

WHY STUDY INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION?

THE SELF-AWARENESS IMPERATIVE

THE DEMOGRAPHIC IMPERATIVE

Changing U.S. Demographics
Changing Immigration Patterns

THE ECONOMIC IMPERATIVE

THE TECHNOLOGICAL IMPERATIVE

Technology and Human Communication
Access to Communication Technology

THE PEACE IMPERATIVE

THE ETHICAL IMPERATIVE

Relativity versus Universality
Being Ethical Students of Culture

INTERNET RESOURCES

SUMMARY

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

ACTIVITIES

KEY WORDS

REFERENCES

CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

CHAPTER OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you will be able to:

1. identify the reasons why studying intercultural communication is important.
2. describe how demographic changes are affecting the U.S. population.
3. describe how technological changes are affecting human communication.
4. explain why it is important to understand the relationship between culture and communication.
5. identify the reasons why studying intercultural communication is important for students of culture.
6. understand the importance of being ethical students of culture.
7. identify the reasons why studying intercultural communication is important for students of culture.

When I was back home [Kuwait], before I came to the United States to go to college, I knew all about my culture and about my religion. However, I did not really know what other people from the other world [United States] think of Middle Eastern people or Muslims in general. So, what I have witnessed is a lot of discrimination in this country, not only against my race but against other groups. . . . Yet I understand that not all Americans hate us. I met a lot of Americans who are cooperative with me and show me love and are interested to know about my country and culture.

—Mohamad

My longest relationship was an intercultural relationship with a guy from Colombia. We didn't run into very many problems because we were both culturally open and enthusiastic to learn about each other's traditions and values. We talked a lot about our backgrounds and really learned to embrace our differences, as we grew close with each other's families. We both learned a lot about each other's culture and different philosophies on life. Overall, it was an extremely rewarding experience.

—Adrianna

Both Mohamad's and Adrianna's experiences point to the benefits and challenges of intercultural communication. Through intercultural relationships, we can learn a tremendous amount about other people and their cultures, and about ourselves and our own cultural background. At the same time, there are many challenges. Intercultural communication can also involve barriers like stereotyping and discrimination. And these relationships take place in complex historical and political contexts. Mohamad's experience in the United States is probably more challenging today than it would have been several years ago because of recent political events. An important goal in this book is how to increase your understanding of the dynamics at work in intercultural interaction.

This book will expose you to the variety of approaches we use to study intercultural communication. We also weave into the text our personal stories to make theory come alive. By linking theory and practice, we hope to give a fuller picture of intercultural communication than either one alone could offer.

We bring many intercultural communication experiences to the text. As you read, you will learn not only about both of us as individuals but also about our views of intercultural communication. Don't be overwhelmed by the seeming complexity of intercultural communication. Not knowing everything that you would like to know is very much a part of this process.

Why is it important to focus on intercultural communication and to strive to become better at this complex pattern of interaction? We can think of at least six reasons; perhaps you can add more.

THE SELF-AWARENESS IMPERATIVE

One of the most important reasons for studying intercultural communication is the awareness it raises of our own cultural identity and background. This is also one of the least obvious reasons. Peter Adler (1975), a noted social psychologist,

observes that the study of intercultural communication begins as a journey into another culture and reality and ends as a journey into one's own culture.

We gain insights in intercultural experiences overseas. When Judith was teaching high school in Algeria, a Muslim country in North Africa, she realized something about her religious identity as a Protestant. December 25 came and went, and she taught classes with no mention of Christmas. Judith had never thought about how special the celebration of Christmas was or how important the holiday was to her. She then recognized on a personal level the uniqueness of this particular cultural practice. Erla, a graduate student from Iceland, notes the increased knowledge and appreciation she's gained concerning her home country:

Living in another country widens your horizon. It makes you appreciate the things you have, and it strengthens the family unit. You look at your country from a different point of view. We have learned not to expect everything to be the same as "at home," but if we happen to find something that reminds us of home, we really appreciate it and it makes us very happy. Ultimately we are all very thankful that we had the opportunity to live in another country.

However, it is important to recognize that intercultural learning is not always easy or comfortable. Sometimes intercultural encounters makes us aware of our own **ethnocentrism**—a tendency to think that our own culture is superior to other cultures. This means that we assume, subconsciously, that the way we do things is the only way. For example, when Tom first visited France he was surprised to discover that shoppers are expected to greet shopkeepers when entering a small store. Or that French people sometimes ate horsemeat, snails, and very fragrant cheeses. Sometimes Americans think that these foods shouldn't be eaten. This attitude that foods we eat are somehow normal and that people shouldn't eat these other foods is a kind of ethnocentrism. To be surprised or even taken aback by unfamiliar customs is not unexpected; however, a refusal to expand your cultural horizons or to acknowledge the legitimacy of cultural practices different from your own can lead to intergroup misunderstandings and conflict.

What you learn depends on your social and economic position in society. Self-awareness through intercultural contact for someone from a racial or minority group may mean learning to be wary and not surprised at subtle slights by members of the dominant majority—and reminders of their place in society. For example, a Chinese American colleague is sometimes approached at professional meetings by white communication professors who ask her to take their drink order.

