Ida Castiglioni

Constructing Intercultural Competence in Italian Social Service and Healthcare Organizations

Pedagogical Design, Effectiveness Research, and Alternative Visions for Promoting Ethnorelativism

Lo SCAMBiO CULTURALE HA COME BASE iL MOViMENTO !!

JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

Ida Castiglioni

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Cover picture: Mural in Milan (text translated as "Cultural exchange has movement
at its basis"). Photo: Ida Castiglioni.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation compiles published works with new theoretical commentary and critical analysis. The overall focus of the compilation is to establish the usefulness of intercultural sensitivity/competence in the context of social service and health care, as exemplified in an industrialized multicultural area of Northern Italy. New research questions guide the extended analysis and synthesis. Various current definitions and models of intercultural competence are discussed, and the relationship between intercultural sensitivity (the perceptual discernment and experience of cultural difference) and intercultural competence as the enactment of that experience is established. The enactment of experience is discussed at greater length in the included published work, "Embodied Ethnocentrism and the Feeling of Culture." Augmenting another published work by the author (2005), the pedagogy of developmental intercultural training is discussed in a critical theoretical context with practical applications to the social service and healthcare context. The actual delivery of intercultural training and the measurement of its effectiveness were initially reported in the annexed publication from 2009. This dissertation expands the critical analysis of the study's methodology, including an updated description and criticism of the *Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI)*. The results of the mixed-method program evaluation research are reported, showing through both qualitative and quantitative data that intercultural sensitivity and thus the potential for enacting intercultural competence was significantly increased in the experimental training groups compared to a control group.

A new discussion of implications and limitations of the study include examining the epistemological base of the *DMIS* and an extended critique of the *IDI*, noting its inability to accurately diagnose individuals and groups without auxiliary qualitative data collected by knowledgeable researchers. The conclusion of this discussion is that, if the anticipated outcomes of training are constructivist, then the *DMIS* is an effective and appropriate pedagogical model to use, and the *IDI* is an adequate measure only for change in an experimental group. If training outcomes are not particularly constructivist, such as simply acquiring knowledge, changing attitude, or learning specific skills, then other models and measurements might be more effective.

Keywords: Intercultural sensitivity, intercultural competence, intercultural training, DMIS, multicultural social services and healthcare.

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1 THE OVERALL RESEARCH THEME

1.1 Overview of the socio-geographical context of the research: Lombardy and the Province of Milan

The research presented in this dissertation is a concrete example of how the debate over the necessity of intercultural competence is no longer a philosophical issue or a topic for individuals who have the privilege to travel. Social operators, for instance, together with professionals in hospitals and caring institutions are urged by everyday practices to constantly negotiate identity issues, as well as a need to adapt to difference. What kind of competence do they need in order to deal with these challenges? Social and cultural institutions, among which schools of course, are a product of modernity and universal access to these institutions has been historically a European conquest. Nevertheless Europeans seem to be having problems in their management of both internal cultural differences and, above all, what have been defined as "external" to their borders[1] (Kymlika & Norman, 1995). A brief excursion into European history can offer some insights for why the need of debating the question of intercultural competence is high.

Demographics are major levers of change in society. Historically, social sciences have constructed articulated theories of social change around big demographic shifts. Pre modern European history is one of great movements of different peoples: Phoenicians, Berbers, Hebrews, Huns, Arabs, Mongolians

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[1] The need for a theory of citizenship that could take more into account the identity, the conduct, the role of individual citizens is very clear in Kymlicka and Norman: "The health and stability of a modern democracy depends, not only on the justice of its «basic structure» but also on the qualities and attitudes of its citizens, for competing forms of national, regional, ethnic, or religious identity; their ability to work together with other who are different from themselves; their desire to participate in the political process in order to promote the public good and hold political authorities accountable; their willingness to show self-restraint and exercise personal responsibility in their economic demands and in personal choices which affect their health and environment" Kymlicka W., Norman W. (1995).

and eventually Turkish and Finno-Ugric groups are all communities who were strangers to the basic Indo-European core of the initial Europeans, but eventually mingled and contributed with new elements (Cuisenier, 1994). It is with modernity that concepts such as identity and difference emerge and crystallize, as the previous identification of people with a territory, political organization, religious beliefs and practices had faded. In this scenario, the national state starts its homogenizing process for unifying, through assimilation all the ethnic groups asking for recognition, exclusive use of resources on their territory and autonomous governance (i.e. Flemish, Catalans, South-Tyrolese etc.). The confrontation with diversity, with those living the "fundamental ambivalence" (Simmel, 1908; Wolff, 1950), the relationship between indigenous and alien, is part of European history, as well as the one of other continents in the world. Globalization of markets and rapid movement of people, as well as the increase of remote communication exchanges, has created a situation of post-national societies (Delanty, 1996). Hence the discussion over identity and difference has taken a new form, still social but also intimate and personal, more than it has ever been (Castiglioni, 2003, 2009). The discussion over intercultural competence is therefore inserted with this caveat. International studies are mostly debating around in-group/out-group boundaries and their tension between permeability and protection. Human studies are wondering how the condition of the parts are changing, but above all if it is possible to tool up people with different ways of thinking, providing them with the possibility of becoming intentional shifters in such a multifaceted scenario.

Here is some demographic data to contextualize the relevance of the overall work presented in this research, showing that an intercultural focus is a necessity rather than an option in many current multicultural societies. The case here presented of the province of Milan can be of interest, especially in the European context, for the characteristic of its territory, being very industrialized, therefore a constant attractor, supported by public policies integrating a mixed welfare, made of State or Regional institutional bodies and of private companies operating in the third sector on behalf of the State. It could therefore be a case relevant to different European regional areas.

In order to visualize the specific territory of the Province of Milan and its related characteristics, one needs to take into account the bigger picture of demographic changes of Italy. Census[2] data in 2001 counted 56.995.744 residents in the country, while 2011 data show[3] an average increase of 4,3% (59.464.644), out of which 51,7% are women. The population increase is largely due to the fact that migrant population has almost tripled[4] in the last twenty years. A demographic scissor is occurring, so that on the one hand there is an increase of

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[2]   Census data are the most reliable as they compensate for people moving out of the country or, to another Italian region, province or town. Municipal data do account for this specific movement in Italy.

[3]   Data for 2001 census are definitive (ISTAT 2003) while data for 2011 census are still tentative (ISTAT 2012)

[4]   From 1.300.000 of the 1991 Census (ISTAT 2003) to 3.770.000 in the 2011 Census (ISTAT 2012)

younger population due to new families with different ethnic background; on the other hand, the number of Italian older people is also increasing, particularly regarding residents over 85[5]. From this picture it's easy to infer that costs and issues related to health and social services are going to increase as well.

The province of Milan, inscribed in the Lombardy region, is a territory that has undergone many transformations in the last few years. The main one is the splitting of the Northern area (55 municipalities), creating the new Province of Monza and Brianza in 2009, when this research was already completed. The present province of Milan is composed of 134 municipalities. It is one of the most densely populated areas in Europe[6].

In Figure 1 and 2 maps have been created with ESRI-ArcGIS version 10. Scales are at geometrical intervals (classes of 5). My hypothesis is that the evaluation of density should be operated in an exponential way. In both maps, the grey boundaries are expressed in "NUTS" <NUTS 3> (Noménclature des Unités Territoriales Statistiques. Classification officielle EUROSTAT).
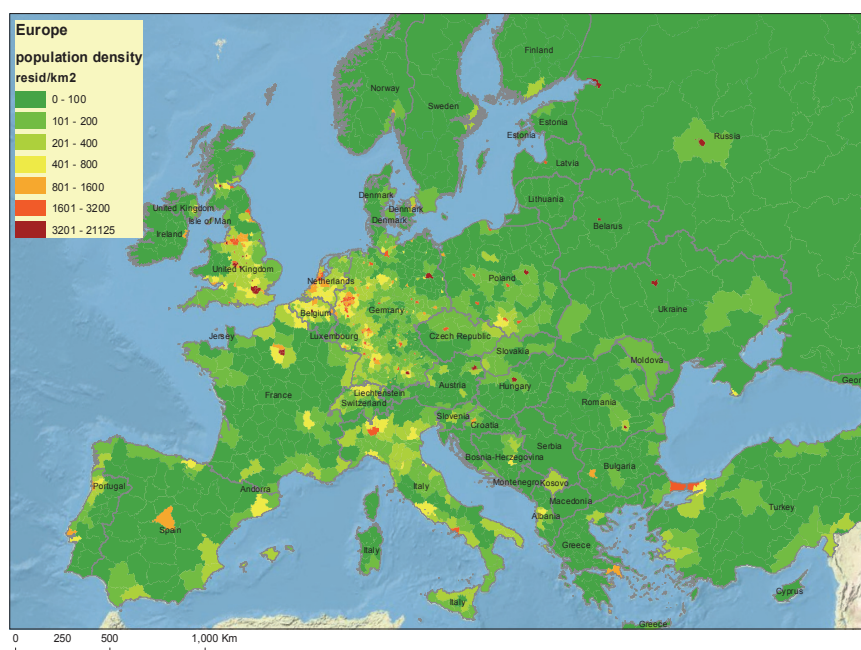
FIGURE 1   European population density

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5   People from 65 yrs on have gone from 15,3% of 1991 Census to 21,6% of 2011; people over 85 from 1,3% in 1991 to 2,6% in 2011. The ageing index (calculated as the number of persons 65yrs old or over per hundred of persons under age 15) is 144,5%.
6   With 3.181.152 inhabitants over 1.578,9 sqKm (Provincia di Milano 2011). The area at the time of the research was even bigger, as one needs to account for the 850.000.000 inhabitants of the now Province of Monza and Brianza.
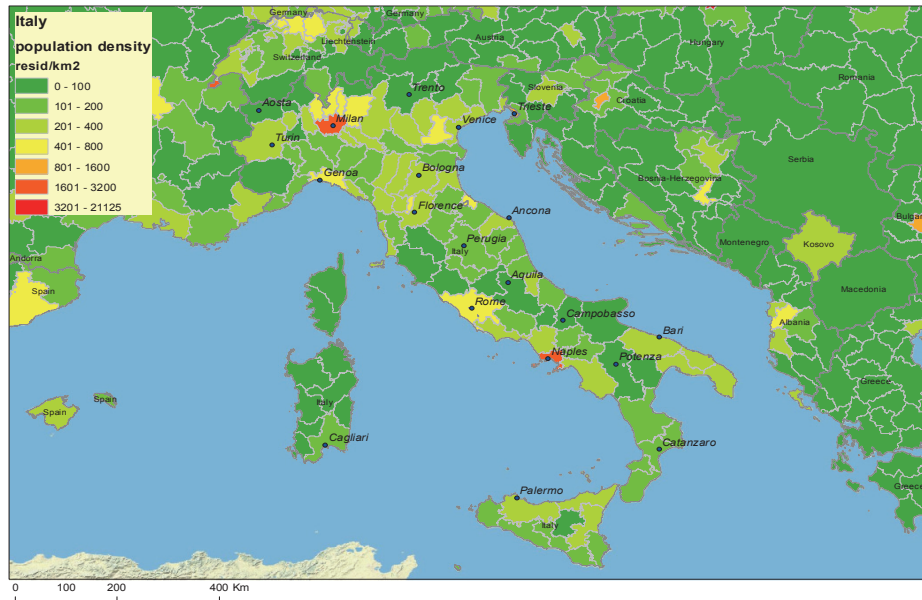
FIGURE 2   Italian population density

According to the 17th report on migration in Lombardy (Fondazione ISMU 2011), the Province of Milan, in 2010, was hosting a total of 424.000 migrants, out of which 242.000 in the city of Milan (57,6%)[7]. When more than half of the population of a city or a metropolitan area is of a different nationality, the need to change the perspective about inhabitants and their needs is inevitable.

The other front of change is that of the workforce in the general care system. The 2001 Census counted 325,944 social workers and 1.104,183 health care workers in the country[8] (ISTAT 2003). But this number does not account for the fast turnover of nurses, physicians and health professionals offered to the public and private health business by temporary work agencies. The estimated need is of 40.000 workers. There are at least eight of these agencies working in this business in the country, and six of them, exclusively offer foreign personnel[9]. The other important component of the home care for the elderly, is

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[7]   The estimate of this report for foreign people resident (both with and without a sojourn permit) is 5,3 Million people. Lombardy region hosts a little less than one quarter of this population (Fondazione ISMU 2011). Comparative data show that figures have more than double in the region over the last 10 years. It is one and a half more than the foreign presence in the entire Country. The City of Milan records the highest density of foreign presence: 1 out of 5-6 residents; rate of 19%)

[8]   2001 data for the province of Milan accounted 23.310 social workers and 82.290 health care workers. Further, the number of volunteers adds interestingly, especially for social workers: 449,695 people are working voluntarily for social services (ISTAT 2003).

[9]   One bad note about this business is the fact that these agencies withhold 20 to 25% of the gross stipend of these workers (EMN 2006) who too often do not have any voice, nor can they join trade unions.

the phenomenon of "badanti", or personal care givers, who are practically all non Italian nationals and who in turn often interact with health organizations on behalf of patients and their families.

The diversification of society has occurred earlier in Northern European countries, where both post-colonial policies and job offer have attracted high numbers of migrants from the Sixties on. In Italy, it is happening now, at a much faster rate than most native people are realizing. This in turn means that a lot of organizations are still unprepared for dealing with diversity in a professional fashion.

Some managers of public bodies, such as the Province of Milan, are well aware of these profound changes occurring in society, particularly at the level of health and care services. Hence they sponsored this research, realized in conjunction with the Department of Sociology and Social Research of the University of Milano Bicocca that I designed and coordinated.

1.2   Potential Disparities in Health Care and the HPH Network

Sociologists and scholars, both in the U.S. and Europe have been talking about systemic inequities in the treatment of patients and clients with a different ethnic background (Herholz et al. 1996; Aynian et al. 1993, 1999; Hannan et al. 1999; Johnson et al. 1993; Petersen et al. 2002; Epstein et al. 2000) since the beginning of the Nineties. In Italy, there is a general perception that, since access to the health care system and to social services is universal, inequalities should not exist. There is empirical evidence though, in my knowledge of these services[10], of differences in how people are treated depending on their skin color, economical and juridical status, or different belief system. North American literature (e.g. Bobo 2001) enumerates cases of bias, discrimination and stereotyping at the institutional and individual level, issues that go beyond the known problems of disparity caused by the insurance coverage system. It also considers the fact that in some cases, racial and ethnic minority patients do refuse treatment: nevertheless, refusal rates are generally small and it is not an explanation in order to understand the phenomenon. Other partial explanations are given by the 1) patients' lack of proficiency of the local language; 2) pressures, both temporal and economical, on medical doctors and operators, who reduce the time spent in assessment and treatment; 3) geographical location of care facilities; and 4) poor communication of the array of services available (mostly for social services).

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[10]   My personal experience refers to stories narrated to me by social workers and health providers in Milan and its province, in Bologna and Rome as well as in Bern (Switzerland) where I have been a consultant in the development of an interculturally informed curriculum for the Federal School of Nursing (Berner Bildungzentrum Pflege).

1.3 The research: overview

The research reported in this dissertation was started and completed between 2006 and 2008 in the territory of the province of Milan, Italy. The basic assumption, derived by my experience in teaching and training with the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity of Milton J. Bennett (1993, 2004, 2013), was that intercultural competence was proportional to the capacity of people to experience cultural difference. The more that individuals, and the organizations that they co-create, have an articulated worldview of otherness, the more they have a potential to be interculturally competent and, by inference, to manage change. In this perspective, "intercultural" does not exclusively involve the relationship between people of different nationality, ethnicity or race. It includes other aspects of difference, such as gender, sexual orientation, physical ability, age, and all possible dimensions that characterize life and habits of groups of people. For this reason, the original research was called "From multiculturalism to diversity: an Italian experiment"[11].

The research was conducted in three phases. **Phase One** was a needs analysis consisting of a quantitative survey of 239 subjects using the Intercultural Development Inventory, a measurement of DMIS that is discussed in Chapter 4. To check and augment the IDI data, 90 interviews were conducted among this same population. The results of this survey are reported in the book *La differenza c'è* (Castiglioni 2009, described below in this chapter). In summary, the combination of quantitative and qualitative data showed that the preponderance of the group lacked sufficient intercultural sensitivity to exercise the competence necessary to deal with the multicultural situations they faced.

Phase Two of the research was the selection and training of four experimental groups that received intercultural training and the selection of a control group that did not. This process is described in the original publication, *La differenza c'è* and summarized in Chapter 4 of this thesis, together with the rationale for using training as part of an action research design.

Phase Three of the research was the analysis of program evaluation data in terms of intercultural learning, presented in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. Some of the material employed in this analysis formed the substance of the book *La Comunicazione Interculturale,* material that is summarized with significant additions and clarifications in Chapters 3 of this thesis. The analysis of data made in this dissertation is also augmented by original conceptual research reported in Chapter 2.

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[11] Original title in Italian: "Dal multiculturalismo al *diversity*: una sperimentazione italiana". It was funded by the Province of Milan and, secondarily, by the Italian Ministry of Research for University (MIUR, in Italian) through a Project of Research of National Importance (PRIN, in Italian). It was important at the time to introduce the relevance of diversity issues in the public debate. For the purpose of this thesis, I will not dwell on the specific topic, history and issues of diversity. I will consider the wider perspective offered by diversity to discuss difference in its most ample meaning.

1.4 Rationale for the research

This research is inscribed in the wider ambit of action-research (Lewin 1946). Action research, as postulated by Lewin, is a theoretical and conceptual process that is strictly anchored to everyday life and to concrete problems. He is one of the first researchers to speak about the circular sequence of praxis (or practice)-theory-praxis rather than a univocal and linear relationship that moves from conceptual models to their application. He adds that social research can also be defined as research for social management, or 'social engineering' (his quotation marks). In his view, it is research about social practice itself that promotes social action: were it to produce only books, it would be dissatisfactory. Hence the vision of a researcher brought to this research is that of not only a seeker but also of an agent of change. The debate of the 1970s (Sanford 1979; Rapaport 1970; Foster 1972; Cunningham 1976; Susman and Evered 1978) around the relationship between theory and praxis, and above all around Action Research, has taken distance from the original idea of Lewin about research as a component of change agentry, perhaps to avoid a mystification of the concept itself that was becoming a political weapon (Quaglino & Carrozzi 1995). The researcher as a change agent though, is a vision that has come back, at least in Italy, particularly over the last ten years, thanks to a group of theoreticians and practitioners in the faculty of sociology of the University of Milano Bicocca[12] (Graduate program of programming and management of social services and public policies, where I currently teach with a confirmed tenured position).

Quaglino & Carrozzi (1995) suggest that knowledge (research) and change (action) have a link of contemporaneity rather than continuity. There is no moment of learning per se, free from implications about change. And, they add, there is a third element needed to complete this cycle: experience – both the subjective experience of the investigator and the observed object and that of the larger social contextualize in which the investigation is occurring. Training, therefore, as a moment of both individual learning and transformation, can be considered social change only when it allows the awareness of people involved of "being in an organization". In other words, social change is enabled when what learners are getting becomes identified with what they re-learn within their organizational experience. "The individual experience of the social context of the organization sums knowledge as an individual fact and action as a social fact" (Quaglino & Carrozzi 1995: 31).

According to this view, any training intervention potentially becomes an opportunity of social change not necessarily because it provides new solutions for social actions, but mainly because it represents a chance to re-process past experience in the light of new frames, becoming a systematization of experience. The research questions underlying the action research reported here reflect this focus on reframing experience.

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[12] See also Barberis (2009).

1.5 Research questions

Due to the structure of this dissertation, incorporating as it does published work in the context of new analysis, the research questions are necessarily varied. That part of the research that was experimental was guided by research questions incorporating independent and dependent variables, per the quasi-experimental design of social science studies. The analytical part of the original research and new analyses included in this dissertation are guided by exploratory research questions, and the research questions referring to the social action aspects of the research are guided by action research methodology. In other words, due to the nature of this research – part exploratory, part experimental, and part social action – the research questions are expressed in different forms appropriate to the research goals.

Research Question 1: What is the theoretical interface between various definitions of intercultural competence and the experience of cultural difference described by the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS)?

> **Question 1a:** What theories of intercultural competence are more or less relevant to the health care context?
> **Question 1b:** How can a constructivist definition of intercultural competence be established, particularly in the context of social service and health care?

Research Question 2: How can a constructivist pedagogy of intercultural competence be described in the context of social service and healthcare action research?

> **Question 2a:** How does the DMIS describe intercultural learning?
> **Question 2b:** What kind of intercultural learning interventions are appropriate to a constructivist action research context?
> **Question 2c:** How can the embodiment of culture, especially the embodiment of ethnocentrism, be incorporated into intercultural training methodology?

Research Question 3: Is DMIS-guided intercultural training effective in developing more intercultural sensitivity of social service and health care personnel in a province of Northern Italy?

> **Question 3a:** Is the Intercultural Development Inventory an appropriate instrument for measuring training program effectiveness?
> **Question 3b:** What is the baseline IDI profile of some social service and health care organizations in Lombardy, Italy?
> **Question 3c:** Is there a statistical difference in pre/post IDI testing between groups receiving DMIS-guided intercultural training compared to control groups?

Question 3c: Does the analysis of results support a causal relationship between the dependent variable of intercultural sensitivity and the independent variable of intercultural training?

Research Question 4: What are the limitations and potentials of intercultural action research for social service and health care?

Question 4a: What are the limitations of the IDI as a measurement of intercultural sensitivity?

Question 4b: How does the research suggest a redirection of intercultural learning effort to support intercultural competence in this context?

1.6 Overview of articles and books and their relationship to the research questions

1. *La comunicazione interculturale. Competenze e pratiche*, Carocci, Roma, 2005 (Intercultural communication: competence and practices) (printed pp. 123).

The volume was published in Italian in 2005 and it has been reprinted 8 times as of 2011. The publishing company Carocci is a known academic editor in Italy (now incorporated by Il Mulino). The book presents basic theoretical concepts of intercultural communication and offers practical examples as well as some reflection exercises for the reader. The theoretical frameworks binding the sequence of topics is the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS). Readers are accompanied in the developmental unfolding of themes by having the DMIS *fil rouge* presented in the first chapter of the book.

The underlying conceptual and pedagogical strategy of the published volume is explicated and expanded in this dissertation, particularly in Chapters 2 and 3. The original book together with Chapters 2 and 3 of the dissertation address research questions number 1 and 2.

2. *La differenza c'è. La gestione della diversità nell'organizzazione dei servizi*, Franco Angeli, Milano, 2009. (There is a difference. The management of diversity in the organization of social services and healthcare) (printed pp. 117).

This book is published by FrancoAngeli, both an academic and reference professional book publisher. The series in which the book is included is directed by Professor Alberto Giasanti and Professor Antonio De Lillo (now deceased) from University of Milano Bicocca, who serve as referees. Forward is by Alberto Giasanti and afterword by Milton J. Bennett. It is intended for a public of professionals in social service and health care contexts, as well as for graduate students in intercultural communication.

The volume introduces the topic of the experience of difference and diversity in social services and health care in the Italian context and the need to face challenges imposed by new demographics with a new mindset. It has a section about communicating with different populations, ranging from

nationality, to sexual orientation, to age within the conceptualization of a dynamic construction of identity happening in a relatively new multicultural society. Given this context, it presents the research sponsored by the Province of Milan discussed in this dissertation. It ends with a discussion about change agentry in organizations with DMIS directed interventions, in line with results obtained through the investigation. The book is correlated by a guided bibliography for topical further readings.

Chapters 1 and 3-6 of this dissertation expand topics introduced in the book. The book along with the new treatments in this dissertation respond to research questions number 3 and 4.

3. **"**Embodied ethnocentrism and the feeling of culture: A key to training for intercultural competence" in D. Landis, J. Bennett & M. Bennett (Eds.), *The handbook of intercultural training* (3rd ed, pp. 249-265). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. (printed pp. 16).

This article, in English, is an expanded version of papers competitively chosen for presentation at the biannual convention of the Intercultural Research Academy (IAIR) in 2001 (University of Mississippi, Oxford) and at the annual convention of the Society of Intercultural Education, Training, and Research (SIETAR Europa) in Norway during the same year. While the topic was invited to be included in the Handbook of Intercultural Training, 3rd Edition, the actual article was reviewed and accepted for inclusion by the senior editor of that volume, Prof. Dan Landis. The editors have inserted it in the *Theory into Practice* section of the book, as it has been considered a strategic direction for the future of the field.

The co-authors of the article collaborated throughout the article, but those sections that depended more on my input were the following:

1) Introduction and questions opening the topic (249-250)
2) Loss of the Body in Western Thinking (251-252)
3) Rediscovery of Lived Experience in Western Thinking (252-254)
4) The Embodied Feeling of Culture (257-260)

The final section of the article, An Approach to Incorporating the Embodied Feeling of Culture into the Development of Intercultural Competence summarizes most of the insights gained during the experience of co-design and co-facilitation with my co-author of courses on related topics. The practice is systematized according to Milton Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity and supported by the overall constructivist approach to the concept of culture.

After a dissertation of the predominant idea of culture in Western thought, it discusses the implications of the "loss of the body" in Western approach to the humanities, particularly in intercultural communication. The article continues with a proposal of culture as an embodied feeling. It then offers an

approach to incorporating the embodied feeling of culture into the development of intercultural competence.

The contribution given in the monographic part of this thesis takes the lead from the very end of the article, expanding the meaning and importance of embodied practices in training for developing ethnorelativism, especially for professionals of human care, but not only restricted to them. I have conducted this kind of training for many years in a workshop within the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Milan for professional educators and managers, and I am now teaching a 24-hour module on the Embodiment of Cultural Identity in the Graduate programme of Programming and Management of Social Service and Public Policies at the University of Milano Bicocca, in addition to my regular course of Intercultural Communication.

