary depending upon specific characteristics of the counselor and the person seeking advice as well as on the relation between them. However, it is probable that a relatively frequent pattern is developed for a particular type of counseling activity in a particular culture, not least if the activity can be regulated by establishing rules for general practice.

These patterns by no means need to be the same from one culture to another. It is highly probable that activities such as "getting to know someone", "keeping informal company", "teaching", "being in meetings together" and "counseling" exhibit differences from culture to culture. As it is often exactly within the framework of activities such as these that intercultural communication takes place, differences in expectations regarding what sequences should exist and in the way they should be carried out are one of the factors that can cause difficulties in intercultural communication.

5.2 Turn-taking

Since the middle of the twentieth century, the concept of "turn-taking" has been used to characterize a basic set of principles for conversational interaction, see [19]. The principles have to do with how the right to speak is distributed—who speaks with whom, for how long, about what, when, and in which way.

A question that arises out of the five questions above is how many speakers may speak at the same time in different situations. In Northwestern Europe, it seems in most cases that the rule is "one speaker at a time". Interrupting other speakers is generally avoided, even in informal contexts and debates. This pattern is strongest in the Scandinavian countries and somewhat weaker in Germany and England.

Compare, for example, a Swedish, a German, and an English political debate. While Mediterranean countries to some extent show the same pattern, overlap and interruptions are more frequent. The tolerance for interruptions and simultaneous speaking is there much greater in lively discussions and debates. Interruption and overlap are normal expressions of involvement and participation.

Other questions having to do with turn-taking concern speed of talk and tolerance of silence, that is, such questions as how rapid speaker change should be and whether you can allow yourself, now and again, to say nothing. There seem to be great differences both between and within different cultures in these respects. A relatively general pattern seems to be that urban cultures have a higher speech rate and less silence than rural cultures. However, there seem also to be national ethnic differences, see [20]. The greatest appreciation of silence in certain types of interaction has been reported for the Apache Indians of North America, see [21]. There are also many reports of silence being appreciated from northern Sweden and Finland, see [22, 23]. Speech rate seems to be correlated with silence so a lower speech rate is associated with a greater occurrence of silence.

A third area in which there seem to be differences between cultures regarding turn-taking has to do with rights and obligations in different situations. Very generally, it can be said that rights and obligations concerning turn-taking are determined to a great extent by a person's social role. Persons, who have roles that imply social prominence, for example, because they are considered to be associated with knowledge or power, such as bosses, ministers, or professors, seem in most cultures to have greater freedom with respect to turn-taking than do other people. They can speak about what they like, for as long as they like and in the way in which they like. They can permit themselves to interrupt other speakers, even in cultures in which the "one speaker at a time" rule is relatively strong, see also [24]. However, besides similarities, there are also differences between the rights and obligations connected with a particular role; differences that can be associated with the type of tradition and authority that is found in a certain culture. A teacher, for example, has a somewhat different role in Sweden and Turkey. Certain roles are thus very strongly associated with rights and obligations in turn-taking.

One such is the role of chairperson at a meeting. The task of a chairperson is to maintain order in turn-taking. What will we talk about? Who will be allowed to speak? In what way will we be allowed to speak? Although meetings as an activity exist in most European cultures, a chairperson's rights can vary. In England and the USA, for example, a chairperson has somewhat greater rights than in Sweden. He/she can choose to ignore persons whom he/she does not believe will add anything positive to the discussion. This behavior would hardly be tolerated in Sweden, where tradition states that every person who wishes to say something has the right to do so if the item has not been concluded or stricken from the discussion.

5.3 Feedback

The third interactive aspect I would like to mention is "feedback". Feedback here means the processes through which a speaker receives information from a listener about how the listener has perceived, understood, and reacted to what the speaker has said. A major division of feedback behaviors is (1) feedback elicitation and (2) feedback giving.

All languages seem to have both verbal and nonverbal (body movement) ways to elicit and give feedback. Some Swedish feedback elicitors are *inte sant* (isn't that true?)

and *eller hur*, *eller, vad* (or how? or? what?). Similar expressions are used in many languages. They often contain words for disjunction, negation, truth, or correctness, for example, *n'est ce pas* ("is this not so?" in French), *ne pravda li* ("not true?" in Russian), *nicht wahr* ("not true?" in German), *no es cierto* ("isn't that certain?" in Spanish). In English, feedback elicitation has been grammaticalized through the so-called tag questions: *you smoke, don't you*? *you don't smoke*, *do you*? Feedback elicitation takes place nonverbally in Swedish (and probably in several other cultures) by for example moving the head forward and raising the eyebrows.

As regards feedback giving, there are several hundred expressions for giving feedback in Swedish. Sometimes they form derivational paradigms like the following series of triplets of feedback givers: *Ja—jaha—ha* (variations on (yes), *jo—joho—ho* (variations on a yes contradicting a no), *nä—nähä—hä* (variations on (no), *m—mhm—hm* (variations on (uhu), *a(h)—aha—ha* (variations on (ah), that is, the first word's vowel (or continuant) is repeated and preceded by the addition of an <h>. Some of these are fairly unusual from an intercultural perspective. This applies to the Swedish practice of using in-breath in saying *ja or nej* (yes or no), which is often interpreted by persons of other cultural backgrounds as a lung problem or as holding back emotion.

Although most cultural and language communities seem to have means for eliciting and giving feedback, there are important differences between them. One difference has to do with whether the feedback takes place for the most part verbally and auditively or whether it takes place with body movements and is perceived visually. The feedback patterns here are dependent e.g. on the culture's patterns for eye contact. In Japanese culture, for example, where direct eye contact can be interpreted as a lack of respect or as aggression, we thus find much verbal/auditive feedback, while, according to the studies we have carried out, there seems to be less auditive feedback and more non-verbal, visual feedback between Latin American Spanish speakers. See also [18].

5.4 Spatial configurations

Another area in which clear culturally dependent ethnic differences seem to exist concerns the closeness and physical contact between persons in a conversation. In cultures in northwestern Europe adult men generally, avoid touching one another during conversations and maintain a greater distance from one another than do e.g. adult men from Mediterranean cultures. The latter also shows a greater frequency of physical contact during neutral conversations. See [18, 25].

Most likely, similar but small differences between northwestern Europe and the Mediterranean countries also exist for women. This is in spite of the fact that they, in comparison with men from Northwestern Europe, show less distance and more physical contact. For conversations between a man and a woman, the pattern is less clear but, at least in public contexts, the distance can be greater in Mediterranean cultures than in northwestern European cultures.

Distance and contact are also clearly dependent on other factors than the sex of the speakers. Physical space is a basic consideration. Even Swedish men stand close to each other on crowded buses. Another factor has to do with the type of activity. In most cultures, we find more physical contact and closeness in activities of arrival or leave-taking, than in other situations The same applies in most cultures to situations characterized by love or aggression, although the differences can be considerable. In classical Chinese culture, man and wife were not allowed to show physical contact in public and public kissing among young couples in love is still today viewed with skepticism.

6. Contextual factors influencing communication

After having considered communication on an individual and interactive level, we will now turn to contextual factors that influence the three aspects (production, perception/understanding, and interaction) of communication that we have considered. First, we should note that there are many factors that influence communication and that this model only highlights a few of them. Second, many of the factors are not primarily cultural, and third it should be remembered that generalizations about differences in communication patterns cannot always be associated simply with differences between ethnic groups. A French person does not greet another person in the same way in all situations. Many different contextual factors can be relevant. However, the variation in communication within an ethnic or national group is not entirely random. There seem to exist certain factors that often are decisive for the variation. Some main factors that influence communication in the present model are the following three: (i) variation in the **features of the individuals** that participate, (ii) the **features of the activity** of which the communication is a part, and (iii) common **attitudes and values** in the culture of the communicating individuals.

6.1 Features of individuals

As regards individuals, their biological status, for example, their sex, age, and possible disabilities, play an important role. However, a perhaps even more important factor is what we can call their focus on identity (see above). What socially "focusable" characteristics have they made into the primary components of their identity? Is it their education, their occupation, their interests, their family role, their ideology, their gender role, age role, their regional affiliation, or something else that they have chosen to guide them in their ways of being? What they have chosen to identify themselves with will to a great extent determine their attitudes, norms, and values and will thus also color their behavior in different activities. Particularly important is probably their level of education and skills. People act and speak in different ways depending on their skills and how much information about the surrounding world they have come to possess.

Features of individuals are important since cultural generalizations, whether they are statistical or merely stereotypical, concern a group level and that therefore, in analyzing cases of actual communication, we always have to be open to the possibility that the particular individuals we are concerned with do not conform to the generalizations. Even if most Italians like pasta, the particular Italian, I am talking with, might not.

6.2 Features of social activities in a culture

To form a more complete picture of the intra-ethnic cultural variation, information is needed which goes beyond socio-biological status, desired or ascribed identity, and level of education and skills to encompass the social activity in which a particular individual is engaged. To be able to make a reasonable prediction about how someone carries out a greeting, we must know more than that he is for instance a 25- year-old male socialist industrial worker and father with a family in Paris. The prediction will be easier if we know in what situation or, if you will, in what activity context he will be giving the greeting. Is he going to greet his boss or an old childhood friend? The following factors are able to predict many of the communication characteristics

that exist in different activities: (1) purpose, (2) roles, (3) artifacts, and (4) physical circumstances, see also [6]. Although all four factors are relevant for analysis in all cultures, the way they are realized can vary considerably and are important in understanding both differences and potential similarities in the way persons from different cultures interact in what, on an abstract level, should be the same activity.

6.2.1 Purpose of an activity

The purpose of social activity is the goal the activity is meant to achieve. There are many words for activities in everyday language which, if consideration is given to their meaning, show the purpose of the activity and thereby often also the types of interaction and communication that usually characterize the activity. Such words are *negotiation*, *meeting*, *fight*, *flirt*, *lecture*, *interview*, and *counseling*. Other words for activities, such as *hunting*, *fishing*, or *business purchase*, have less clear consequences for communication. However, even in these latter cases, it is possible, through reflection, to gain an understanding of certain of the communicative characteristics that are required by the activity.

A purpose can be more or less specific. Compare, for example, the purpose of "*negotiation*" with "*diplomatic negotiation between Russians and Americans concerning disarmament*". The more specific the purpose is, the more it will influence the activity.

A difficulty in intercultural communication is that not precisely the same meaning is attached to activity words that are otherwise normally considered to be the correct translation of each other. Do, for example, the English words *debate* and *job interview* have the same meaning as the Swedish words *debatt* and *anställningsintervju*? Despite the very similar meaning of the words, there are differences with respect to for instance expectations about argumentation style in a debate and type of questions asked in a job interview. In certain situations, even such relatively small differences can lead to difficulties in cooperation between a Swede and for example, an Englishman.

6.2.2 Roles in an activity

Closely associated with the purpose of social activity are the different roles that are ordinarily associated with the participants in the activity. Compare, for example, lecturers and audience at a lecture, salesperson, and customer engagement in a purchase made in a store, chairperson, rapporteur, and participants at a meeting. As we have already mentioned above that the rights and obligations that are tied to a certain role do not need to be the same in different ethnic groups. A chairman often has greater rights at a meeting in England and in the U.S. than in Sweden.

To each role belong certain rights and obligations that normally have a strong impact on what a person with a certain role will say and do during the activity. Rights and obligations often correspond to one another so one party's rights determine the other party's obligations. The right of a Swedish customer to information about the price and quality of goods thus corresponds to the obligations of a Swedish salesperson to give this information (and probably similarly so in many other cultures).

6.2.3 Artifacts in an activity

A third factor that can determine a part of what is said and done in an activity is the artificial objects or artifacts that are used in the activity. As regards communication, the artifacts usually called communication aids and media (e.g. pen,

megaphone, telephone, telegraph, radio, etc.) are particularly important. Special conventions are formed in different linguistic and cultural communities for how these aids are to be used. The conventions can, for example, concern how to talk on the telephone, write different kinds of letters or speak on the radio.

6.2.4 Physical circumstances

The last factor I will discuss here is the physical circumstances of the activity and the communication, that is, how phenomena such as noise level, light level, space, temperature, furniture, distance between sender and receiver, and the number of senders and receivers affect what is said and done. Activity and communication are always adapted in different ways in different cultural areas to physical factors of this type. We discussed above how even if Swedish men normally like to keep a fairly large distance between themselves and other men, will accept standing very close to one another on a crowded bus.

6.3 Attitudes and values

As we have seen above, both participating in and studying intercultural communication require taking into consideration the differences in understanding, values, and attitudes that people with different cultural backgrounds can have. These factors are important in determining both how to communicate and how to interpret and react to messages that are received. The results of questionnaire-based investigations of values and attitudes are the main topic of most studies of intercultural communication, see [1, 2]. The main problem with most of these studies is that the taxonomies of cultural differences that they present are too abstract and pay little attention to communicative behavior, and actual circumstances like type of activity, or individual differences. Another problem is that they tend to neglect the importance of cultural change and the fact that there are many similarities between human beings and human cultures.

An alternative way of identifying attitudes and values is to make a list of phenomena that play an important part in most people's lives and then investigate whether there is any pattern in the attitudes of a particular group towards these phenomena. This list might, for example, include the following: family, child rearing, the opposite sex, socializing with friends, work—money, authorities (e.g. the state, teachers), aging, goals of life—career, death, time and space, metaphysics.