If you are white and middle class, intercultural learning may mean an enhanced awareness of your privilege. A white colleague tells of feeling uncomfortable staying in a Jamaican resort, being served by blacks whose ancestors were brought there as slaves by European colonizers. On the one hand, it is privilege that allows travelers like our colleague to experience new cultures and places. On the other hand, one might wonder if we, through this type of travel, are reproducing those same historical postcolonial economic patterns.

Self-awareness, then, that comes through intercultural learning may involve an increased awareness of being caught up in political, economic, and historical systems—not of our own making.

ethnocentrism A tendency to think that our own culture is superior to other cultures.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC IMPERATIVE

You have probably observed that your world is increasingly diverse. You may have classes with students who differ from you in ethnicity, race, religion, and/or nationality. College and university student bodies are becoming increasingly diverse. According to a recent report, minority students are a growing percentage of all undergraduates. There are currently 37% minority and foreign-born students (compared to 33% in 1998). Conversely, the share of white students on campuses declined from 70% to 63% during the same time period. Women now receive the majority of degrees (Undergraduate diversity, 2010).

Sports are a very visible part of this increasing diversity. A 2011 report on diversity in Major League Baseball shows that almost 30% of players were born outside the United States and almost 40% are people of color (Latino, Asian, Native American, and Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander); all together, they “make the playing field look more like America” (Lapchick, 2011, p. 2). In addition, 33 percent of the MLB Central Office workers are people of color, and 38% are women. This increasing diversity extends to women’s sports as well, including the LPGA where “Sixteen of the top-20 current money earners were born outside of the United States. Eight of those women are South Korean followed by two Swedes, two Australians, a Mexican, a Norwegian, a Brazilian and a Taiwanese” (The Canadian Press, 2008). This increasing diversity comes from changing U.S. demographics and more global interaction of people. (See Figure 1-1.)

Changing U.S. Demographics

demographics The characteristics of a population, especially as classified by race, ethnicity, age, sex, and income.

U.S. **demographics** are projected to change dramatically during your lifetime—the next 50 years. Another source of increased opportunity for intercultural contact exists because of the increasing cultural diversity in the United States. The 2010 census revealed a dramatic increase in ethnic/racial diversity, and this trend is expected to continue, as shown in Figure 1-2 (Passel & Cohn, 2008). The Hispanic population will triple in size and constitute approximately 30% of the population by 2050; in the same time period, the Asian American population will double in size and will constitute about 10% of the total population. African Americans will remain approximately the same in numbers and comprise 13% of the population; whites will continue to be a smaller majority as minority populations increase in number.

The nation’s elderly population will more than double in size from 2005 through 2050, as the baby boom generation enters the traditional retirement years. The number of working-age Americans and children will grow more slowly than the elderly population and will shrink as a share of the total population (Passel & Cohn, 2008).

What is also interesting is the racial distribution in the various geographical regions. The Population Reference Bureau (PRB) computed a “diversity index” showing that the highest ethnic diversity is concentrated in the southeastern and southwestern regions of the United States. Minority concentrations are projected to increase especially in the South, Southwest, and West. The PRB

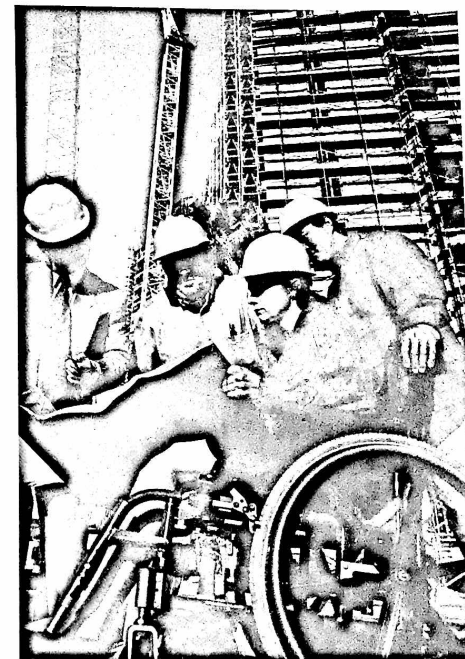


FIGURE 1-1 Rapid changes in technology, demographics, and economic forces mean that you are likely to come into contact with many people with diverse backgrounds and experiences. Although many of these communication experiences will be in professional and work situations, many other interactions will be in public and social settings. (© Esbin-Anderson/The Image Works)

estimates that, by 2025, minority groups will account for more than 50% of the population in four states (Hawaii, California, New Mexico, Texas) (www.prb.org/AmeristatTemplate.cfm?Section=Estimates).