Original contributions on the topic of the embodiment of culture, together with a wider discussion of the DMIS position of Integration and the understanding of the multicultural self, are included in Chapter 3 of this thesis. A section of this Chapter also presents the need of caregivers and professionals in the social and health care world to be equipped with a skillset that includes the embodied feeling of cultural appropriateness. The original article and the expansions and applications in this thesis address research question 2c.

2 CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE IDEA OF INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE

2.1 Concepts of intercultural competence

In this section, various classes of definitions of "intercultural competence" as the term is used by interculturalists in general and related definitions of "cultural competence" as the term is used in health care communication are reviewed and criticized. The major criticism of the definitions is that nearly all of them implicitly assume KAS – knowledge, attitude, and skills – as constituting the basic elements of competence. The limitations of this assumption will be explored and contrasted to a more constructivist and developmental definition of intercultural competence based on "worldview experience." Finally, the failure of most interculturalists to recognize the limitations of KAS as the basis of intercultural competence will be attributed to a clash of social science paradigms.

2.1.1 A critical review of intercultural competence models and definitions

Literature on intercultural competence has grown consistently over the last fifteen years, including literature specifically on intercultural competence in the health care context. As Deardorff (2006) points out, the term "competence" itself is a focus of attention. Different definitions of the term in earlier studies range among a general idea of understanding, to the relationship of meaning to satisfaction to effectiveness, to appropriateness and adaptation. "Traditional" definitions, from the 1950s on tend to equate competence with a set of abilities or skills, at times paralleled by or coupled with theories that propound concepts of assimilation, adaptation and adjustment. The rise of cross-cultural studies together with the success of humanistic psychology has added an affective and attitude component to the picture, thus defining intercultural competence in terms of knowledge, attitudes and skills (KAS) (see Smith 1966; also Smith et al. 1963; Harris 1977; Benson 1978).

Spitzberg & Changnon (2009) have made a synoptic review of contemporary models of intercultural competence by creating a taxonomy that might help clarify the plethora of definitions and theoretical approaches. A synthesis of their taxonomy is exemplified by the table below, in which I report the authors of the models they use to justify their scheme (table 1).

Compositional models, according to Spitzberg and Changnon (2009), tend to be schemes of hypothetical components of competence with no effort to identify theoretical relations among them. For instance, The Intercultural Competence Components Model of Howard Hamilton et al. (1998) is an example of the definition of intercultural competence through KAS . A current effort to make a list of components that are research-based is the Deardorff model (2006; 2009), which combines KAS with comprehension and skills. According to that author, it all starts from attitudes (respect, openness and curiosity) that guide knowledge comprehension and skills, which in turn shape the internal desired outcome, adaptability and empathy, which in turn generates the outside desired outcome, effective and appropriate communication and behavior in an intercultural situation.

TABLE 1   Taxonomy of intercultural competence models as in the view of Spitzberg and Changnon (2009) (my table with additions)

Compositional models	Co-orientational models	Developmental models	Adaptational models	Causal path models
Howard Hamilton, Richardson & Shuford (1998) Ting-Toomey & Kurogi (1998) Deardorff & Hunter (2006) Hunter, White & Godbey (2006)	Fantini (1995) Byram (1997, 2003) Byram et al. (2001) Kupka (2008) Rathje (2007) Salo-Lee (2004. 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007) (my addition)	King & Baxter Magolda (2005) M.J.Bennett (1986, 2003, 2006) Lysgaard (1955) Gullahorn & Gullahorn (1962)	Kim Y.Y. (1988) Gallois, Franklin-Stokes, Giles & Coupland (1988) Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bujaki (1989) Navas et al. (2007) King and Baxter Magolda (2005)	Arasaratnam (2008) Griffith & Harvey (2000) Ting-Toomey (1999) Hammer, Wiseman, Rasmussen, Bruschke (1998) Gudykunst (1988) (original AUM theory-my addition) Deardorff (2006) Imahori, Lanigan (1989) Spitzberg, Cupach (1984)

The Facework-based model of Ting-Toomey & Kurogi (1998) can also be included in this cluster for its description of dimensions (knowledge and mindfulness), skills (interaction) and criteria (facework competence), although the authors seem to emphasize cognitive, behavioral and outcome factors, more than attitude and knowledge. Whilst not being a causal model, it affirms the interconnectedness of each and every component that is necessarily affected by change in the other ones. The blueprint of the model is Ting-Toomey's relevance of mindfulness, a concept borrowed from Asian philosophy that entails the important dimension of reflexivity, seldom referred to in these models. I will discuss later the importance, according to my viewpoint, of the dimension of reflexivity and above all self-reflexivity in constructivist terms (Melucci 1996) for the development of competence.

Co-orientation models refer to theories that emphasize interactional processes and those gray areas between skills and outcomes that include, for instance, understanding, accuracy and clarity, and that connote these models more in the linguistic/communication studies area.

The basic idea of these models is the creation of a co-orientation of interactants coming from different cultures toward a common referential world. This is certainly the case of Fantini (1995; 2001) who defines the components or personality traits, typical of the compositional models as facilitators of the communication process, but who still basically defines the competent interaction as an overlapping of languages, meaning and pragmatic norms. If these conditions are in place there will be correspondence, or in his words, worldview convergence. Byram's Intercultural competence model (Byram 1997, 2003; Byram et al. 2001), while still focuses on language abilities, creates a distinction between bicultural and intercultural people. The authors think that bicultural people have KAS that enable them to be effective in both cultures, but that they are basically conflicted in their identities, similar to Janet Bennett's concept of encapsulated marginality (1993). Intercultural people, on the contrary, have the ability to mediate between cultures, while keeping a solid individual identity. Other models highlighting the value of mutual understanding and co orientation of meaning include the articulated model of Kupka (2008) and Rathje (2007) who expand on the idea of attribution error to the understanding of one's own culture as opposed to different cultures. Rathje underlines the process of co-orientation during the competent intercultural interaction, which serves as a way to pass from internal cultural cohesion to a co-production that leads to cohesion between cultures (and reduces the mainstream/minority tension).

Belonging to this group is a model that Spitzberg and Changnon never mention and which has no space in the entire collection edited by Deardorff (2009), which is "intercultural dialogue" – a stream of literature that has gained more popularity in Europe and Canada rather than in the United States. The model has certainly become central to the European Union public discourse about cross-cultural relationships, together with the Council of Europe and UNESCO (Isar 2006). The term is being used in at least six different ways, or in

some combination as Isar points out: 1) "dialogue of or among civilizations"; 2) cultural co-operation in general; 3) multiculturality and multiculturalism; 4) cultural diplomacy; 5) inter-religious dialogue; 6) arts practice.

The common critique of intercultural dialogue is that it defines dialogue as a mediator between monolithic blocks (i.e. civilizations), whether as a clash (Huntington 1996) or as a dialogue (Bohm 1996) – a criticism with which I agree. It represents a stumbling block in the institutional language that at times is reflected in the multiple and not necessarily coherent approaches of the different lines of funding for research and action of these agencies. Further adding to the confusion, there are some authors (eg. Berg & Gonçalves 2007) who are using the concept in communication terms, by taking the KAS approach for granted and trying to expand the perspectives of the co-orientation to include this kind of macro-level dialogue.

Salo-Lee (2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2007) explains the four components of her competence model as different positional viewpoints: the expatriate immigrant ('We there') who requires professional competence, social interaction and adaptation; the immigrant ('they here') moving to a country on a permanent basis, which entails predisposition and communication competence both on the host country and on the migrant; citizens and groups with intercultural and international exposure ('we all here') who represent the moment of synthesis, where co-orientation occurs; finally the position ('we here and there') where people from different countries and backgrounds participate in a global space, that can be both physical and virtual, in a dialogue that requires listening, empathy, understanding, openness and responsibility.

Salo-Lee's model actually opens the way to what Spitzberg & Changnon define as *Adaptational models*. The major difference between these conceptualizations and the "co-orientation" ones is the inclusion of the process of adaptation itself as a criterion of competence. Young Yun Kim's model (1998, 2001) is probably the best known among these. In her view communication is not detachable from competence (hence the name "Intercultural Communicative Competence Model"), and it includes the role that self and outer perceived identity plays in the interaction. The host contextual conditions are as important as the individual dispositions both in interactional and mass communication experiences. In both cases the communication accommodation theory (CAT) (Gallois et al. 1988) explains the process of adaptation based on a number of variables (i.e. dependency or non-dependency; dominant or non-dominant; normative communication style; group affiliation). In this view "competence is evaluated both within one's group and between groups, and depending on the affiliation and solidarity these different speech communities elicit in a person, competence may be revealed by either adaptation to the self's own group or to the other group with which interaction is engaged" (Spitzberg & Changnon 2009: 26).

The issue of adaptation becomes by extension the focus of several models of acculturation that did not claim to be models of intercultural competence to begin with. The very well known four quadrants of the Attitude Acculturation

Model (Berry et al. 1989) illustrating different modes of acculturation based on two questions: "Is maintenance of cultural identity and characteristics valued?" and "Is maintenance of relationships with other groups valued?" is a simple yet effective scheme to try to understand this process. The more complex and recent version of this is an effort (Navas et al. 2007) called Relative Acculturation Extended Model which includes the reciprocal expectations of host groups and immigrant groups which are bound to align along domains such as religious values, customs, social relations, family relations, economic activity, work and labor, politics and government. Groups have ideal and real attitudes and the extension of one group's projections over the others' changes the constituency of competence.

In their criticism of the Acculturation models, Spitzberg & Changnon (2009) conflate levels of analysis. Adaptation models such as Berry's originated to describe processes at a societal macro-level, while most of the other models described in the taxonomy try to explain individual-to-individual interaction processes associated with intercultural competence. Of course the Acculturation models ignore developmental factors, as Spitzberg & Changnon allege, since it was not their purpose in the first place to describe individual development.

A similar lack of contexting is evident in Spitzberg and Changnon's criticism of some *developmental models*, such as the historical U-curve (Lysgaard 1955), which in turn became the W-curve (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1962). These have long ago lost their theoretical weight, but they have remained interesting for their intuitive grasp of the adaptational evolution in the stress and coping psychological domain.[13] So the claimed weakness of these models is once again attributed to theories that were created to describe and interpret phenomena not strictly defined as intercultural competence.

Causal Path Models try to explain intercultural competence. They tend to use different aggregations of variables in order to linearly identify what influences what. Arasaratnam & Doerfel (2005), for instance, put empathy at the basis of their model. This facilitates intercultural competence and positively affects people's awareness during their interactions, as well as what the authors call a 'global attitude'. The latter promotes motivation for experiencing difference, thus reinforcing the global attitude and eventually the interaction involvement. Others, like Ting-Toomey (1999), identify three major steps: the Antecedent factors which could be at a i) societal macro-level (i.e., socioeconomic conditions or degree of institutional support), at the ii) individual level (i.e., motivations, expectations, knowledge and personality traits) and finally at the iii) interpersonal level (i.e., network support, ethnic media). The second step is represented by Change Process factors (which have to do with managing skills for culture shock, identity issues, new relationships and the environment in a competent or incompetent way). The third step is the

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[13]   See also Ward, Bochner & Furnham (2001) particularly chapter 4. Besides the authors don't mention other approaches to intercultural adaptation that are in the domain of the more behavioral theories of intercultural learning (i.e. Furnham & Bochner 1982) or the theories of social identification (i.e. Tajfel & Turner 1986) more in the cognitive stream of studies. See also Castiglioni (2005).

outcome at system/interpersonal and personal identity-change. One of the best-known causal models is the Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Model of Intercultural Competence (AUM) (Gudykunst 1998). AUM is a description of a communicative interpersonal interaction in which, by reducing factors of anxiety and uncertainty, one might enhance self-esteem and thus confidence in behavior.

Finally, Spitzberg & Changnon (2009), include in this cluster the already mentioned Deardorff model, which they previously put in the compositional models, because of its feedback qualities, together with another model based on KAS from Imahori & Lanigan (1989) called the Relational Model of Intercultural Competence, in part derived from Spitzberg & Cupach (1984), whose most interesting novelty, according to Spitzberg & Changnon, is the idea of considering sojourners and host nationals as mirror-image interlocutors.

The good aspect of causal path models, according to Spitzberg & Changnon, is that these models, by being explanatory, are amenable to empirical tests by standard cross-sectional multivariate techniques. At the same time, by providing feedback loops, at least some of them become weak in the traditional scientific sense, as they can no longer withstand true/false hypothesis testing. This very critique leads me to conclude that this taxonomy is useful for trying to create "order" in a very complicated scene, but that it is not useful if it doesn't put these theories and approaches in a paradigmatic perspective. How can a researcher assess models coming out of a systemic or a constructivist perspective by adopting a positivist linear frame of evaluation? It seems a case of paradigmatic confusion (M. Bennett, 2013) that I will expand on in a later section.

2.1.2 A critical review of the literature of intercultural competence in healthcare

Reviews of literature about intercultural competence in health care (The Lewin Group Inc., 2001; Betancourt et al. 2002) show that competence in this context is still mostly defined and measured in terms of knowledge, attitudes and skills (KAS). This emphasis is consistent with definitions in cross-cultural psychology, where definitions of "cross-cultural competence" and "intercultural sensitivity" (Brislin, 2000) are similar to that of "intercultural effectiveness" summed up by Wiseman (2002: 208) as such: "the knowledge, motivation and skills to interact effectively and appropriately with members of different cultures".

The Health resources and services Administration Study On Measuring Cultural Competence in Healthy Care Delivery Settings is a project sponsored by the Health resources and Service Administration in the United States to develop a cultural competence measurement profile comprising a conceptual measurement framework and set of measures for gauging cultural competence in health care settings. The final report (The Lewin Group 2001)[14] provides a

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[14]   HRSA has contracted the Lewin Group, Inc. to conduct this work.

rather extensive literature review of how the idea of competence has been treated in the ambit of health care in that cultural context. The basic definition used in this report is a combined one: "cultural competence is a set of congruent behaviors, attitudes, and policies that come together in a system, agency, or among professionals and enable that system, agency, or those professionals to work effectively in cross-cultural situations" (Cross et al. 1999). Interestingly, in all of this literature, the term used is "cultural competence," as opposed to "intercultural competence," although the meaning intended is similar.

The reference authors of the health care literature are different than those coming from general intercultural competence. For instance they come from interdisciplinary contexts such as transcultural nursing or from sociology of migration studies, but they tend to come to similar models and conclusions. For example, Cross et al. (1999) see intercultural process as a continuum describing one individual's view of other cultures from destructive (or unaware) to proficient. The six stages model[15] can be seen as a parallel to Milton Bennett's DMIS, accompanied by a set of conditions in order for a system to provide culturally competent care. In this view, professionals must: value diversity, understand their cultural biases, be conscious of the dynamics when cultures interact, internalize cultural knowledge and develop adaptations to diversity. Spitzberg & Changnon would have probably fit this model into the developmental section of their taxonomy. Another example of developmental model along Bennett's lines is Carballeira's (1997) "LIVE & LEARN" (Like Inquire Visit Experience & Listen Evaluate Acknowledge Recommend and Negotiate), a continuum that proposes that the provider's attitude falls within a range: superiority, incapacity, universality, sensitivity, competence. He also explores the patient's reactions, making the model a little more systemic, where the clients' reactions range from resistance to accommodation to adaptation.

All the other models could go under the compositional group above defined. Campinha-Bacote (1999) also speaks of competence as process, but not in developmental terms. For instance "cultural awareness is defined as the process of conducting a self-examination on one's own biases towards other cultures and the in-depth exploration of one's cultural and professional background. Cultural awareness also involves being aware of the existence of documented racism and other "isms" in health care delivery" (Campinha-Bacote 2012). The proposed components of her competence model still mostly adhere to the KAS approach (1) cultural awareness; 2) cultural knowledge; 3) cultural skill; 4) cultural encounters; 5) cultural desire).

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[15]   1) cultural destructiveness; 2) cultural incapacity; 3) cultural blindness; 4) cultural pre-competence; 5) cultural competence; 6) cultural proficiency. Besides the different terminology used in this model, the real difference between it and the DMIS is represented by position 1 and position 2. The DMIS in fact assumes denial (which could be read as non-capacity to assume differences, thus the parallel with incapacity) in the first stage, while here it is conceived in the second. Destructiveness elicits behavior typical of defense in the Bennett's model, which he considers to be a "more sensitive" step than denial, thus placing it in the second stage.

The Sunrise Model, by Madeleine Leininger (1991), also from the transcultural nursing approach, suggests the importance of the client's worldview and the social structure he/she is in. She offers seven dimensions of investigation: 1) cultural values and lifeways; 2) religious, philosophical and spiritual beliefs; 3) economic factors; 4) educational factors; 5) technological factors; 6) kinship and social ties; 7) political and legal factors. Professionals should get adequate information about each dimension and tailor the treatment that is best suitable to the patient. This will happen in different ways: cultural care preservation and/or maintenance, cultural care accommodation and/or negotiation and cultural care repatterning and/or restructuring.

Giger & Davidhizar (2001) also present a transcultural assessment model to assist health care professionals based on six factors of patient's assessment: communication; space; time; social organization; environmental control; biological variations. What seems interesting about all these models is the awareness that competence is a dynamic progress that must involve all levels of a health care system.

Another thorough review on cultural competence in health care (US Dept. of Health and Human Services 2004 [16]), has tackled the issue from a different standpoint, which will be particularly relevant for this dissertation. The main questions they tried to answer were: What does cultural competence actually accomplish? Does it make a difference to patients and to health care delivery and health outcomes?

After reviewing other descriptive studies, which also would go under the compositional section (Culhane-Pera et al. 2000; Flores et al. 2000; Gamble 2000; Lindquist 1990; Rankin & Kappy 1993; Salcido & Garcia 1997; Sublette & Trappler 2000), they make a selection of investigations on the impact of training for intercultural competence on trainees. They do so despite the fact that, given the different definitions of training and, above all, of cultural competence, there is no comparability among the studies. Some studies used self-assessment measurements, with no control group, to indicate change in their cultural knowledge and level of competency, showing that it had increased (Allison et al. 1996; Culhane-Pera et al. 1997; Edwards 1997; Gany & de Bocanegra, 1996; Kurtz 1999;), although in one study there was an example of intensification of negative attitudes as a result of training (Sachdev 1997). These reports do not explain or try to interpret these kinds of data that have limited validity (as self reported assessments). Some studies reported that change occurred in some areas of awareness and not in others (Copeman 1989; Farnill et al. 1997) In the report of their study, Majumdar and Brathwaite (2006), by giving training to a group and by having a control group, showed an impact on cross-cultural

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adaptability of the group who received intervention. In some of these studies there also was an attention to training content and materials. Edwards' study (1997) found that a more involving and so called "affective" approach led to better scores in the areas of awareness and cultural competency than a knowledge based approach. On the same involvement line approach, Salcido & Garcia (1997) illustrated a greater impact of training that used videotaping rather than skills or culture specific trainings. However, Pruegger & Rogers (1994) found no pre-post test difference between the experiential approach and the lecture approach, although the qualitative data of their studies showed greater effects of the experiential approach.

In general, healthcare definitions of intercultural (or cultural) competence suffer from the same malady as those of intercultural communication: they take KAS as implicit and necessary to any explanation of competence. In so doing, the models all are driven into the same epistemological camp, where "competent" behavior somehow emerges from vague operations of knowledge and attitudes.

2.1.3 Intercultural competence and social service

In a similar fashion, Fong defines a culturally competent practice "the process by which the social worker, engaged with persons from a specific race or ethnic background, gathers knowledge about his or her ethnic clients' cultural values and traditions and is able to assess, provide, and evaluate interventions that are culturally appropriate for the ethnically diverse client caseload" (Fong 2009: 351). It is implied in the definition that it is up to the social worker to learn theories and treatment practices of both Western and non-Western heritage (Fong et al. 1999). The focus is still very much on the difference brought in by clients, while there is a very limited discussion of the potential diversity of social workers themselves. Interestingly, the discussion in the United States is similar to that in Europe and particularly in Italy, despite the difference of systems and above all the constitution of this particular workforce: mainly - white Italian- in Italy, racially and ethnically diverse in the United States. Stronger emphasis is placed in the social service literature on the typology of client (i.e. refugee vs work migrant, victim of human trafficking vs unaccompanied minor), an important aspect that nevertheless should not supplant other components of the exchange client/social worker.

Fong (2009) focuses on three theoretical frameworks underlying the idea of intercultural competence in social work: the ecological approach, strength perspective, and empowerment theory.

In accordance with the most widespread approach of social work in Western countries, the ecological approach emerges from systems theory. It assumes that human behavior is forged by the social context in which one person grows and lives. The cultural dimension is embedded in the social context according to this perspective, and therefore it is a framework suiting the general practice of social work.

The theory of strengths highlights the ability or competence of the social worker to assess the client's strengths and to use them in an integrative treatment (Saleeby 2002). The implication of this perspective in intercultural competence is important, because what constitutes "strength" in the mainstream client might be considered differently in a client with different racial or ethnic background, leading to different conclusions of diagnosis and or treatment.

Empowerment is used to "compensate" for this last possible misunderstanding: it is a way to guide the client to realize his/her potential despite the cultural, social, psychological or physical block (Gutierrez et al. 1998). I see a strong bias in this perspective, as if the social worker should help people assimilate better to a Western way of living. In fact, Fong et al. (1999) have also caught that for the social worker to be interculturally competent, there needs to a "biculturalization of interventions", one encompassing both the cultural values of the ethnic client and the mainstream value of social care interventions.

Awareness of the potential situations of racism or labeling during contact with the client led the US National Association of Social Work (NASW) to establish ten standards for cultural competence in 2001: Ethics and Values, Self-Awareness, Cross-Cultural Knowledge, Cross-Cultural Skills, Service Delivery, Empowerment and Advocacy, Diverse Workforce, Professional Education, Language Diversity, Cross-Cultural Leadership. Knowledge and skills are at the basis of this approach, together with "an open mind and heart and a willingness to increase awareness about one's own cultural identity and the culture of others" (Okayama et al. 2001: 89).

Onorati & Bednarz (2010), in their Handobook for professionals in Education, Social Work and Health Care, take for granted the definition of competence through knowledge, attitudes and skills, while acknowledging the need for a multidisciplinary theoretical framework for intercultural competency in these domains.

2.2 The paradigmatic coherence of intercultural competence

Sarbaugh (1988) notes the importance of philosophy preceding science: through the examination of concepts and definitions that science takes as a starting point, it creates a consistent view of the world. In his words (1988: 23) "It seems important that periodically we should make explicit our philosophy of life, of science, of education, of knowledge, of ethics. It helps us clarify the meanings we carry within us and to think about how we use them". There is no use in making distinctions or, even less, of making comparisons in definitions and measurements of intercultural communication if one doesn't pay attention to the epistemological assumptions behind them. By not making explicit the assumptive basis of the models that authors as Spitzberg & Changnon (2009) or researchers of The Lewin Group (2001) have categorized, one incurs the risk of

commenting or comparing very different things, generated through methodologies of research that may be based on quite different paradigmatic bases. Here are some comments on how paradigmatic confusion can be misleading in research applications.

Young Yun Kim (1988), in introducing one of the early collections of intercultural models in Theories in Intercultural Communication, spoke of meta theoretical grounding, trying to highlight the assumptions that had guided the theorizations she was presenting in the book. It is in fact one of the few examples in literature, along with the presentations of Milton Bennett since the early1980's, about the importance of paradigmatic coherence when theorizing and measuring phenomena (Bennett M., 2012a; 2012b).

Kim makes a distinction between theories belonging to the 1) positivist tradition, emphasizing the goal of prediction, 2) humanist perspective, with the goal of understanding, 3) systems tradition with the goal of understanding and prediction. Bennett takes strict physics paradigm definitions and uses the positivist (or Newtonian) paradigm, the relativist (or Einsteinian), and the constructivist (or Quantum) paradigm in order to organize different concepts of culture and their implications for intercultural practice and research. In this work Bennett's definitions help to avoid paradigmatic confusion: in my view, humanist and systemic traditions (viewed as separate by Kim) both rely on the relativist paradigm. Besides, in Kim's distinction, there is no paradigmatic space for all the phenomena described as cybernetic (Jorgenson & Steier 1994), that is to say all the circular or recursive processes inherent of systems that are capable of self-regulation or self-organization[17]. Moreover, there is no space for quantum processes that include the "organization of reality through the observer/observation/observed interaction" (M. Bennett, 2012a) which is the notion underlying the constructivist definition of "culture."

The idea of culture in the positivist epistemological position, according to both Kim and Milton Bennett is that culture exists as a "thing". Given that the positivist approach is characterized by "analytic-reductionist-behavioral-quantitative" (Kim 1988: 16) methodological approaches, it follows that culture can only be described through behavior, and every inference about patterns of behaviors shared by groups is a speculation. Positivism implies that there is an objective world that exists, that is therefore 'true', and that is independent from the observer's observation. Most of the so-called traditional social science, sometimes even what is considered to be good social science, relies on this paradigm; hence the predominance of classifications, taxonomies and a preference for quantitative methodology. For instance, the compositional models identified by Spitzberg & Changnon (2009) fall under this paradigmatic approach, and, according to Kim, so do Gudykunst (1988) with AUM theory,

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[17] The concept of cybernetics has been incorporated in social science through the related concept of constructionism. See the use of constructionism in paradigmatic distinctions of Mary K. Rodwell (1998), Social work constructivist research. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.