To investigate what attitudes people in a certain culture have toward these phenomena, we can consider at least two approaches that complement each other. One approach is to try to empirically investigate via direct observation, interviews, or questionnaires what attitudes people have.

The second approach is more indirect but may allow for a deeper understanding of the attitudes that exist in a particular culture. This approach is based on a historical analysis of the different influences that may have formed people's attitudes in a certain culture. The analysis should take into consideration the following types of influences: (1) nature and climate, (2) resources, (3) technology, (4) population density, (5) types of activities, (6) types of behavior, and (7) ideological influences. In an intricate interaction, these factors, and perhaps others, form the values and norms that are typical of a particular culture. By studying not only the norms and values themselves but their background as well, one has a greater chance of understanding why certain patterns are more common than others, why changes in the patterns have and are taking place and at what points changes will eventually take place again.

Among the ideological influences, religion has often been the most important in creating norms and values, see [26]. In most cultures, religion has traditionally offered an explanatory and legitimizing framework for human behavior. Religious theses have been used to motivate and maintain such things as an approach to child-rearing, family, work, the opposite sex, and authorities. These approaches have then lived on in the culture and come to be shared also by people who no longer believe in the religious theses that originally motivated the approaches.

A development of ideological influences on Swedish culture must cover at least the following: (i) belief in the Nordic Asa Pantheon that possibly lives on in the celebration of Christmas and Midsummer; (ii) Catholicism, which introduced Christian values, for example, the idea of the equal value of all people in the eyes of God and the teaching of individual salvation; (iii) Lutheranism, which gave the king authority over the church (caesaropapism) and to some extent gave Christianity another meaning than what existed under Catholicism. (iv) During the 1800s, Calvinism was often introduced together with liberal political ideology. (v) Different forms of socialism also turned up, some were atheist and others were combined with different forms of religion, especially Lutheranism. (vi) The latest ideological influence in Sweden has probably been the so-called "green wave", that is, a strong emphasis on certain ideas and attitudes concerning man's interplay with nature. Other doctrines also exist but are somewhat less widespread than those listed above.

Of the mentioned ideologies, the most important influence is probably Lutheranism. Luther's doctrines have been preached in churches, religious house examinations, morning assemblies in schools, and many other places for over 450 years. In many ways, Luther's doctrines have affected attitudes toward (e.g. work, the idea of the calling), obligation, authorities, child-rearing, the opposite sex, the difference between private and public, the value of man, and goals in life that are common in Swedish culture. Departing from the model, let us now go on to look at some of the problems that can arise in an intercultural context on an individual and collective level.

7. Some problems related to understanding intercultural communication

We will begin by looking more closely at some different types of problems that can arise in situations of intercultural communication. As in all communication, a fundamental problem has to do with understanding.

Let us further assume that two persons with different cultural backgrounds start to communicate because at least one of them needs to do so. As they have different cultural backgrounds, they probably have less common pre-understanding than two persons with the same cultural background. If the lack of common pre-understanding is relevant to their joint activity and communication, this may lead to several consequences which will be treated below.

7.1 Lack of understanding

Lack of understanding is a failure to interpret parts of or all of what the other person is saying or doing. The lack of understanding may be conscious or unconscious, that is, you may or may not notice that you have not understood. The lack can, if it is a conscious lack, lead to an attempt to do something about it, such as to say that you

have not understood or to ask for an explanation. The lack of understanding can also be allowed to pass, in spite of the fact that you are aware of it, perhaps because, owing to a lack of time or to an inferior status, you do not consider yourself in a position to ask for help or to admit that you have not understood.

7.2 Misunderstanding

A difference in relevant pre-understanding can also lead to misunderstanding, i.e. one actually makes an interpretation but this interpretation is inadequate or incorrect. The risk that poor understanding will lead to misunderstanding is dependent on factors like:

i. Strong expectations concerning communicative contents.

ii. Insufficient awareness of your lack of understanding of the other's cultural background.

iii. Strong motivation, or perhaps an absolute need, to try to understand.

iv. Degree of competence in the language used for the communication.

v. The occurrence of something that gives strong evidence against the interpretation about to be made.

Consider the following example of misunderstanding from [27] in an interview concerning living conditions:

Interviewer: *du har två bord* **intill** *sängen* (you have two tables **near** the bed).

Interviewee: *jag har sängen jag kan inte sova på golvet* (i have the bed, I can't sleep on the floor).

The interviewee, who at the time in question was attempting to learn Swedish, later reported that she had interpreted *intill* (near) as *inte* (not). The example shows a combination of some of the factors named above. The interviewee did not have a great enough mastery of the Swedish language and thus did not notice the sound differences between *near* and *not* (in Swedish, the sound difference between the words *intill* and *inte*). She also had a suspicion that the interviewer believed that the standard of her living quarters was primitive. These two factors, in combination with a desire to understand and to demonstrate a mastery of Swedish, lead her, rather than simply noticing that she does not understand (lack of understanding), to make an incorrect interpretation (misunderstanding). The example is typical of how misunderstandings take place. Misunderstandings are nearly always the product of a combination of some or all of the factors mentioned above.

7.3 Emotional reactions and actions

Integrated with the process of understanding are different factors that have to do with emotions and attitudes. These factors are also present in cases of a lack of understanding and misunderstanding. Even if a lack of understanding sometimes is experienced as a challenge and an incentive toward increasing mutual understanding, it is likely that it generally and particularly, if it leads to misunderstanding, is connected with negative emotional reactions. As emotional reactions are usually

associated with desires and dispositions toward behavior, the consequence can be that verbal and other actions based on misunderstanding and hasty negative reactions occur. The nature of the further consequences of such actions depends on how great the misunderstanding is, how great the need for communication is of each of the parties, the occurrence of conflicts of interest between the parties, and, not least, the power relation between the parties.

If the misunderstanding is great, the need for communication small, the conflict of interest large, and the power difference small, it is likely that the misunderstanding will lead to some sort of conflict.

Such a conflict can in turn have several different consequences, on an individual level for the individuals that are communicating, and on a group level, one individual's reaction pattern, in some cases, can become the general one for a larger group of people.

7.4 Interruption and breakdown

A possible reaction to a lack of understanding or a misunderstanding is that the communication is interrupted or breaks down and that one or both of the communicating individuals then refuse to communicate. Another less common consequence of a breakdown is that the individuals are stimulated to try to improve their possibilities for communicating with one another. One of the factors that determine whether the reaction becomes a refusal or motivation for a new attempt is the power relation between the parties. If A has equal power to B, it is easier for A to refuse to communicate with B than if A is dependent upon B. In the same way, if A's need to communicate with B is not very great, it is also easier for A to refuse to communicate than if A truly needs to communicate with B. Furthermore, A's and B's ability to communicate in the language they have chosen is also relevant. If the distance is too great between A's ability and what is demanded of A for communication with B to be possible, the probability that A will not make further attempts at communication also increases.

7.5 Communication on the conditions of only one party

Another development that is also often related to a power difference between parties is that one of the parties gives up and begins to communicate completely on the conditions of the other party. This pattern is typical for persons from ethnic groups who live in countries in which they are not in the majority and do not belong to the ruling class.

7.6 Communication via a third party

If the need for communication between two parties is great and they are not able to speak each other's language or do not wish to be brought into a position of inferiority towards the other party, they can choose to communicate via a third party. One of the possibilities is then to use an interpreter. If the parties are very mistrustful of one another, as sometimes is the case at international political negotiations, two interpreters can be used, one for each party. The interpreter's task is generally difficult as he/she must constantly compromise between being faithful to what has been said and adapting himself/herself to what he/she knows about the level of pre-understanding of the receiver. His/her social position is also insecure because he/she can often be

suspected by both parties of having exploited the potential power he/she has in his/her role as a connecting link.

If the communication takes place in written form, one can instead choose a translator as a third party. The translator's problem is often different from that of the interpretor because he/she does not have immediate access to either the sender or the receiver. He/she must trust his/her general cultural and linguistic competence, and his/her audience is less clear than the interpreter's. However, as is often pointed out, for example, in [28], the translator's role as a transmitter of culture can hardly be overestimated. A further possibility occurs if the communicating parties have knowledge of a language that is not the first language of either of the parties. If the need for communication is great enough and the power differences are not too large, they can then choose to use this language. In certain small countries such as Sweden, this has become something of a national strategy, as most people believe they can communicate in English in most contexts.

7.7 Communication on the conditions of both parties

A fourth conceivable communication situation between two parties with a different language and cultural backgrounds is what may be called communication on the conditions of both parties. This can be designed in at least two ways. The first is that an exchange takes place in an alternating manner in the languages of both parties. A's language is spoken for a while and then B's language is spoken for a while. This type of communication most often occurs between persons who are relatively equal in terms of power and who also have relatively good competence in the other party's language. This is thereby a special case of what linguists have called code-switching—see [29]—that is, there is a switching from one language to another in the same conversation.

The term "switching" could also be used for the form of communication that occurs, e.g. in diplomatic negotiations between equally powerful parties. Each of the parties speaks his/her language which, in turn, is translated by an interpreter into the other language.

Another form of communication on the conditions of both parties is what could be called "mixture". In this case, the boundaries between the two languages in question are not maintained; the parties begin to use forms from each other's language and a sort of mixed language is created. The probability that this form of communication will arise is greater if the parties are equal with respect to power, do not have good knowledge of each other's language (over and above what they can pick up online), and have a relatively great need to communicate.

8. Problems on a collective level

The effects on the individual level that I discussed above can also occur on a larger scale on what could be called a collective level, see [30].

8.1 Expulsion and segregation

On a collective level, expulsion and segregation correspond to the individual-level phenomena of interruption and refusal to communicate. **Expulsion**, which in its most extreme form becomes extermination, is the process by which a powerful group of people chooses, often with violence, to remove a less powerful group of people from their territory. Expulsion has most often been associated with extreme manifestations

of ethnic and national identity in the powerful group as well as with far-reaching interruptions in communication between the two groups.

Interruption of communication also characterizes what is usually called **segregation**, that is, that one group of people, instead of being removed, is isolated and extremely limited in their contact and communication with surrounding groups of people. The groups that are segregated most frequently have less power than those who do the segregating, e.g. Black people in South Africa during apartheid or so-called ghettos in many large cities. However, it also occasionally happens that the segregated group has more power. It is and has been common for the powerful elite in many countries to live in great isolation from the people it tries to control.

In cases where the segregated group has less power, the motivation for segregation is often, although not always, ethnic—national identity. Social segregation occurs somewhat less frequently but is also relatively common (Parias in India, Romanis and vagabonds, drifters, and tramps in Sweden or Buraki in Japan). Even if a segregated group has less power, the reason for its segregation is not always that it is directly forced into segregation by a powerful group. Segregation also often seems to be a socio-political protection mechanism for avoiding being dominated by a stronger group. This is especially the case if segregation is related to ethnic identity.

8.2 Assimilation

On a collective level, **assimilation** corresponds to an individual giving up and communicating on the other party's conditions. A dominant group's pressure on a group with less power does not need to be expressed in expulsion and/or segregation. It can also be expressed in attempts toward assimilation, that is, an attempt to get the group to disappear by handling it in such a way that it becomes dispersed within the dominant group. This has been the primary political direction in Anglo-Saxon-dominated countries of immigration. It has also been a strong political tendency in both the Soviet Union and Russia.

One of the important steps in assimilation policy is directly oriented toward linguistic communication. The group to be assimilated is forbidden to use its language or attempts are made in some other way to ensure that the group cannot do this. Compare the previous prohibition against the Sami and Finnish languages in Swedish schools in Tornedalen or the previous prohibition against Scottish-Gaelic in Scotland.

8.3 Dominance by a third party

We saw on the individual level that one solution to the problem of understanding in intercultural communication is to use a third power, either a language that is foreign to both the communicating parties or a third person—an interpreter or a translator who conveys the contact.

Both these ways of handling problems of understanding can be found on a collective level. The first way probably represents the most common type of intercultural communication in the world today. The communicating parties must use a language that neither of them has mastered sufficiently, such as English. Through the difficulty of attempting to master a third culture's way of thinking and speaking that is foreign to them both, they are forced to add to the difficulties in understanding that might already exist between them because of differences between their respective background cultures. That which is said must now be interpreted not only with

consideration to the background of the speaker but also with consideration to the values and norms of the third, imported culture.

In addition to the relatively obvious negative consequences of using a third language, that is, the greater risks of misunderstanding, there are probably also positive effects such as an equalization of power. Both parties have difficulties and may therefore take a flexible position where certain of the opposing party's mistakes are excused and where there is greater awareness of the risk of misunderstanding and therefore also greater caution in reacting and acting based on what you have understood. These effects are probably canceled if representatives of the culture whose language is being used, participate as equal discussion partners and may well be replaced by a greater normative focus on the culture whose language is used, which results partly in a greater fear of saying the wrong things (prestige and losing power) and perhaps also in a pressure to consider a greater number of relevant factors. If this analysis is correct, it should then be simpler for Japanese people and Swedish people to carry on bilateral negotiations in English than to carry on trilateral negotiations with participants who have English as their first language. This consequence is probably most clear when there exist conflicts of interest between all three parties but might disappear to some extent if the English-speaking party altruistically puts its language abilities at the disposal of the others.