There is increasing diversity in the U.S. workforce as well. The workforce is expected to continue to get older, and there will also be proportionately more women working. What accounts for these changes? The workforce will be older because the baby boomers are aging. More women are in the workforce for several reasons. First, economic pressures have come to bear; more women are single parents, and even in two-parent families, it often takes two incomes to meet family expenses. Second, the women’s movement of the 1960s and 1970s resulted in more women seeking careers and jobs outside the home. In addition,

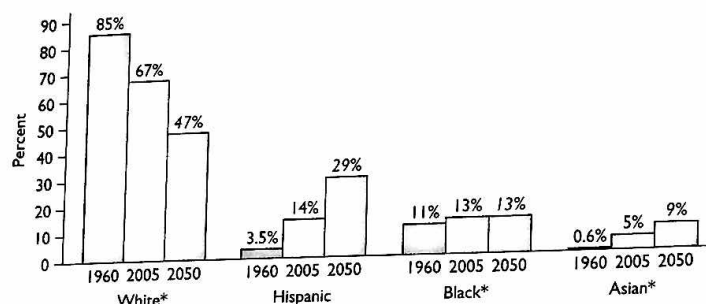


FIGURE 1-2 Population by race and ethnicity, actual and projected: 1960, 2005, and 2050 (% of total)

Source: From Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, *U.S. Population Projections: 2005–2050*, Pew Research Center, 2008, p. 9.

Note: All races modified and not Hispanic (*); American Indian/Alaska Native not shown. See "Methodology." Projections for 2050 indicated by light gray bars.

the workforce is more ethnically and racially diverse—in part, simply because there are more minorities now than before, but also because of civil rights efforts, which led to more opportunities for minorities in business and industry.

Changing Immigration Patterns

The second source of demographic change is different immigration patterns. Although the United States has often been thought of as a nation of immigrants, it is also a nation that established itself by subjugating the original inhabitants and that prospered to some extent as a result of slave labor. These aspects of national identity are important in understanding contemporary society. Today, immigration has changed the social landscape significantly. First, the foreign-born population continues to rise as a percentage of the total population, up from almost 5% in 1970 to more than 13% in 2010. However, this is still lower than it was during the great migrations of the 1800s and 1900s when most Europeans came to the United States.

A second change concerns the origin of the immigrants. Prior to the 1970s, most of the immigrants to the United States came from Europe; now, 80% of the immigrants are from Latin America and Asia (Grieco & Trevelyan, 2010). These shifts in patterns of immigration have resulted in a much more racially and ethnically diverse population. It's not hard to see that the United States is becoming more heterogeneous. We address the issue of whites losing majority status in Chapter 5.

Sometimes more **heterogeneous** cultures are contrasted to more **homogeneous** cultures. Instead of thinking of cultures as either heterogeneous or homogeneous, it is more useful to think about cultures as more or less heterogeneous (or more or less homogeneous). Cultures can change over time

and become more or less homogeneous. They can also be more heterogeneous than another culture.

This heterogeneity presents many opportunities and challenges for students of intercultural communication. Sometimes, tensions can be created by (and be the result of) proposed legislation (Flores, Moon, & Nakayama, 2006). For example, in the 1990s, California passed several laws that prohibited undocumented immigrants from receiving public health and social services. In 2006, Arizona passed four propositions similarly limiting undocumented immigrants' rights: no right to bail, no right to collect any award from civil lawsuits, no right to in-state tuition or to taxpayer-funded adult education or child care. The same year, Arizona voted to declare English as the official language. 2008 was a particularly divisive year for immigration policies (see Point of View, p. 13). More recently, Arizona's Senate Bill 1070—signed by the governor but challenged in court—makes it a state crime to not carry immigration papers, gives the police broad powers to detain anyone suspected of being in the country illegally, and allows people to sue local government agencies if they believe the state immigration law is not being enforced. Other states are considering similar legislation. While some feel that these are reasonable measures, others feel that it paves the way for increased harassment by police and increased discrimination against Latinos (or people who look Latino), regardless of their citizenship status (Archibold, 2010).

We should also note the potential opportunities in a culturally diverse society. **Diversity** can expand our conceptions of what is possible—linguistically, politically, socially—as various lifestyles and ways of thinking converge. However, increased opportunity does not always lead to increased interaction. A recent "freshman survey" conducted by a research institute at UCLA reported that "a growing number of students appeared unlikely to have a diverse set of friends in college" (Farrell, 2005). This may be because these students are graduating from high schools that are becoming increasingly more segregated (see Point of View).

To get a better sense of the situation in the United States today, let's take a look at our history. As mentioned previously, the United States has often been referred to as a nation of **immigrants**, but this is only partly true. When Europeans began arriving on the shores of the New World, an estimated 8 to 10 million Native Americans were already living here. Their ancestors probably began to arrive via the Bering Strait at least 40,000 years earlier. The outcome of the encounters between these groups—the colonizing Europeans and the native peoples—is well known. By 1940, the Native American population of the United States had been reduced to an estimated 250,000. Today, about 2.9 million Native Americans (from 565 recognized tribes) live in the United States (American Indians by the Numbers, 2011).

African American Immigrants African Americans represent a special case in the history of U.S. immigration. African Americans did not choose to emigrate but were brought here involuntarily, mainly as slave labor. Many Europeans also emigrated as indentured servants. However, the system of contract servitude was gradually replaced by perpetual servitude, or slavery, almost wholly of Africans. Many landowners wanted captive workers who could not escape and who could not become competitors. They turned to slave labor.

diversity The quality of being different.

immigrants People who come to a new country, region, or environment to settle more or less permanently. (Compare with **sojourners**, see Chapter 8)

heterogeneous Difference(s) in a group, culture, or population.

homogeneous Similarity in a group, culture, or population.