Gallois et al. (1988) with CAT theory that have been classified respectively as causal path models and adaptational models by Spitzberg & Changnon (2009).

The most immediate implication for practice is that proponents of this view think that description alone, therefore knowledge per se, is sufficient to be competent interculturally. Such descriptions include not only information about different countries (area studies) in objective and institutional terms, but also about the so-called subjective culture (Triandis 1972), such as values and nonverbal behavior. For many years intercultural communication has been known as the literature of "dos and don'ts". Bennett (2005) notes that techniques like "cultural assimilators"[18] (Albert 1995; Brislin et al. 1986; Triandis 1995), heavily used in the health care training context are coming out of this epistemological approach. The explicit goal of these exercises is to make people more adaptive to cultural differences (Cushner 1989), but adaptation is a concept that clashes with the positivist paradigm. Adaptation can be conceived only from a relativist or systems theory, in which the notion of context is present[19]. And I share Bennett's assertion: "At best, the techniques that derive from a positivist paradigm allow for learning to assimilate to a new culture. More likely, the techniques are simply adequate for learning about cultures without any necessary relationship to how one adapts to a different culture" (Bennett, 2005: 6). So the paradigmatic confusion here is to try to use knowledge to create an adaptive behavior: it might indeed happen, but if so, in my opinion, only because that knowledge has triggered an experience of difference that needed words to nominate a situation or address a specific issue.

The notion of culture in the relativist paradigm, which is the heart of major theories in intercultural communication, is more or less that of the original formulation of "cultural relativity"; it implies the description of how rules and roles interact in complex systems. Particularly, in the strict communication research domain, it specifies how context influences meaning and people and how individuals create meaning out of it. In this realm, the concept of framing introduced by Bateson (1972) and Goffman (1974) becomes a natural way of trying to understand different realities, by having the awareness that experience cannot be flat, but it is stratified through complex operations of framing (Sparti, 2002). That is why many interculturalists use the metaphor of "colored glasses" to demonstrate the idea that culture "colors" the perspective from which we are looking at things. The danger, as highlighted by Bennett, of the maintenance of this perspective as such, is that it holds an underlying assumption: that under different layers of culture there is a true world/humanity/value that is free from cultural distortion[20].

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[18]   Cultural assimilators are essentially exercises in which trainees are presented with a case (critical incident) that requires some form of interpretation and typically some action. There are sets of possible answers among which only one is "right". See for instance Rena C. Gropper (1996). Culture and the clinical encounter. An intercultural sensitizer for the helth professions. Yarmouth: Intercultural Press.

[19]   To adapt comes from the Latin adaptare ad-*to* aptare (from aptus *fit*). One needs "to fit into something". English Oxford Dictionary.

[20]   This is a view that is particularly evident in most cross-cultural psychology research, which is the so called universalist bias. For instance, the idea that universal truths are

One of the major limitations of this kind of theory, according to Bennett, is the lack of any assumption of "crossing context". How can, within this paradigmatic view, one person go from one context to another by switching worldview? There is an epistemological impasse that impedes one to understand this movement within a systems view.

Heisenberg's realization in 1927, within the realm of physics, that one cannot separate the properties of observed phenomena from the measurement of them, nor from the observer who is measuring them (Briggs and Peat, 1984) has changed the world of science. In social science there have been two major tracks, constructionism and constructivism, that built on that idea. Whilst they do have many traits in common, they still have some differences. Mary Rodwell (1998) makes a basic distinction that has to do with the nature of knowledge and the approach to research between the two. Constructionism has to do with linguistic negotiation and the agreement upon meaning, views individuals in terms of personality and identity as a socially constructed phenomenon, potentially changing from situation to situation. In this perspective, human interaction is seen as a result of linguistic coupling, a negotiation of meaning across cognitive, social, and moral structures. In my view, constructionism is acting as a bridge between relativism and constructivism, since it is very attached to the text and its analysis and the understanding of problems within the context.

Constructivism has a different lineage, starting from cognitive psychology with George Kelly's theory of personal constructs (1955), Piaget (1954) in developmental psychology, the Palo Alto school (Watzlavick, 1967), Berger & Luckmann in sociology (1966), Gregory Bateson in anthropology (1972), Heinz Von Foerster in neuropsychology (1961), George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in linguistics (1980) and completely presented by biologists and social scientists Humberto Maturana and Francisco Varela (1987). As noted by Rodwell (1998: 19), the nature of knowledge for constructivists is the construction of the subject's experience and action, an invention of new interpretive frameworks or structures as an evolution to more comprehensive interpretations. Human beings are seen as purposive organisms and human interaction as a structural coupling, i.e. fitting together of structures and coordinating behaviors of self-organizing systems. Hence there is the need to deal, specifically in research, with managing paradoxes and constantly restructuring cognitive meaning in the collection of experiential data. In this perspective, M. Bennett (2005: 10) defines culture as "our description of patterns of behavior (co-ordinations of meaning and action) generated through human interaction within some boundary condition".

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manifested differently in different cultural contexts (Bennett, 2011). See also Sparti D. (2002).

2.3   Constructivist definition of Intercultural Communication

In contrast to the traditional psychological definition of "intercultural competence," this dissertation treats the subject in a way more closely aligned with constructivist traditions in psychology and communication. The pivot of the change is the notion of "culture" itself. The idea of "culture" is usually treated as a cognitive construct in the West (Bennett & Castiglioni 2001). In its objective sense, human culture refers to the institutions and artifacts generated by some defined group of people. According to the sociologists Peter Berger & Thomas Luckmann (1966), these institutions are "objectivations" (and often reifications) of the coordinated behavior of a group of people. In its subjective sense, human culture refers to the underlying worldview shared by members of a defined group.

In addition to its social science context, the Western and particularly American bias of intercultural communication is apparent in its separation of mind and body and in its emphasis on action. The body is seen as the vehicle for action initiated by the mind. The assumed relationship between cognition and behavior employs the traditional division among cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions of experience, earlier defined as KAS (knowledge, attitude, skills). Interculturalists generally believe that understanding cognitive constructs such as the values of a target culture can be translated into actions such as modified social behavior in that culture. They also believe that particular affective states and their associated attitudes either impede or facilitate intercultural relations, hence the emphasis on KAS. For instance, the positive affect associated with "tolerance of ambiguity" is generally held to be facilitative, while the negative affect associated with "judgmentalism" is held to be an impediment. In a social science context, affect (Kuper & Kuper 1985) tends to be associated with attitude – a predisposition to action. The same case can be made about affective states such as "motivation" that assumedly impede or facilitate intercultural encounters. But attitudes toward culture can change like other attitudes depending on specific factors. Additionally, one can have more positive or negative feeling about events that are clearly not related to competence, such as liking or not liking certain foods. Even behavioral skills are not necessarily predictive of competence, since a competent professional needs also to know if and when to practice his/her skill. Most intercultural theory assumes that some combination of cognition and affect will enable an individual to generate appropriate behavior in cultures different from his or her own, or that mutual attempts to change behavior will result in the creation of "third cultures."

The strength of the Western social science approach to intercultural relations is its ability to generate culture-general (etic) cognitive frames of reference for contrasting cultures and its methodology for interaction analysis[21].

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[21]   This peculiarity, that I devise as a strength, is particularly criticized by anthropologists and cultural anthropologists, according to Moosmüller and

The major limitation of the current intercultural approach is its inability to adequately explain the translation of cognition into behavior. This limitation is probably a consequence of the traditional social science device of positing an affective condition, or attitude, as the bridge between thought and action. In intercultural studies, attitudes such as "tolerance of ambiguity" seem to act in this way. It is simply assumed that people with this factor are better at translating knowledge into action than people without this factor. (Bennett M. & Castiglioni 2001).

The limitation of the KAS intercultural approach is most noticeable in the area of cultural adaptation. While there are fine studies on the forms of adaptation in cross-cultural situations, those models do not seek to explain the mechanism of adaptation itself. Models of culture shock and other adaptation processes do describe a sequence of psychological events, but they do not answer the question of how those events translate into adaptive behavior. Earlier, it was noted the purpose of some adaptation models was not to explain the mechanism of adaptation itself. One reason for this is that KAS is so taken for granted as the self-explanatory underlying mechanism. In sum, intercultural theory becomes somewhat vague in discussing exactly how the behaviors of intercultural competence come about.

In this dissertation, competence is taken as a manifestation of framing one's lived experience in particular ways -- in this case, of organizing one's reality of the lived experience of cultural difference in a way that can generate appropriate enactments. It is the act of framing itself that generates experience, according to the constructivist psychologist George Kelly (1955). This is consistent with the constructivist definition of culture as the praxis of living (enactment) in a coordinated system of human beings (Bennett & Castiglioni 2001). This is also the basis of the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (M. Bennett, 1986, 1993, 2004b, 2013) that is central to the collection and interpretation of data in this study.

The constructivist view of intercultural competence emphasizes the framing of experience as opposed to the assumed interplay of cognitive, affective, and behavioral constructs. For example, people are "culturally competent" in their own native cultures despite having no cognitive knowledge of its values per se, limited behavioral skills, and perhaps even a very negative attitude. People nevertheless frame their lived experience in a way that generates appropriate coordinated enactments. In the constructivist view, competence is related to the extent of perceptual discrimination one brings to an event (Bennett 2004a) -- what Milton Bennett calls "intercultural sensitivity." Intercultural sensitivity is a complex experience derived from a highly differentiated construction of reality. To understand the relationship between sensitivity and competence, one needs to speak of a precursor, to use a neuro-biological term, to a certain behavior or attitude or skill. The precursor is the

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Schönhuth, 2009, in Deardorff D. (ed.), ibid. They say it is a useful approach only in specific contexts, i.e. multinational companies. I disagree with this view, as I will demonstrate through this work.

constellation of experience, or worldview, that frames and brings into relief certain knowledge, that frames an attitude as a feeling for the whole of the experience, and that is enacted in certain behavior that is effective or not in alternative cultural contexts. Intercultural competence is indeed the capacity to effectively communicate in cross-cultural situations and to relate appropriately in different cultural contexts (Bennett & Bennett, 2004), but by bearing in mind that this is a manifestation of a different way of framing one's experience – a particularly level of intercultural sensitivity.

3   PEDAGOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS AND TOPICS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERCULTURAL SENSITIVITY

3.1 Developmental intercultural education in a research-training context

Developmental education is frequently coupled with transformational learning, while developmental psychology is often called constructive developmentalism. Transformational learning was posited by Mezirow and a group of associates within the cradle of Columbia University's Teachers' College in New York. Though it began at the end of the Sixties, it is in the Eighties and Nineties that it sees full blossoming. Robert Kegan (2000), a constructive developmental psychologist, underlines that both lines of thought, learning and psychology, need each other: constructive developmental psychology (Kegan 1982, 1994; Piaget 1954; Kholberg 1984; Belenky et al. 1986) tries to understand the forms through which human beings create meaning and offers to educators the pivotal idea that a form of knowing is always a relationship between the subject and the object in one's knowing. It is a process of rejection of assumptions, more a rejection of one's identification with these assumptions as truth (Kegan 2000). Hence the meta-process Kegan calls the reforming of our meaning-forming: "we do not only change our meanings; we change the very form by which we are making our meanings. We change our epistemologies." (Kegan, 2000: 52-53). Adult learning thus should emphasize "contextual understanding, critical reflection on assumptions, and validating meaning by assessing reasons" (Mezirow 2000). Intentional developmental teaching should be respectful of people's epistemology, trying not to over-attend where one wants the student to be and neglecting where she is. Support and challenge are a delicate balance to hold but, if appropriately tackled, they are the key to a developmental change in learning.

Developmental training design needs to encompass what epistemologies an individual has access to for organizing meaning. So what it can realistically achieve is to solicit new frames that will eventually become bridges, using Kegan's image, or "a succession of increasingly more elaborate bridges" onto new frames (Kegan, 2000, p. 60) over a lifetime learning span.

The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (Bennett, 2004) offers an insight into people's epistemology of difference. By respecting existing frames of reference, elaborating on them, and by challenging habits of mind and eventually learning new frames of reference, educator and student create a learning loop – from questioning basic assumptions to eventuating in contextual learning. The dialogical relationship is necessary as it is a process that generates a dispositional orientation for critical reflection on both sides. Brookfield (1995) notes all assumptions, paradigmatic, prescriptive and causal should be taken into account. Paradigmatic assumptions are shared by a group of people, providing them with a structure of categories through which individuals look at and make meaning of the world. For instance, by identifying, as an educator, a paradigmatically coherent idea of culture, one is able to convey a potential for opening a constructive critical reflection into the learner. Prescriptive assumptions norm, at a meta-level, what one thinks should happen in a given situation. By offering alternatives, an educator elicits a range of possibilities often never thought of before from the learner's side. While simple causal assumptions that seem to describe how the world works are easiest to identify and to connect with for a learner, the educator must go beyond them to explore, together with the learner, a shift in imagination via an act of empathy into other worldviews.

While I agree with the general premises of transformational learning, I believe developmental training needs no drama, even no disorienting dilemma, as opposed to what suggested by Mezirow. More in line with Bruner (1996) and Kegan (1994) it mostly requires respect and empathy for worldviews that the educator finds hard to cope with. For instance, in the case of Denial of difference and Defense against difference, it is fundamental to feel the inability of testing one's interpretations and beliefs, together with the feeling of detachment or isolation (in Denial) or the rage and the fear (in Defense). By authentically respecting such a worldview one opens the dialogical relationship necessary to introduce new elements into the picture. In later sections I address the training pedagogy of the DMIS.

Targeted developmental design along the DMIS needs to take care of the potential 1) climate created by people with different worldview in the same room and identify one or more strategies of coping; it also needs to carefully prepare contents in a 2) language which is paradigmatically coherent and explicit in order to establish a common epistemological vocabulary among participants; the developer should 3) prepare room activities which can speak to different levels of perceptual sophistication among participants; 4) leverage on participants with more ethnorelative worldviews for providing with challenge and, at the same time, model respect for those with a more

ethnocentric view of the world; 5) consider how to treat resistance with some participants and create a virtual cycle among participants who are willing to dare to open to new frames.

I think adults in the classroom are asking, albeit with different voices and at different stages, not only for new skills to improve their performance or self-confidence; they frequently ask for different ways with which to understand themselves, the world around them and their interaction with it. A developmental educator needs to see this and be ready to target this need in the most appropriate way. This research shows that it is possible, in a realistic time and with realistic means. This line of thought has enormous implications for the costs and impact of training in organizations always living on the edge of their capacity, such as social services and public health care.

3.2   Learning as change

It has been common use in "training discourse" to talk about interventions (Savicky 2008; Vande Berg, Paige, Lou, 2012) on learning in order to reach the objectives of a specific program, at least in the last twenty years. Isolating the concept can help some useful reflections to explain the training pedagogy according to the DMIS.

A great deal of research about learning has been devoted to memory and its mechanisms. For a long time, learning has been synonymous of memory and this has heavily impacted the style of education of Western culture between the second half of the IX century and the first half of the XX century. During the Sixties and the Seventies, though, the advancement on studies in psychology and social psychology underline the need to expand the range of studies and the concept of learning itself. Hilgard & Bower (1981) for instance, talk about learning as a change of attitudes.

It is in this stream that an intervention on learning has become intervention on change: change and learning can mutually define themselves. Learning is changing in a socially acceptable way, according to Luca Amovilli (1994), provided learning is understood within a relational context, an affective contamination between learner and teacher (or trainer or facilitator). Amovilli (1994: 149) ranks the philosopher Agustine of Hippo as an early humanist of learning: in the De Magistro (389 a.d.) Agustine says that learning and teaching are two sides of the same coin. There is an internal teacher that today would be associated with an awareness process, and an external one. The language, or internal idea, is formed on the stimulus of the learnt thing. This idea is antecedent and superior to the learnt thing, as well as to the language with which it will be expressed and eventually taught. In order to teach one will use the word that has "sound as a body and idea as a soul": "sonus est quasi corpus, intellectus est quasi animus" (Agustine, 389: 23). Therefore, Amovilli implies, the words one teaches are only sounds that need to be recognized from inside the learner, by its constructs. And Augustine continues:"… when words

are being pronounced, either we know what they mean or we ignore them: if we know, they remind us, but they don't teach; if we don't know, they don't even awake any memory, but perhaps they stimulate the quest" (389: 133).

The above passage captures the sense of developmental teaching/learning better than other concepts: the meaning of readiness and availability of the learner to challenge and change her constructs is dependent on a series of factors and, above all on the relationship with the "teacher", as humanistic researchers Rogers (1969, 1970) and Maslow (1954, 1962) have theorized.

According to Lewin (1942), learning is the result of a field of perceptions which develops gradually: there is no "right" learning then, in rational, ethical and theoretical terms, but a learning that is possible for that person in that given situation, or field of perceptions. Learning leads to four types of change: 1) learning as change of the cognitive structure, in which the notion of field of perception has central stage (e.g. the idea of learning as mapping a world of relationships among things and not as representation of things); 2) learning as change of the motivation, for instance learning to appreciate or to deprecate as there are changes in the needs of the person and in the means with which he can satisfy them; 3) learning as change of ideology or sense of belonging to a group in both a motivational and cognitive sense, by assigning meaning to things, conceptualizing objectives, and thus defining success; 4) learning the meaning of voluntary control of the body musculature. Indeed, this is the attempt that the DMIS pedagogy tries to develop in order to tackle the worldview of people, by designing interventions trainees are ready to accept, yet challenging enough to provide with new stimuli, in order to modify the constructs about cultural difference and eventually to embody the experience of that difference.

Gregory Bateson (1972) adds yet another layer which is particularly helpful to understand the development of stage appropriate interventions. By using Russell's (1913) theory of logical types, he creates a ranking of learning categories. There are however two preliminary considerations to be made: 1) learning needs to be considered as change, that is to say a modification of capability, of knowledge, of ability to respond between a time t0 and a time t1; 2) change has been described in science through a process which is subject to change itself.

His four categories of learning change are as follows:

Learning-change 0. At this level, learning and change are not synonymous yet. This kind of learning does not imply any change but the fixation of a behavior genetically pre-constituted. The ambits of "zero" behavior are tied to three levels of increasing awareness: the first one is genetic, when by receiving a stimulus, usually sensorial, there is a genetically pre-determined response (very low awareness). The second is that of habitual behaviors, related to automatic responses, which include everyday performances. These operations are so habitual to be partially under one's awareness scan. The last one is made of the awareness of one's own limits and imperfections. In this case, the level of awareness is high. In all of these cases, the capabilities do not derive, according

to Bateson, from a real learning-change, even though the verb "learning" is often used to indicate an acquisition of new information. The kind of learning that happens is the "inevitable learning".

Learning-change 1. It is an incremental change from level 0, and it consists of the ability to construe and attribute meaning to a stimulus. The premise is that the context can be repeated, otherwise all learning would be innate: in other words, in order for an organism to attribute meaning there needs to be a context in which the stimulus can be classified. "Context of stimulus is a meta-message that classifies the elementary signal. Context of context of stimulus is a meta-meta-message that classifies the meta-message. And so on." (Bateson, 1972: 289). Different organisms, though, respond to the same stimulus differently in different contexts. In human life, there are signals that classify contexts that Bateson call "context markers". Hence perception is not a passive phenomenon, but it is controlled by the subject through "marking" the context with signals that might be meaningful to her and only to her. At this level of learning the attribution of meaning is automatic and unaware.

Learning-change 2. It is that kind of learning that Harlow (1959), together with Bateson have defined as the ability of "learning to learn". Therefore the ability to transfer a way to learn from a context to another is a type-2 learning. If the recognition of the context is through repetition, then the process is mechanical and still little aware, says Bateson. If the context recognition is through a process of insight and/or a process of one's own experience, then it implies awareness. Amovilli (1994) adds that one also faces a type-2 learning when an internal dialogue occurs or through the feedback from another person or from psychometric instruments. This kind of learning involves the acquisition of the ability to "punctuate events"[22], that is to say to put experience in context. This can be adaptive and unaware, but it can also be intentionally learnt. As a matter of fact, I believe that when it is unconscious it creates a potential problem, for instance in people who have a bicultural identity. It makes people feel as if they were stuck in between two cultures, not belonging to any, but also not really being able to shift intentionally from one to the other[23]. When it is aware, it means that the person is also aware of the fact that having a bicultural identity is a resource and that they intentionally can learn about cultural aspects that they might not know, and they can intentionally make a shift. This is what Milton Bennett (1993) has called "constructive marginality" and now refers to as "intercultural liminality" (2013), which I will discuss in the next level.

Learning-change 3. It is no longer a matter of change of a specific response (learning-change 1); nor the change of a contextual punctuation (learning-change 2); it is a change of the premises of the entire system of habits of punctuation (Amovilli 1994). In other words, it is not a matter of changing

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[22]   This is a concept used by Bateson and by Watzlavick , together with the colleagues of the School of Palo Alto. See also Watzlavick et al (1967) Pragmatics of Human Communication, New York: Norton.
[23]   See also Bennett J.M. (1993).

context markers, but of allowing their change and their interchangeability. Amovilli (1989) makes the example of a specialist physician who finds the cause of the symptom he is trying to cure inside the theoretical model and ambit of his specialty: he punctuates the symptom within a frame or context. He could have an alternative position by using different clinical models, by using an elastic punctuation of events, but it still would be learning-change 2. In order to make a learning shift he needs to overcome the theory and use his awareness to learn what it is and it can be, here and now. This is the level of learning needed for building a constructive intercultural person, whose identity is consciously constructed and re-constructed. Bateson (1972) himself thinks that a "weak" identity, used in a positive sense, is a fluctuating identity that does not need "fake" certainties, but is able to perceive consciously the markers of his past and present of his environment.

3.3 The Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS): an overview description

Milton Bennett's DMIS was first published in 1986 as a description of how people became more interculturally adaptive. His observations on people moving across cultural contexts since the Seventies, led to a grounded theory, i.e. to a collection of field observations explained with a constructivist perception theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The model, from the beginning, assumes the paradigmatic framework of constructivism, despite the fact that his departure from affective and behavioral components was not stated as clearly in the first publication (1986) as it is now (2012, 2013).

One major aspect of the premises of the model is that the developmental sequence is not intended as an evolution of individual personality, or solely personal constructs. As underlined by Bennett (2012: 58), "culture does not reside in individuals; it is by definition a group phenomenon. But individuals manifest culture through their worldviews. Similarly, intercultural sensitivity does not reside in separate individuals, but it can be manifested by a predominant experience of difference." With reference to the precepts of radical constructivism (Watzlawick, 1984), Bennett assumes individuals' experience of reality is a function of their organization of perception; the more complex the organization – the greater the number of distinctions made within the category – the more "feeling of reality" is generated vis a vis that category of phenomena. DMIS is then a sequential description of how the perception of culture is organized in increasing more complex ways, so that eventually the phenomenon of "cultural difference" generates a feeling of reality that can be enacted in interculturally adaptive behavior. The different experiences of culture are positioned along a continuum from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism. Ethnocentric positions go from avoidance of cultural difference (Denial), to building self defense against it (Defense) or to organizing defense

against one's own perceived main cultural context (Reversal) to a Minimization of its importance compared to the existence of human similarity (Minimization). Ethnorelative positions express "ways of seeking the experience of cultural difference" (2012: 59), ranging from the Acceptance of the importance of cultural difference, to the Adaptation of perspective to take it into account, to the Integration of the experience of cultural difference into one's own personal identity. Intercultural sensitivity, as intended so far, can also be a manifestation of an organizational culture, thus all experiences of difference can be thought of at an organizational level, whereas one is able to identify the predominant experience of an organization, or a portion of an organization with the power to settle rules and procedures for all.

Defining positions on a continuum rather than stages stress the caution one ought to adopt when describing the predominant experience of a person, thus avoiding labeling processes typical of a positivist classification. Having a predominant experience means that other nuances are present in the perception of a phenomenon and co-exist. The development of intercultural sensitivity is therefore a change in the predominant experience (PE) of cultural difference. In turn, PE does not change as a function of a different experience (i.e. Japan or Finland) of a cultural boundary: one doesn't have an experience of Defense of Japanese culture and one of Acceptance of Finland. Notwithstanding how much one knows about one cultural context or another, it is the underlying perception of difference that organizes the experience of it.

3.4   The pedagogy of DMIS

The training component of this research project followed the pedagogy underlying the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity[24]. The basic concept is a facilitator or a trainer needs to attend to the level of intercultural sensitivity of participants in a session before planning it. As described in the paragraph above, the model offers the possibility to identify "key issues" that need to be addressed for each stage. For individuals, the resolution of these issues allow them to move into a more advanced level of intercultural sensitivity, although they may maintain some tendency to organize cultural difference in more ethnocentric ways depending on how completely the issues were resolved ("trailing issues"). For groups, individual PEs are distributed in such a way as to generate a PE for the group. It is probably incorrect to see the group PE as a simple aggregate of individuals, since there are group dynamics

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[24]   All of Milton Bennett's publications on the DMIS include some discussion of training and learning methodology, including a compendium a classroom exercises that support the developmental sequence: Bennett M., Bennett J. (1991). *Developing Intercultural Competence: A Reader*. Portland , OR: Intercultural Communication Institute. However, none of the publications place the methodology into a more general constructivist pedagogical context, which is attempted throughout this chapter.

factors such as critical mass and opinion leadership at play as well. Nevertheless, it is up to the facilitator to understand the predominant experience of difference of a group of trainees, knowing that the PE of individuals will be complexly distributed in the group and that each individual him or herself will have a complex combination of PE and trailing issues.[25]

In table 2 below I make a summary of the main issues in every position and consequently of the need to address it with a specific developmental pedagogical intervention[26].