The language used as the third language in intercultural communication is largely dependent upon political and economic relations of dominance. The groups that have the most money and guns usually succeed in getting others to use their language. Important world languages like—Latin, French, Russian, Spanish, and English—have all initially been based on economic and political dominance. Despite the weakening of the economic and political bases of the Romans and the French, Latin and French have managed to have a more lasting dominance owing to their use in international organizations such as the Catholic church (Latin), the postal services, and the diplomatic corps (French).

Unfortunately, none of the artificial natural languages (as opposed to artificial non-natural languages like computer languages) that have a more idealistic basis, such as Esperanto, Neo, or Ido, have become sufficiently widespread to offer an alternative on the international level. This would probably require a connection based on political power. A first step might be achieved if international organizations such as the U.N. started to use one of these languages. The advantages of the use a non-national state-based third language for intercultural communication could be significant with a considerable effect toward equalizing power and more flexibility, caution, and patience in interpretation, at least initially.

A further problem is that probably none of the present artificial natural languages would be optimal as a global auxiliary language. To serve this purpose, the language should be neutral in relation to the main language groups in the world. This requirement would not be met by, for example, Esperanto, which is completely based on Indo-European languages. In the same way, the language should be neutral in the question of what demands are placed on cultural pre-understanding to use the language. None of the presently existing languages meet this requirement.

The practice of including a third party through the use of interpreters can also be found on a collective level. Certain groups of people have relatively often during the course of history created a role for themselves to their advantage as negotiators of contacts between other groups of people, such as the Phoenicians, Jews, the Hanseatic League or the Venetians. These groups have, exactly as some interpreters, sometimes been able to wield a considerable amount of power through their central role in contact and communication.

8.4 Pluralism and integration

Pluralism and integration correlate on a collective level with the individual-level communication phenomena of code-switching and code mixing.

Pluralism usually calls to mind a pattern in which different groups are given the possibility, and perhaps a certain support, to maintain their distinctive characters without the coercive and defense mechanisms usually associated with segregation or assimilation. On a group level, pluralism can be multilateral, that is, it may equally apply to several different groups. However, in many states, it is more what may perhaps be called "centripetal bilateral" (centripetal force = force pressing from the periphery toward the center). This occurs when there is one majority group in a country and a number of minority groups and the members of the minority groups receive certain support to have freedom of choice between his/her group and the majority group. However, they do not receive support for having freedom of choice between their own and other minority groups, and the members of the majority group do not receive support enabling freedom of choice between the majority culture and one or a number of the minority cultures. The Swedish immigration policy of today, just as traditional US immigration policy, can be said to aim at just this kind of centripetal bilateral pluralism. There is hardly any corresponding centrifugal (centrifugal force = force from the center toward the periphery) bilateral pluralism in Sweden, as the members of the majority group neither receive support for nor try on their own (to any great extent) to become acquainted with the cultures of any of the minority groups.

International organization today mostly adheres to multilateral pluralism, at least regarding five to ten strong nations. That is, representatives of these nations speak their languages and have interpreters translate what others are saying into their languages. Under the condition that an acceptable ideally based artificial natural language could be developed and accepted as the language of these organizations, it would probably be desirable to complement this multilateral pluralistic system with a centripetal, bilateral pluralistic system based on this language. If this were so, it would be possible to utilize the advantages that direct communication gives in combination with the equalization of power.

Pluralism and **multiculturalism** are often associated with **integration** which is the case when the exclusive features of different groups start to dissolve and new groups develop which in their culture, mix new and old features. Internationally, integration processes of this type are unusual because they require equality between the integrating parties. The more unequal the situation, the more integration will resemble assimilation. A common case might be labeled "asymmetric integration" where members of one group while maintaining their own culture, to varying extents also become competent in another culture, whose members, however, only stay competitive in their own culture. We can imagine a scale where one extreme is the assimilation of one group into another with a total loss of their culture—total assimilation—and the other extreme is the entering of both groups into a new integrated unit in which the resulting culture contains features of both the previous cultures.

9. Can any of the problems of intercultural communication be avoided?

To investigate whether it is possible to avoid any of the problems of intercultural communication, it is suitable to start with the communication situation itself and analyze why misunderstanding and conflict arise. If you do this, you find that it

should be possible to put in preventive measures related to the factors which according to the analysis given above lie behind the problems that can arise. As most of these actions are found to require education and training, they will be goals for education in intercultural communication since if we can speak the language, we can learn from people from another cultural background than our own.

9.1 Awareness and insight into differences between cultures and communication patterns

Since the basic difficulty in intercultural communication is the differences that exist between the producer's and recipient's cultural backgrounds and ways of communicating, a first action to reduce the risks of misunderstanding would be to gather good insight into the differences and similarities that exist. Although differences between cultural and communication patterns are in focus, similarities should not be ignored as they form a general human base that can be used to solve some of the difficulties in intercultural communication.

As the road to insight for many people goes through education and training, the first goal for education in intercultural communication is to give:

1. Overall information about how cultural patterns can be similar and different. This type of information is meant to give a general preparation for what can happen in intercultural communication and should include as many as possible of the points named above.

2. Specific information about the characteristics of a particular culture. This type of information is necessary as a complement to the first type for a person who will have contact with people from the culture in question.

9.2 Flexible attitudes toward differences in culture and communication patterns

As emotion and will are so closely connected with the process of understanding, no education in intercultural communication should ignore these factors. If there is no empathy and desire to adapt to the other party, better insight into the differences between cultural patterns will not necessarily lead to better understanding. There are several studies that show that more information does not always positively influence negative attitudes and biases. See example [31] which is a report from a Swedish parliamentary committee on discrimination. In some way, feeling and desires must also be influenced.

This requires experience that leads to greater empathy for other cultural patterns and for the difficulties experienced by those who are trying to come closer to your cultural patterns. For this to happen through education, the studies need to include methods that can appeal to emotion, desire, and action. One such method is role play. It would be very valuable to try to develop role play as an aid in teaching intercultural communication. Another type of education that seems to increase empathy and understanding is the teaching of co-existence found in international children's camps and international work camps. A third type of experience that points in this direction is international exchange programs for students, for example, AFS, Rotary, Lions, ERASMUS, SOCRATES, People to People, and Nord Plus.

One feature of the ability to adapt to other people's cultural patterns is the ability to form a common social identity with the person with whom one is speaking. We are

both fathers, teachers, businessmen, or interested in stamps. Keeping in mind that there are many more possible foci of identity than national or ethnic identity will very likely facilitate mutual adaptation and understanding. This is probably not the case if we neglect similarities and focus on the potential differences that can surface when the emphasis is on national or ethnic identity.

9.3 Ability and skill

The most far-reaching goal of intercultural education is to give people the ability and skill to live in other cultures and exercise other communication patterns. For this type of education, training in the language of the new culture is clearly of the greatest importance. Training and education in a foreign language is education in intercultural communication since we can speak the language, and we learn with people from another cultural background than our own.

To serve as an effective instrument for intercultural communication, language instruction must place greater importance on how a language is tied to a cultural pattern. Beyond traditional written language instruction, much greater consideration must be given to the conditions for understanding, that is, what sort of preunderstanding is normally required among large groups of people in a culture. Greater consideration should also be given to factors that are decisive in face-to-face interaction, such as body communication, intonation, feedback, and turn-taking.

Language instruction that contains more of these components would have the possibility much more so than is the case today to be a support for the individual who gradually with the help of the learned language will begin some type of intercultural communication.

10. Concluding remarks

In a world increasingly characterized by contact over national and ethnic boundaries, we have no choice, for the foreseeable future, but to communicate interculturally. This paper, therefore, presents an overview of a model for intercultural communication which hopefully might be useful both for continued research and practical training. The model stresses, for example, the following features which are less common in other accounts:

1. The model is open to the fact that there are similarities as well as differences between people across cultures and that this greatly facilitates communication.

2. There is an emphasis on actual communicative behavior, which is mostly linguistic, rather than merely on common attitudes and values which are the focus in most other accounts, like [1, 2].

3. The model is open to the fact that culture is continuously changing and that all cultural generalizations therefore also need to be updated continuously. It is also open to the fact cultural variation can sometimes be greater within than between a national-ethnic units. In line with this, the model is further open to the fact that other factors than cultural beliefs, attitudes and values can influence communication.

In addition, I have also tried to point to some of the problems and solutions related to intercultural communication. Most of the solutions involve openness and flexibility

and the realization that cultural generalizations, whether they are statistical or merely stereotypical concern a group level and that therefore, in analyzing cases of actual communication, we should always be open to the possibility that the persons analyzed do not conform to the generalizations. The model thus primarily provides a basis that always must be modulated by the circumstances at hand.

Finally, I have tried to link features of the level of individual intercultural interaction with phenomena like assimilation, integration, or segregation which are features of collective multicultural and intercultural social organization.

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Additional information

This paper is a revised and translated version of [32].

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Chapter 11

Masjid Kowloon: A Case Study of Coexistence Culture in Hong Kong

Jacky Chun-Leung Li and Mohd Roslan Mohd Nor

Abstract

Hong Kong is an international city, located in Southern China. It used to be a British colony before 1997. While the British arrived in Hong Kong and developed it as an important seaport in the far East, Islam was believed to have spread in Hong Kong with the arrival of South Asian sailors and soldiers. Islam is not a strange religion to the Hong Kong people; it can be seen in their daily life. In Hong Kong, every people enjoys the right to practice their religion in daily life. However, due to the population structure and cultural homogeneity, people are not really familiar with Islam. Due to the negative footage in the past and an inadequate understanding of Islam, non-Muslims in Hong Kong misunderstood Muslims and caused unnecessary conflicts. The chapter aims to analyze the role of Masjid Kowloon in maintaining religious function and promoting social harmony. The chapter will use historical analysis and textual analysis to show that coexistence culture is possible in the real world, together with the analysis of prerequisites to achieving a harmonic coexistence culture in society.

Keywords: multiculturalism, Islam, Hong Kong, Masjid Kowloon, social diversities

1. Introduction

Hong Kong is an international business city and is located in Southern China. At first, Hong Kong used to be a famous strategic port before its opening in 1840, which can be found in history books since the Tang dynasty, but it was not called Hong Kong, rather it used the local town names. Hong Kong was first used as a formal name after the arrival of the British.

Following the Opium War, Hong Kong became a British colony, and later Kowloon, new territories were added to the ruling area of the British colony, which was based on Hong Kong island. This is the current definition of Hong Kong.

This chapter aims to analyze the role of Masjid Kowloon in maintaining religious function and promoting social harmony as a case study of multiculturalism. This chapter will also give the prerequisites to achieving a diversified culture in a city or country. For a long time, Masjid Kowloon has been regarded as a symbol of multiculturalism in Hong Kong, because Muslims are the minority and the religious practices largely differ from those of the local Hong Kong people.

2. Research methodology and literature reviews

The chapter will first discuss the meaning of multiculturalism and then provide the opinions of some important philosophers on multiculturalism. Then, it will use historical analysis and textual analysis to trace the history of Islam in Hong Kong and the construction of Masjid Kowloon. It will be discussed with some examples of the role of religious activities and social connection. In the process of discussion, it can be seen how Masjid Kowloon tries to interact with Hong Kong society, and how the Hong Kong people accept its existence and tolerate it in the real world.

Paul O'Connor is probably the most famous scholar to write a book about Islam in Hong Kong. This book was published by the University of Hong Kong. The book is written in a thematic style, the author chose some important topics about Islam in Hong Kong, such as Oi Kwan Road (Masjid Wan Chai), Chungking Mansion, religious practices, Islamic cuisine in Hong Kong, and cultural identity in Hong Kong. The author wanted to emphasize that Muslims in Hong Kong face not only religious and customary distinctions with non-Muslims, but also invisible discriminations that we cannot detect in our daily life unless we have a thorough understanding of Islam or minorities.

Yang Xingben (楊興本) or Imam Uthman Yang wrote a book called "Understanding Islam" (了解伊斯蘭/Taarif Al-Islam), which is a Chinese book about Islam in Hong Kong. Uthman Yang is a well-known iman in Hong Kong and is sometimes interviewed by the news and social media. It briefly introduces the rise of Islam and its spread in Hong Kong, the religious concepts of Islam, and the Islamic culture in Hong Kong, including Islamic food, clothing, seni visual, calligraphy, and science.

3. Multiculturalism and its prerequisites

So, what is multiculturalism? Why is it very important to our society? Can we say that the emergence of multiculturalism is to guarantee social equality for different races? Multiculturalism is a new idea that emerged after the two world wars, especially in the 1970s and 1980s. Humans witnessed the catastrophic wars and negative impacts of autocratic rules, so they started to wonder if it was possible to construct a barrier-free society.

Some famous scholars, such as Vernon Van Dyke, Will Kymlicka, Joseph Raz, Charles Taylor, Avashai Margalit, and Iris Marion Young, suggested and interpreted the theory of multiculturalism respectively in the twentieth century. They are based on the importance of individualism, freedom of society, interaction among humans, cultural equality, and autonomy [1]. In sum, the existence of multiculturalism is based on the struggle for liberalism and the identification of group-differentiated rights, which purpose is to make life better [2].