POINT OF VIEW

In this article, Harinder Bahra tackles some problems relating to race in university education in the United Kingdom. Do you think this article could apply to the United States as well?

Far from celebrating the growing diversity of UK university staff and students, the higher education sector is almost doing the opposite. There has been a collective failure of employers in the university sector to tackle race discrimination and racism, or even accept it exists.

Like football clubs, universities are descending on developing countries, picking up cheaper black and minority ethnic (BME) researchers and lecturers in response to the transatlantic brain drain and continued pressure on operating costs. BME staff are often on part-time or fixed-term contracts with lower salaries and have difficulty in progressing through to senior positions. Meanwhile, BME students are increasingly being stereotyped as "extremists" in addition to being seen as academically less able.

As the University and College Union today launches a race equality campaign it is high time to ask what is being done.

Some universities, like the trade union sector, have appointed BME chancellors or presidents in voluntary, unpaid roles, but without corresponding changes in senior paid positions. This window dressing presents a diverse public profile, but still preserves the status quo.

Source: From H. Bahra, "Time to kick racism out of university." *The Guardian*, November 16, 2008. Retrieved May 13, 2008, from <http://education.guardian.co.uk/racism/comment/0,1949487,00.html>.

The slave trade, developed by European and African merchants, lasted about 350 years, although slavery was outlawed in Europe long before it was outlawed in the United States. Roughly 10 million Africans reached the Americas, although many died in the brutal overseas passage (Curtin, 1969). Slavery is an important aspect of U.S. immigration history. As James Baldwin (1955) suggested, the legacy of slavery makes contemporary interracial relations in the United States very different from interracial relations in Europe and other regions of the world.

Slavery presents a moral dilemma for many whites even today. A common response is simply to ignore history. Many people assert that because not all whites owned slaves we should forget the past and move on. For others, forgetting the past is not acceptable. In fact, some historians, like James Loewen, maintain that acknowledging and understanding the past is the only viable alternative in moving forward. In his book *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, Loewen (1995) analyzes the content in contemporary high school history books and acknowledges that they do present the horrors of slavery. What is missing, however, is the connection of slavery to the current racial tensions in the United States:

Perhaps telling realistically what slavery was like for slaves is the easy part. After all, slavery as an institution is dead. We have progressed beyond it, so we can acknowledge its evils. . . . Without explaining its relevance to the present, however, extensive coverage of slavery is like extensive coverage of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff—just more facts for hapless eleventh graders to memorize. Slavery's twin legacies to the present are the social and economic inferiority it conferred upon blacks and the cultural racism it instilled in whites. Both continue to haunt our society. Therefore, treating slavery's enduring legacy is necessarily controversial. Unlike slavery, racism is not over yet. To function adequately in civic life in our troubled times, students must learn what causes racism. (p. 143)

Scholar and theologian Cornel West (1993) agrees that we should begin by acknowledging the historical flaws of U.S. society and recognizing the historical consequences of slavery. For instance, the United States has several Holocaust museums but no organized, official recognition of the horrors of slavery. Perhaps it is easier for us to focus on the negative events of another nation's history than on those of our own. On the other hand, many U.S. Americans feel that the election of Barack Obama, the first African American president, shows some progress in U.S. race relations. In Chapter 4, we explore the importance of history in understanding the dynamics of intercultural communication.

Relationships with New Immigrants Relationships between residents and immigrants—between oldtimers and newcomers—have often been filled with tension and conflict. In the 19th century, Native Americans sometimes were caught in the middle of European rivalries. During the War of 1812, for example, Indian allies of the British were severely punished by the United States when the war ended. In 1832, the U.S. Congress recognized the Indian nations' right to self-government, but in 1871, a congressional act prohibited treaties between the U.S. government and Indian tribes. In 1887, Congress passed the Dawes Severalty Act, terminating Native Americans' special relationship with the U.S. government and paving the way for their removal from their homelands.

As waves of immigrants continued to roll in from Europe, the more firmly established European—mainly British—immigrants tried to protect their way of life, language, and culture. As one citizen lamented in 1856,

Four-fifths of the beggary and three-fifths of the crime spring from our foreign population; more than half the public charities, more than half the prisons and almshouses, more than half the police and the cost of administering criminal justice are for foreigners. (quoted in Cole, 1998, p. 126)

The foreigners to which this citizen was referring were mostly from Ireland, devastated by the potato famines, and from Germany, which had fallen on hard economic and political times. Historian James Banks (1991) identifies other anti-immigrant events throughout the nation's history. As early as 1729, an English mob prevented a group of Irish immigrants from landing in Boston. A few years later, another mob destroyed a new Scots-Irish Presbyterian church in Worcester,

Anglocentrism Using Anglo or white cultural standards as the criteria for interpretations and judgments of behaviors and attitudes.

melting pot A metaphor that assumes that immigrants and cultural minorities will be assimilated into the U.S. majority culture, losing their original cultures.

nativistic Extremely patriotic to the point of being anti-immigrant.