TABLE 2   Main issues and interventions in the developmental sequence of DMIS

DMIS stage	issue	intervention
denial	inability to construe differences	exposure to inevitability and range of differences
defense	simplification of the other/polarization	building sense of commonality
minimization	projection of one's own worldview	becoming aware of one's own culture
acceptance	ethical paralysis	learning to attribute goodness in context
adaptation	authenticity	extending identity repertoire
integration	lack or instability of reference group	identifying reference groups through different criteria of selection

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[25]   In this research, diagnosis of group PE was accomplished through a combination of in-depth interviews and use of the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) .assessment (version 2) (Bennett & Hammer, 1998). The interviews compensate for the IDI's over-simplified assumption that the PE of groups is the aggregate of individuals. Strengths and limitations of the IDI along with other methodological considerations are discussed in Chapter IV of this dissertation.

[26]   By pedagogical intervention I mean the creation of a class, a didactic tool/situation which include exercises, simulations, reflections, group discussions, instruments, a counseling or coaching session, with the goal of developing a particular issue, through a de-construction and re-construction of meaning.

3.5   Intervention on learning in DMIS terms

In my view, all the life learning around one's own culture is predominantly of type 0 and 1. That is why, in a pedagogy of the DMIS, one could put most ethnocentric trainees' behaviors at this level. And one could understand the stage of Denial from this perspective in a more empathic form. It is common for facilitators of intercultural communication to have antagonistic attitudes toward people in Denial and Defense, while in fact they themselves are lacking the skill to understand these worldviews from inside. If a trainee has this predominant level of learning (and awareness), the competence of the facilitator consists of delivering information that is not specific, but which introduces the construct of difference itself and eventually that of perspective, among people who perceive themselves as similar. This in order to lower the tendency to defend oneself, typical of an ethnocentric position, when the relative construct of stable and undifferentiated similarity is "endangered" by the mere idea of difference. This tendency is a central assumption of the positions of Defense and reversal. So the intervention here is one that aims at lowering the threat generated by talking about difference per se.

In Bateson's terms, allowing people to identify context markers of their life experience leads to the realization of perspective and the segmentation of events. All exercises that mechanically show the difference of perception (i.e. old woman/young woman[27]) should be intentionally used to create the construct of relative perspective. The other main intervention is to create a climate of reassurance, in which, for instance, polarization is minimized by the emphasis on common human traits or by a sense of belonging to an organizational culture. This new perception of well being of the trainees usually opens people up to a better sense of themselves, of human beings that are able to sublimate difference. This condition is necessary to enter the Minimization stage. In the book "La comunicazione interculturale. Competenze e pratiche" (2005), the second chapter bears this kind of issue and type of learning in mind, although without this pedagogical background explication. The volume is intended for anyone who wants to approach the topic of intercultural communication: the sequence of topics and issues follows the DMIS pedagogy in order to guide a developmental learning in the reader.

Chapter 3 and 4 of the same book deal with learning type 1 and 2 issues: context markers and punctuation in Bateson terms. The main impediment for people in Minimization is the inability to recognize their own environment in relation to other contexts according to Bennett (2004). So one first step is giving new "words", or context markers, to trainees to recognize their own cultural context. Eliciting insights and using feedback exercises is a way to try to make people find a common humanity in the face of differences, but also to be able to "discover" difference in a non-threatening climate. Learning about one's own cultural self and others' at the same time is an easier way to start thinking about

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[27]   See also Pusch M. (1979).

how to balance unity and diversity in their cultural context. Intervention in organizations here is a subtle one and tends to rely on pragmatic issues. Trainees are challenged with the feasibility of the coexistence of the two aspects and the construal of difference: if the intervention is effective, it will finally be accepted. At this time, the new intervention is to provide them with learning to learn cultural frameworks[28]: specific topics will be provided in the summary of the book in the next sections of this Chapter.

The end of Chapter IV of the volume "La comunicazione interculturale. Competenze e pratiche" (Castiglioni 2005) deals with a critical issue which steps up the kind of learning: ethics in a world of difference. This certainly leads to type 3 learning in Bateson terms, when one needs to address the question of "goodness in context" and eventually of "commitment in relativism" in Perry's terms (Perry 1970; Knefelkamp 1999). This kind of intervention is very delicate but extremely important in order to consolidate the ethnorelative stage of Acceptance. One can understand and accept differences without necessarily agreeing with them. One needs to know what she agrees with and why, needs to be able to understand the inherent motivation why somebody would think and behave differently in a different context and finally being able to reconcile the two or more positions. It is an ability that requires personal reflection and processing of ethical dilemmas through critical incidents or interviews about ethical issues.

The next intervention is the work on empathy, and here a world of possibilities opens up about the range of classroom activities: from traditional methods of paper-pencil exercises, to dyads, to T-groups (Lewin 1942) to techniques of embodiment which will be discussed later in this Chapter. The ability to shift from one context to the other and to adapt the behavior consequently needs to pass from intentionality to un-intentionality and to become part of the self. It is the transcendence of the theory wished by both Bateson and Bennett characterizing the identity of the intercultural being.

In the following sections (3.6 to 3.11) topics of intercultural communication are reviewed in a sequence that is coherent with the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity. The same sequence of topics is used in the annexed text "La comunicazione interculturale. Competenze e pratiche " (2005) in order to guide the reader in a gradual exploration of what constitutes the experience of difference. For the purpose of this dissertation, more references and some critical perspective have been added. This part also constitutes the theoretical basis for the training sessions, part of the action research on the quasi-experimental group of the investigation presented in Chapter 4 and 5 of this work. It should be noted that during the training sessions described in annexed material and referred to in this dissertation, the Model of Intercultural Sensitivity was never been presented to participants. This supports the contention that the effectiveness of training was largely due to the attentiveness of timing vis à vis developmental positions of participants

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[28] This intervention is based on Milton Bennett's training and teaching along the DMIS which I have been exposed to and I have worked with since 1998.

and paradigmatic coherence in the sequence of illustrated topics, as will be further discussed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

3.6 Overcoming ethnocentrism: culture, stereotypes and generalizations

According to the constructivist view of culture, here is a definition that is paradigmatically coherent and supportable: culture is the enactment of the praxis of living in a coordinated system of human beings (Bennett & Castiglioni 2001). Culture can be defined as a group of people who interact with each other and who share a way to respond to events in a similar way, who have construed a similar perceptive system through imitation and interaction, thus are sharing values and behaviors that they mean to be "optimal" by consensus, therefore worthy to be transmitted onto new generations.

For purposes of clarification, intercultural communication scholars tend to follow the Triandis (1972) distinction between objective culture and subjective culture. The first refers to aspects of the history, the political system, music, art and so on of a specific cultural group: they tend to be domains investigated at a macro level; the latter refers to visions, values, behaviors and beliefs which are not immediately readable (say in a tourist guide, for instance), nor visible or perceivable. For many years, trainers of intercultural communication have depicted the image of the iceberg, borrowed by Freud's distinction between conscious and unconscious of individuals, which is useful for trainees at the most elementary level: it creates a dissonance in the way perhaps most of them have thought about culture up to that moment. However, since the definition of culture is no longer referred primarily to national culture, it is limitative to use this metaphor. It ought be accompanied by other images that include the interconnection of the reference groups one belongs to in order to introduce the idea of culture as a multilayered phenomenon. The "kaleidoscopic flux" used by Benjamin Whorf (1956), is perhaps a better depiction which allows to include other dimensions of culture, such as ethnicity, region, gender, sexual orientation, generation, physical ability, etc. The important message to convey in DMIS terms, in a training session aiming at reducing ethnocentrism, is how much we all, as human beings, participate in the construction of the culture we experience.

The patterns of coordination one can observe within and between cultures are functions of one's observational (i.e. constructed etic) categories. For instance, one can look for a more "high-context" or more "low-context" communication style, to use the well-known etic category created by E.T. Hall (1976). This does not mean that cultures really are high or low context; to think so would be to fall into reification. Rather, the etic category labels a type of coordination that may be more or less prevalent in a particular group in comparison to another group. One can refer to the observation of such

prevalence as a "cultural generalization" (Bennett, 2013b). But if one reifies culture as being characterized by a particular style, it is easy to fall into thinking that everyone is a "representative" of that group. That in turn leads to either inductive stereotyping (like one, like all) or deductive stereotyping (like all, like one).

Were one to observe a difference in prevalence between groups, it becomes more likely that there will be a "clash" of styles in cross-cultural interaction between the groups. Making predictions such as this is a core expertise of intercultural communication. However, one must be careful to not let one's own observational generalizations become stereotypes, which can easily occur if there is confusion on the focus of understanding interaction with thinking that one is actually describing culture.

3.6.1 The relativity of perceptive and linguistic experience

The sharing of meaning attribution in a cultural group passes through interaction. Two individuals, at least from a biological viewpoint, will never be able to perceive reality in an exactly identical way. It is through communication that people discover that their perceptions are similar to those of other people that share the same contextual experience, which in turn becomes a group of identity (Singer 1987). These identity groups create language on the basis of their perceptions and the collective feedback exalts the internal similarity. This continuous reinforcement accentuates the difference between an identity group and others. It is through language that they create and re-create their perceptions. Moreover, language and its grammar shape the way people perceive and think. This is the contribution of Benjamin Whorf, later know as the Whorf-Sapir hypothesis, or the theory of linguistic relativity (1956).

3.6.2 Positive and negative aspects of intergroup contacts

Almost all contemporary societies share a coexistence of multiple cultural national or ethnic groups on a territory. Other dimensions of culture show the inevitability of intergroup contact. Nevertheless this is not a considered a natural process by most of human beings. Thomas Pettigrew (1967, 1979, 1998) is a leader in the research of intergroup contact, together with other international scholars, all following Gordon Allport's footsteps of the "modest hypothesis" (Allport 1954), that is to say that living together does not imply being able to communicate with each other, nor liking each other (Pettigrew 2008). Stephan (1985) had come to the conclusion, like most of these researches, that international contact has a higher impact in the reduction of prejudice of students, compared to the domestic intergroup contact, but without a substantial change of stereotypes. In his research he isolated thirteen conditions for making intergroup contact turn into a positive contact, almost all very difficult to realize without a direct supervised intervention. Most of the studies around learning interventions move their steps from the premise that for

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contact to become communication, there needs to be one or more facilitating conditions.

3.7 Recognizing one's own culture

Individuals have a personality and groups have a culture. It is nevertheless the case that in the construction of one's own identity, culture does take a big part as a function of everyday experience. In order to recognize one's own cultural patterns, it is important, in DMIS terms, to start a reflection on identity. Different models of identity have emerged over the last thirty years (Cross, 1971, 1995; Phinney 1990; Cass 1979; McCarn, Fassinger 1996; Gilligan 1982; Roush 1985; Atkinson, Morten, Sue 1993). Susan Jones and Marylu McEwen's research (2000) is relevant for the purpose of illustrating the concept of a multiple dimension identity.
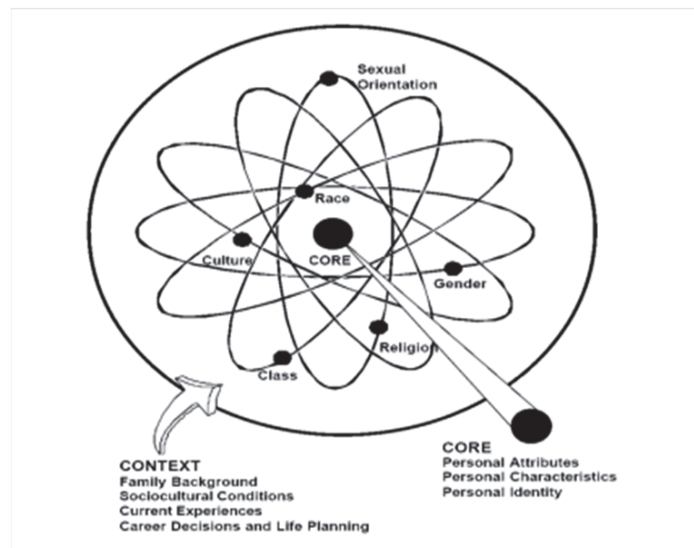
FIGURE 3   Model of multiple dimensions of identity (Jones and McEwen, 2000).

According to interviewees – all female college students in the United States[29] – at any given moment in their lifetime there is a core that is experienced as personal identity and that incorporates personal attributes and characteristics.

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[29]   One of the limits of this research is the quality of the sample: one gender only, age and possibly status. I have chosen this representation anyway for the clarity of the model and for its illustration and the essentiality of this qualitative research. The discussion of this model however is in the book that I will discuss in the following Chapter of this thesis: Ida Castiglioni (2009) La differenza c'è. Gestire la diversità nell'organizzazione dei servizi. Milano: Franco Angeli, pp.52-55.

Interviewees define it as the internal self, opposed to the social or public identity. All around the core are social dimensions such as gender, race, ethnicity, religion, social class, and sexual orientation. The picture, used by Jones and McEwan, shows how the ellipses are intertwined, for no dimension can be understood by itself, but only in relationship to the others. During the study, for instance, all interviewees mentioned gender, but they were associating another dimension with it: black woman, Jewish woman, Indian woman. The relative importance of these dimensions is indicated in the picture by the bold spot: the closer to the core, the more relevant to the person. Different dimensions of identity are present in every individual, however they are experienced differently and perceived with a relative difference of importance. During the research, for instance, race was (not surprisingly) more relevant for black women than for white women (Jones, McEwan 2000). As shown in the picture, the outer circle is the context within which these dimensions have meaning and change their importance when they interact with family background, sociocultural conditions, life experiences, career decisions and life projects. Participants perceive identity dimensions both as experienced from inside and influenced by different external contexts. Probably the most significant finding of the research, although intuitively well known, is that "privileged" members of society, as they belong to the mainstream (i.e. white, heterosexual), are less aware of their cultural identity.

Identity takes form when one experiences difference. If difference is not experienced at a personal level, people tend to attribute these dimensions as relevant only for others. Attribution Theory by Fritz Heider (1958; Jones & Nisbett 1972), explains why people have a tendency to interpret their behavior differently by those they are observing: they tend to attribute their behavior to situational factors, while that of the others to intrinsic personal qualities. There are two main explanations for this behavior: 1) perception; 2) information. For people enacting their behavior, the behavior itself is a response to environmental stimuli within which the behavior is coordinated. For the people they are observing, situation does not explain the behavior, which is a manifestation of their personality and their affiliation, for instance, to a cultural group. People enacting the behavior also have more accurate information about their present and past experience through which they interpret and justify their own behavior, while the incompleteness of information about the people they observe leads to labeling and stereotypes.

Being able to identify one's own cultural affiliation can be challenging for an individual holding an ethnocentric worldview. Nevertheless, in DMIS terms, the transition to the stage of Minimization implies the development of the ability to shift from a personal level to the aggregate level of society, particularly to the notion of culture. Understanding the patterns of one's own culture is a necessary step in order to understand a different culture in more ethnorelative terms.

3.8   Culture general frameworks

People construing reality mostly in ethnocentric ways are probably not fully ready to shift to a level 2 learning-change (Bateson 1972); that is to say the learning to learn phase. Nevertheless they can start at the stage of Minimization to think about their own culture by using new categories to understand the "predominant behaviors, or ways of thinking", whether they identify with it or not. Frameworks of language, nonverbal communication, communication styles, cognitive style, can be accepted at this level, as they are relatively non-threatening. Through the appropriate class activities, they will eventually lead to a more ethnorelative view. Values and the relative ethical issues are part of a more interculturally sensitive worldview discussed in section 3.9 "From Ethnocentrism to Ethnorelativism."

The concept of "framework" for studying a specific context has been introduced by Goffman (1974). Bennett (1991) has used the idea of culture general frameworks for identifying etic categories that would intentionally ease the process of learning to learn.

The first one is the pragmatic use of language. Pragmatic rules give us the interpretation of the meaning of expressions (Hymes 1974). The second one is nonverbal communication, starting from paralinguistics (Trager 1958; Anolli, 2002), to kinesics (Morris et Al. 1979; Birdwhistell 1970), to oculesics (Hess 1975; Stern, Ray, Quigley 2001), to haptics (Hall 1983; Almaney & Alwan 1982) extending to proxemics and chronemics (Hall, 1966; 1976; 1983) and to all related concepts[30]. By giving content specific examples, trainees are immediately exposed to an array of difference in non-evaluative terms, which builds the perception necessary to step into more ethnorelative stages of the DMIS.

The same applies for the third framework: high and low context (Hall, 1976), communication styles (Gudykunst & Ting Toomey 1988; Bennett M. 1991) and the confrontation styles, or ways of disagreeing. In this framework one can also include conflict styles (Hammer 2003; Ting-Toomey & Oetzel 2001). The fourth framework is perceptual styles (Bennett M. 2013), which in fact needs, in my training experience, already a somewhat more "mature" audience in intercultural sensitivity terms.

3.9   From ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism

The fifth framework in the sequence of the DMIS topics regards values. They are a component of attitudes, beliefs and opinions (Kluchohn 1959, Rokeach 1968), but they are also considered, by most scholars, as the rationale of people

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[30]   The referenced authors are either initiators of the streams of studies or meaningful illustrations of the topics.

for their inclination toward a choice (Cohen 1978, Hallman 1997): similar to an attitude, but perhaps more, for often they are at its root, says Rokeach (1968). The reason why I put values at this stage of development of intercultural sensitivity, is that so far trainees have been exposed to topics of difference that are relatively non-threatening, and ideally they have incorporated the idea that there is no better or worse pattern; there is a predominant response in a group which is accepted and transmitted.

The IV Chapter of the book "La comunicazione interculturale. Competenze e pratiche (2005) reviews a summary of the classic study on values by Kluckhohn and Strodbeck (1961), followed by the contemporary studies of organizational dimensions of values by Hofstede (1991, 2003) and some reference to Trompenaars' (1994) categories.

The learning to learn strategy embedded in Bateson's learning-change 2 should be acquired at this point by the learner. It is up to the teacher to play a role of guidance in trying to expose the learner to as many situations as possible in the learning context, to give assignments and so on, in order to consolidate this type of competence. The mature phase of the "learning to learn" strategy occurs when a person is able to transfer observations and knowledge from one context to another (i.e., categories of characteristics observable at a regional level which help to interpret a given situation are also useful to interpret an organizational context).

The topic of values acts as a transition from ethnocentrism to ethnorelativism because it is the time in which one acquires the awareness that there is no "absolute" way or "better" way to do things: it is the context that justifies their goodness. While the description of different categories is still at a cognitive level, it is when people are confronted with dilemmas around values that they feel challenged. Acceptance is, in the DMIS continuum, the stage in which the cognitive grid has accepted the existence of difference, but action tends to be frozen by the inability to reconcile one's own values with those of a different person or a different context. It is the main criticism to cultural relativism: "since different cultural groups have different cultural values and norms, it is impossible to formulate any values and norms which are valid across cultures" (Evanoff 2004). It is at this juncture that ethical development plays a major role.

The "en jeux" for becoming interculturally competent is the revealing of the self: not only because in order to get to know another culture one first needs to know one's own, but also because through a self-reflexive process one needs to understand how one's own ethics interplays with that of people perceived as different. For ethics I mean here the choices one makes on the basis of her core values, therefore not only a behavioral scheme, but also a research that has internal criteria of justification (Nagel 1979). William Perry's research on intellectual and ethical development of college students (1970) is a valuable approach to ethics in the context of the DMIS (Bennett 1993, 2004). Perry

describes a developmental continuum of nine positions[31] along which people can construe, over the college years, their ethical development. In the annexed text (Castiglioni 2005), these positions are summarized into four: 1) dualism; 2) multiplicity; 3) contextual relativism; 4) committed relativism.

The *dualistic* view represents a way of thinking and, therefore an inclination to make ethical choices based on an intellectual developmental position that sees reality in good/bad, right/wrong, beautiful/ugly terms. People with a predominant *multiplistic* view, tend to think "everything goes", meaning that often exhibit a superficial way to approach problems: they don't take a position and tend to agree, to some extent, with any position they are presented with. Both of these views mirror the ethnocentric worldview described in the DMIS (Bennett 1993, 2004, 2013). In *contextual relativism* people are able to think about "what is good" in a given context (emic perspective); it is the ability that underlines the worldview of Acceptance, in which individuals are more knowledgeable about situations, can suspend judgment, and can see the rationale for a different behavior. Still, they might not agree with that particular value or way of thinking. The ability to reconcile differences comes only when a person is able to think in terms of *committed relativism*: people in this position are able to make a personal choice in a different context, understanding the ethical perspective and set of values of another person or a group, yet being able to maintain their stand. At first this seems very similar to dualism, but in fact is a world view that is rooted in the ability to take perspective through empathy and further, to choose, in a plurality of options, the one considered most appropriate in that context, at that time. This capacity leads the way to Adaptation in the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity of Milton Bennett.

3.10 Adapting to diversity

The central topic of the DMIS stage of Adaptation, dealt in Chapter V in *La Comunicazione Interculturale* (Castiglioni 2005), is empathy. Bennett (1979) has written about the difference between sympathy and empathy, underlying how often one thinks of empathizing with another, while in fact is using a strategy of similarity to understand the other person (sympathy). Empathy is a way of taking perspective from the other person's viewpoint, trying to use his categories and possibly worldview in order to understand her and to communicate. People with a predominant ethnocentric experience use the strategy of similarity embedded in sympathy to reinforce the process of developing the in-group (Castiglioni 2005). Sympathy is often accurate as most of the people in the world are inclined to prefer homophilic relationships in

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[31] The nine stages identified by Perry are: 1) basic duality; 2) dualism: multiplicity prelegitimate; 3) multiplicity subordinate or early multiplicity; 4) complex dualism and advanced multiplicity; 5) relativism; 6) relativism: commitment foreseen; 7-9) levels of commitment.

terms of territory background, attitudes, values and personality (McCroskey, Richmond, Daly 1975). If one lives constantly in a highly homogeneous context, it is possible that one's hypotheses about others are close to reality. It is a comforting and reassuring strategy, although the risk is that of denying other people's experience. The possibility of misunderstanding in a non-homogeneous context is very high. In Defense (DMIS), when one person is not feeling understood, she increases the barrier to communication: for the communicator using sympathy there is an experience of rejection. In Minimization (DMIS), by using one's own experience to measure other people's, despite good intentions, one reduces the complexity of others who feel under evaluated (Kirschembaum, Henderson 1990).

The final purpose of learning about differences through the frameworks is that of asking the "right" questions, informed by the cultural frameworks, both to one's self and to others. This allows interaction by using a strategy of empathy. Empathy assumes difference, and one needs to enter that difference to take perspective. Bennett (1977, 1991) speaks of six phases at the basis of the empathic experience: 1) assuming diversity; 2) knowing oneself; 3) temporary suspension of the self; 4) allowing guided imagination; 5) allowing the empathic experience; 6) re-establishment of the self. The uncommon part is point number 4, where he talks of guided imagination. "When the self-boundary is extended, the normal distinction between internal and external (subjective and objective) is obliterated. Our awareness is free to wander among "outside" phenomena, including other people, much as we normally wander inside our "inside" experience. In the extended state, we can move our attention *into* the experience of normally external events rather than turning our attention *onto* those events, as we usually do." (Bennett 1991, p. 211). Anyone has this ability, it just needs to be supported and nurtured in specific forms that most of the intercultural literature has not considered (Bennett & Castiglioni 2004) and will be further discussed in later sections of this Chapter.

For the empathy experience to occur, one needs to be rooted in one's own experience in order to temporarily suspend it, hence the need for cultural self-awareness before entering the worldview of another. If one is able to use in a constructive way the relational anxiety which connotes, on the physical level, every relationship with difference, one could transform this kind of energy to find an adaptive strategy, a construction of inter-space, better known as third culture (Bennett M. 2004, Casmir 1997, Evanoff 2004). It is a space of mutual adaptation, in which no culture prevails, nor is a sum of the best of both. It is a continuous negotiation and re-negotiation of meanings: the assumption of difference allows for the space of explication. By asking "appropriate" questions, through a good use of frameworks, people are more open and willing to reciprocate the communication flow. They end up connecting in a space that Bennett calls "virtual"(1991), as it is a third space where this negotiation happens "ad hoc", over and over.

Empathy and committed relativism require the same learning change ability, defined by Bateson (1972) as learning type 3. There is often a scarcity of

time in all teaching/learning events and a compartmentalization of information which has led most academic courses, but also most training program, to leave this part of learning up to the student or trainee. Some people indeed succeed, but for most people, in my didactic experience, this learning momentum is touched and frequently abandoned if there is no space and time for consolidation.

Nevertheless, this is the time in which one could start to talk about intercultural competence, meaning that the worldview is mature enough for one to exercise competence in relationships and within contexts that are perceived as different from one's own.