It is impossible to see cultural homogeneity in a normal society because humans are highly mobile genesis in the world. Humans want to get a better life for their family or the next generations and thus move to other places. Historically, every civilization was also built with this important social feature—high population mobility and then the formation of multiculturalism.

If nondominant groups want to stay in society, one of the important things is to gain social recognition (and even tolerance and acceptance) in this society, at least they can obtain political approval to continue their personal life in this society.

As Charles Taylor in his chapter said, this kind of ethnic recognition consists of the demand for dignity and honor among the specific group in society. The minority

usually spends a long time struggling for the right of abode, which is a type of political recognition of the emergence of multiculturalism—this consists of the consideration of morality during the process of decision-making [3].

So, multiculturalism is not only a term for people to practice in daily life, like mutual respect and appreciation. The emergence of multiculturalism in society must have experienced mutual suspension and understanding, which consists of political and economic distribution, and then developed into a unique cultural landscape in a society, together with the guarantee of the constitution.

However, it is questionable whether people will follow this social value, as the guarantee of the constitution is a different matter from the practice in daily life and teaching in schools. In this case, some famous philosophers in Europe, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Montesquieu, tried to explore how people live with dignity and honor in the real world as they wanted to break through the hierarchical society [4] and then developed famous political theories that are still being practiced in the modern world, especially in democratic countries like the West. Continuous change in society is an eternal existence in our world.

Thus, a society characterized by mature ethnic understanding and all-time-ready tolerance is indispensable in achieving multiculturalism in the real world. Meanwhile, the minority should be sure to get their own identity and survive in the living place. This "identity" includes ethnicity, race, gender, religion, and sexuality without confusion [5]. At least the society is well-prepared for the arrival and tolerance of nonlocal residents and tourists. In the economic aspect, a tolerant and diverse society can attract tourists and investors, which can help boost the economy.

4. Islam in Hong Kong

In fact, Masjid Kowloon is not the first mosque in Hong Kong, Paul O'Connor in his book said that Jamia Mosque (or Shelley Street Mosque, Jamia means the Muslims congregate to pray, the name is the same word and meaning as Jamek Mosque in Kuala Lumpur) was the first mosque in Hong Kong [6], but the government document showed that the first mosque was not Jamia Mosque. The first mosque was built in 1849, just 9 years after Hong Kong Island became a British colony. A designated area (at upper and lower Lascar Row in Sheung Wan, Lascar is Laskar in Urdu and Askar in Arabic, which means soldier) [7] was leased for the Indian Muslims to perform Friday prayers.

Due to the increasing number of Muslims, they needed to find a suitable and comfortable place for Muslims to perform Friday prayers. Then, the Jamie Mosque was built in 1890. In other words, the construction of Jamie Mosque on Shelley Street witnessed the spread of Islam in Hong Kong and the early arrival of Indian Muslims.

Additionally, the theory of explaining the spread of Islam in Southeast Asia could to some extent also be applied to the arrival of Islam in Hong Kong. Traditionally, the scholars will suggest Arabia, India, China, and Champa [8, 9], which are quite popular in history textbooks in Malaysia and Indonesia. This is because the trading routes of Arabs and Persians are usually located in these areas. Similar routes were taken by the Europeans after the rise of colonial powers in the eighteenth century.

However, the differences between Hong Kong and the Malay archipelago are: the local Hong Kong culture is a dominant stream and thus difficult to Islamize, but the Malay archipelago is a maritime civilization and thus easily accepts Islamization. Anyway, the theory of explaining the spread of Islam in the Malay archipelago is still a referable one to explain the arrival of Islam in Hong Kong.

According to the research done by Clara Chan, who is a graduate student at the University of Hong Kong, she traced the arrival of Muslims in the past half-century. At first, the Muslims mainly came from Pakistan and India due to British rule [10]. At the same time, the Civil War in China also brought some Chinese Muslims to Hong Kong, most of them were Hui people from Guangxi, Yunnan, or Shanghai [11]. Pamela Peck Wan Kam is one of the famous Hui people in Hong Kong. She is the descendant of the Hui people who fled to Hong Kong after the outbreak of the Civil War in 1945–1949—a distant relative of General Omar Bai Chong-xi in Taiwan.

With improving transportation, the Muslims were not only from Pakistan and India but also from Persia, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia, due to unstable politics and seeking economic opportunities in Hong Kong, because Hong Kong was gradually becoming a prosperous financial city around the 1970s. In the 1980s, Hong Kong upgraded to an international city, and the income of every household increased, they had a demand to employ a house helper to take care of their infants or elder parents, thus there were some Indonesians in Hong Kong around the 1980s. In the 1990s, Hong Kong's economic influence spread to African countries, so it is easy to find Africans in Hong Kong, including Nigerians and Ghanaians [12].

5. Construction of Masjid Kowloon

The full name of Masjid Kowloon is Kowloon Mosque and Islamic Center (九龍清真寺暨伊斯蘭中心/Masjid Kowloon wa Al-Markaz Al-Islami). The name reflects that

Figure 1.
After the commercialization of Kowloon by the Hong Kong government together with the construction of Tsim Sha Tsui station, masjid Kowloon is now located in the central business district. (source: Masjid Kowloon, Tsimshatsui, Hong Kong, the photo is provided by author's friend).

it is not solely for Muslims to pray at the mosque or celebrate Islamic festivals, but also for social connection and cultural exchange with non-Muslims. Hong Kong needs to connect with the Islamic world despite the fact that it is not an Islamic city. It was built in 1898, and it was innovated as the present-day image in 1982.

Masjid Kowloon is located at Tsim Sha Tsui, it aimed to accommodate the Indian Muslims to perform Friday prayers at first. The site was leased to the Incorporated Trustees of the Islamic Community Fund of Hong Kong (香港回教信托基金總會/ Majlis Al-Amma' Muward Jaliyat Hong Kong, the board center is located at Wan Chai Mosque) in 1972 [13]. After the commercialization of Kowloon by the Hong Kong government together with the construction of Tsim Sha Tsui station, Masjid Kowloon is now located in the central business district. **Figure 1** shows that Masjid Kowloon was built in Tsimshatsui and is now accommodating thousands of prayers to perform praying at there.

6. Islamic activities inside Masjid Kowloon

Masjid Kowloon accommodates about 3500–4000 worshippers to perform prayers at the mosque, which is the largest mosque in Hong Kong [14], but it is far from fulfilling all of the Muslims in Hong Kong. It is estimated 300,000 Muslims in Hong Kong, they are Indonesians, Chinese, Pakistanis, Malaysians, and people from Islamic countries [15]. The Muslims in Hong Kong are satisfied with it despite their wish to have a bigger mosque for performing prayers, at least they can enjoy the right of performing religious rituals at the mosque. This opinion could be reflected by demanding to build more mosques in Tung Chung, Yau Ma Tei, and Sheung Shui. Unfortunately, only Masjid Tung Chung (Masjid Ismail) was successfully built in Tung Chung, and Masjid Ibrahim (in Yau Ma Tei) was said to be temporarily serving the peripheral Muslims.

In the past few decades, Masjid Kowloon held many times fasting during Ramadhan, celebrating Eid Al-Fitr and Eid-Al-Adha. They also provided prayer times every day, so that the worshippers could pray at the correct time. They also provide religious lessons for Muslim children to continue the Islamic tradition in these Muslim families. To fulfill the knowledge of Islam, there is a library inside the mosque. The mosque mainly provides English, Arabic, and Urdu as mediums of instruction [16] because the mosque is located near the Pakistani community. The Pakistanis in Hong Kong usually live in Kowloon for a higher salary and cheaper transportation costs. So, the Urdu words can be found in Masjid Kowloon, together with Chinese and English words. Sometimes the Indonesian workers go there to pray, but they usually go to Wan Chai Mosque (Ammar Mosque and Osman Ramju Sadick Islamic Center) as they provide Bahasa Indonesia.

7. Around Masjid Kowloon

After the commercialization of Tsim Sha Tsui, a lot of business shops and buildings were located around it. The construction of Tsim Sha Tsui station provides accessible transportation from all directions. Thus, Muslims can go to Masjid Kowloon for praying and can buy Halal food here.

A 17-storey Chungking Mansion (重慶大廈) is probably the most diversified culturally in Hong Kong, it is home to a lot of Muslims and non-Hong Kong people [17]. It is said to be one of the landmarks of globalization in Hong Kong [18]. You can find

the Islamic canteens and business activities here. Some Muslims choose to live here because of the religious practice, as Chungking Mansion is located just 300 meters away from Masjid Kowloon. You can also buy some food from the Halal meat stall at Haiphong Road Temporary Market, which is behind the mosque. Some Pakistanis and Indians set up shops here to serve Muslims. Foreign asylum seekers are also living here to get a sense of security from their hometowns. Some non-Muslim shops opened around them, which shows mutual tolerance and respect in Hong Kong.

In the past, as a lot of crimes happened at Chungking Mansion, and minorities, such as Indians, Pakistanis, and Africans, were really living at Chungking Mansion, thus some negative labels or comments were linked with them, including the Muslims. This also brought challenges to Masjid Kowloon in trying to clarify the differences between Islam and negative comments. Later, Chungking Mansions installed over 400 surveillance cameras to guarantee the safety of tourists, visitors, owners, tenants, and asylum seekers [19].

8. Highlight the reasons misunderstanding of Islam in Hong Kong

Islam as a religious minority in Hong Kong enjoys its right to continue religious activities. It is guaranteed by the Hong Kong government constitutionally and is widely tolerated by the Hong Kong people, so they are all-time-ready to share and interact with society. However, they are still facing some challenges.

The messiest challenge in the last two decades has been the negative labels placed on Muslims as a result of negative reports about extremism and terrorism [20]. The Muslims tried hard to improve the religious images but the achievement was unfavorable. Indeed, Islam is not a major religion in Hong Kong, so the schools think that they do not have to teach the students about Islam or the importance of ethnic harmony due to semi-homogeneity in cultural structure.

Hong Kong Chinese have the most proportional dominance in Hong Kong, thus traditional Chinese culture would be the dominant culture [21]. Polytheism is very common in traditional Chinese culture, like the worship of nature or unexplainable phenomena in daily life. Daoism and Buddhism are the major religions among Hong Kong Chinese. They would not classify the legality of food and behavior carefully because it does not exist in traditional religions, instead, they would rely on their common sense, personal understandings, or preferences. In contrast, Muslims follow monotheism in daily life, and the prohibition of polytheism was mentioned in Al-Quran and Al-Hadith.

Living in a Hong Kong Chinese-homogenized society would be stressful for Muslims, they must find halal food in supermarkets or restaurants based on their understanding of Islam. It is quite difficult to find halal restaurants in Hong Kong because the halal restaurants are not enough to accommodate Muslims and their locations are dispersed [22]. Sometimes Hong Kong Chinese do not understand why they continue to practice Islam in daily life even though they live in twenty-first century with us and commented them as a conservative group, unnecessary rivalries would inevitably happen in daily life.

The crisis of minorities' space is also becoming more sensitive in recent years. While the Hong Kong people are being asked to continue practicing local values, Hong Kong Muslims—especially non-Chinese Muslims are caught between upholding Islamic customs and recognizing (or even integrating) local values. This also involved the loyalty and integration of Hong Kong society that has been a long-standing concern, and not surprisingly brought difficulties in employment and interpersonal relations.

Those who are unable to integrate with Hong Kong values will most likely be marginalized in society, including concerns over their religious practices and privileges, despite Muslims being legally guaranteed religious freedom. So, it is enough for them to maintain life (including religious practice, and as important as—the cultural identities) in Hong Kong and they do not dare to think more in the real world.

Misunderstanding about Muslims also hampered cultural exchanges between Muslims and non-Muslims. This could be explained by social media misinterpretation. In the past, especially after the 911 terror attacks, Muslims became a social target. The emergence of Islamophobia is a good example to show this phenomenon. The public defames them as the source of global instability because they regard the news as their source of information without critical thinking and discuss it with their echo chambers. If they get recognition from their echo chambers and do not seek alternative information, they will believe that these opinions have already become the dominant consensus and will reject to receive new knowledge. Fortunately, the stigmatization of Muslims in Hong Kong is not as serious as it is in Europe and America. In this case, Hong Kong residents who have lived in the city for a longer period of time will be more familiar.

Indeed, Hong Kong enjoys a high literacy rate, but it does not mean that the public will be capable of critical reasoning. In Hong Kong, understanding Islam or Islamic teaching is not a compulsory course in primary schools and secondary schools because Hong Kong is a secular city and Islam is not a major religion here. Only Islamic schools, such as Islamic Kasim Tuet Memorial College in Chai Wan and Islamic Dharwood Pau Memorial Primary School, will provide Islamic teaching. It is apparently insufficient for Muslims [23].

Despite the Education Bureau's declaration to add some teaching materials about Islam in the course, such as Liberal Studies or History in secondary schools, and increase the supporting materials for the teachers due to the increasing number of Muslim students in Hong Kong [24], but it is inadequate for non-Muslim students to know the history and culture of Islam. Hong Kong does not have so much Islamic schools, only one secondary school, three primary schools, and three kindergartens. Thus, few people are familiar with Islam, Islamic teaching, and Islamic history. They are difficult to give out a fair and just commentary on the news in the Islamic world.