Massachusetts. In these acts, we can see the **Anglocentrism** that characterized early U.S. history. Later, northern and western European (e.g., German and Dutch) characteristics were added to this model of American culture. Immigrants from southern, central, and eastern Europe (e.g., Italy and Poland) were expected to assimilate into the so-called mainstream culture—to jump into the **melting pot** and come out “American.”

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a **nativistic** (anti-immigrant) movement propagated violence against newer immigrants. In 1885, 28 Chinese were killed in an anti-Chinese riot in Wyoming; in 1891, a white mob attacked a Chinese community in Los Angeles and killed 19 people; also in 1891, 11 Italian Americans were lynched in New Orleans.

Nativistic sentiment was well supported at the government level. In 1882, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, officially prohibiting anyone who lived in China from immigrating to this country. In 1924, the Johnson-Read Act and the Oriental Exclusion Act established extreme quotas on immigration, virtually precluding the legal immigration of Asians. According to Ronald Takaki (1989), these two laws “provided for immigration based on nationality quotas: the number of immigrants to be admitted annually was limited to 2% of the foreign-born individuals of each nationality residing in the United States in 1890” (p. 209). The nativistic sentiment increasingly was manifested in arguments that economic and political opportunities should be reserved solely for whites, and not just for native-born Americans.

By the 1930s, southern and eastern European groups were considered “assimilatable,” and the concept of race assumed new meaning. All of the so-called white races were now considered one, so racial hostilities could focus on ethnic (nonwhite) groups, such as Asian Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans (Banks, 1991). Sociologist David Roediger (1991) traces how devastating this racialization was, particularly for African Americans. In the growing, but sometimes fragile, economy of the first half of the 20th century, white workers had an advantage. Although white immigrants received low wages, they had access to better schools and to public facilities, and they were accorded greater public acceptance. People of color often were considered less fit to receive economic benefits and, to some extent, to be not truly American (Foner, 1998).

The notion of the melting pot began to break down as immigrants came in larger numbers from outside of Europe. Although European immigrants were able to melt into white society, other immigrants were barred from doing so. In order to melt into white society, European immigrants were encouraged to assimilate by speaking English only and dropping their culturally specific customs. As part of this melting pot experience, many Americans of European ancestry today do not speak their forebearers’ languages, such as German, Dutch, Norwegian, Polish, or Hungarian.

Although the notion of the melting pot could explain European immigrant experiences, the metaphor did not explain other immigrant experiences. Immigrants from Asia, Latin America, and Africa did not simply blend into white

POINT of VIEW



The politics of immigration are always a topic of interest in America. An especially divisive year for immigration policy, 2008, highlighted the remarkably different approaches of various regions of the United States.

	Arizona's Employer Sanctions Law	Bay Area Day Laborer Policies
Policy	A statewide effort to punish employers who knowingly hire illegal immigrants	A San Francisco area effort to benefit the working conditions of day laborers, many of whom are undocumented immigrants
Specifics	Employers who violate the law will potentially have their business licenses revoked	Laborers in specific areas are eligible for English classes, a variety of free health clinics, and other services
Results	Many illegal immigrants are leaving Arizona for other areas or for their home countries (CNN, 2007)	Workers show up at the day labor centers even when the economy is slow to commune and learn. (Nieves, 2008)

Sources: From Evelyn Nieves, “Housing Slowdown Puts Day Laborers in Limbo,” *USA Today*, February 17, 2008. Retrieved from http://www.usatoday.com/money/economy/housing/2008-02-17-day-laborers_N.htm; CNN, “Illegal immigrants packing up and leaving Arizona,” December 22, 2007. Retrieved from <http://www.cnn.com/2007/US/12/22/immigrants.leave.ap/>.

society. As we will see in Chapter 4, there are many legal and historical reasons why this did not happen. Some people are critical of the melting pot metaphor, not only because it does not explain the experiences of non-European immigrants but also because it implies that immigrants should give up their unique cultural backgrounds to become white and American.

Economic conditions make a big difference in attitudes toward foreign workers and immigration policies. During the Depression of the 1930s, Mexicans and Mexican Americans were forced to return to Mexico to free up jobs for white Americans. When prosperity returned in the 1940s, Mexicans were welcomed back as a source of cheap labor. This type of situation is not limited to the United States, but occurs all over the world. For example, Algerian workers are alternately welcomed and rejected in France, depending on the state of the French economy and the demand for imported labor. Guest workers from Turkey have been subjected to similar uncertainties in Germany. Indian workers in Kenya, Chinese immigrants in Malaysia, and many other workers toiling outside their native lands have suffered the vagaries of fluctuating economies and immigration policies. In Chapter 8, we discuss the implications of these migration patterns for intercultural communication.