3.11 Integration of the multicultural self

Learning-change 3 (Bateson 1972) occurs at a moment of transcending models, frameworks and patterns. It is the time of integration of one's own knowledge and the ability to consider different ethical assumptions, and consequently to enact choices. It is also the time of awareness of one's own expansion of repertoire vis à vis patterns of communication, behavior and values which have allowed empathic relationships. This "new" condition can be considered as bicultural or multicultural. Usually biculturality is referred to as having two passports; multiculturality tends to be associated with the condition of third culture kids (Pollock & Van Recken, 2001), or global nomads. However for a multicultural society to become intercultural, there should be an increasing number of people who recognize and nurture at least a bicultural self. This means incorporating for instance patterns and worldviews of at least two cultural dimensions, i.e. gender culture, which is a difference accessible to almost everybody. The prevailing denigration of a bicultural identity of the XX century has sprung from the "need" for nationalism, for belonging to a territory identified by a flag, and a "national character" [32](Herder, 2002). This construal has led to a common negative connotation of bicultural individuals who internalize a negative sense of themselves. Janet Bennett (1993) has defined them as "encapsulated marginals". The term marginality, borrowed from the "Marginal Man" (Park 1937), identifies a person who is liminal to one or more cultural boundaries. In the case of marginal encapsulation, the individual suffers from this condition, by being stuck in the middle, thus unwilling to act, make choices, feeling over concerned about her identity, to the point of being unable to socialize successfully in any context. The lack of maturity associated with this condition leads me to think that the person has been exposed to differences which could not be understood nor integrated, probably at a stage of learning-change 1 (Bateson 1972).   Therefore, I believe that this is not an aspect of integration, as Janet Bennett (1993) originally intended. It is certainly

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[32]   *Herder: Philosophical Writings*, ed. Desmond M. Clarke and Michael N. Forster (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

an issue that many people experience, but they construe it this way because they are still operating with an ethnocentric worldview.

The bicultural or multicultural self is associated to intercultural competence when marginality is "constructive" (M. Bennett 1993). These are people who have come to terms with their authenticity and who make constant choices about their groups of reference. As highlighted by Bateson (1972), in learning change 3, there is an awareness of liminality that leads to an intentional choice: one knows that the expanded self allows to participate in multiple context in an effective way by using selected affiliations (which go with values, patterns of communication and behavior). The constructive marginal person has a set of values that nevertheless are used in a committed relativist way, in Perry's terms (Perry 1970). Rather than feeling captive of their marginality, these people are able to enact a dynamic in-betweenness (Yoshikawa 1987) making them feel "home" in many places and contexts, because they are rooted in their identity, which is a constant process of their perceived experience and hopefully rooted in their body.

This condition is one in which people can act as bridges between cultures. Unfortunately, too often in contemporary multicultural societies, people with only dual nationality or who are just bilingual are put in a condition of mediation for which they are completely unfit. What is demanded of an intercultural bridge is being developmentally bicultural – being aware of one's own identity and empathically being able to shift values, behaviors and communication style with intentionality and knowledge. Eventually the shifting can become an unconscious competence (meaning one doesn't have to think about it), but the precursor condition is being able to exercise it at will.

Finally, experiencing this level of integration, does not make people better human beings per se: it allows them to responsibly take the burden of creating meaning (Melucci 1996) for larger numbers of individuals and to act for a more pacific social coexistence.

3.12 The need to develop ethnorelativism in social services and healthcare

The tasks of social workers exist, in many Western countries, at a crossroad between administration, counseling and coaching, depending on the specialization and the context. In many cases, the tasks of health care professionals share the same characteristics: e.g. a member of a minority group or foreign child in a hospital might need surgical care, but also need to attend to his psychological well being in order to recover, via special ceremonies. While certain aspects of administration or surgical care may be "locked in" to organizational or professional contexts, much of the counseling and coaching aspect of social work should be taking ethnic, racial, and other cultural contexts into consideration. How many professionals are ready for this challenge?

The main outcome of the overview about intercultural competence in the health care literature of Chapter II of this dissertation is that in order to understand, help and act competently in a multicultural context, the caregiver must be ready to operate at different levels. Almost all of the models taken into consideration state the need of a certain maturity or sensitivity of the worker. In my experience, most of the executive education for professionals needing intercultural competence stops, at best, when people are able to recognize and accept differences. Even training literature does not offer materials that go far beyond prejudice reduction, in line with the majority of diversity training[33]. Colleen Mullavey-O'Byrne and Paul Pedersen (1994)[34], for instance, tackle the specific audience of social workers and health care providers. Despite my appreciation for the proposed modules and exercises, the authors do not address issues that go beyond Acceptance in DMIS terms. As Pedersen argues for the future (p. 234) "multicultural counseling will bring about several changes to the field of counseling generally. 1) All counselors will need to become more aware of culturally learned assumptions being made by themselves and their clients (…) 5) a more complete repertoire of skills, strategies, and techniques that can be appropriately matched to culturally different clients will appear." This was almost twenty years ago. Despite some progress, the problem remains of how to pragmatically address these issues. Literature on intercultural communication and particularly in intercultural training (Landis & Brislin 1986; Landis & Baghat 1993; Landis, Bennett J., Bennett M. 2004) suffers a chronic deficiency of discussion around behaviors, attitudes and knowledge for people who have an intercultural sensitivity beyond Minimization in M. Bennett's terms.

There is a shift required of people when they depart from ethnocentric stages of development that is no longer only cognitive and emotional. There is an ethical shift, a value shift and a shift in perception that embeds awareness and consciousness: consequently, ability is required to "move" from one perspective to another and to "generate" something different such as a third culture. Additionally, the shift demands an integration of identity. The latter has been tackled by multicultural counseling literature,(Ponterotto et al. 1995; Pedersen 2000; Sue & Sue 2003; McGoldrick, Giordano, Pearce, 1996) and cross-cultural psychology (Cross, 1991) but mostly as a topic to be dealt with clinical experience and practice. In fact, there is a need for caregivers in general to move developmentally towards integrating a multicultural identity. Many of them sit in classes aimed at prejudice reduction and find no interest or challenge in the topic, concluding that by virtue of their experience they don't need any further development, thus limiting their potential as bridge builders. But in developmental terms, as described earlier in this Chapter, knowledge such as explanatory models for illness and disability (Kleinman 1980) is barely enough for a level 2 of learning-change (Bateson 1972), but definitely not for a level 3.

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[33] See also I.Castiglioni (2009), pp. 34-36.
[34] In Richard Brislin and Tomoko Yoshida (eds.) "Improving intercultural interactions" (1994), Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Hence the need to treat ethnorelativism in more complex ways; going beyond the cognitive qualities of cultural curiosity of Acceptance or cognitive empathy is a minimum requirement for Adaptation. One possibility is that of adventuring into the realm of embodied ethno-physiological states (Bennett & Castiglioni, 2001).

3.13 The embodiment of culture

Cultural perceptual awareness is not a new concept. Gehlen (1942, 1983) has documented in contemporary times what many other philosophers, from Plato to Thomas Aquinas to Kant, to Herder and Schopenauer, had postulated in the past: the human being, is nothing without the *Téchne*[35]. The biological deficiency of human beings to survive instinctually, as explained in the annexed article (Bennett & Castiglioni 2004), finds its remedy in action -- in the creation of techniques that allow humans to survive, select and culturally stabilize patterns. Galimberti (1999) underlines that both scientific-naturalistic psychology and phenomenological-hermeneutical social science are clueless, unless they take into consideration a reflection on this use of technology. Naturalistic psychology, by trying to explain humans through experiments on animals, can only end up in ethology. Man is different than animal because of the lack of instinct: while animals can only live in particular environments, human beings live in worlds that they adapt to themselves. Phenomenological-hermeneutical studies[36], by trying to comprehend human beings in the Western perspective, by subdividing body, soul and consciousness, can only end up in the solipsism of the subject; "the soul, or consciousness are residues of action and of its technical extension, that is to say what is left over after action has allowed the man to be in the world and, within it, to carve his own world." (Galimberti 1999, p.35, my translation). Also, if the first perspective has a reductive gaze on the human being, the second one has a re-active perspective: it does not study the individual starting from his immediate experience of reality through action, but by his reflection on action. Were science able to overcome its dualism of body and soul, one would be in the position of approaching perception, memory, motricity, language etc. in an easier, smoother way, by starting from the plasticity of human action as a compensation for instinctual deficiency.

Culture is the context created by man through *téchne*. Moreover, different cultural contexts are different arrangements of perceptions that take on

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[35] *Téchne* derives from *héxis noû* which means: being master and dispose of one's own mind. Plato, *Cratilo*, 400 b; 414 b-c. By this term Galimberti (1999) and more generally the language of philosophy, means both the universe of means (technologies) which compose the technical apparatus and the rationality needed to use it efficiently and functionally.

[36] Galimberti includes in this phenomenological- hermeneutical cluster all the variants of psychodynamics, cognitivism, behaviorism, systemics, sociology. Galimberti (1999), p. 35.

different meanings[37]. Hall (1959, p. 119) says, similarly to Galimberti, "there is no such thing as 'experience' in the abstract, as a mode separate and distinct from culture. Culture is neither derived from experience nor held up to the mirror of experience. Moreover, it cannot be tested against some mystical thing thought of as experience. Experience is something man projects upon the outside world as he gains it in its culturally determined form."

3.14 Experience is construed by our bodies

"Human beings are creatures of flesh. What we can experience and how we make sense of what we experience depend on the kinds of bodies we have and on the way we interact with the various environments we inhabit" (Johnson, 1999: 81). Literature about embodiment has flourished since Francisco Varela, together with Humberto Maturana (1987), postulated the theory of the embodied mind and of the co-structural couplings[38]. In the field of pedagogy from the Eighties on (Frauenfelder 1983, 1994; Massa R. 1983; Contini 1992; Sabatano 2003; Sarsini 2003), particularly on the Italian scene, this literature has stressed the importance of the body in education. Yet, almost nothing has been written, to my knowledge, about the specific relationship between intentional frame shifting and its relationship to body, or body movement. Recent neuroscientific studies are parsing the brain into smaller and smaller parts, exploring its functions and qualities. Literature on the brain is richer than ever in history, yet neural network models alone cannot adequately explain the bodily basis of meaning attribution and reasoning. Information about neural assemblies needs to be related to the organism in interaction with the world in concrete situations, physical, moral, political and religious.

An attempt to bridge pedagogy, psychology and neuroscience, around the topic of culture and biculturalism, has been tried by Luigi Anolli (2011). In his "The Challenge of the multicultural mind"[39] the author tries to highlight the benefits of a multicultural mind, albeit he envisages it only for people with a double nationality, or with a direct ethnic background different than Italian. There is no conception of a developmental pedagogy to the acquisition of a bi- or multicultural mind, and there is no conceptual development of the mind-body connection.

Literature of somatic psychology (Marchino & Mizrahil, 2012) tackles the connections between physical body movements and somatized issues trapped into different parts of the body. The aim is therapeutical with the final intention of restoring, if not an original ideal state, at least a state of wellbeing. Every time the debate is aroused around issues of embodiment, almost everyone in the group has had at least one experience of "body relaxation", "meditation", or

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[37] See also E.T. Hall (1959); Marshall R. Singer (1998).
[38] See also Bennett M., Castiglioni I., 2004.
[39] My translation of the Italian "La sfida della mente multiculturale", Milano: Cortina.

"intentional physical meditation" such as in the case of different traditions of Yoga or bioenergetics classes, Thai Chi and so forth. All efforts of this kind are usually undertaken in order to restore or acquire wellbeing. Other streams of literature about the body, particularly in sociology and philosophy, have focused their interest around the body and its representations in society (Weiss G., 1999). By operating at a macro level of reading of social phenomena, this literature doesn't have the intention to offer any pedagogical lead.

The treatment of the embodiment of culture undertaken here starts with the level that Johnson (1999) calls Cognitive unconscious and Phenomenological. The contribution is the direct pedagogical connection of "reframing" through physical movements that, coupled with cognitive re-symbolization, aims at dealing with the expansion of the repertoire of assumptions discussed earlier. The acquisition of this capacity leads to owning the ethnorelative perspective not only cognitively, but organismically, ending in a feeling of appropriateness which is physical, psychological and moral. This implies mediation among different internal cognitive frames embedded in body frames, and mediation between oneself and the social context.

Johnson (1999) underlines how the majority of human concepts, syntactic mechanisms and cognitive structures operate beneath the level of consciousness. When talking about unconscious mechanisms of behavior, at all these different levels, one talks in fact about patterns of the body: "mental images, image schemas, metaphors, metonymies, concepts, and inference patterns are all tied, directly or indirectly, to those bodily structures of our sensorimotor experiences" (p.82)[40]. In this direction, one would infer that different language patterns are connected to different body structures and different sensory motor experiences. This is a psychological and linguistic construct at the basis of the Whorf-Sapir hypothesis (1956) and all neo-Whorfian studies but is also supported by some neuropsychological research. Sik Hung Ng and associates (Ng, Han, Mao et al., 2010) have investigated the ways in which US Chinese students were representing the concept of self, that of significant relatives (i.e. the mother), that of non-identified people and, as a control group, that of typographic type. fMRI evidence shows a different activation in the brain of the students when they are facilitated to think about themselves and their connections in Chinese (inclusive self, not differentiated from significant relationships) or American (individuated self) ways. This confirms the biological disposition of the brain to acquire culture (Ames, Fiske, 2010) and to shape itself accordingly. One should be careful not to allow this line of thought to become too deterministic, as in fact, the factors at play for every single case could be multiple and, above all, non-linear[41].

The other aspect highlighted by Johnson (1999) is the phenomenological level of explanation concerning the way one feels the quality of one's own

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[40] See also Lakoff G. & Mark Johnson (1980), Metaphors we live by, but overall, from the same authors, Philosophy in the Flesh (1999).

[41] The unfortunate relatively recent cases of physical determinism of Nazism and the European colonial period should always act as a warning of how this kind of research can be manipulated for discrimination purposes.

experience. This is the most promising direction for my goal, as it implies the "awareness of how our experience "feels" to us and how our world reveals itself." (Johnson, 1999, p.82) Being aware of how one's feeling is creating a layer traditionally called consciousness. The construction of consciousness is here discussed through the support of Damasio's dissertation about the relationship between body, awareness and consciousness.

Antonio Damasio (1994, 1999), in his treaties of neurology and in his challenge to modern philosophy, has widely explored this path. Among his merits, the correlation between neurological paths and consciousness in a reformed view. He sees consciousness as the act of knowing what happens to individuals or "the sense of happening in the organism" (Damasio, 1999). In this perspective any human achievement is "a direct consequence of a nervous system which, by being capable of consciousness, is also equipped with a vast memory, with the powerful ability to categorize items in memory, with the novel ability to code the entire spectrum of knowledge in language form, and with an enhanced ability to hold knowledge in mental display and manipulate it intelligently" (ibid, p.311).   While confirming the tight relationship between individuals and *techné*, it also adds a logical frame of how this can happen.

Here is, in short, the process from emotion to consciousness according to Damasio. Emotional states, as changes of the body's chemical profile while for instance processing an object visually, are the basis for engagement in the organism: the object may be made conscious or not, it doesn't matter; by processing the image of the object, there are signals activating neural sites preset to the particular class of inducer of the object (i.e. view of a natural scene) called emotional induction sites; the emotion-induction sites stimulate other responses toward the body and other brain sites, thus freeing the full spectrum of responses typically associated with emotion; first order neural maps (located in cortical and subcortical regions) represent changes in body states, and feelings emerge; the proto-self (it is antecedent to basic feeling and the feeling of knowing) is altered because of the pattern of neural activity at the emotion-induction sites; the proto-self is organized in second-order structures. In this sequence, emotion, as an expression, precedes feeling. What interests me is that all of these phenomena – emotion, feeling and consciousness – are related to the body. Already William James (1950) asserted that during an emotion, the brain causes the body to change. Damasio's contribution is that the body is not only a theater for emotion, but it is the source of feelings: most feelings rely on skeletal and visceral changes as well as changes in internal milieu. The result is that one can learn from emotion through the help of the body -- and it can be done intentionally.

3.15 Training developmentally for ethnorelativism

As described earlier in this chapter, education and training for fostering ethnorelative developmental stages of the DMIS would require a learning –

change (Bateson, 1972) 2 and 3. The learning to learn strategy at the core of learning-change 2 is well established in Western higher education and potentially accessible to all adults, but the step to learning change 3 is less clear. It requires a confrontation with one's basic assumptions.

Despite newer models of the brain derived from neurological imaging, it is useful in this context the distinction MacLean (1984 it. ed.) highlights of the three brains constituting our brain, characterized by different neurophysiological qualities and psychological competence, distinct by origin and phylogenetic age: 1) pal encephalic or reptilian; 2) pal mammalian or limbic system; 3) neo mammal or neo cortex. Despite structural and chemical differences, every brain is somewhat self sufficient, giving rise to a brain unit that is also triple.

The limbic system pertains to the emotional sphere and it acts as a value filter, by reporting pleasure or pain associated with different situations people are in. It is a compass of all information that comes from inside or outside the organism (Contini et al., 2006). It gives the feeling of one's ontological being in the world. And here is what is important for me: by acting as a guarantee of one's survival, one of the main functions of the limbic system is to safeguard the basic assumptions and beliefs that support the life of the group. Individuals have the same attachment to these beliefs they would have to their own life. The concept is also underlined by Damasio (1999) and, above all, by most somatic psychology (Dytchwald, 1977; Downing, 1995). Eastern philosophical traditions have made the awareness of these phenomena a focus of their development. In the West, this concept has a much shorter history.

At the end of the 19th century, Leon Solomons and Gertrude Stein[42] looked into the question of automatic behavior: they showed a great deal of actions usually considered as "intelligent" such as writing or reading could be done automatically by what they called "ordinary people". The Sixties and Seventies, particularly on the US West Coast have been a formidable laboratory for all kinds of experiments on the beholding of categories and the desire to surpass them, including experimentations with drugs and their potential for the expansion of boundaries. The issue still at stake nowadays is how to transcend the rigidity of a single perspective. Ellen Langer (1989) sees this mechanism or *habitus,* as defined by Bourdieu (1980) as coming out of mindlessness. Stella Ting Toomey (1999) has spoken of the necessity of mindfulness in her model of intercultural competence. To me, all if these attempts are still in the mind, so in this sense they lack power and leave most of the learning responsibility onto the sophistication of the learner.

Context is important, as already suggested by Langer, and its link it to the sequence earlier described of emotion, feeling and consciousness. Here is an example: if one behaves appropriately in an Italian cemetery, one crosses with the right hand at the entrance, keeps one's eyes low and has a serious, humble demeanor, almost looking sad. If this person meets someone else, she whispers

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[42]   G. Stein was a graduate student of William James working on experimental psychology at Harvard University, from 1893 to 1898.

and doesn't waste many smiles. She has always done it, since, as culturally appropriate, children are taken to this place to visit the dead. Now, this behavior has been reinforced by years of Catholic social upbringing, utilizing as many mirror neurons as possible (Rizzolatti & Sinigaglia, 2006), thus categorizing it as appropriate. Nevertheless it is absolutely mechanical: she is not necessarily sad and, above all, she is almost never thinking how or why she is behaving as she is. Yet her emotion is rooted in the context. What one calls feeling in this regard can be a value, a judgment, in other words, a category, to use the most ample meaning.

Now, if one could say where in the body an emotion is located, in the meaning offered by Damasio (1999), one could tap a level of consciousness that potentially could change the meaning given to this feeling. The work on the unlocking of the perception in the body opens the possibility for consciousness, and therefore potentially to new re-symbolization. Felt experience of a construct becomes then more malleable and plastic to adapt one's own feelings to new contexts; that is, one is able to generate appropriate behavior in the new context. Moreover, as an application, one is able to tell others about the feeling of appropriateness and thus guide their authentic adaptation to the context.

This ability supports liminal interculturality and the ability of a person with a PE in Integration to become a bridge builder, to empathize with people and contexts in a conscious way, and to enact with intentionality a commitment to relativism.

So why should training include focus on the body and not just mental reframing or focusing? Because cultural experience is primarily physical and therefore that is where one should start. Body is the main tool for apprehending, from the Latin *ad prehendere*, which means getting something into one's own hands. According to Marchino and Mizrahil (2012), this concept needs to be associated to the fact that human beings have an opposing thumb, capable of holding objects by direct contact; the Latin *cum gnoscere*, to know with, to know through, means that knowledge is making reality become part of oneself. "It is always and only through the body that, after apprehending, we'll be able to manage knowledge" (ibidem, p.116). Neurophysiology has now established that there is no learning without movement. Knowing oneself means knowing the movement inside oneself, getting in contact not only with the ego, but also with a deeper sense of self. In order to achieve this kind of awareness one needs to re-sensitize the organism. Western culture has created a detachment between the experience of the body and the learning about reality. By re-establishing the sense of *feeling*[43] through one's body one can re-organize one's own experience.

Intercultural training has long worked to try and change mental assumptions, many of which are so rooted to look unchangeable. By working on reframing an assumption by learning from the emotion of the body, one can have a deeper experience of "opening" to an alternative. By incorporating a

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[43] The array of meanings to the concept of feeling has been discussed in the Bennett & Castiglioni (2004) article here presented.

space to work with the body one makes the shift to a different category a more intense experience that stays with the entirety of oneself. Once the category has been opened at its root, it is transformed in the sense given by Mezirow (although he also only speaks of mental reframing). In another disciplinary context, this is also what Milton Bennett's *forming-feeling* model described in the annexed article (Bennett M. & Castiglioni, 2004) has tried to explain.

In sum, there are three main areas of intervention with bodywork for the development of ethnorelativism: 1) developing empathy; 2) acquiring the ability to frame-shift; 3) constructing an integrated multicultural identity. They are core abilities in the DMIS stages of ethnorelativism.

4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND TRAINING IMPLICATIONS

In the sections below, research questions (from Chapter 1), pertaining to the investigation, are restated, followed by descriptions of the methodological process and rationale. It should be noted that this is not the original presentation of this research, since it is the core of the annexed volume, *There is a Difference*. All the normal verifications of data were accomplished for that original publication. The purpose of this chapter is to clarify and criticize the original research -- a purpose served by initially reviewing the research methodology completely.

4.1 Research questions

Research Question 3: Is DMIS-guided intercultural training effective in developing more intercultural sensitivity of social service and health care personnel in a province of Northern Italy?

> **Question 3a:** Is the Intercultural Development Inventory an appropriate instrument for measuring training program effectiveness?
> **Question 3b:** What is the baseline IDI profile of some social service and health care organizations in Lombardy, Italy?
> **Question 3c:** Is there a statistical difference in pre/post IDI testing between groups receiving DMIS-guided intercultural training compared to control groups?
> **Question 3d:** Does the analysis of results support a causal relationship between the dependent variable of intercultural sensitivity and the independent variable of intercultural training?

4.2 Population of the research

Three different contexts have been taken into consideration: a) 2 health care contexts; b) 3 social services organizations; c) 1 government institution.

More specifically, a) one big public hospital downtown Milan (focus on Emergency Room and Pediatric and Obstetrical units); one historical Sanitary Residence for Elderly (focus on rehabilitation therapy division, Alzheimer unit; day care; internal medicine and geriatric division); b) one Special Agency for Social services (consortium of different area services) of the North area of the Province of Milan, now under the Province of Monza and Brianza; a social district of the South East hinterland of Milan; the services provided by civil servants of a municipality of the West hinterland of Milan; c) the training department of the body of the Province of Milan (unit of research, design and funding of public projects) .

The main reason of the choice of this sample was to have a wide array of professionals of social and health services both from Milan, the main city of the Province, and from other medium to small towns of the rest of the Province. Typically, in Italy, having a "city experience" of life makes a difference in terms of the kind of exposure people have to diversity. Out of the metropolitan area, diversity exists but low numbers make it an experience "under the radar" for most people. I thought having a presence of both participants in the sample would enrich the research and would constitute a more representational group.

4.2.1 Selection of the experimental and control groups

A major part of the research, and its main contribution to the field of intercultural communication, is the pre-post testing of an experimental group. Experimental design is uncommon in social research, yet it provides the research with stronger validity as far as the results of effectiveness of training. The normal drawback of experimental design – simplicity of variables – is compensated by the mixed-method addition of interview-based qualitative description.

A total of 239 people were administered the IDI (V2) to form a baseline for needs analysis for the institutions mentioned above. In addition, 90 interviews were conducted within this population. Following an interview schedule based on the original interviews conducted for generating the IDI items, the interviews yielded qualitative data that clarified and complemented the quantitative data. Based on these data, about 80 people from the original group were invited to participate in intercultural training. The group constituted a "directed sample" (Bailey, 2007) according to criteria of gender, age, hierarchical position, ethnicity, professional function, and IDI profile selected to be as representative as possible of the overall population of 239. For various logistic reasons, 50 people from the invited group constituted the final experimental group.

The final experimental group of 50 that received the training was very similar to the initial group (239 people). According to a t-test, the difference between the two groups was not statistically significant[44], and therefore the experimental group was considered representative of the larger population of the study. The 50 subjects were further divided into three groups, maintaining as much as possible the representative criteria. One group was created only with participants exclusively from social services who displayed a worldview of Minimization as measured by the IDI, still considering gender balance in the group and hierarchical representation.

The control group was formed of eighteen individuals of the Assisted Residence for Elderly who completed the IDI for the first time at the same time the experimental group was filling the post-course test. The difference between the control group and the pre-test experimental group was not statistically significant[45].

4.2.2   Internal validity of the experimental design

The design of the study follows a standard pre/post quasi-experimental design augmented by interview-based contextualization. The pre-test establishes a baseline and acts as a needs analysis for the training intervention. The post-test allows t-testing for potential change in the group, with causality attributable to the training intervention allowed by observing no significant difference in the control group from the pre-intervention experimental group. Effectiveness is defined as the attribution of causality to the independent variable – the training – when statistically significant change occurs in the dependent variable – the IDI *Developmental Orientation (DO)* score. Interpretation of the results follows the well-established theoretical structure of the DMIS.

Threats to internal validity were countered in the following ways: 1) in terms of multiple-group design threat, the integrity of the control group was assured by its being drawn from a similar population, by its being selected somewhat randomly (since it was composed of people who happened to be employed at one agency), and by its non-significant t-test comparison to the pre-treatment experimental group; 2) in terms of single-group design threat, regression to the mean was avoided by selecting groups to be maximally heterogeneous in terms of IDI DO score, and in the one case of selecting for a specific profile, the score sought was already the mean. The threat of pre-post test contamination is obviated by the quasi-experimental design that incorporates a control group. The potential contamination of the control group is avoided by using a random, similar-population non-treated group displaced in time to coincide with the experimental post-test, thus assuring that the control group was not affected by the mechanisms of the study itself.