On the other hand, America's role in affecting the Muslims' hardship is not highly significant. Although Hong Kong people welcome America because of its considerable Christian population and its gradually changing political environment, as well as its indirectly correlated admiration for Israel's success, they seldom use America as a political tool to incite Muslims. Conversely, the role of people in understanding news will be more significant than the so-called American manipulation of Muslims or controversial issues about the Islamic world. Hong Kong is an international city, they respect the emergence of the Muslim community, but the people do not have adequate common sense of Islam or Islamic culture, and sometimes they will misunderstand Islam.

When there is news about terrorism or extremism in the Islamic world, netizens will link it to Muslims and believe they have a full picture of Islam. They did not realize that this was a kind of invisible discrimination and insult. For example, if a non-Muslim makes a verbal insult to Islam, other netizens will make a joke about it, claiming that the Muslims will bomb this person if they notice they are being insulted. Similar verbal insults could be seen on the online forum in Hong Kong, which is unfavorable to social harmony [25]. So, Masjid Kowloon takes an active role in promoting better religious relations.

Masjid Kowloon has long been striving on promoting the relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. They know that they need to take measures to prevent the spread of religious stigmatization. Living as a Muslim in Hong Kong is not an easy way, especially after the 911 terror attacks and the rise and fall of ISIS. It is difficult to stop the stereotype among the people, but they have tried to improve the relations. Here, some examples demonstrated Masjid Kowloon's genuine desire to communicate and interact with society.

The first and deepest impression should be the course of understanding Islam, which was opened for the public to join. At that time, Hong Kong teachers suggested full and comprehensive learning in primary school and secondary school (corresponding to the examination reform in the Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education Examination, or so-called HKDSE, this is the public examination in Hong Kong every Secondary 6 student will attend it after they finish their studies in secondary school). This was Liberal Studies (which was the same as General Studies in foreign countries). The DSE course required the students to learn anything at anytime and anywhere.

Due to this educational background in Hong Kong, Masjid Kowloon has held many times of courses about the understanding of Islam in the last decade. In both elementary [26] and immediate courses [27], Masjid Kowloon will share Islamic concepts, including marriage, food, clothing, religious practices, and human relationships. Among the invited speakers, Mr. Yusuf Yu and Mufti Muhammad Arshad are well-known Muslims in Hong Kong and always share valuable opinions with the public. According to my observation, about 200–300 people attended the course each week. The course also tried hard to clarify the differences between Islam and terrorists at that time.

9. Role of the mosque in improving the understanding of Islam in Hong Kong and its challenges (social and educational activities)

In order to reduce misunderstandings between Muslims and non-Muslims, Masjid Kowloon also holds a guided tour inside the mosque regularly. They have cooperated with the schools to take students there. These students are mostly non-Muslims and are being taught to be responsible and tolerant civilians at that time. Sometimes the mosque will hold a mosque open day for the public to understand more about Islam [28]. **Figure 2** shows that every attendant will receive the certificate at the end of the course if the attendant attends over 80% of the course.

Other than the course about Islam, they also provided a chance for non-Muslims to understand the early Muslims in Hong Kong. In Hong Kong, local guided trips have become popular recently. Moreover, the outbreak of Covid-19 in these 2 years restricted people to travel abroad. Among those locally guided trips, guiding people to visit Muslim cemeteries, such as the Muslim cemetery in Happy Valley (built in 1870)[1] and another one is in Chai Wan, both on Hong Kong island. People can see early Muslim graves in these two cemeteries. Some successful figures can also be seen there, like the mother-in-law of General Omar Bai—Miss Luo Wen-Xiang(駱文驤), who

[1] The Mid-Levels used to have a Muslim cemetery, but it was ruined later. The location is at 25 Park Road Government Quarters today, in front of Euston Court Block 2.The colonial government named it as Mahomedan Cemetery. See [29]. See also [30].

Figure 2.
Masjid Kowloon will hold annual courses for non-Muslims to learn about Islam. If the attendant attends more than 80%, masjid Kowloon will issue the certificate to the attendant. (source is provided by author).

was also the mother of Miss Ma Pei-Zhang (馬佩璋), was buried at Chai Wan Muslim Cemetery (see **Figure 3**).

In 2019, while Masjid Kowloon was sprayed with blue dye from a water cannon truck, a lot of Hong Kong people went to help clean up the mosque voluntarily [31]. In this case, it can be proven that the Hong Kong people understand the importance of mutual respect and tolerance among different religions. This also proves that the social connection and interaction that Masjid Kowloon did before was very successful. After that, the leaders went on to apologize for this mistake and emphasize the importance of ethnic, racial, and religious harmony in society [32]. This could be explained by the advanced information technology, the rise of the "equal Hong Kong people" concept in society, and the increasing number of Islamic studies in Hong Kong. Of course, the Muslims in Hong Kong—regardless of whether they are Pakistanis or Chinese Muslims, will no longer be introverted, they always eager to share their religious culture with other groups.

During the spread of Covid-19 from 2020 to 2022, the world is still encountering the threat of Covid-19. After the invention of the vaccine, the government opens a lot of vaccination centers throughout the city. Masjid Kowloon also participated in this project. They declared to open the vaccination center in March 2022. They said that they considered the religious custom in Islam and encouraged Muslim women to go out for vaccination, which could help increase the vaccination rate. At the same time, they also encouraged non-Muslims to get the vaccination there. This showed that they want to fulfill the duty of civic responsibility because Masjid Kowloon can be continued to tower at Tsim Sha Tsui is not easy history. On the other hand, they want to show their good intentions to society [33].

However, it is difficult to do more to improve relations between Muslims and non-Muslims, as they do not have a Muslim representative in Legislative Council,

Figure 3.
Jeneral Bai Chongxi wrote an inscription on his mother-in-law's tomestone, which is in Chai Wan Muslim cemetery.

this implies that they only struggle for personal life (such as the sharing of the inspirational story) and cultural exchange with non-Muslims, to help maintain social harmony. They cannot take a meaningful steps to maintain relations with non-Muslims and religious harmony through political participation or economic power, as the discourse power of these social projects is dominated by Hong Kong Chinese.

Most trans-ethnic conversations or exchanges should be based on their equal political and economic power to gain visible achievements, otherwise, the achievement will only be limited to sharing inspirational stories or irregular cultural conversations. Non-Muslims' concern for Muslims' well-being will not last long. This is real politics.

10. Conclusion

From the above discussion, we can see that Masjid Kowloon tries hard to continue the Islamic teaching among Muslims, especially in this international financial city,

where the religious role is not heavier than other matters in society if we compare with the Islamic countries. It is imaginable and understandable to say that it is not easy to find a living space in Hong Kong. At the same time, they sensed that they are not alone in society, they are part of Hong Kong and they are willing to share their religious practices, history, and culture with non-Muslims. Hong Kong people are now gradually accepting their existence in Hong Kong, they understand the uniqueness of Islamic culture, and some people will call for mutual respect in the real world or on social media. In this case, the coexistence of multiculturalism in Hong Kong is quite successful.

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Chapter 12

Educational Models for Managing Diversity: What's Next?

Evanthia Tsaliki

To those who fight against the odds.

Abstract

Different educational models have been designed and implemented through the passage of time in order to manage diversity in the classroom. These educational models have been categorised as the monocultural educational models, such as the assimilation and integration models, which aim at assimilation and integration, respectively, of minority groups. The multicultural educational models aiming at the promotion of coexistence, tolerance of diversity and interaction of different cultural groups of either minority groups of the majority are also discussed and criticised along with recent educational dimensions of managing diversity such as the critical multicultural and the critical intercultural model.

Keywords: multicultural, intercultural, education, critical, diversity

1. Introduction

In this chapter of the book, a number of educational models that have been designed to address the phenomenon of the coeducation of native and foreign pupils in various countries are presented and discussed. Their presentation follows the approximate chronological order of their appearance. However, it would be misleading to think that they were developed consecutively. They are also presented in such a way as to reveal the evolution of the views and principles regarding the coeducation of pupils belonging to minority and majority groups ranging from the assimilation and integration educational model to multicultural, critical multicultural, anti-racist, bilingual and intercultural education.

More specifically, the theoretical underpinnings of each educational model and their impact on practice are presented and discussed. A critique of the aforementioned educational models and a discussion on the role of the implementation of critical interculturalism—in relation to critical pedagogy in educational practice follows.

The exploration of the meaning of intercultural education——which is the most recent and completed educational model suggested—through and with the reference to the relative preceding educational models constitutes the first step for moving on to its implementation. The term 'intercultural education' is ambiguous. There is not a universally agreed definition of the term [1]. It seems that in some cases the terms

'multicultural' and 'intercultural' do not have discrete limits in terms of meaning [2]. Dealing with this topic in the present chapter will facilitate professional search for the main principles underpinning intercultural education. Intercultural education is a complicated term and the aim of this chapter is not to oversimplify it. Making clear what it means and elucidating its complexities is of great importance because it informs the design of the appropriate teaching strategies for implementing intercultural education. As so, the fact that there has been little in-depth research [3] conducted on the subject has also been taken into account as a factor contributing to the decision to focus on this subject.

1.1 Assimilation model

The assimilation model of education was the very first model presented to solve the problems related to immigrants' education in the host country and it dominated education until the mid-sixties [4]. According to it, all immigrant pupils irrespective of their national and cultural identity need to acquire the knowledge and skills, which will permit them to participate in the society of the host country. Therefore, they have to learn the language of the host country and acquire its culture, too [5, 6].

School will help them learn the national language and culture, which will lead to their assimilation and which in turn will help them to participate equally in the society. The assimilation may vary from cultural, behavioural and social to marital (mixed marriages) and civic [7] through the passage of time. If pupils do not manage to acquire the ethos of the educational system of the host country, they are responsible for their educational inequality and they are excluded so as not to disturb the balance of it [8]. If immigrants want their children to learn the language and the culture of the *country of origin*, this is a personal issue and not an issue for state schools.

The supporters of assimilation believe that the notion of nation and modernisation of the society, and the existence of cultural diversity, are quite opposite. Therefore, the only way to preserve 'nation' is to assimilate the various cultural groups, which will be achieved by them learning the *dominant language* [2].

In terms of school practices foreign pupils are totally immersed in the language and the culture of the host country from the very beginning of their school life. The medium of instruction is the second language and they participate in all aspects of school life related to the culture of the host country, such as national and religious celebrations. They have to acquire the language and the culture of the host country in order to participate in the common national culture.

1.2 The integration model

Towards the end of the 1960s, there was a shift from the assimilation model to the integration model in education due to the disadvantages of the first [2, 8]. Some people support the view that the term 'assimilation' evolved into the term 'integration' [9].

According to the integration model, the cultural elements of immigrants are accepted and respected to the extent they do not threaten the cultural principles of the dominant group [4]. The supporters of the integration model believe that the introduction of immigrants' cultural elements facilitates their integration into the host country. Some cultural elements of immigrants may be taken into account in school programmes. However, they are evaluated according to the cultural norms of

the dominant group [4, 5]. Therefore, nothing is implied about equality of cultures [6]. Foreign pupils may have the chance to be taught their first language and elements of their culture, such as music, customs and celebrations, may be introduced into the curriculum. However, the emphasis is still on the integration of the immigrants into the culture of the host country.

1.3 The multicultural model

The model of multicultural education was actually the first educational model, which focused on cultural pluralism compared to the aforementioned models, which placed an emphasis on an ethnocentric approach in education [10, 11]. According to Watkins [11], multicultural education is a product of social, political, economic and intellectual interests. It first appeared in 1970 in the USA, Europe and Australia [4] in an attempt to describe the multicultural profile of society [12] and to propose how people could respond to it.

According to the literature on multicultural education, the main aim of it is the cultivation of tolerance and respect between people of different cultures leading to their harmonious coexistence [4–6, 13–16]. The advocates of multicultural education believe that all people are unique parts of a whole community irrespective of their cultural background [13]. Therefore, they should develop positive self-concepts [13, 17] and experience equality in schooling [14, 15, 18], which will lead them to academic achievement. Besides, research has shown that the recognition of pupils' cultures improves their school performance [2] and that multiculturally educated persons have more respect for people from other cultures [7] and are not prejudiced towards them [15].

In terms of schooling, there are some suggestions made for the achievement of the main aims of multicultural education. Researchers support the view that pupils should be introduced to other cultures, all pupils' linguistic and cultural experiences should be taken into account [5, 14, 19–22] and their differences should be celebrated. In this sense, cultural differences will be recognised and understood (Lynch, 1989) and pupils' cultural identities will be maintained and reinforced.

Kendall [13] also supports the view that through the application of multicultural education, all pupils will positively experience the similarities and differences of their cultures. However, this exploration of similarities and differences between cultures constitutes more of a principle of intercultural education [2, 4] as will be indicated below, and can be achieved when pupils are engaged in discussions in which they analyse and evaluate different cultures. However, the literature on multicultural education devotes little space to the analysis and evaluation of different cultures [23]. It is obvious that this type of educational model refers both to the education of the minority and majority of pupils [8]. Govaris [24], Lawton and Gordon [25] believe that multicultural education could be applied even when there are no foreign pupils in the school. However, I would like to express my doubts on this point. I am sceptical as to how firmly and deeply the main aims of multicultural education could be achieved in the absence of pupils from diverse cultures.