The tradition of tension and conflict among cultures continues to this day. The conflicts that arise in Southern California exemplify many aspects of the demographic changes in the United States. We can examine on a variety of levels the tensions in Los Angeles among Latinos/as, African Americans, Korean Americans, and European Americans. Some of the conflict is related to different languages, values, and lifestyles. Some African Americans resent the economic success of recent Korean immigrants—a reaction that reflects a typical historical pattern. The conflict may also be due to the pattern of settlement that results in cultural enclaves.

Immigration and Economic Classes Some of the conflict may be related to the economic disparity that exists among these different groups. To understand this disparity, we need to look at issues of economic class. Most Americans are reluctant to admit that a class structure exists and even more reluctant to admit how difficult it is to move up in this structure. Indeed, most people live their lives in the same economic class into which they were born. And there are distinct class differences in clothing, housing, recreation, conversation, and other aspects of everyday life (Fussell, 1992). For example, the driveways to the homes of the very rich are usually obscured, whereas those of upper-class homes usually are long and curved and quite visible. Driveways leading to middle-class homes, in contrast, tend to go straight into garages.

The myth of a classless society is hardly benign. It not only reinforces middle- and upper-class beliefs in their own superior abilities but also promotes a false hope among the working class and the poor that they can get ahead. Whereas real-life success stories of upward mobility are rare, fictitious ones abound in literature, film, and television. But all such accounts perpetuate the myth. The reality is that the income gap between rich and poor in the United States is more extreme than in any other industrialized country (Yen, 2010). This gap continues to widen, particularly since the recent recession (December 2007–June 2009)—the longest recession since the Great Depression. While the recession is officially over, experts point out that the recovery has taken two tracks—one for typical workers and families and another for the wealthiest. While many U.S. families are still struggling with unemployment and foreclosures, the wealthiest have seen their incomes and assets increase dramatically—as they benefit from significant gains in the stock market and record corporate profits. In fact, in 2009, the top fifth of households held 87% of the wealth, the middle fifth had 3.3% (the lowest recorded share), and the lowest fifth actually had negative wealth (they owed more than they owned).

The staggering gap between the wealthy and the rest cannot be underestimated; it is now the largest ever recorded. That is, the wealthiest 1% of U.S. households now has a net worth 225 times greater than the median or typical household's net worth (Allegretto, 2011). And the recent census data show that the poorest of the poor (those that live at half the official poverty level) are now at a record high, rising from 5.7% in 2008 to 6.3% today. Child poverty is now at 21%, compared to 16% in 2000 (Yen, 2010). This widening gap is partly due to the loss of stable industrial jobs as companies move to cheaper labor markets within the United States and abroad and to declining home values. Class and

demographic issues also play a role, with racial and ethnic minorities typically hardest hit by economic downturns. In 2009, the median net worth (what you have if you subtract your debt from what you own) of black households was the lowest ever recorded, \$2,200; the median among white households was \$97,000 (Allegretto, 2011).

Religious Diversity Immigration also contributes to religious diversity, bringing increasing numbers of Muslims, Buddhists, Confucians, Catholics, and others to the United States. The religious composition of the United States is rapidly changing due to a number of factors. According to the U.S. Religious Landscape Survey (2008) done by the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 28% of adults have left the religion they were raised in (some choosing another religion, some choosing no religion). Catholics have lost the greatest number of members, but they also gained the most from immigration. The greatest growth has been among adults who are unaffiliated with any religion. What do these changes mean to the role of religion in a diverse society? What is the future of religion in the United States? Religious beliefs and practices often play an important role in everyday cultural life. One example is the very different views on abortion, described by our student Tanya:

Pro-choice and pro-lifers have incredibly different worldview lenses. These different lenses they see through are most of the time influenced by religion and social upbringing. The values are different, yet no side is wrong and cannot see through the same worldview lens as their opponents.

These different worldviews can sometimes lead to prejudices and stereotypes. Stereotypes about Islam are widespread in the United States, and some religious and political leaders seem to use these stereotypes in ways that increase prejudice and discrimination. For example, Pastor Terry Jones of the Dove World Outreach Center in Florida expressed his anti-Islamic views by soaking a copy of the Qur'an in kerosene and then lighting it on fire. These images of the burning Qur'an were streamed live over the Internet and seemed to lead to violence against Americans in Afghanistan and Pakistan (Harris & Gallagher, 2011). The battle over plans to build a Muslim community center near the site of the 9/11 attacks in New York City have revealed similar anti-Muslim sentiment—leading some to say that Americans seem less inclined to show restraint in expressing hostility toward Islam (see Figure 1.3). Some religious leaders and civil rights activist say that these and similar actions are fueling a tide of "Islamophobia" in the United States and that politicians use the issue to garner votes (McGreal, 2010). Political scientist Ali Muzrui (2001) describes Islam as the "ultimate negative 'Other' to the Christian tradition" and laments the rising tide of Islamophobia (fear of Islam and the hostility toward it). He lists the contrasting stereotypes:

Whereas Christianity is supposed to be peace loving, Islam is portrayed as fostering holy war (Jihad). Whereas Christianity liberates women, Islam enslaves them. Whereas Christianity is modern, Islam is medieval. Whereas Christianity is forward looking, Islam is backward looking. Whereas Christians prefer nonviolence, Muslims easily resort to terrorism. (p. 110)