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[44]   Two tailed P=.3153. Confidence interval – the mean of the initial group (pre-training course) minus the experimental group (pre-training course) – is equal to - 2.9177813148.

[45]   Two tailed P=.9838. Confidence interval: the mean of the control group SRE minus the experimental group SRE pre training course is equal to 0.0716230676.

4.3 Methodological sequence

Step 1: Quantitative data were collected via the IDI. Individual and group profiles (within the same organization) based on IDI results were used for needs analysis to design the developmental training.

Step 2: Qualitative data collection occurred via interviews following interview schedule methods.

Step 3: A directed sample of fifty people was created to constitute the experimental group.

Step 4: Four groups of participants were created out of these 50 subjects.

Step 5: Developmental targeted training of 24 hours divided in three modules was designed and delivered for each group.

Step 6: Effectiveness of the training program was evaluated by a pre-post assessment of IDI data, showing a significant change in worldview compared to a control group as reported in Chapter 5.

Step 7: The control group was used to determine that the observed change was due to the program and not to other variation in the environment that would affect everybody.

Step 8: Interpretation was made via a mixed-method design, whereby qualitative and quantitative data were combined to form a more complete picture of the target population worldview and the influence of training.

Time Frame: overall process required two years.

4.4 Reasons of methodological choices

Theories and models of what now is known as "intercultural competence" have been accompanied, since the mid-1970s, by attempts to measure various components of KAS (Harris, 1977; Abe & Wiseman, 1983; Gudykunst & Hammer, 1984; Wiseman & Abe, 1986; Hammer, 1987; Koester & Olebe, 1988; Martin & Hammer, 1989). Attempts to measure the concept, and its variously defined variables, have increased since the 1990's: different dimensions are considered and, above all different rationales are provided for establishing the goodness of inventories and tools, thus highlighting once again the problem of the definition of the concept (e.g., Byram, 1997, 2003; Byram, Nichols, & Stevens, 2001; Milhouse, 1993; Prechtl & Lund, 2007; Kim, Cartwright, Asay & D'Andrea, 2003; Martin, Hammer & Bradford, 1994; Hajek & Giles, 2003; Bradford, Allen & Beisser, 2000; Spitzberg & Cupach, 1984; Chen, 2002; Collier, 1996; Hecht, Larkey & Johnson, 1992; Hecht & Ribeau, 1984; Martin, Hecht & Larkey, 1994).

The measure of "intercultural sensitivity" has equally been a challenge undertaken by many researchers with different outcomes. One example is the Intercultural Sensitivity Scale (ISS) by Chen and Starosta (2000). ISS measures mainly attitude, the affective dimension of the KAS definition of competence, despite the fact that it claims to be based on Bennett's DMIS. Other instruments have tried to measure DMIS concepts, however they were not subjected to psychometric testing (Hammer, Bennett, Wiseman, 2003).

The choice to use the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), originally created by Bennett and Hammer (1998), is based on the fact that it is a psychometric test that more closely attempts to measure the experience of difference. While Chen and Starosta take sensitivity to be the affective dimension of intercultural competence, Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (1993, 2004, 2013) describes sensitivity as the capacity to bring perceptual and conceptual discrimination to bear on the event of cultural difference. In George Kelly's (1963) terms, it is the construal of the experience of difference individuals constantly make at different levels of complexity. Perceptual sensitivity to difference is then the underlying condition that is manifested in knowledge, attitudes and skills. In turn they translate into effectiveness, motivation and appropriateness in relationships.

The quantitative data generated by the IDI are complemented by qualitative data from semi-structured interviews. This combination follows the procedure of "mixed-method design" (Creswell 2003). Interviews followed the original schedule used by Bennett and Hammer in generating the content of the IDI[46] and used standard interviewing methodology (Krippendorf, 2004). Qualitative data was used to provide a particular context for the IDI quantitative data and thus to allow accurate interpretations of those data for both needs analysis and interpretation of pre/post test results. By using both quantitative and qualitative data, this mixed-method study was able to combine the strength of an experimental group design with relatively thick analysis.

4.5 Validity and Reliability of the IDI

The IDI uses a "reverse content analysis" procedure for assessing the experience of subjects. The following description is drawn from the *Intercultural Development Inventory Manual* (Hammer & Bennett, 2002) and the article "Measuring Intercultural Competence: the *Intercultural Development Inventory*" (Hammer, M. Bennett, Wiseman, 2003). Terminology regarding validity and reliability follows the usage in "Current concepts in validity and reliability for psychometric instruments: Theory and application" (Cook & Beckman, 2006) and "Face validity in personality tests: psychometric instruments and projective techniques in comparison" (Santori, 2009).

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[46]   Appendix 3c. Interview schedule.

Statements in response to questions about cultural difference were transcribed verbatim from 40 interviews with people from a variety of cultures, including variation in age, professional context, and socioeconomic status. A sample of 25 of these interviews were categorized by a team of four experts for their "predominant DMIS stage" with inter-rater reliabilities (Cohen's kappa) ranging from .66 to .86. This was initial evidence for the basic content validity of the process. Specific statements from the interviews were then categorized according to the theoretical constructs of the DMIS. The categorization of statements was validated by an expert panel using the procedure of 3/5 agreement with the assigned category. The resulting 145 categorized statements representing a range of DMIS positions were then administered to a cross-cultural sample of 223 respondents with a 7-point agree/disagree Likert response scale. Data from this administration was submitted to within-scale factor analysis to find the best loading of items to scales. Scales were then subjected to scale reliability testing, yielding Coefficient Alpha scores of .80 or better. The result of this process was v.1 of the IDI, a 60-item instrument with 5 scales.

A full confirmatory factor analysis of the most of the original items was conducted with a cross-cultural sample of 591 respondent, yielding the IDI v. 2 instrument composed of 50 statements. The CFA established the "best fit" of six scales: DD (Denial/Defense), R (Reversal), M (Minimization), AA (Acceptance/Adaptation) and EM (Encapsulated Marginality). A subsequent CFA of the 50 IDI items with a cross-cultural sample of 4,763 respondents created a "best fit" of seven scales that match the theoretical DMIS structure even more closely (Hammer, 2007). In addition, the ethnocentric scales of Denial, Defense, and Reversal all positively correlate with one another and negatively correlate with the more ethnorelative scales of Acceptance and Adaptation, with Minimization occupying a middle position. This supports the DMIS assumption of developmental sequence. The EM scale, originally meant to measure Encapsulated Marginality (which was then considered to be an aspect of Integration), in fact correlates most closely with Reversal. The EM scale was not used in this study, and in any case, Bennett has dropped the notion of Encapsulated Marginality from his recent work on DMIS (Bennett, 2012).

By having subjects respond to each of the 50 statements on a Likert 5-position agree-disagree response set, the IDI yields two kinds of quantitative data that were used in this study. The primary data are the Developmental Orientation (DO) scores, which are z-score compilations derived from the individual scales that establish a "position" along the DMIS continuum from Denial to Adaptation. Taken in the aggregate, these scores indicate the "primary orientation to difference" of a group and provide the basis from making pre/post statistical comparisons of groups. The second kind of data is derived from the raw scores on particular scales. In the case of the scales DD, R, and M, the scores are taken as an indication of "resolution" of DMIS-defined issues associated with each of the ethnocentric positions – the more

disagreement with ethnocentric statements, the more resolution of the issue. When relatively high scores (i.e. "agreement" with ethnocentric statements) on a particular scale accompany a DO score that is further along the continuum, the issues associated with the ethnocentric scale are called "trailing issues" on the assumption that they may be impeding development. Taken in the aggregate, lack of resolution of ethnocentric issues can be expressed as a percentage – actually, the percentage of members of the group who have unresolved scores on the ethnocentric scales.

Besides the reliability of the scales, construct validity for the IDI has been established in several ways. First, statements from the original interviews were organized by experts according to DMIS categories with high (.60 or better) inter-rater reliability, thus establishing that the items could be related to the theoretical categories. Subsequent confirmatory content analyses supported a best fit of the data with a structure corresponding to the DMIS constructs (and sequence). Finally, in test cases the quantitative profiles generated by the IDI corresponded to qualitative data generated from interviews of the same subjects (Paige, Jacobs-Cassuto, Yershova, & DeJaeghere, 1999). Convergent and divergent construct validity is supported by the correlation of the IDI with two previously validated scales, the Worldmindedness Scale (Sampson & Smith, 1957; Wiseman, Hammer, & Nishida, 1989) and the Social Anxiety Scale (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). As expected, the ethnocentric scales of the IDI correlate negatively with Worldmindedness and positively with Social Anxiety, while the ethnorelative scales correlate positively with Worldmindedness and negatively with Social Anxiety.

As a diagnostic instrument, the IDI resembles a projective personality test more than a survey instrument. As such, it de-emphasizes face validity and accentuates theoretical construct validity. Since the IDI purports to indicate theoretically defined constructs that are probably not defined as such by the respondent, face validity is both irrelevant and probably detrimental to the purposes of the instrument. That is, like any projective test, the items are meant to evoke a response that is only subsequently interpreted in terms of the constructs. If the items clearly reveal the construct they are meant to indicate, they are more likely to evoke social desirability. For instance, the construct of Defense is associated with a threat response to cultural difference. However, it would be ineffective to ask for agreement/disagreement with a high face validity item such as "I am threatened by cultural difference." Instead, the items are of the type, "I think some cultures in the world are just naturally superior to others." Agreement with this item is highly correlated with the construct of Defense, although it does not have face validity beyond referring in general to "culture." Perhaps because of this avoidance of too much face validity, the IDI has shown no significant correlation of any of its scales with the Stahan & Gerbasi (1972) modification of the Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability scale.

The study reported in this dissertation used an Italian translation of the IDI, raising the issue of cross-cultural validity. It, along with all other translations of the instrument, was generated by what the developers describe

as a rigorous process of translation/back-translation. There are three reasons to believe that this process is sufficient to yield a valid form of the instrument in alternative languages and cultures. One is that the validation samples for all versions of the IDI have intentionally included a wide range of cultural differences. While the instrument in the cases of v.1 and v.2 was only in English, the fact that people with other native languages responded to it reliably is an indication of cross-cultural robustness. In the case of v.3 (the same 50 items, but with a new CFA), the sample actually included data from non-English versions of the instrument. If there had been too much variation in the translated versions, reliability measures in the v.3 study would have suffered in ways that were not observed. Second, the low reliance on face validity described above may allow more latitude in exact wording of items in alternative languages while preserving the evocative capability of the items. Finally, the developers report (personal communication, 2012) that comparisons of qualitative interviews and quantitative IDI profiles similar to those performed on v.1 by Paige et al (1999) were conducted by foreign language administrators of the instrument, with similar positive correlations. Further criticism of this process is included in Section 6.2, Limitations of the IDI.

4.6   The process of training

The training process, although it is frequently referred to as the "course", is in fact a more complete process. Following Quaglino & Carrozzi (1995), the process starts with 1) needs analysis; 2) planning of the intervention; 3) intervention; and 4) evaluation of results.

In the case of this research, needs analysis has not been a "traditional" one. The nature of the intervention, aiming to develop intercultural sensitivity, or what has called been called, in this dissertation, a "precursor" to competence itself, made it a more complex process as many more variables needed to be taken into account.

Needs analysis is typically a collection of data about the demands and the needs of individuals and organizations. The heart of the issue is whether the so-called needs are those of the organization or those of the individuals. They are both: training happens inside an institutional context comprised of individuals. Most individuals spend a great part of their existence inside organizations, so the system of needs is heavily influenced by them, as well as by their own families. So training needs are those specific needs that are related to the professional preparation of individuals for what they do (activity), for what they would like to do (plans) and how they will go about it (culture) (Quaglino & Carrozzi 1995). While the organization states to the trainer or consultant an organizational problem, the client or trainee evidences a need that has to do with the organization.

There is not one single model for this activity, but many ways that are rooted in the more traditional social methodology of research: direct

observation, single or group interviews and questionnaire. In the last twenty years there has been an extensive formulation and use of assessments, typically of a psychometric nature, that sometimes are used in training in order guide different interventions (Paige 2004). Paige notes that the trend about tests started in the 1970s and the debate over them has now a completely devoted literature[47], but "surprisingly little has been written about instruments as a component of intercultural training design and training pedagogy" (Paige 2004: 85).

Why is ICC training different than other kinds of training? In my opinion because it deals with an aspect of one's identity that lies outside the immediate ability to do something or to perform a behavior, particularly a professional skill or even an interpersonal skill, although it is part of a general system of social competences that enable social coexistence. As a consequence, needs analysis needs to face issues that go beyond the ability 'to do' or even 'to be'. The "traditional" training plan as in Hawrylyshyn (1975; 1977) described in figure 4 is an example of planning for training in relation to a final behavioral improvement that involves learning objectives for knowledge, attitudes and skills (KAS).
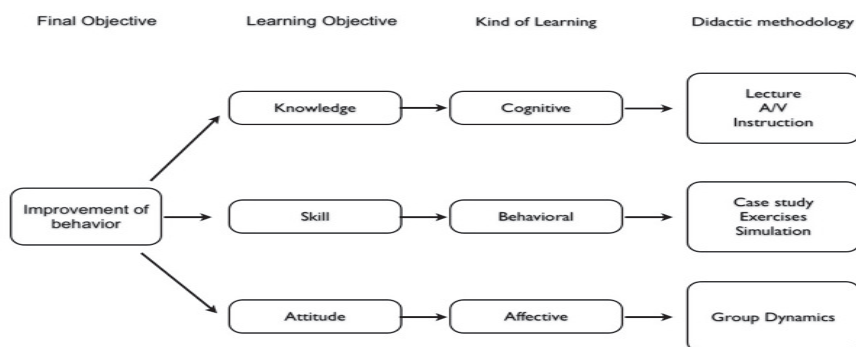
FIGURE 4   The Hawrylyshyn model (1975)

In order to train for intercultural sensitivity one needs to include a different learning objective for the same final result of competence, that is to say the goal of intervening in the individual's construction of the experience of difference. This in turn will change the way people look at issues, frame them, analyze them and eventually solve or cope with.

In figure 5, a visualization of the inclusion of this component as a pre-requisite both of the knowledge dimension (as an objective and as a training content) and of attitudes.

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[47]   Such as *Tests in Print* (Murphy, Plake & Impara 1999) and *Mental Measurements Yearbook* (Plake, Impara & Spies, 2003) or the numerous texts on different types of psychological tests.
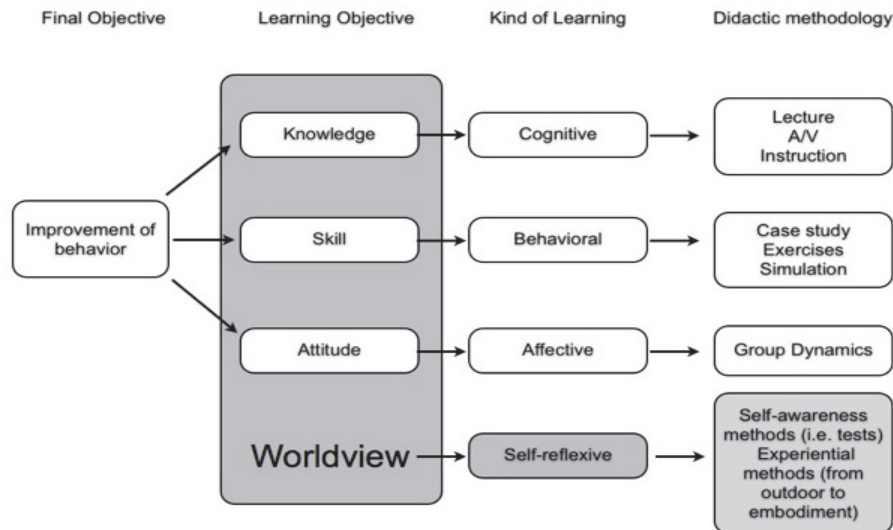
FIGURE 5 Adaptation of Hawrylyshyn model (1975)

4.7 Measuring effectiveness of training

The debate over the effectiveness of training, or better the evaluation of training, triggered by Kirkpatrick in 1960, reached a climax between 1965 and 1975 (Andrews 1966; Hesseling 1966; Warr et al. 1970; Whitelaw 1972; Hamblin 1974). Since then, the topic has always been related to the process of training as an integral part of it. When talking about evaluation of results, one means a particular research activity in order to identify changes that have occurred in trainees that can be attributed to the educational experience itself. There are other definitions, still in use, that add other components of the evaluation process. For instance, Rose (1968) says that it consists of a measurement and a comparison regarding the preparation of individuals before and after their participation in the course. In this perspective, the possibility to measure a pre-condition and a post-condition becomes important, as it has been in the process of the research presented in this dissertation. For Kimber (1970), there are three primary goals in training evaluation: 1) establishing whether the objectives of the intervention satisfy the needs of the organization; 2) finding whether those objectives have been reached in the most efficacious and economical way; and 3) overcoming the implicit dangers of a superficial evaluation. This definition is less linear than the one from Rose but it introduces the needs of the organization (together with those of individuals), the issue of costs, the inadequacy of depending on satisfaction surveys as the exclusive evaluation tool.

As far as the above point 1), the results need to be assessed at an individual level, but also at a systemic level; what is the meaning those results have for the organization? So while one can separate the needs analysis process between the needs of the organization and the needs of the individuals, in fact, during the evaluation process these two levels have to be reconciled. It is then up to the researcher to infer how data about learning and change in the participants maps onto changes for the organization. Crucial in this process are the use of the appropriate instrumentation and the level of significance of the data (Castiglioni 2009).

To Kimber's (1970) second point, what is at stake is the return on investment (ROI). It was only in 1990 that the journal of the American Society for Training (Training and Development) published "Return on investment: accounting for training" (Carnevale & Schultz 1990). In that survey, two out of three trainers of managers were reporting the pressure they were receiving from their clients about being able to demonstrate the effectiveness of their interventions. Still today, establishing the ROI of training is a challenge for most companies, particularly for those soft-skills trainings, including all kinds of communication training. And it is extremely expensive to measure. A good return on investment measure, rather than try to account for all expenses and their immediate return, should retain an investment as such: that is to say, an expenditure of money and energy and expectation vis à vis an expected change in the long run. Were one able to demonstrate the effectiveness of training in terms of pre-post change of the participants, as the attempt of this research, one could say that the investment was worthwhile.

As for Kimber's point 3), the danger of a superficial evaluation is still nowadays present. Most evaluation stops at the satisfaction assessment. Lacking other criteria for evaluating the impact of so-called "soft skills" or humanistic topics, most evaluation remains superficial, thus reinforcing the known prejudice of "lightweight subjects". Through a more rigorous yet paradigmatically respectful assessment with the validated instrument used for this research one can affirm the relevance of results of the training.

5   REVIEW OF RESULTS

5.1   Reading and interpreting results

The IDI presents data in a form of horizontal bars that were originally created to support coaching sessions (see appendix 3a). The bars are generated by the algorithm of a proprietary program into which a certified[48] researcher inputs data from the instrument. However, this is not a useful presentation of data for comparisons between groups and for pre/post assessment. For this research, raw scores from scales (see appendix 3b) have been put into Excel in order to graph non-parametric comparisons among groups. The main score DO, derived from the algorithm, is the statistic used in the IDI validation studies and it is the only statistic used in my research for the parametric t-testing.

The research presents three kinds of data: a) a descriptive comparison of percentages of people whose DO (developmental orientation) score falls in various positions along the continuum, e.g. 26% of the whole population falling in DDR; b) a comparison of the distribution of the intercultural worldview to a normative distribution[49]; and c) various non-parametric comparisons among subpopulations of the study for descriptive purposes. A second kind of data, also descriptive, is about trailing issues: they are derived by taking the percentage of people responding "strongly agree/agree/somewhat agree" to ethnocentric issues. In this case the overall percentage of responses falling into these categories has been considered, not the DO scores. The third kind of data uses t-testing of DO scores between pre/post and control groups to generate a

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[48]   Any user of the IDI needs to be certified (24 hours programme). I was certified in Portland, Oregon (USA) in February 2002.

[49]   The normative comparison of developmental and perceived scores is useful to understand how one's IDI profile scores compare to others. For instance, respondent xx has a developmental score of 95 and a perceived score of 130. This would put xx at the 40th percentile for developmental score and at the 90th percentile on perceived score. This means that 40% of the people (on the IDI normative sample) had a developmental score lower than xx and 90% of the norm sample had perceived lower than xx. A comparison chart of percentiles relative to DS and PS is provided in the qualified administrators manual.

measure of significance. Since I'm not claiming interaction effects, each pre/post group is treated separately.

Interviews in Italian (90) have been recorded and transcribed (see appendix 3c for interview schedule) using standard interviewing methodology (Krippendorf, 2004)[50]. Qualitative data have been used to provide interpretive depth to the quantitative data. The IDI is not well-suited for complex diagnostic or interpretative data, having been constructed to guide questions for coaching sessions with individuals and to support training design for groups. Consequently, in this research I have used the diagnostic data generated by the instrument just for comparative purposes. Diagnostic statements are always augmented by interview data.

One of the strengths of the IDI is its ability to generate a parametric statistic that can be used to measure significance and establish causality. I have exploited this strength by making pre/post t-test assessments of groups, including a control group, thus establishing a quasi-experimental condition that allows me to claim effectiveness of the training for intercultural sensitivity that was conducted as part of the study.

5.2 Whole population baseline

The IDI test was initially administered to 296 subjects, however only 239 people completed it in a valid way. 235 people fully completed demographic data, summarized in the chart below by the IDI software.

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[50]   See also section 4.4 of this dissertation.

The Intercultural Development Inventory					For: *Province of Milano*
Demographic Summary	Survey Count 235				By: *Dott. Ida Castiglioni*

Gender:

1=Male	54
2=Female	179

Sd	0,42
Median	2
Mean	1,77

Age Category:

1=17 and under	
2=18 - 21	
3=22 - 30	32
4=31 - 40	84
5=41 - 50	75
6=51 - 60	43
7=61 and over	

Sd	0,94
Median	5
Mean	4,55

Amount of previous experience living in another culture:

1=Never lived in another culture	149
2=Less than 3 months	50
3=3 - 6 months	6
4=7 - 11 months	3
5=1 - 2 years	2
6=3 - 5 years	2
7=6 - 10 years	1
8=Over 10 years	9

StD	1,57
Median	1
Mean	1,71

Education Level (completed):

1=Did not complete High School	26
2=High School graduate	77
3=College graduate	92
4=M.A. degree or equilvalent level graduate degree	24
5=Ph.D. degree or equivalent level graduate degree	
6=Other	12

Sd	1,13
Median	3
Mean	2,70

World region background:

1=North America		6=Australia	
2=Central America		7=Asia Pacific	
3=South America	3	8=Western Europe	223
4=Middle East		9=Eastern Europe	1
5=Africa	3	10=Other	1

Sd	0,68
Median	8
Mean	7,91

Optional 1:

1		6	
2		7	
3		8	
4		9	
5		10	

Sd
Median
Mean

Optional 2:

1		6	
2		7	
3		8	
4		9	
5		10	

Sd
Median
Mean

Optional 3:

1		6	
2		7	
3		8	
4		9	
5		10	

Sd
Median
Mean

FIGURE 6   IDI generated demographic data
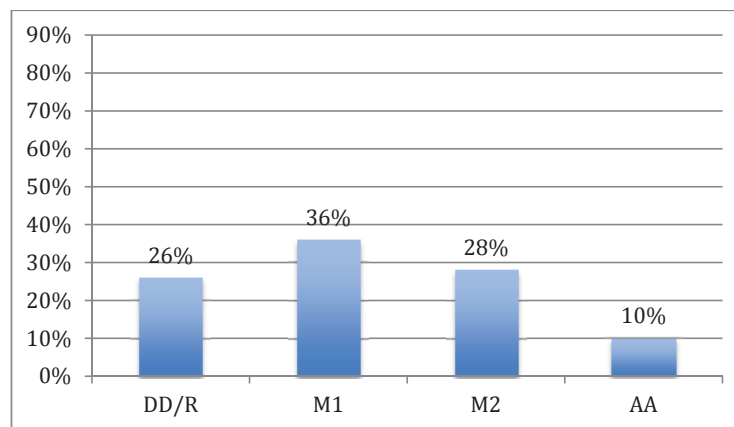
FIGURE 7   All participants pre-training DO scores

In figure 7, 64% of the population is in Minimization (M1, 36% and M2, 28%). The position of Minimization has been split between M1 and M2 (Castiglioni, 2009). As already discussed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, the DMIS treats Minimization as an ethnocentric position. M1 identifies the quality of superficial tolerance of difference characterizing people with this predominant worldview. The main trait of this view is that of possibly retreating to Defense when facing a meaningful difference. M2 connotes a more mature condition of

Minimization where perception of difference is somewhat more complex. The predominance of this worldview is characterized by non-evaluative recognition of superficial cultural differences while remaining attached to underlying values that are considered as universal (may they be religious or psychological or biological). The belief of the absolutism of "human rights" usually lies here. 26% of this overall population shows a predominant worldview in Denial/Defense/Reversal. This remains a "stumbling block" for the entire group.
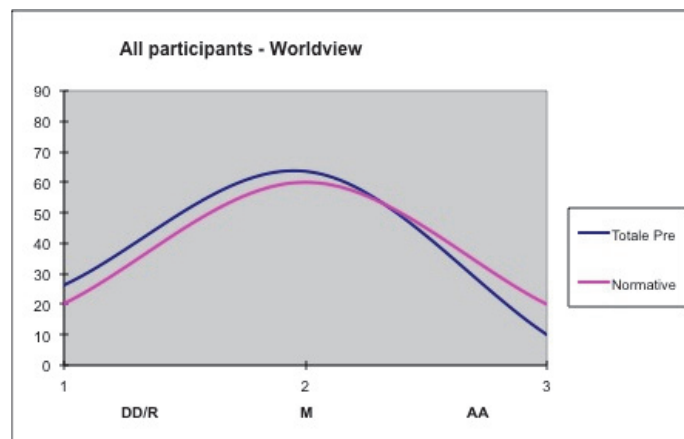
FIGURE 8   Comparison of all participants pre-post to IDI normative curve

Figure 8 shows, in the comparison normative curve of the IDI and the curve of the initial group (239)[51], a higher than normal level of DDR and, almost in the same percentage, a lower than normal level of AA. Minimization too is higher than normal. These data, combined with the results of interviews reported more fully in *La Differenza c'è. Gestire la diversità nell'organizzazione dei servizi* (2009), answer research question number 3. Besides providing a description of issues facing this professional group, data constituted the needs analysis that allowed developmentally based training for the group to be designed.