Various researchers attribute different meanings and dimensions to multicultural education. Some of them adopt a simple form of multicultural education, which focuses on the incorporation of material from other cultures such as music, clothes, foods and festivals [26–28]. This dimension is known as content integration [18].

Other researchers adopt a deeper approach. They believe that pupils should acquire an internal understanding of the differences in cultures by exploring how the

formation of cultural identities is influenced by social, economic and political factors. This dimension is known as knowledge construction [18] and it seems to share some of the main principles of critical *multiculturalism*, as will be analysed below.

Finally, there are a number of researchers who believe in a more radical approach to multicultural education. According to them, the application of multicultural education should aim to develop pupils with more positive antiracial and democratic attitudes by challenging the structures of education and of wider society so that equality could be achieved. This approach is known as prejudice reduction [18, 28] and it seems to be influenced by the principles underpinning the antiracist model in education.

According to Hessari and Hill [27], there are four types of multicultural education in relation to antiracist education. The first type refers to multicultural education, which ignores antiracist education. In the second one, antiracist education is included in multicultural education and in the third one antiracist education incorporates multicultural education. Finally, the fourth type refers to antiracist education, which criticises multicultural education.

The four-fold typology above regarding the relationship between multicultural education and antiracist education reveals the conceptual confusion regarding the meaning and the application of this educational model. Therefore, researchers made an attempt to go beyond it by proposing another educational model known as the critical multicultural model, which makes an attempt to cover the conceptual deficiencies of this model. The critical multicultural model is analysed below.

At this point, it has to be mentioned that there is another type of education called multiethnic education. This type of education focuses more on ethnic minority studies [7] compared to multicultural education, which puts an emphasis on all cultures.

1.4 Antiracist model

The antiracist educational model was developed principally in the eighties in England and the USA [4, 5]. The idea of antiracism was developed as an attempt to combat racism in school and in the wider society. The advocates of the antiracist model support the view that racism exists in the structures of the society and it extends into other fields such as education. The antiracist model emphasises the changing of the structures of the society by applying stronger laws. This changing of structures should also be applied in education [6].

Another idea, which is strongly connected with antiracist education, is institutional racism. Institutional racism is applied when society's institutions operate to the advantage of the majority [8, 28, 29]. Therefore, two more of the main aims of antiracist education are not only equality for all children in education but also justice for all through equal opportunities of life, development and participation in the society as well as liberation from racist models [2, 4]. The whole educational system and school curricula should change in such a way so that they can guarantee that all pupils have equal chances to participate in the school process and succeed academically irrespective of their colour and their social class.

It is also mentioned that antiracist education was a radical departure from multicultural education [28]. Multicultural education emphasises the social and cultural aspects, which may promote racism by concentrating on pluralism and cultural diversity. However, the issue of racism is also influenced by structural, economic, class and political factors [27], which have to be combated according to the principles of antiracist education.

Therefore, there was another educational approach suggested in order to tackle racism by controlling social, cultural and structural, class, economic and political factors. The multicultural antiracist model was suggested because it was thought that each one of the approaches alone, that is multicultural education and antiracist education, was inadequate and that their combination could lead to better educational results [27, 28]. According to Grinter (1985), as cited in Palaiologou and Evaggelou [15], antiracist multicultural education was conceived as a solution to bridge the gap between multicultural and antiracist education.

1.5 Critical multicultural model

The critical multicultural model is not a widely accepted educational model of multiculturalism, but it has been referenced as 'critical multiculturalism' in the research literature.

In critical multiculturalism, culture has to be placed in the wider sociopolitical context in order to be understood. Critical multiculturalism accepts that the concept of culture is dynamic and fluid. Thus identities are constructed and reconstructed through the passage of time. It also accepts that there are different types of diversity except the ethno-cultural diversity. Therefore, all pupils need to engage critically with cultural identities in order to explore how they were constructed and reconstructed; how they are interconnected across the historical, political and social contexts; and how factors such as race, class and gender intersect and shape one's identity [30–33]. According to critical multiculturalism, issues of racism, disadvantage and inequality have to be addressed so that everyone can understand how power is exercised over some people and guides or modifies their behaviour, and thus, how power relations are established [30, 32].

One of the principles of critical multicultural education is that both teachers and pupils are able to produce knowledge by examining and questioning the different cultural identities through dialogue instead of simply getting to know the different cultures without using their critical thinking [34]. Both teachers and pupils are able to challenge the existing construction of school knowledge by daring to deal with issues they may not feel comfortable with and by recognising the contribution of minorities, women, working people and other groups of people considered to be subordinate in the formation and evolvement of one's cultural identity and of knowledge in general [34, 35]. Critical multiculturalists believe that the knowledge we consider official and valid has not been produced in a neutral manner and that there are other forms of knowledge which have not been included in the official curriculum for some reasons. For example, in a critical multicultural curriculum in mathematics teachers and students could explore how different cultural groups define 'logic'. In this context, teachers and students need to consider and analyse what they know and how it is constructed, what they do not know and why [30]. However, nothing specific is mentioned regarding the practical implications of this model in school.

1.6 Intercultural model

The educational models discussed so far all have limitations. I am now going to discuss the intercultural model, which is closer to my research position for a number of reasons.

First of all, the intercultural model takes theory forward, because it suggests that the coexistence of different cultural groups is not enough to achieve mutual

understanding and communication. More importantly, interaction is needed to achieve this. Secondly, intercultural education demonstrates that the cultural identity is not static but always changeable [36]. This is true if we consider that we live in a multicultural society whose members belong to different ethnic, religious and cultural groups, which may interact and be mutually affected. It also deserves to be mentioned that according to intercultural education, people of diverse cultural groups may have differences, but they also have similarities. They may also share the same experiences, which deserve to be explored so that people can understand that they are not so different from others. These are some of the main principles underpinning intercultural education with which I identify myself.

Intercultural education appeared in the 1960s in the official educational policy of the USA and a few years later in Canada. In Europe, it appeared in the mid-1970s [5, 37] and it has evolved since then [38]. This educational model stemmed from the actual necessity of providing education to a large number of minority groups [37, 39]. According to Kotsionis [40], Katsikas and Politou [8], intercultural education developed from the deficiency of the previous educational models to integrate immigrants effectively. More recently, intercultural education has harmonised with the ideology of those people who through international organisations such as UNESCO aim at increasing the collaboration and respect between people in a broad field [41].

A number of researchers have expressed their views regarding the meaning and the aims of intercultural education. Some of them converge, whereas others are more extensive. In this subchapter, an attempt will be made for all views to be presented. The first component of the word 'intercultural' means 'between'. The term 'intercultural' implies a dynamic and active process of interaction between cultures, which involves learning from each other across cultural boundaries [42–44].

Intercultural education refers both to native and foreign pupils [45], it takes into account all pupils' experiences, it views them as of equal value [46] and its influence is positive for all children [2]. It has implications in all aspects of both schools attended by children from a variety of cultural and ethnic backgrounds and of 'monocultural' schools [46, 47] since these children need to be prepared to live in a multicultural society and it also applies in the wider society such as media, local communities and organisations [41, 48–51].

The implementation of intercultural education aims at cultivating tolerance, acceptance and appreciation between people from different cultures; understanding of each other's problems regardless of their cultural background; and empathy and respect[1] through being open to other cultures [55–58].

It prepares individuals to participate in a democratic, multicultural society. It prepares them to be able to deal effectively with their intergroup relations [38, 59] and to be sensitive to and resolve issues emerging from intergroup relations [60], as interpersonal relationships constitute a priority for living in a peaceful environment. It also encourages them to develop their critical thinking regarding the ideological use of culture [47, 51, 60]. Interpersonal relationships are a priority for living in a peaceful multicultural society [61].

Intercultural education is an educational model, which constitutes a way to achieve the aforementioned aims [50]. Therefore, there are a number of principles underpinning this model. First of all, intercultural education is based on the principle that all

[1] There are cases in which intercultural education deals with issues which other fields of education refer to [52]. For instance, respect is an essential concept common in peace education [53] as well as in human rights education [54].

cultures are equal [62–65]. There are people who tend to favour some cultures because they adjust to theirs and disregard others because they maintain traditions different from their own [66]. According to intercultural education, there are no 'good cultures' and 'bad cultures'. Individuals should develop the skills to respond to people from different cultures in a non-judgemental and evaluative way and try to explore under which circumstances each culture was constructed and by which factors it was affected across time. Consequently, as all cultures are equal, all pupils' cultural capital is equal and all pupils have the right to experience educational equity [7, 47, 67]. Therefore, teachers are responsible for creating opportunities in the classroom for all pupils to communicate by using elements of their cultural background [47].

At this point, it should be mentioned that on the basis of the equality of cultures, intercultural education denies the superiority of European civilisation [39]. European culture is constructed by criteria belonging to the European tradition [66] and is not universally accepted criteria. Therefore, it leads to eurocentrism and prevents the implementation of intercultural education, which is based on the premise that all cultures are equal. According to Kaldi [41], European education has to adopt a more intercultural approach, which will lend it to more humanistic, global and pedagogical aspects [8, 40].

Another principle underpinning intercultural education is the dynamics of culture. Culture is not static but it constantly evolves and changes [57]. Individuals come in contact with other people who have different cultural identities and they also receive incentives from mass media on a daily basis. It is natural to deny some of these incentives and to accept others of those to incorporate them into their cultural identity. In this sense, there is no cultural identity which is static across time. On the contrary, the dynamics of each cultural identity is a natural consequence of individuals' continuous contact and communication and it also helps the evolution of the society [62]. In Damanakis's [63] and Kotsionis's [40] opinion, intercultural education also accepts the so-called '*intermediate culture*', which is developed on the basis of pupils' cultural heritage (*enculturation*) and the influences they accept from the cultural environment of the host country (*acculturation*). Intermediate culture constitutes part of the process of the evolvement of a cultural identity. Besides, intercultural education cannot be implemented in real terms unless learners' societal context is taken into account, understood and appraised [68–70].

Nikolaou [4], Georgogiannis [5], Pantazi [71], Papas [6], Androussou [37] and Damanakis [63] suggest that intercultural education assumes the overcoming of the idea of the 'nation-state' and the elimination of stereotypes and prejudice towards people coming from different cultural backgrounds. More specifically, it demands the changing of teachers' personal attitudes towards foreign pupils (Taba 1945 as cited by [60]). According to Vinsonneau [72], stereotypes can change when people are keen to change their established opinions, their emotional predispositions towards certain groups of people and the conditions of the reception of the new information. How is this going to be achieved?

The advocates of intercultural education suggest a number of ways through which this can be achieved in school. School must be the place where all pupils' cultures are going to meet each other and be negotiated [42, 71, 73]. The key elements of this meeting and negotiation are the exploration of similarities and differences between cultures [51, 74], and the exchange of ideas and symbols of other cultural systems [75, 76], so that pupils can understand that cultures may be different at some points but at the same time they can be similar at other points. Robinson [77] shares the same view by saying that people perceive different people more similarly when they

focus on the similarities beneath the differences. They realise that they have some common principles, which unite them without having to lose their cultural identity [6]. As Perroti [78] claimed it is possible for pupils to become experts on one or more cultures when they study them at school, but that does not guarantee that they will develop understanding and empathy towards culturally different people. This may be achieved only when they explore their similarities and differences. Karhonen and Helenius [44] and Kontogianni [48] add that a culture is better understood when one has been exposed to another culture.

This dynamic interaction between cultures [79] has to be continuous to lead to cultural interchange and enrichment, as the Council of Europe addresses [73], as well as to interdependence, which is positive towards successful cooperation [72]. Besides, when a person is in contact with other cultures, he or she learns to appreciate them, creates friendly relationships with different people, and becomes a cooperative and creative member of the society [80]. As Fennes and Hapgood [79] indicate, through intercultural learning, people will achieve greater openness to and appreciation of other cultures. They will also develop intercultural/cross-cultural communication skills by developing greater empathy and flexibility towards other persons [81].

Every child and the recognition of her/his cultural identity are at the centre of intercultural education [51]. Intercultural education starts with the knowledge and the skills pupils already have [47] and supports their cultural and linguistic incorporation [63]. More specifically, there are some researchers who demand the legal introduction of foreign people's language and culture in the host country [63] and in the school, as a consequence, within the framework of intercultural education, so as to ensure that all children will be empowered at school, as Cummins [82] denotes. When the differentiation (national, religious and linguistic) of pupils is accepted, recognised, utilised and not perceived as deficiency, then power and status relations between minority and majority groups will disappear and coercive relations between pupils will change to collaborative relations [82].

There are various approaches with reference to intercultural education in Greece according to Damanakis [83] as cited in Spiridakis [84]. In synopsis, the main approaches are four. The first one, the well-disposed-naïve approach, focuses on the defence of people belonging to other groups. This approach reminds us of the antiracist model and it may be dangerous as no one can raise the problems better than the people who experience them. The *a priori* and preservable difference constitute the second approach according to which different types of education should be offered to different groups of people in order to preserve their differences. However, this kind of education may lead to ghettoisation. It also supports the maintenance of differences without emphasising the necessity of cultural exchange. This point of view reminds us of the multicultural model.