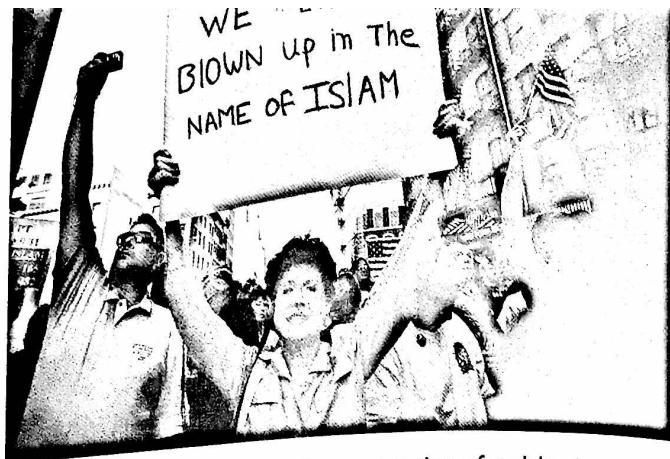


FIGURE 1-3 Protesters against the construction of an Islamic Cultural Center in lower Manhattan, four blocks from Ground Zero on Park Place, in New York, on Sept. 11, 2010. The project has inflamed and polarized people supporting the project and those against it, and at times the dialogue has turned into that of racism, xenophobia, and hate. (© Ashley Gilbertson/VII Network/Corbis)

Muzrui goes on to present evidence to debunk each of these stereotypes. Religious diversity is part of the demographic imperative that challenges us to learn more about intercultural communication.

These increasingly diverse ethnic, racial, economic, and religious groups come into contact mostly during the day in schools, businesses, and other settings, bringing to the encounters different languages, histories, and economic statuses. This presents great challenges for us as a society and as individuals. The main challenge is to look beyond the stereotypes and biases, to recognize the disparities and differences, and to try to apply what we know about intercultural communication. Perhaps the first step is to realize that the melting pot metaphor probably was never viable, that it was not realistic to expect everyone to assimilate into the United States in the same way. Today we need a different metaphor, one that reflects the racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity that truly exists in our country. Perhaps we should think of the United States as a “salad,” in which each group retains its own flavor and yet contributes to the whole. Or we might think of it as a “tapestry,” with many different strands contributing to a unified pattern.

In any case, the United States is hardly a model of diversity; many countries are far more diverse ethnically. For example, Nigeria has some 200 ethnic groups, and Indonesia has a similar number. Nigeria was colonized by the British, and artificially drawn boundaries forced many different groups into one nation-state, which caused many conflicts. The diverse groups in Indonesia, in contrast, have

The U.S. Religious Landscape Survey points to some interesting religious demographic information. Note how religion intersects with other social categories. Here are some interesting findings:

- Among people who are married, nearly 4 in 10 (37%) are married to a spouse with a different religious affiliation. (This figure includes Protestants who are married to another Protestant from a different denominational family, such as a Baptist who is married to a Methodist.) Hindus and Mormons are the most likely to be married (78% and 71%, respectively) and to be married to someone of the same religion (90% and 83%, respectively).
- The Midwest most closely resembles the religious makeup of the overall population. The South, by a wide margin, has the heaviest concentration of members of evangelical Protestant churches. The Northeast has the greatest concentration of Catholics, and the West has the largest proportion of unaffiliated people, including the largest proportion of atheists and agnostics.
- Of all the major racial and ethnic groups in the United States, black Americans are the most likely to report a formal religious affiliation. Even among those blacks who are unaffiliated, three in four belong to the “religious unaffiliated” category (i.e., they say that religion is either somewhat or very important in their lives), compared with slightly more than one-third of the unaffiliated population overall.
- Nearly half of Hindus in the United States, one-third of Jews, and a quarter of Buddhists have obtained postgraduate education, compared with only about one in ten of the adult population overall. Hindus and Jews are also much more likely than other groups to report high income levels.
- People not affiliated with any particular religion stand out for their relative youth compared with other religious traditions. Among the unaffiliated, 31% are under age 30 and 71% are under age 50. Comparable numbers for the overall adult population are 20% and 59%, respectively.
- By contrast, members of mainline Protestant churches and Jews are older, on average, than members of other groups. Roughly half of Jews and members of mainline churches are age 50 and older, compared with approximately four in ten American adults overall.
- Members of Baptist churches account for one-third of all Protestants and close to one-fifth of the total U.S. adult population. Baptists also account for nearly two-thirds of members of historically black Protestant churches.

Source: From U.S. Religious Landscape Survey (2008), *Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life*, <http://religions.pewforum.org/reports>.

I am involved in many different intercultural relationships. The main benefit of these relationships is that it shows other people that there is no reason to fear intercultural relationships. My generation, while more open to intercultural relationships than previous ones, is still hesitant, and I am often the recipient of dirty looks from strangers who disapprove. It is disheartening that people believe there is a difference in races, but the best way to change people's minds is to show them firsthand, which is what I hope to do.