5.3 The specific groups

In this study, each organizational context in which training was conducted was treated as a separate entity and different descriptions of pre-post change were generated.

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[51]   The normative curve – i.e. a normative distribution of intercultural sensitivity in large populations -- is assumed by the IDI. See limitations of the IDI, section 6.1.2.

FIGURE 9   Comparison of 2 hospitals pre-training DO scores

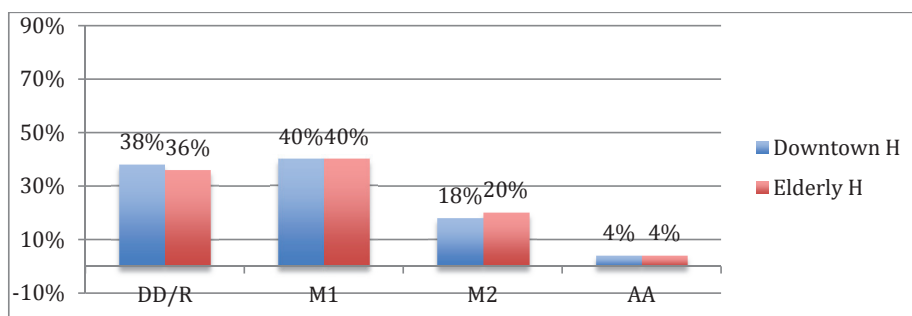In all contexts but one, the social district of the Southern hinterland of Milan, the groups had a predominantly ethnocentric orientation. Particularly, the two health care institutions, despite different clientele and location (one of elderly out of town, the other of ER clients from downtown, including many migrants), had a very similar initial profile: 36% of DDR for the elderly hospital (on a population of 82, figure x) and 38% of DDR for the downtown hospital (on a population of 55, figure Y); exactly 40% of M1 for both; 20% of M2 for the elderly institution and 18% of M2 from the downtown hospital. In both cases people in AA were 4% of the sample.

Qualitative interviews have helped in making distinctions between the two different populations. The rural (elderly) hospital is emblematic of the Italian situation. The group of people interviewed and tested with the instrument was composed of medical doctors, nurses, occupational therapists, sanitary assistants and sanitary operators. None of them had ever been exposed to any training on intercultural topics -- not even any form of migration issues. While the overall position of the group according to the combined DO score is Minimization, additional insight is achieved by looking at the descriptive statistic of trailing issues (described in Section 4.5 of this dissertation) and to the qualitative data from interviews. Those two descriptions show a higher level of Denial (Isolation form) in the rural group. Despite the fact that the location of the Hospital structure is within fifty kilometers of Milan, the visibility of foreigners is much lower than in the city. Many interviewees also indicated unresolved Defense issues, even when they themselves had undertaken migration from Southern to Northern Italy. In the words of one female nurse in reference to a Peruvian colleague: "it seems there isn't much difference in terms of culture between her and us, that is to say, she thinks like us…we've had Peruvian girls working here for many years, we've never had any problem". She applies her assimilationist vision in which she has given up her Southern identity to the perception of others, thus minimizing the cultural differences. In addition, she shows the Defense perception that "difference" equals "problem". In the same organization, another female interviewee says referring to foreign national colleagues:" If I'm not mistaken one is from Brazil; the other, I don't

know…she is of color, but I know her only by her name, Rosa, I don't know…but she is a girl I work well with." IDI v2 does not identify clearly the differences between Denial, Defense and Reversal, as they are presented as an aggregate in the DO score showing position along the DMIS continuum. Interviews are therefore an invaluable support for detecting nuances and making sense for training interventions.

In the case of the downtown hospital, though scores are similar, there is a slightly higher level of Defense. Migration issues are more visible and impacting this organization more substantially. In fact, interviewees (medical doctors, nurses, sanitary assistants and sanitary operators) of the two involved institutes pertaining to this hospital were working in 1) emergency room, 2) urgent medicine, 3) pediatric and obstetrics; that is to say, the units that are more in contact with clients with foreign national background. One female nurse says:" at a personal level I have a friend from Sri Lanka, but I don't know very much about his customs…perhaps sometimes I allow this negative part overtaking myself…I'm realizing I'm becoming less tolerant, less available". Many interviewees of this organization were reporting, as part of what they knew about other cultures, the fact Muslim migrants not eating pork meat, coupled with the "injustice" of Muslim men marrying Italian women while Muslim women could not marry Italian men. Another male interviewee states, "according to me there is a psychological aggression from some very represented ethnic groups, particularly, I mean Egyptians and Arabs. It is difficult for us to manage them because they are aggressive and they want it all and at once. It is a great difficulty for us to make them understand it doesn't work exactly this way, so I think relationships are out of balance". These statements show a combination of the almost benevolent disinterest of Denial to the feeling of being besieged, typical of Defense.

The training directorate of the public body Provincia di Milano shows 84% of the employees in a position of Minimization (47% in M1 and 37% in M2). The two extremes ethnocentrism (DDR): 11%; ethnorelativism (AA) 5% (Figure 10)
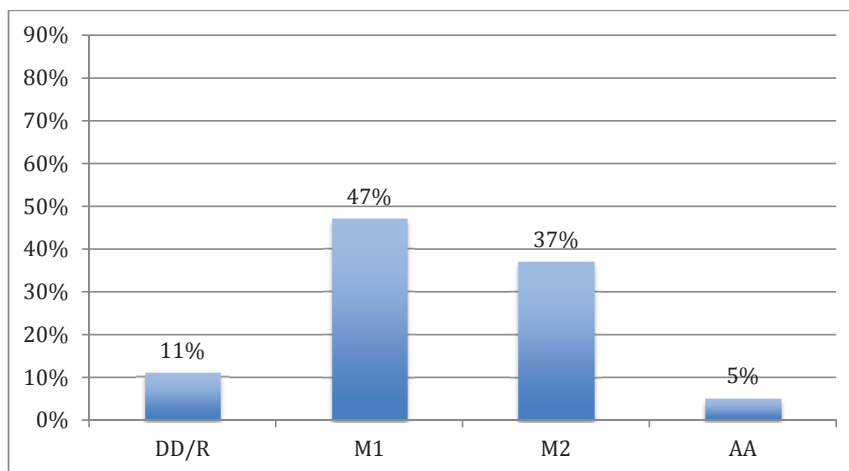
FIGURE 10   Directorate of the Provincia di Milano pre-training DO scores

The level of M (Minimization) in this group is rather high above norm, while the level of AA (Acceptance and Adaptation) is lower. Minimization is supported for some people by their religious affiliations, while for others by their professional background, such as in the words of this psychologist: "one of the things psychology is often accused of is the attempt to homogenize, to force issues in a certain direction…We were doing training for a community of Muslim minors, that is to say all of those aspects that are difficult to understand for us and also have aspects we really do not agree upon; so I've found that interesting, but I don't see myself working there everyday, working with young adults who do not recognize women because they have a different view on women than we do." Minimization, always embeds, at some level, issues of Defense and Denial, as portrayed in this interview excerpt, hence the positioning of this worldview is still in ethnocentrism.

FIGURE 11   Comparison of Provincia Directorate and IDI normative curve

By looking at *trailing issues* (see section 5.1 of this Chapter) it has been possible to better understand the ethnocentric tendencies within the groups and to interpret these tendencies, always with the support of qua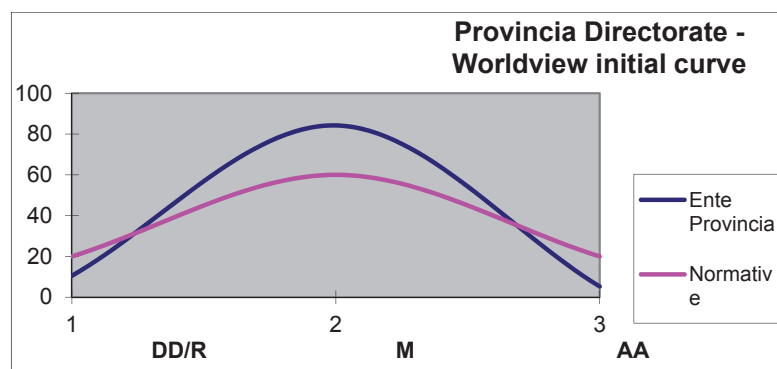litative interviews. For instance, the training department of the Province of Milan body (figure 10) shows the following amounts of residual ethnocentrism: 16% Denial; 19% Defense; 33% Reversal. While the overall level of education of this group is very high, their exposure to difference is rather low. Their main job is to identify needs of the collectivity and to promote and to support financially interventions via different actors. Their engagement in issues is removed from direct contact for the most part. For some people, as highlighted in the interview above, the experience of Minimization is supported by religion, for others by background training in a specific educational or psychological stream. One explanation of the residual denial can be traced to expressions of disinterest, manifested in other interviews, about several aspects of human diversity. Also, the high level of Reversal (33%) may be associated with positive superficial contact with other cultures.

FIGURE 12   Trailing issues Provincial di Milano Directorate
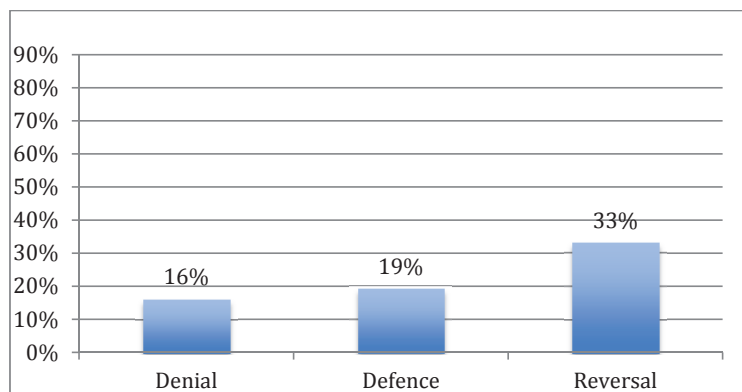
The Special Agency for Social Services of the North area of the Province of Milan, which includes three different projects, and a high number of contracted professionals, including some foreign operators, is the only context that has a levels of ethnocentrism and ethnorelativism more or less equal to the IDI normative curve (19% DDR, 68% M, 13% AA.). (Figures 13 and 14)
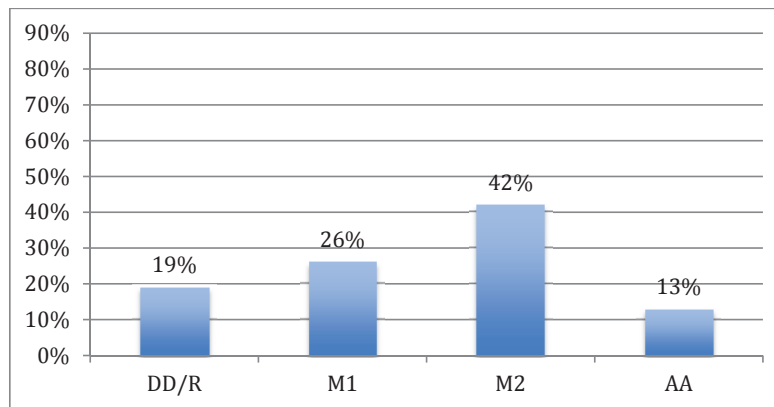
FIGURE 13   North hinterland pre-training DO scores
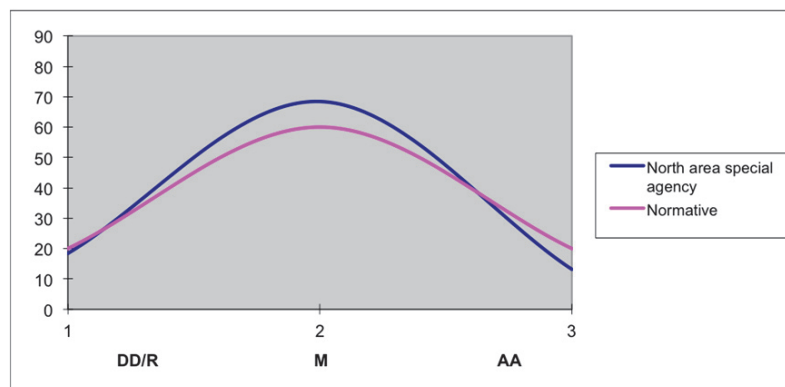
FIGURE 14   North hinterland comparison to IDI normative curve

Minimization of this group is well represented by the words of this social worker in this interview: "we think to belong to a culture because we give ourselves a definition, it is comfortable to define ourselves as belonging to something and this can be an over structure, in fact we are much more similar than what we think, in a natural way". The comparatively higher level of mature minimization (M2=42%) envelops a trailing issue of Reversal (33% in this case), as illustrated by this interview to a coordinator: "Differences should only be understood. One needs to understand those who live and think differently from us, but once we have knowledge and comprehension, one can overcome any obstacle." In the same interview, the person responds to the question about 'what could your organization do':" …the opinion of everybody should be that all of these interventions are absolutely necessary for the well being of the community altogether, for the wellbeing of these people. And in the end what we do for them is what we would expect them doing for us were we strangers in their land. This is the principle guiding me and people working

with me." Denial is also present as a trailing issue, somehow more significant in this case as it comes from the words of a foreign migrant, trained to work for a help desk by this organization: "for me these differences have no value, I don't see them. Even at work there is no difference, I don't see any difference. For instance when I present myself in a public office, there is no difference because I'm a foreigner, because I represent a foreign community or I'm there to solve some problems, but I'm treated even better than others. For what I've said I see no difference."

The municipality of the West hinterland of Milan (figure 12) is characterized by a predominant experience of difference, as a group, of complete ethnocentrism, whereby DDR is 20% and M is 80% (40%M1 and 40%M2).
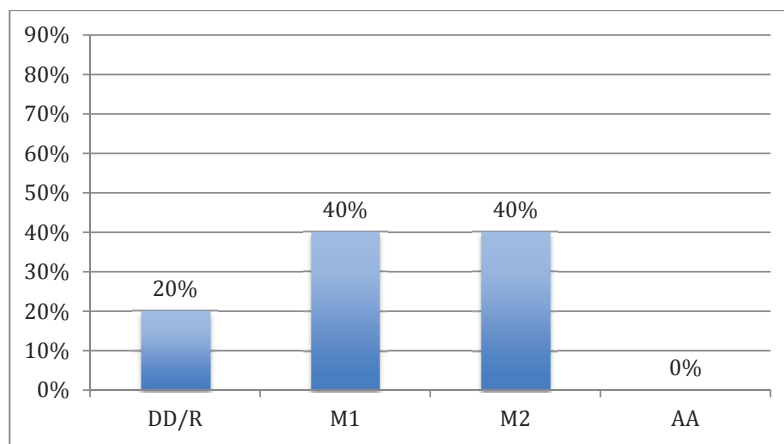
FIGURE 15   West hinterland pre-training DO scores

This is a very small group of people including the executive director of public offices of this town, people responsible of administrative areas and desk officers, all with no previous training in intercultural topics. The aspect to highlight here is the complete absence of experience in AA and the equal distribution of M1 and M2.

As long as people are not touched directly, Minimization is a winning strategy, as it allows for tolerance. However, when the response to one's action is not what is expected, people may develop feelings of anger and frustration. This is the case with desk employees whose experience is that of being manipulated as requests from foreigners come with a communication style difficult to bear for them. Hence, despite the initial good disposition (M), they end up trying to avoid these communications, by referring them to somebody else in the office (DD). The passive condition of these employees also makes the relationship very difficult: they are not in the position of creating any real relationship, they are there to respond to questions and deliver money. This leads to an absolute positive idealization of some cultures (R) on the one hand

and extreme derogation (Def) of other ones. It is understandable then, that Minimization is a desirable moderation of both extremes.

The social district of the South East hinterland of Milan (figure 13), on the contrary, is the only group showing a level of ethnorelativism higher than the normative curve: AA 31%. Interestingly, this group (9 different municipalities) was very culturally diverse, as it included (both for the interviews and the IDI) local politicians, executives, social workers, psychologists and municipal employees. Many, if not all, of these professionals had been previously exposed to intercultural themes in one form or another. This may account for the DDR percentage being lower than normal (7%) and the M2 (38%) higher than M1 (24%), in addition to the high level of AA.

As an example, here is a response from an interviewee social worker dealing with issues of elderly people, with a predominant experience in AA: "differences are everywhere, no? I mean from the difference of gender, to age differences, to national backgrounds, activity, work, I say it's a world!" There is no question for this person that all differences count and are meaningful, there's no pointing at nationality, no examples of manipulated superficial knowledge about other cultures (such as in the case of Muslim not eating pork meat and other statements of this tenor given by respondents with a predominant experience in Denial or Defense). This district has historically been marked by a significant presence of foreigners and from Italians coming from different parts of the country even before the current fluxes of migrants. This is due to the presence of a big global oil company, an attractor point for people coming from all over the world and residing there, using local social and health services. The enlarged horizon is palpable from the interviews, where people for instance speak of conflict management in a constructive way: "for me integration is essential even if integration might imply, in an initial phase, even some conflicts". Besides, the ability to refer to one's personal experience is indicative of an ongoing self reflexive process used to understand the territory, above all of those little villages of this district that have remained rural and marginal to the main town: "difficulties I believe consist in the acceptance that we are not all the same, but the fact we're not the same is not a limit. Unfortunately in little villages the difficulty relies in making a qualitative jump. You still can hear comments like [in dialect]- but he's not like me! - unfortunately it is so difficult to overcome this, it is as if there is a pedigree citizen and a citizen that 'can be integrated' but is in charge of his integration…there is something stable, immutable, and then there's the one who arrives (…) even I have lived this as a 'migrant' from Milan, I'm always the 'one from Milano' (…) mainly in small towns there is still a lot to do about this."
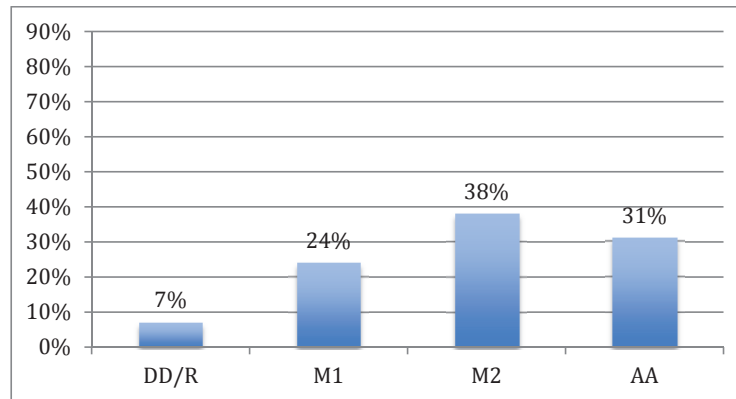
FIGURE 16   South East hinterland pre-training DO scores

5.4 The pre-post training overall results

The pre-post comparison (figure 17) indicates a significant change as measured by the shift in overall Developmental Orientation (DO). Specifically, the percentage of people with a DO of DD/R has been reduced by half (24% to 12%), M1 by nearly a third (38% to 26%), while AA has increased nearly 6-fold (6% to 34%). Given the similarity of percentages in M2, one can assume that most of the people initially in M1 moved to M2, while people initially in M2 moved to AA. The T-test is extremely significant[52], establishing the difference between the paired pre-test and post-test subjects. That the change has occurred thanks to the training and not to other intervening variables between the pre and post test was established via a control group; individuals in the control group were administered the test for the first time at the same time in which the experimental group was assessed after the course. The difference between the pre-course experimental group and the control group is not statistically significant, establishing their similarity[53]and supporting the high likelihood that the change of the experimental group has occurred because of the training intervention (Castiglioni, 2009).

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[52]   Two tailed, paired P=.0001. Confidence interval: the median of the experimental pre-course group minus the experimental post-course group is equal to -9.7594458746
[53]   Two tailed P= .8938
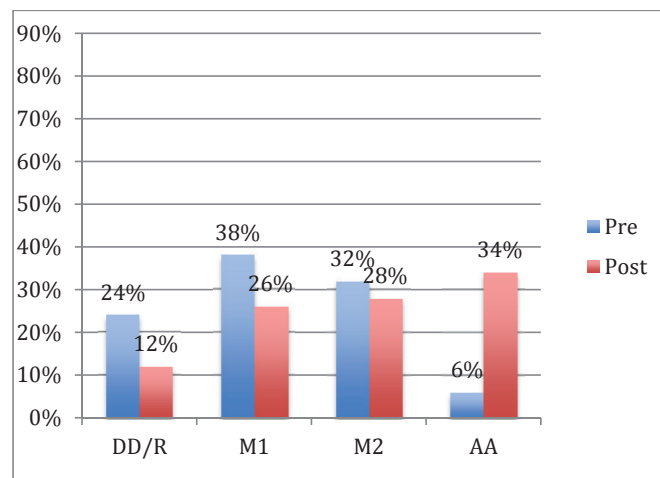
FIGURE 17   Pre/post training comparison of the experimental group

In all mixed classes of the experiment group people moved one position along the continuum after a 24 hours intervention[54]. This implies that those participants with a predominant view in Denial moved to Defense, and those in Defense or Reversal moved to M1. This result clearly answers research question number 3 and number 4. The training was effective as measured by the pre-post testing. By inference, the fact that the training was designed to create exactly such a change can be considered an important factor in its success.

5.5   Stage-specific targeted training

A "special group" was created, representing an experiment within the experimental group. It was a training program for social operators coming from different organizations involved in the research process in which individuals' positions, as measured by the IDI were in Minimization (figure 18).

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[54]   Although it is not exactly discernible through the instrument's algorithm, it is possible to look at the statistics in the appendix and to identify subjects preferring Denial, Defense or Reversal expressions.
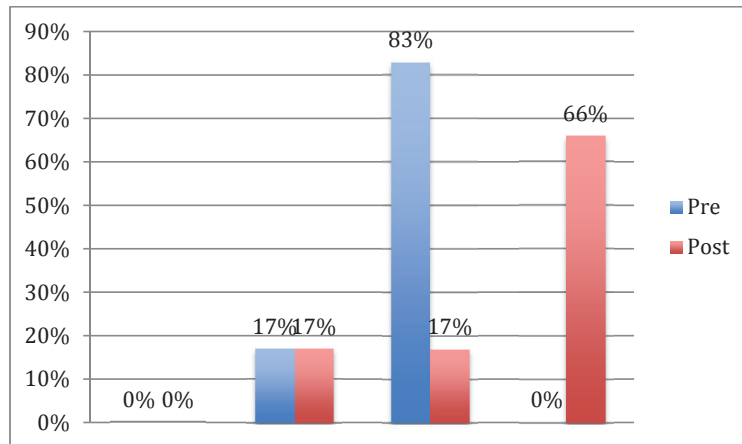
FIGURE 18   Pre/post training comparison of minimization experimental group

Unfortunately, due to logistical reasons, the number of participants turned out to be small (6 participants), hence this result should be read as a suggestion for further research[55]. As indicated in the graph, the number of people in M1 remained the same. One interpretation, as suggested by the analysis their trailing issues, is that the unresolved problems, mainly in Defense, were holding back this 17%. But people assessed in M2 moved from 83% to 17%, with a difference of 66%, which is exactly the percentage of people that passed into AA. Interview data support the supposition these people were stuck in a predominant experience of Minimization because they hadn't been given a chance to think outside of standards. Once they were offered reasonable alternatives to experience difference, they were completely ready to move into more ethnorelativism.

Additionally a t-test was run in order to understand whether this little group could be representative of all the people in Minimization in the pre-course experimental group. The Two tailed P value is .0506, not statistically significant, thus supporting the contention that this small group might be fairly similar to people in general with a predominant orientation to difference in Minimization[56]. If one takes all people in Minimization before the course and compares them to the post-test of the target Minimization group, one has a two-tailed P value equal to .0001, conventionally considered extremely significant[57]. This means that there is a lot of potential for a group exclusively in Minimization to be working on issues that are relevant to the target and are able to expand the sensitivity about difference in a very effective way. The same

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[55]   The group is too small to be able to determine a statistical significance. Two tailed, paired P=1098.
[56]   Confidence interval: the median of all pre-course experimental participants in Minimization minus the pre-course target group in Minimization is-6.7332297723.
[57]   Confidence interval: the median of all pre-course participants in Minimization minus the post-course target group in Minimization is equal to -15.1197615973.

could probably not be true for a group only in DD/R, as perhaps, by being together with people sharing similar Defense views, participants would be reinforced in their views. Nevertheless, it is an experiment that could be tried.