As for the third approach, the ego- and ethnocentric difference, its advocates analyse and understand peoples' differences without retreating from their personal and ethnocentric criteria. This way of thinking resembles the principles underpinning the integration model. Finally, the approach of relative difference claims that principles are relative and suggests that discussion should occur in order to explore the relativism of principles. I would say that this last approach relates more to intercultural pedagogy.

Further to that, in relation to school practices, multicultural education seems to have adopted a more tokenistic point of view compared to intercultural education. For example, in intercultural schools, labels are written in the first languages of all

pupils in the school directing to the exit, the toilets or the dining room of the school would have a practical function, whereas in multicultural schools the same labels or a frame with photographs of all pupils in the school might not serve any practical purpose.

At this point, it should be added that a new dimension–extension I would call it——of interculturalism, that of critical interculturalism, has been proposed and discussed in various research papers [31, 85]. According to this approach, the exploration of similarities and differences among different cultural groups or/and different cultural identities is not enough. Critical thinking facilitates us realising that these cultural differences constitute a different 'reality' and shape different kinds of 'knowledge' for each group and/or person. Thus, the one and only reality and knowledge should not be taken for granted in each society as different experiences, histories and customs construct multiple realities and multiple knowledge. Furthermore, according to critical multiculturalism, otherness is used to reveal the power relations, which are established and lead to the categorisation of people into dominant and subordinate groups [85].

In this sense, it seems that critical intercultural education relates to critical education and critical pedagogy in general as the exploration of similarities and differences, which constitutes one of the main techniques for the implementation of intercultural education [86], may be used as a means to evolve pupils' and students' thoughts. More specifically, through the exploration of similarities and differences, students may problematize why differences between different cultures or even individuals exist and whether those differences relate to power relations that have been established, which in turn the latter perpetuate the former for specific interests and reasons. For example, the exploration of similarities and differences in preservation and violation of human rights between different cultures or individuals within the framework of the implementation of intercultural education could motivate students to think critically about why this happens and reveals existing power relations which cause this situation. According to this example, intercultural education shifts to critical intercultural education, which in turn facilitates the implementation of critical education. I am not claiming that critical interculturalism relates directly to critical pedagogy but they share some principles, such as democracy and the idea of a fairer and better world. These may be achieved by initially realising and accepting diversity, then questioning its roots and finally utilising it for democracy and the idea of a fairer and better world [85, 87].

1.7 Bilingual education

Bilingual education is a separate type of education, which refers to pupils that are educated with the use of two languages. Therefore, their education is also bicultural, since there is a symbiotic relationship between language and culture. On the one hand, language makes us see things from a cultural point of view as it reflects culture. On the other hand culture influences the language one uses [48].

Baker [88] suggests that there are ten types of bilingual education which are separated into two main categories according to the educational aim. The first category concerns the weak types of bilingual education, which aim at helping pupils to develop the official language or their second language through the use of their first language, which is helping them to become monolinguals. More specifically, after foreign pupils have acquired the second language to a certain extent, teaching of their first language stops. In this case, the ultimate goal is the linguistic, cultural

and social assimilation of the members of the minority[2]. On the contrary; the second category refers to the strong types of bilingual education, which aim at helping pupils to develop effective language skills in both languages. The ultimate goal is pupils' maintenance of their first language and the empowerment of their cultural identity with the parallel development of the second language. This section will deal with the strong types of bilingual education.[3]

The implementation of bilingual education is based on the principle that pupils benefit academically when they are educated both in their *first language* (L1) and their *second language* (L2) [89]. The use of their first language in the school implies that their cultural capital is accepted and respected. In turn, they feel that they are acceptable as cultural entities in the new society and they do not have experiences which are too negative from the host country [90, 91].

The learning level that they have acquired in their first language will help them to progress and it is going to be used, preserved and developed in their further education even in the host country. On the other hand, the pupils who use the majority language will have, as a model, the pupils who will start using two languages and this will be an incentive for them in order to learn a second language (*additive bilingualism*) [92]. Besides that, pupils feel more secure when they start school by using the language they know best [93]. At this point, it should be added that the use of the two languages is not enough to ensure success at school. The recognition and use of symbols and customs related to children's cultures will make them feel that they are not perceived as being different [37].

According to the literature, there are a number of advantages for balanced bilinguals. Balanced bilinguals have better performance in *cognitive functioning*, *divergent thinking*, *metalinguistic awareness* [88] and *communicative sensitivity*. They also have

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[2] According to Baker [88], there are six different types of educational programmes which belong to the weak types of bilingual education, which are as follows:

a. Submersion: Foreign pupils communicate and are taught in the school exclusively in the second language.

b. Submersion with withdrawal classes: The pupils are withdrawn from the mainstream classes and attend classes in order to reinforce the second language.

c. Segregationist education: Pupils are taught through their mother language and not through the official language of the country they live in.

d. Transitional bilingual education: Pupils keep contact with their first language for some time of teaching, which gradually decreases.

e. Mainstream education with foreign language teaching: Pupils of the majority attend their classes in their first language and attend classes in a second language for some hours per week.

f. eparatist bilingual education: It promotes monolingualism in the first language through education in this language.

[3] According to Baker [88], there are four different types of educational programmes that belong to the strong types of bilingual education, which are as follows:

a. Immersion bilingual education: This educational programme is based on the intensive use of the first language in the school with the parallel use of the second language.

b. Maintenance and heritage language education: The main principle of this programme is the parallel teaching of the first language aiming at complete bilingualism.

c. Two-Way/Dual language education: In this programme both languages are used as a medium of instruction aiming at balanced bilingualism and at learning to read and write in both languages.

d. Mainstream bilingual education: In this programme the pupils are taught the dialect of the country in which they live in as well as the the official language/s of the country as in Luxemburg or in some regions in Asia or in Africa.

better *mental flexibility* [48]. Bilingual education has positive consequences for the host country, too. Foreign people can contribute to the society of the host country by bringing a large number of languages and cultural qualities with them [91].

Bilingual education often includes aspects of multicultural education in the curriculum and the infrastructure of the school [7]. Nevertheless, there are some opposing views regarding the benefits of bilingual education. The opponents of it believe that bilingualism is harmful and that it leads to learning and psychological difficulties. It was also suggested that bilingualism causes mental confusion and sentimental instability, although Hoffmann [94] does not agree with this point of view. It also supported the view that bilingual pupils should only be taught and educated in their second language, the language of the majority, so that pupils can have equal chances in the society and that minority pupils will not be marginalised. Finally, it has been suggested in the extreme view that some cultural groups are biologically inferior to some others. Therefore, they should be adjusted to the linguistic code of a biologically superior cultural group [95].

However, it has been proved that there is no problem of mental confusion when the two languages are developed at the same time and continuously. The view regarding the supposed deficiencies that bilingual pupils can develop constitutes a myth (Myth of Bilingual Handicap), according to Cummins [95]. In Cummins' [96] view, there is enough space in one's brain for learning more than two languages and the space that each language occupies is not separate. Cummins [96] supported the view that people have a common underlying proficiency, which is responsible for the function of two or more languages.

The educational aim of weak and strong types of bilingual education seems to have an indirect relevance with the 'Hypothesis of Deficiency' introduced by Bernstein [97] and the 'Hypothesis of Difference' suggested by Labov [98], respectively. According to Bernstein [97], pupils coming from low socieconomic layers develop a restricted linguistic code[4], which is characterised as a deficit and which condemns them to social immobility and underdevelopment because this linguistic code restricts their educational perspectives. Whereas pupils coming from upper socioeconomic layers develop an elaborated linguistic code[5], which favours their educational perspectives, and thus, contributes positively to their social mobility and development. However, Labov [98] questioned the 'Hypothesis of Deficiency' by introducing the 'Hypothesis of Difference' according to which the restricted code of pupils coming from low socioeconomic layers is not subordinate to the elaborated code as Bernstein [97] suggested in the so-called 'Hypothesis of deficiency'. It just expresses another, different relationship with the language. Labov supported the view that every linguistic code is equally effective, that is, every code can express any idea and it is just expressed in a different way [99]. He accepts that there is a linguistic differentiation between the two codes but that does not mean that the restricted code leads to linguistic deprivation. Therefore, later on, Bernstein [97] had to retreat from this position and accept that the restricted code is not necessarily linked to social class and that both codes are used by all members of a society at different times.

[4] In the restricted code the syntactical structure is predictable, linguistic expression is accompanied by gestures and facial expressions, there is no great cohesion in meanings and the speakers find it difficult to develop abstract thinking [99].

[5] Abstract thinking, slow and stable rhythm of speech, clear meanings and great cohesion in meanings are some of the main characteristics of the elaborated code [100].

Assuming that in the weak types of bilingual education, the foreign pupils' first language is perceived as a deficit, which does not help them to progress academically, then we could suggest that the theory underpinning this type of bilingual education is related to the 'Hypothesis of Deficiency' in some way. Similarly, if we assume that in the strong types of bilingual education, foreign pupils' first language is of equal value to the language of the host country and that it does not hinder their progress in school, then we could say that the theory underpinning the strong types of bilingual education in some way is related to the 'Hypothesis of Difference' [101]. Nonetheless, there is not a direct relationship between the first and the second language and the restricted and the elaborated code since Bernstein and Labov talked about different codes of the same language/linguistic system, whereas bilingual education refers to different languages, which are not linked to social class. The relation is made on the level of how differently the first language of the pupils is perceived by each type of bilingual education, that is, as a deficit in the weak types and as a difference, but not necessarily of subordinate value and of no useful utilisation, in the strong types.

2. Critique and discussion

After having analysed the main principles underpinning each one of the aforementioned educational models for managing diversity we will move to a critical discussion about them.

The assimilation model constitutes a monolingual and monocultural educational solution to the issue of immigrant pupils' education. It is absolutely ethnocentric and it does not leave any room for them to develop their own culture in the school or in the wider society. Pupils are obliged to abandon their first culture [5, 6].

The application of the assimilation model in education has also negative consequences for the pupils belonging to the dominant group. As suggested by Parekh [102] and Massey [28], they do not develop curiosity or respect for other cultures and they tend to judge the other cultural groups according to their own cultural norms. They do not bother knowing how and why other cultural groups think, behave or judge as they do and, as a consequence, they do not develop critical thinking. Being negative towards other cultures promotes racism.

As regards, the integration model constitutes a positive evolvement of the assimilation model. It is more tolerant, as it accepts and respects part of the cultural identity of immigrant pupils in the school. Moreover, the pupils of the host country have the chance to know more about other cultures [8], which may raise their curiosity for more knowledge of these cultures.

As has already been mentioned, the negative points of the integration model are twofold. Firstly, the immigrants' cultural identity is accepted to the extent that it does not threaten the culture of the dominant group. That means that the main goal of the integration model is still the integration of immigrants into the society of the host country so that a culturally homogeneous society is created. The acceptance of the cultural elements constitutes simply the means of achieving this integration. They are not further utilised or celebrated. Secondly, the cultural elements of immigrants introduced in the schools are evaluated according to the cultural standards of the dominant groups [4, 5], which is subjective and unfair. This also implies that there is not equality of cultures [6], since true equality is applied only when each issue is judged according to its own standards.

The first educational model to be taken into account, recognising all pupils' cultural identity and pursuing educational equality, was the multicultural model. However, there are a number of negative points indicated by the researchers regarding its implementation. To begin with, in multicultural education cultural factors are overemphasised and little attention is drawn to the other types of factors (social, economic, psychological and structural), which may have led to intolerance, no respect and inequality towards people from other cultures [4, 5, 27]. Zografou [58] supports the view that this type of education is harmful to the educational system because it makes it conform to the demands of ethnic minorities. Multicultural education also does not accept that cultural identity evolves and that it is not static [4, 24]. It may also lead to discrimination by the classification of people into different categories according to their cultural characteristics [4, 14].

Some researchers have also expressed their doubts about the usefulness of the co-existence of different cultural groups, which constitutes one of the main aims of multicultural education. Papas [6], Damanakis [102] and Taboada Leonetti [103] argue that the harmonious co-existence of different cultural groups is a wish. Nevertheless, co-existence does not imply anything about mutual acceptance, mutual understanding and interaction between the groups.

Katsikas and Politou [8] indicate that multicultural education is opposed to the main aim of education, which is to socialise all in a common culture. This may be true to a certain extent. Pupils need to meet specific requirements for achieving academically, which means knowing the 'school culture', which is common for all pupils. They also need to know the formal culture of the country in which they live in order to find a job or if they require specific state services. There is not enough space in this thesis to analyse whether or not the existence of a formal cultural position in a field should exist. However, I strongly believe that all pupils have the right to use their own cultural elements in school, to get acquainted with this 'school culture' or the formal culture of the country they live in and maintain and evolve their personal cultural identity at the same time.

The analysis of multicultural education above has shown that different researchers attribute different meanings to it [104]. This may be due to the fact that the notion of multicultural education is formulated each time by the history of the different cultural groups living in a territory [24]. However, it is accepted that multicultural education is a field with major problems and ambiguity of meaning.

It seems that the term is broad and ambiguous and that there are also fundamental gaps between theory and practice [27, 105]. In particular, Sleeter and Grant [104] note that there needs to be research on the impact of the implementation of multicultural education in the classroom. Readers need to be aware of these different meanings that researchers attribute to multicultural education, which range from teaching the culturally different pupils and developing human relationships between pupils of different cultural backgrounds on the one hand to challenging social structural inequality [104] on the other.