6 THEORETICAL, RESEARCH AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

6.1 Evaluations of the research

Socio-constructivist research does not isolate the focus of a study as an object; it continuously redefines the focus as a problem in construction (McNamee, 1997). It focuses on interaction rather than on contents. By defining the focus of a research in a way or another, one must be able to declare its limits, what it is and what it is not. Research is a contextual practice and should be evaluated differently according to the context in which is placed. By accepting the discursive nature of an action research, one also accepts the legitimacy of people's narratives and the need to negotiate meaning, thus revealing the more constructionist perspective of this methodology. The implicit questions of a research, such as "To whom is this research directed?", "Who else could benefit?", "How could other actors design the research differently?" set different evaluation perspectives. The ability to imagine these different perspectives is already an exercise of self-reflexivity that accounts for the validity of the research: knowing where one stands and how one influences the process let the constraints and the potential descriptions emerge.

Having a grounded theory in the background, the DMIS, against which categorizing different narratives has made a difference for me. Fisher (1984) says discursive forms are stories, today one would say narratives, delimiting behavior in a coherent, non causal way. The "narrative probability" implies the coherence of a narrative, while the "narrative truth" suggests that a narrative will be considered true if syntonic with other narratives considered as meaningful by people. Within the paradigm chosen for this dissertation, an investigation, such as the one presented, has no meaning without a co-construction of meaning. One's actions are limited and potentiated at the same time by these meanings that become truths. In this sense, it is then harder and harder to speak about evidence of data: given the relational inter-dependency within a context, evidence looks more and more like the co-construction of

meaning. The guidance of the model (DMIS) in reading, in their complexity, people's responses, represents the major coherence of the research. And its limit of course, is that it compresses the realm of possible interpretations. In accordance with McNamee (1997) I do believe though in the importance of the context in the assessment of the research. The feedback of the organizations where it has been presented and discussed with participants, indicates it has given descriptions, explanations and tools meaningful for those contexts. Hence, it has been a successful action research, by giving a perspective in turn arising the need for more.

6.1.1 Limitations of the DMIS theory

In the twenty-six years since its first publication, the DMIS has not been supplanted by any other explanation of how people become more interculturally competent. This indicates that the DMIS is particularly robust within its defined domain. But of course any model can be criticized, and the purpose of this section is to review the major form of that criticism within the domain of development. I will not tackle criticism about the domain itself, i.e. constructivist development, since those arguments are mainly paradigmatic and do not pertain (or pertain equally) to all theories and models within the domain. For instance, many cross-cultural psychologists argue that intercultural competence should be approached as a collection of traits or a set of knowledge, attitude, and skills. As mentioned earlier, this argument arises from a more positivist paradigm. From the perspective of cross-cultural psychology, the constructivist-based DMIS (and all other developmental models) are somewhat irrelevant to how intercultural competence should be defined.

Direct criticisms of the DMIS tend to be about what it does not say, rather than what it does say. Various attempts have been made to add to the basic developmental sequence – some of them motivated by academic or commercial territoriality, and others apparently sincere attempts to improve the model. One example of the former motivation is Joseph Shaules' book *Deep Culture: The Hidden Challenges of Global Living* (Shaules, 2007) in which he argues that the DMIS sequence is posed at a surface level dealing with, essentially, objective culture and that a "deep level" dealing with, essentially, subjective culture needed to be added by Shaules to complete the model. This is a profound misunderstanding of the DMIS that one can only assume that the author was looking for an excuse to claim a unique conceptual portion of the developmental domain. And indeed, he quickly parlayed his unjustified addition to the model into a series of workshops and conferences on "deep culture."

Another suspect attempt to change the DMIS model occurred in conjunction with the commercialization of the Intercultural Development Inventory, Version 3. (This study used the earlier version 2 that was solidly based in the original DMIS). In Version 3 of the IDI, Hammer argues that the underlying theory of the instrument is no longer DMIS, but a new theory he calls the Intercultural Development Continuum (IDC) (Hammer, 2011). In fact,

the IDC is exactly the same as the DMIS except that Hammer uses the term "Polarization" to refer to a combination of "Defense" and "Reversal" and he drops Integration from the sequence. His rationale for claiming a new theory is that the old theory (DMIS) needed to be modified because data from the IDI (which was validated in terms of the DMIS) did not exactly support the DMIS. Specifically, correlations of the scales theoretically related to DMIS positions showed (as expected) that Denial and Defense/Reversal were positively correlated with each other and negatively correlated with Acceptance and Adaptation, and Acceptance and Adaptation were positively correlated with each other and negatively correlated with Denial/Defense/Reversal. However, Minimization did not correlate more positively with Denial/Defense/Reversal than it did with Acceptance/Adaptation. While this supports the sequence of stages originally posited by the DMIS, it does not support, according to Hammer, that Minimization is a form of Ethnocentrism. Therefore, he argues, a new theory is justified (Hammer, 2011).

There are two major reasons why Hammer's argument is specious. One is that new theories do not emerge from data generated by instruments constructed to measure the original theory. If the instrument is reliable and valid in terms of the theory, it means that it consistently measures what it has set out to measure – in this case, the DMIS. If an artifact of the measurement such as the correlation of one stage to another is strong enough to suggest a different theory, it means that the instrument was not valid in the first place. The second reason why DMIS theory cannot be changed based on IDI data is related to the first. Despite being validated in terms of the DMIS, the IDI makes a major assumption that the theory does not: that intercultural sensitivity is "normally distributed" in the population. The DMIS assumes instead that Denial is the default condition in every population and development beyond that is variable. As discussed later, the assumption of normal distribution constitutes a limitation of the IDI when it is used for categorical diagnostic purposes, since it contradicts the basic assumption of development. It is likely that the IDI is really only useful for looking at the kind of changes in groups that are measured in pre/post testing. In any case, the IDI measurement is so far removed from the theory that it cannot be used to either represent or modify the theory.

The best criticism of the DMIS is via a model that suggests compatible elements that might have been, but were not, included. A good example of that kind of synthesis is the Developmental Model of Intercultural Maturity devised by King & Baxter Magolda (2005) who combined several coherent dimensions into a single matrix. It is a developmental model, only theoretical so far, which is trying to take into account all developmental studies, albeit exclusively from the US, in order to offer a comprehensive view of intercultural sensitivity. To begin with, the word "Maturity" to indicate what M. Bennett has defined as sensitivity is a good choice. The authors also have dared to share Landreman's[58]

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[58] "achieving consciousness implies an understanding of self and identity (intrapersonal) while interacting with others in a historical and socio-cultural-

(2003) take on intercultural competence, i.e. that the appropriate educational goal ought not to be multicultural competence, but rather "intercultural consciousness." Years earlier I co–facilitated a seminar called "intercultural consciousness" together with Milton Bennett several times at the Summer Institute for Intercultural Communication in Portland. We never published the term in that context, but it has remained a teaching practice for me along the lines further developed by King and Baxter Magolda.

The authors' claimed holistic perspective of the MIM is indeed its strength. They organize their matrix on three dimensions, based on Kegan's (1994) model of lifespan development: 1) the cognitive dimension. This addresses how people construct their view and make meaning of reality; 2) the intrapersonal dimension is about how one understands one's own beliefs and values and uses them to make decisions; 3) the interpersonal dimension, which focuses on how people see themselves in relationships and how they make choices in social contexts. The other three dimension have to do with a sequence of development (initial, intermediate, mature) mostly around different aspects on the people's view of the nature of knowledge (Belenky, Clinchy, Glodberger &Tarule, 1986), their ethical positioning according to William Perry (1970), their ethnocentrism or ethnorelativism in M. Bennett's DMIS terms, and their use of representational skills (Fischer, 1980). The sequence then goes from 1) an initial ethnocentric, dualistic position, where knowledge is received and absolute, to 2) an intermediate position in which people decrease their reliance on external authority and increase their self-reliance. In this multiplistic state they are approaching an ethnorelative way to look at things. In 3) the mature level of development, people have the capacity to use multiple cultural frames, they use relativistic thinking as well as constructed knowing. MIM authors associate this position to M. Bennett's DMIS Integration, but at least in Perry's terms, Bennett uses committed relativism as an identifier of that last position of DMIS. He has suggested (2012) that relativistic positioning in Perry's ethical terms is already present in early stages of Adaptation.

The most interesting part of the work done by King and Baxter Magolda is the finding of interrelationships among all three dimensions. This highlights the power of inserting directly in the matrix both ethical and cognitive dimensions, as well as aspects dealing with one's own identity and social abilities, which lead to a straightforward potential of enactment of the level of maturity. This would be my suggestion to potentiate the DMIS, though in its own unique constructivist terms. Its current limitation is in fact, at least in literature, it is lacking a more explicit version of how more intercultural sensitivity can lead to an easier integration of self and therefore a better capacity to relate to others and to take action in face of ambiguous ethical choices. On the other hand though, MIM still needs to address issues about how to promote more intercultural maturity, through what practices, both self driven and educationally based, and through what kind of experiences. To my knowledge,

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political context (interpersonal), leading to reflection (cognitive) that motivates action" (Landreman 2003: 41-42).

there hasn't been any attempt to measure MIM, nor it has evolved into a training/educational systematic learning. This is certainly a path worth to be explored with further research.

6.1.2   Limitations of IDI

There are two major limitations of the IDI as a measurement of DMIS, neither of which affect the instrument's ability to measure change in a pre/post configuration. But while the instrument is a robust measurement of change, it has some major limitations as a diagnostic instrument. The main problem is the statistical demand that significant difference must be measured in terms of a normal distribution of some quality across a large population. This normal distribution allows a probability to be established that some deviation from normal is due to chance – the basis of statistical significance. Thus, to allow the finding of significant change in intercultural sensitivity (perhaps due to a training intervention), the IDI needs to assume a normal distribution of intercultural sensitivity across a large population. This means that about 68% of the population is assumed to have a Predominant Orientation of Minimization, with about 16% in the more ethnocentric positions of Denial and Defense/Reversal and another 16% in the more ethnorelative positions of Acceptance and Adaptation.

There are two problems with the assumption of normal distribution. First, according to DMIS theory (and casual observation), intercultural sensitivity is not distributed normally in the population. If intercultural sensitivity is in fact a relatively unusual developmental outcome of particular experience and education, then the assumption that it is normally distributed leads to a large overestimation of ethnorelativism and a severe underestimation of ethnocentrism. Groups would all tend towards Minimization – the larger the group, the more the tendency, and indeed that is what is observed across many IDI studies (M. Bennett, 2012, personal communication). In other words, the IDI is likely to become more inaccurate as group size increases, since the probability of normal distribution increases with the size of the sample. (There are problems with generating individual positions because of this assumption as well, but they do not affect this study).

The second and related problem with the IDI is that it assumes that a group DO score can be inferred from the aggregate of individual scores. This contradicts the systems theory assumption that groups are "more than the sum of their parts" and denies the possibility that groups have a "climate of respect (or disrespect) for diversity" that is due to "critical mass," "opinion leadership," or some other non-summative quality in the group.

This study has sought to compensate for the limitations of the IDI as a measurement of DMIS in various ways. One is to stress the robust measurement of change afforded by the instrument. Even when IDI categories are used per se (such as selecting a target group at Minimization for special training), change is sought rather than a diagnosis of a static condition. Another compensation is to use DMIS theory and interview data to make contextualized interpretations

rather than relying on the stock (and necessarily superficial) interpretations generated by the IDI instrument itself. Finally, the study gives special attention to the "issues" associated with particular scales – data that is not affected by the assumption of normal distribution and therefore more likely to be accurate for groups.

A major limitation of the IDI aside from those associated with its ability to measure DMIS is its status as a proprietary, commercial instrument. To be able to legally purchase and use the instrument, people need to become a "qualified administrator." This entails, among various other requirements, the signing of a contract that precludes publication and even exposure of the instrument items, along with a constraint on performing any research at all on the instrument. Regarding the constraint on publication, one of the rationales (besides the obvious commercial one) for restricting publication was that the instrument should not be assessed on the basis of its face validity, as I discussed in Section 4.5. While this is true for diagnostic instruments in general, many practitioners who administer the IDI are relatively unsophisticated in research methodology and could not counter the tendency of customers to assess the instrument purely on the superficial appearance of face validity. While this rationale may justify the IDI being withheld from general circulation, in an academic context the restriction is a major departure from academic practice.

The legal constraint that qualified administrators (or others) cannot pursue independent research on the instrument itself also runs counter to accepted academic practice. Licensed administrators are legally restrained from running new confirmatory factor analyses on IDI data, re-validating translated versions of the instrument, correlating the instrument with other instruments, or performing other functions that might normally be part of academic research with a non-proprietary instrument. All these constraints might be justified in a commercial context, but they are quite onerous in an academic one.

In the face of these limitations, there needs to be a compelling reason to use the IDI in research. Unfortunately, the IDI is still the "best game in town" as a developmental measurement of intercultural sensitivity and, by extension, of intercultural competence. There certainly is room for another instrument that will not only measure the DMIS more effectively, but will do so in the more in the spirit of open academic inquiry.

6.1.3   Limitations of the research and indications for further investigation

The major limitation of the presented research is the lack of a longitudinal study able to assess the long-term effects of the interventions on the organizations involved as well as in the individuals. Practical reasons, such as lack of financial resources and time, have been an impediment to do such a study. Of course this is generally the case in social science research, and particularly in the context of time-constrained Ph.D. dissertations. Nevertheless it is a limitation in how much one can affirm about the impact of the training as assessed.

A second limitation is that of using only one quantitative measurement, the IDI. By looking closely at the way it is constructed, this test has several

flaws as discussed in the previous section. The good part of the measurement is what makes this research valuable: it allows the researcher to rather accurately assess the impact of an intervention and to show change. My underlying assumption is that change is developmental. However, for change to happen in an organization, a single training intervention is not sufficient. Other dimensions and implications of change in organizations are discussed at the end of this chapter.

A third limitation is the small sample of the experiment in forming a Minimization only-class during the research. Due to logistical reasons, people who had signed up for this class could not show up and it was very difficult to re-schedule them. This experiment worked very well, as described in Chapter 5, nevertheless, the sample is too small to be able to generalize about it. Also, given the criticism of IDI as a diagnostic instrument, further attempts to create a Minimization-only class should include more reliance on interviewing.

6.1.4   Indications for further research

Further research using the DMIS, should take into account the possibility of using homogeneous samples of participants in a training intervention from a positional viewpoint. Particularly for the enhancement of ethnorelative tools and materials, it would be very useful to see what happens to a larger group of people with a predominant worldview of Minimization. In this case the use of embodied practices should be a component of the training design in order to assess the potential change in worldview occurring at a deeper level. By using techniques which take body and mind into account, as described in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, one should be able to unfold issues about cultural identity that are otherwise typically only barely touched in most interventions. Assessing change in people, but also being able to understand if they are able to make a different construal of their experience, to have a new narrative for their identities and perhaps even doing some pre-post testing of an experimental sample through fMRI.

Further investigation should also be made in order to differently measure the DMIS. Although the IDI v.3 uses the same set of items as v.2, and its original validation continues to be in terms of the DMIS, the owner is now claiming that the underlying theory has changed. This obviously spurious claim, along with the other proprietary restrictions imposed by the owner and the instrument's limitations as a diagnostic tool make it highly problematic for academic research. Other problems with the IDI approach to measurement, for instance its need to compensate for the overestimation of sensitivity that occurs when people respond to statements rather than generate them, make it desirable to find a different measuring method altogether for assessing intercultural sensitivity. A new tool should be central to any further attempt to quantify the DMIS, always augmented by qualitative data derived from interviews.

Finally, health and social services, particularly in Europe, are tooling up for the management of diversity and for offering better services to culturally diversified users and clients. However there is not a solid body of research,

especially in the area of communication and intercultural relations, to inform these efforts. Transcultural nursing and health care researchers should be communicating with intercultural communication researchers in order to enrich the dialogue and to create new tools for enacting intercultural sensitivity competently.

As suggested by Kielo Brewis (2008), the challenge to create services open to the changing structure of society is a need not only for migrants, but also for the hosting cultures. While her main focus was on the stress and adaptation strategies of Finish civil servants during intercultural contacts with customers, my belief is that civil servants, social workers, and health care givers are themselves likely to be diverse relative to each other and the host culture. It is the position called "we all here" by Salo-Lee (2004, 2006, 2007), which sometimes, in my experience becomes "we here and there", given 1) the mobility of many of these workers in international aid projects, and 2) some of them returning to their country of origin or moving to a different part of the world. As a multicultural society, Italy, along with many other European countries, is going to experience a generational shift in the workforce that will include more and more professionals with a non-Italian, or half-Italian cultural background. This, along with other "diversity" factors is going to bring significant change to the organization of work.

Diversity management and diversity training have taken several shapes in the last 20 years: from the initial "prejudice reduction" model, a heritage of the mostly US-based desegregation programs of the Seventies and Eighties, to the "quota" trainings imposed by legal actions, to trainings for privileged employees in the multi-dimensional diverse contexts of global corporations (Castiglioni, 2009). In fact, the Diversity movement has incorporated much of the intercultural theoretical and practical approach developed initially in an international context, and I find the distinction between domestic diversity and international cross-cultural management increasingly useless.

Competence for professionals in social and health care cannot neglect that change in society is not happening only among clients but at all levels, inside and out. Working in a multicultural team is not only for global managers anymore than nurses and doctors in the province of Milan. In this regard, the role of some of these professionals, particularly social workers, is becoming even more complex and subtle. By working on clients' autonomy, one is not only performing a task guided by a certain welfare law; one is impacting on entire groups of society, on the dynamics within a family, on the changing of values between generations, on the development of ethnic identity. Therefore action should be guided by a thorough reflection on the impact that any decision on an individual can have in the societal transformation process. In other words, change should become more intentional, thus enacting the role of change agent in the way intended by Everett Rogers (1983).

By taking this perspective, the challenge to develop a sensitive intercultural perspective for civil servants social workers and health care professionals becomes an executive educational project rather professional

training. Milton Bennett (2009)[59], says that from now on our emphasis should be more on "what to do" rather than "what not to do" when we speak of diversity. Hence there is a new focus on professionals who need to acquire a set of skills deriving from a capacity for reflection, for observation through meaningful categories, for the ability to empathize, and for acting with contextual ethical commitment. All this can be developed in adult human beings in a reasonable amount of time, as proven through this research, provided training is targeted for the specific development of intercultural sensitivity of learners.

While diversity has been embraced by global companies at a high managerial level in Italy and perhaps in other European countries, very few companies and employing organizations care about the diversity of poorly educated or just simply poor migrants[60]. So, ironically, even in regarding diversity there has been an economic/class filter put in place. As more and more people in society at large are now de facto bicultural it has become urgent to allow space for reflection and consciousness development around cultural identity, gradually abandoning the nationality-based cultural contrasts that continue to be pushed in global corporate settings. These outmoded approaches to intercultural learning are creating problems around multiple level identities, pushing people out of the mainstream into corners. The ideas around the embodiment of culture, embodied ethnocentrism and the embodied multicultural self shared in this dissertation offer a promising new direction in this context. Empirical research is needed in this regard and I mean this to be my next project.

6.2 Contributions to the field of intercultural relations

The debate over the conceptualization of intercultural competence is still very alive and perhaps no final answer should be expected from an academic viewpoint. However, as the concept of intercultural competence is reaching a critical mass in certain contexts, e.g. in institutions like the European Union, in order to be turned into policies, it requires a narrower and more coherent definition. The complexity of the final issues cannot be addressed at the surface; some basic principles and paradigmatic assumptions need to be clarified in order for political choice to be effective.

Managing difference is indeed a competence, not an attitude. Competence needs to be developed, while attitude can be transformed by many accidental episodes in one person's life. Also competence is not just a skill, such as making an injection; the complexity of human interaction is not mechanical, and thus it

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[59]   This comment is in the post-faction to the book "La differenza c'è. Gestire la differenza nell'organizzazione dei servizi", part of the annexed writings of this dissertation.

[60]   Source of data is an unpublished Master thesis by Giulia Messori, 2011 "Diversity management: studio di casi empirici a Milano", Milano: University of Milano Bicocca.

is hard to prescribe a recipe for behavior. Nor is competence only knowledge. As Brislin (2000) points out, can the knowledge that that many Chinese patients prefer to have herbal treatments rather than allopathic drugs be automatically invoked? No. Unless such knowledge is verified in an interculturally competent way with the client, it is just a possibly insulting stereotype. Further, knowledge of all possible traditions and ethnic/religious beliefs is impossible. He refers to cultural sensitivity, especially among health care deliverers, as the key for professionals to start engaging cultural differences "as stimulating challenges that, at times, will provide insights about health that people can apply to their own lives" (Brislin 2000: 408).

Talking about the conditions or the precursors of intercultural competence, as DMIS suggests, can be a way to frame the issue from an aerial (or subterranean) view, keeping distance from the specific implementation of particular knowledge, attitudes, and skills. KAS dimensions are different for each context and should be specified, with the support of literature and research, each time. External conditions change, as well as desired results and objectives along people's life span and professional development. For political and educational efforts to be successful, there is a need for some stable principles that underlie the changing applications.

The idea of reducing ethnocentrism and increasing ethnorelativism is a key principle for the creation of sustainable multicultural societies. Through this work I have contributed to understanding how ethnorelativism can be generated in individuals and groups by the systematic training of intercultural sensitivity. By defining intercultural educational intermediate goals, I have tried to make explicit the steps and cautions needed in order to create an intentional learning opportunity.

What I have realized through this research is how many of the available tools and ideas are geared towards the reduction of prejudice and how few there are for enhancing people's development of ethnorelativism. Mature multicultural societies need to build a stronger ethnorelative ethic. For most individuals, by operating always on the margins of Minimization, there is a constant risk of retreating to Defense. This is in turn manifested in conflictual group dynamics, even at a societal macro-level. A larger pool of people able to see learning as constructed, able to see themselves as operating within a context, and at the same time able to shift to another context is a condition for acting with commitment in relativism, as Perry (1970) would define it. This kind of committed ethicality is the key to making multicultural societies sustainable.

6.3 Final remarks

The challenges most professionals are facing by being at the forefront of services in Italy are greater than I could ever have expected. I have learnt a lot from them, even from individuals who were not expressing kind feelings

toward the experience of difference. I have been able to feel with them that dealing with what is perceived as different is not at all a cognitive construct, but a complex total event that happens to oneself. It starts from one's sensorial immediate perceptions and it goes to values and even to political ideology.

I also have learnt not to rely on quantitative data only, even when they seem to be explicit, such as in the case of the assessment I have used. It is through the work with qualitative interviews that I have started to question some assumptions and to "color" data with real stories, feelings, perceptions and constructs of people. This reinforced my conviction that no research can be methodologically "pure" but that a coherent mix of methodology makes fieldwork stronger. Yet, by talking to managers of the organizations involved in the research, by offering several presentations of it both in Italy and in Europe and in the US, I have realized how much people are in the need of empirical data to justify interventions and expenditures in organizations, but also simply to create a new procedure.

The scientific community has delegitimized sources other than data generated with "scientific positivist rigor"; this aspect, together with an increasing economicistic perspective pervading organizations of all kinds has narrowed people's ability to see the limitations of such data. People in organizations need to be more aware of different ways of collecting and presenting research data according to methodologies that are known to social scientists. For instance, constructivist methodologies of doing research in social work are mostly unknown to the larger public of professionals, despite the fact that they are more consistent with the humanistic approach and the mission of most services. Mary Rodwell (1998) suggests that most individually defined issues are the product of multiple meaning contexts that can be guided by a constructivist focus on multiple perspectives over a one "true" perspective. Despite the agreement of most professionals over the nature of the observed issue, when it comes time to measure a phenomenon, suddenly alternatives disappear in the name of "scientific accepted rigor of methodology".

Having followed this very path for the sake of the research project criticized in this dissertation, I must say it is indeed time to incorporate more creative ways of doing fieldwork research. The original work done on the IDI was a constructivist methodology but it ended up being presented in the final results with the embedded bias of the Bell curve distribution, as mentioned earlier. For my part, having done not only the in-depth qualitative interviews, but also by having dealt with each group of participants in the class for 24 hours, I have gained and added to the research a good deal of what Rodwell considers essential for constructive methodology: 1) I used a reflective process in the constitution of the groups and in training design; 2) this in turn was informed at every meeting by events and developments of earlier gatherings; 3) I've always tried to be conscious of my feelings, intentions and needs in relation to others; 4) I've used reflexivity and feedback from the environment, combined with mine and others' tacit knowledge and other data sources to let the direction emerge along the way. This kind of pragmatism has allowed me to

stay with the meaning people have given to their lived experience (Fisher, 1991).

The satisfaction and energy people showed at the end of the entire process was remarkable and perhaps the best evaluation of the process. As an action researcher I feel good in having promoted a beginning of change in contexts where these issues had never been systematically considered. It has given a new sense of personal responsibility to participants, most of whom have in turn become multipliers and peer educators. Any activity or intervention inside an organization impacts the organization itself. Through big or small modifications, culture changes. In the last chapter of the text "There is a Difference…" (2009) I have introduced a concept of change that I would like to end with now. From within a quantum (constructivist) paradigm, when one adds energy to a system, perhaps nothing happens. Were one to add too much energy to that system, it might resist and push back. When an adequate, often a minimum force or stimulus is given, the system goes to a different level of energy, thus producing a quantum leap. The parallel with interventions inside organizations is then evident; often changes at a small scale can produce big effects, at least in terms of awareness in an organization. Of course change needs to be eventually institutionalized in order to last.

I see the work on diversity in organizations as an urgent necessary innovation. Only by addressing issues of difference and of the management of its value, can our society can find the creative energy needed to solve some of the problems we are collectively facing.

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