As far as the model of antiracist education is concerned, according to Verma [38], it constitutes an educational model that provides equality of opportunity. It goes deeper compared with multicultural education because it challenges the institutions of the society which promote racism, such as mass media, the state and the police [2, 58]. She supports the view that some multicultural education models may include racism as a topic, whereas antiracist programmes analyse and explain the issue of racism further and more deeply [7].

However, doubts have also been expressed regarding the application of this model. Verma [38], Gillborn and Gipps [106] believe that antiracism has been applied loosely in

education and that it has only affected teachers working in schools with minority populations. Some researchers have expressed their fear regarding antiracist education. It is mentioned that antiracist education lends a political profile to education and, therefore, there is the danger that it will become a field of competition between political parties [2].

Finally, although in the beginning, some researchers such as Grinter supported the attempts for the bridging of the gap between antiracist and multicultural education, in his later writing he argued that the gap is 'unbridgeable' and that 'the philosophies do not meet' (Grinter, 1990 as cited by Grant and Ladson-Billings, [107]). However, as Tsakiropoulou [108] denotes, the fulfilment of the aims of antiracist education, which is the abolition of distinctions and of racism, constitutes the presuppositions of the aims of intercultural education.

May [109] and Nieto [33] made an attempt to go beyond multicultural education by introducing critical multicultural education. Critical multicultural education is understood as what follows multicultural education [34]. It goes further than multicultural education as it suggests that getting to know the other cultures and celebrating differences is not sufficient [32]. A deeper understanding of cultures demands the use of critical thinking by teachers and pupils so that they will be able to understand how cultural identities are constantly constructed and reconstructed under the influence of social, historical and political factors across time.

Critical multicultural education shares the principle of the dynamics of cultures with intercultural education. It also belongs to the category of educational models that are interested in introducing and exploring the notion of the evolvement of cultural identities to both foreign and native pupils. Moreover, it encourages teachers and students to explore subjugated knowledge in an attempt to understand that there are different ways of seeing the world. This type of multiculturalism also shares the principle of combating racism and discrimination in society with antiracist education. Its advocates believe that power relations have been established in society, which have to be explored in order to be eliminated [30, 32]. Generally speaking, it seems that critical multiculturalists want to engage teachers and students in an analysis of what and why something is learned and exists as valid and official, so as not to become passive citizens.

As far as intercultural education is concerned, its meaning and aims vary from one author or one country to the other [37]. It lacks a universally accepted definition. Therefore, there are a number of different interpretations of it [1, 8, 110]. There are times that the terms 'multicultural education' and 'intercultural education' are used interchangeably due to the confusion between the terms 'multiculturalism' and '*interculturalism*' [41]. Some researchers recognise the dynamic process of intercultural education, while others do not. There are also some researchers who do not accept the term and others who use the term without accepting its basic principles [15]. Some researchers use the term '*interculturalism*' to describe the multicultural situation and to talk about the aims of intercultural education. Other researchers distinguish between the terms 'multiculturalism' and '*interculturalism*'. They use the first term to describe the existing situation and the latter term to denote what 'it should be' [41, 63, 111].

Intercultural education approaches also vary from national directives established as part of national education programmes to approaches concerning communication and cooperation between authorities at a national, regional and school levels [110]. Intercultural education approaches may also take a variety of forms in terms of their focus of study. Some forms pay more attention to the history and culture of the countries from which immigration has taken place, others to developing students' awareness of their racial attitudes and some others to transmitting a sense of the relativity of all cultures [112].

I believe that intercultural education constitutes the evolution of multicultural education [4]. It was critical multiculturalism which pinpointed the negative points of multicultural education and triggered the notion of intercultural education. It is a more active process [41], as it provides pupils with the opportunities to discuss and exchange ideas and get to know other cultures more deeply [113]. Besides, the very same term 'intercultural' denotes this communication and interaction among different cultures [37]. According to Freedman Lustig [114], the first component of the word 'inter' is preferable to 'multi' because it denotes an active process rather then a collection of separate cultures.

I fall in with the view that multicultural education just aims at the peaceful co-existence of different cultural groups, which is not enough. Co-existence of different cultural groups does not guarantee that people coming from different cultural groups appreciate, understand and communicate with each other effectively. This can be fulfilled through the implementation of intercultural education, which encourages dialogue [4, 15, 103] and the exploration of similarities and differences between people of different cultural groups.

However, I believe that there are commonalities between multicultural education, critical multiculturalism and intercultural education. They all make an attempt to recognise and accept the differences emerging between the different cultural identities. Their differences lie in the extent to which each belief tries to understand and resolve the differences. **Table 1** summarises the main characteristics of multicultural education and intercultural education.

The intercultural dimension in education is also different from the European dimension in education because it does not focus on European cultures, but it takes account of all cultures [102]. It also stresses cultural understanding and communication between people of different groups more compared with the European dimension in education, whereas the European dimension in education also aims at preparing European citizens with enough qualifications in the marketplace. The promotion of equality of opportunities is a common point of both dimensions of education [15].

Multicultural education	**Intercultural education**
• Co-existence of different cultural groups	• Interaction of different cultural groups
	• It is a dynamic process
• The dominant culture is unchallenged	• All cultures are explored and understood (similarities and differences)
• Different cultures are presented	• All cultures are equal and in turn, all cultural capitals are equal
	• Each cultural identity is not static, it constantly evolves
• In some schools, the implementation of multicultural education takes the form of celebrations and presentation of folklore elements	• Hybridity is the norm (race, ethnicity, nationality, religion constitute different elements of each cultural identity)
	• It is based on pupils' cultural experiences; it is based on their own lives
	• Alternative languages are recognised as part of the curriculum in an intercultural school

Table 1.
Characteristics of multicultural education and intercultural education.

Nevertheless, intercultural education has been criticised because it has dominated more as a term and an attempt, and less as an effective educational action [115]. Some researchers claim that it has mostly appeared as a field of academic analysis [8] and not as an applied educational model. It has also been criticised because it does not take into account that school constitutes a mechanism of the society and, therefore, intercultural education should not be implemented only in the school but in the wider society, too [8, 57]. *Interculturalism* cannot be very effective if it is not implemented in all aspects of life.

Furthermore, Gill [116], Damanakis [73] and The Council of Europe [65] note that intercultural education ignores all these social, political and economic factors, which could contribute to its implementation. Bliss [117] stresses the importance of political will in this regard. However, I do believe that intercultural education could bring all these factors to light as well as the available material to teachers and pupils [60] who might analyse them and take them into account in the design of intercultural programmes. Finally, intercultural education has been criticised for not attacking racism directly [39].

There are some more obstacles concerning the implementation of intercultural education. Alkan [68] pointed out that intercultural education has failed to set clear, precise and definite aims and goals. Therefore, there is a confusion regarding its theoretical background and its practical dimension, in turn. In various countries, intercultural education still relies on the efforts of individual educators [78] who are not properly trained to this end [60].

Research conducted in Greece showed that intercultural education met the resistance of both parents and teachers and this constitutes an obstacle towards its implementation [83]. As has already been mentioned, the implementation of intercultural education needs to surpass the ethnocentric conception of culture, which may be the cause of some communities' resistance towards it [39]. Further to that, when there is a gap between the culture of foreign pupils on the one hand and teachers and parents on the other hand, prejudice should be eliminated. More systematic, coordinated and consistent efforts would be more fruitful instead of making brief attempts like studying particular books, attending seminars or designing and implementing various intercultural programmes in schools, which only last for a certain period of time [60].

Two more points deserve to be mentioned regarding how intercultural education can cope with reality. The first one relates to how intercultural education could achieve compatibility between the basic values of an existing cultural system and the existing legislation and the values and practices of other cultural systems present in a country or a territory [62]. The second one concerns a new discourse that has to be proposed within the framework of intercultural education in order to manage an already hybrid identity, which is an identity that derives from already hybrid identities.

Despite the above criticism, I do believe that intercultural education takes theory forward [73]. It is acceptable that there is no consensus in any democratic society as to how to best educate all children in a culturally diverse environment [38] and that the implementation of any educational policy regarding diversity depends on the extent of political interest and of interest on the part of higher education [8, 78] and a number of other obstacles, which have to be overcome.

However, what makes intercultural education important irrespective of its negative points is that the previous educational systems have failed to deal with issues of diversity. Intercultural education is the most recent and complete educational system suggested in this direction [70]. It is a model to which attention should be

paid so it can be refined, it can become more specific in its meaning and goals, and more specific suggestions should be made and more research should be undertaken regarding its implementation. The present chapter moves in this direction. Besides, as has already been obvious from the analysis above, all educational systems have both positive and negative aspects.

Bilingual education refers to bilingual persons aiming at preserving, developing and expanding their bicultural identity[6], whereas multicultural education and intercultural education refer to groups of people and aim at cultivating mutual tolerance, recognition and understanding between the various cultural groups. That is, bilingual education refers to a micro level, whereas multicultural education and intercultural education refer to a macro level [63].

Bilingual education shares the same principle with intercultural education, which declares that foreign pupils' cultural identity should be taken into account and that it plays an important role in their further education. However, as Kontogianni [48] claims, strong types of bilingual education do not seem to have an intercultural approach due to social and financial reasons.

In my view, bilingual education should also include multicultural elements because if not, there is the danger that pupils will be exposed to only two cultures and will not develop tolerance, respect and recognition of other cultures. As Byram [118] notes, "It is possible that biculturals are 'ethnocentric in two cultures' as monoculturals can be ethnocentric in one (p. 65)." Further to that, I believe that multicultural and intercultural education should incorporate bilingual education for pupils who come from diverse cultures as research has shown that knowledge is better acquired and pupils can better progress academically when they are taught both in their first and second language (additive bilingualism).

Regarding the polemics of bilingual education, it principally emerges from the ideology of nationalism, which is based on the notion of the development of a language of a country as an integral part of one's national identity. Even nowadays, the negative views towards bilingual education are attributed to hostility towards foreigners, who are considered as putting in danger the unity and the homogeneity of the nation-state [101]. In any case, it seems that strong types of bilingual education are more beneficial compared to educational programmes, which aim at developing monolingualism.

3. Conclusions

It seems that each one of the aforementioned educational models improves the preceding and adds other perspectives that have not been covered or thought of. Each one is used to describe and make an attempt to combat the complicated reality [8] of the time of its conception both in the domain of education and in the wider society. However, the aforementioned educational models were not supported by dominant social powers, which ensured their real application.

One more point that deserves to be mentioned is that the analysis and the critique of the educational models above were based on the explicit curricula presented in the

[6] Nonetheless, that does not mean that a pupil's cultural identity is viewed as fixed, static and shaped by only two cultural systems. It is constantly reshaped and influenced by various cultural systems due to advanced technology and ease of movement between countries.

relevant literature. It should not be forgotten that the hidden curriculum[7] plays an important role and forms the type of education offered in each school. According to Apple [121], the hidden curriculum refers to norms, behaviours and values, which are implicitly taught in schools and are not included in the official curriculum. Dreeben [122] argues that these norms, behaviours and values are learned by students unconsciously in classroom and school life and shape the ongoing social, economic and political order. Jackson [123], as cited in Gordon [120], shares the same view by saying that the hidden curriculum is more effective than a school's official curriculum and that it contributes to the maintenance of the existing structure of the society.

The hidden curriculum seems to relate to the concept of symbolic power, which was first introduced by Bourdieu [124] and explained later on by Bourdieu and Passeron [125, 126]. They suggested that symbolic power accounts for the unconscious modes which dominate in the cultural and social environment, including school life, and which determine and perpetuate the existing social, economic and political situation. Similarly, the hidden curriculum constitutes a way of exercising symbolic power by penetrating different domains in the school, such as in the structure of the school (hierarchy, school council), in preparation for teaching, in the language that teachers use and the type of assessment they select, thus, determining the type of education offered and contributing to the imposition of certain meanings and ideas as legitimate.

Before closing this chapter I would like to draw readers' attention to the new dimensions mentioned before, that is critical multiculturalism and critical interculturalism. It seems that these two approaches relate to critical education and critical pedagogy [85]. In this sense, it is imperative to make an attempt to explore the theoretical underpinnings of critical multiculturalism and critical interculturalism, thus, realising whether the terms are identical or similar, to what extent and at which points they differ if any. These would be very helpful steps for educators in terms of their everyday teaching design and practice, as the exact definition of the theoretical underpinnings of an educational approach always guides and secures more firmly everyday teaching practice.

In turn, it would be of great theoretical and practical interest to pronounce how those approaches relate to critical education; their complementarity and convergence with critical pedagogy. Finally, we should be sceptical on whether intercultural education is the most recent and completed educational model for managing diversity or if another more advanced type of education should be implemented in order to meet the requirements of constantly diverse populations, cultural groups and cultural identities by taking into account the socio-political circumstances in which they are constructed and act.

Disclaimer

Some parts of this chapter constitute parts of the literature review chapter of my PhD thesis titled 'Intercultural Education in Greece: the case of thirteen primary schools' submitted and accepted by the Institute of Education, University of London in 2012.

[7] According to Martin [119], as cited in Gordon [120], the hidden curriculum includes all norms, behaviours and values that are intended or unintended on the teachers' or school's behalf but are not acknowledged to the pupils.

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