—Katie

largely coexisted amiably for many years. Diversity, therefore, does not necessarily lead to intercultural conflicts.

Fortunately, most individuals are able to negotiate day-to-day activities in spite of cultural differences. Diversity can even be a positive force. Demographic diversity in the United States has given us tremendous linguistic richness and culinary variety, varied resources to meet new social challenges, as well as domestic and international business opportunities.

THE ECONOMIC IMPERATIVE

The idea of globalization—the creation of a world market in goods, services, labor, capital, and technology—is shown dramatically in the account of a journalist who asks a Dell computer manager where his laptop is made. The answer? It was codesigned by engineers in Texas and Taiwan; the microprocessor was made in one of Intel's factories in the Philippines, Costa Rica, Malaysia, or China; the memory came from factories in Korea, Germany, Taiwan, or Japan. Other components (keyboard, hard drive, batteries, etc.) were made by Japanese, Taiwanese, Irish, Israeli, or British firms with factories mainly in Asia, and finally, the laptop was assembled in Taiwan (Friedman, 2005).

What is the ultimate impact of globalization on the average person? Some economists defend it, saying the losses are always offset by the gains in cheaper consumer prices. However, many working people, seeing their jobs outsourced to cheap labor in India, China, and Malaysia, feel threatened. An increasing number of economists agree (Rachman, 2011). What does the current global economy look like, and how does it relate to intercultural communication issues? Currently, U.S. retail sales are growing at 2.4%—faster than Europe and Japan but slower than many other countries. Consumer spending in China, for example, is expanding by 22%, including a big increase in the online sale of luxury goods. Spending in India and Russia is also increasing (The world in figures, 2011). Economies in many of the lesser industrialized countries are also doing well. Brazil, India, and China account for more than 50% of global growth, and countries in Africa (South Africa, Algeria, Botswana) and the Middle East (Turkey and Saudi Arabia) are also showing strong growth (Spread the wealth, 2011).

Americans, including myself, sometimes have this belief that what we do here in the United States is the best and only way to do things. We put these "cultural blinders" on and are oblivious to any other cultures and/or values. Although American tradition has been and can be a big influence on other markets and business sectors, we are failing to realize that the way we do business is not the basis for all businesses. Most of our international business ventures are failing due to our stubbornness. In the past we felt that we could send someone to Mexico or Japan without any intercultural training and still show them how to do business. How wrong were we?

Today we realize it takes an understanding of others and their beliefs and values to truly gain respect and further our business and personal relationships. Businesses are taking the time and money to train their employees about the new culture that they will be submerged in. People in the past failed because we did not take into account that companies' attitudes and beliefs differed from ours. Good relations with other international businesses can produce a lifelong bond that can create great economic wealth for each country. The companies are not only training their employees for this culture shock but are training their families as well, because they know that without family support, this venture will surely fail. The United States has taken strides to correct their errors of the past and are continuing their efforts to produce intercultural employees, and I hope this trend continues.

—Luis

The point is that, to compete effectively in this global market, Americans must understand how business is conducted in other countries (Varner & Beamer, 2011). American businesspeople should be able to negotiate deals that are advantageous to the U.S. economy. However, they are not always willing to take the time and effort to do this. For example, most U.S. automobile manufacturers do not produce automobiles that have right-hand drive, which prevents them from penetrating markets in nations like Japan. Stories abound of U.S. marketing slogans that were inaccurately translated, like Pepsi's "Come alive with the Pepsi Generation," which was translated into Chinese as "Pepsi brings your ancestors back from the grave" or had culturally inappropriate meanings like Ford's marketing the Pinto in Brazil (slang for "small male genitals") or General Motors marketing the Nova in South America (*no va* is Spanish for "no go") (Branding so much more, 2011).

Cross-cultural trainers in the United States report that Asian business personnel often spend years in the United States studying English and learning about the country before they decide to establish operations here or invest money. In contrast, many American companies provide little or no training before sending their workers overseas and expect to close business deals quickly, with little regard for cultural idiosyncrasies.

Many management experts have examined other countries' practices for ways to increase U.S. productivity. One such idea was "quality circles," borrowed from the Japanese and now popular in the United States. Another strength demonstrated in many Asian (and European) companies is the belief in effort for its

own sake. Employees in many Asian countries work longer hours and sometimes produce better products simply as a result of persistence. This trait also pays off in schools where Asian and European students score higher on standardized math and science exams than do American students (Dillon, 2010).

It will also behoove Americans to research how to do business in the huge emerging market that is 21st-century China. As shown in the Point of View box (see page 21), a gaffe by Nike reflects the general lack of cultural understanding (see page 21), a gaffe by Nike reflects the general lack of cultural understanding about the Chinese. In contrast, Starbucks' decision to change its logo when it entered the Asian markets seems to be successful. Starbucks decided to drop the Starbucks name and the word "coffee" from its logo, giving it a more rounded appearance, which seems to appeal to collectivist consumers—found in China and other Asian countries (Walsh, Winterich, & Mittal, 2010).

Why do so many businesspeople have difficulty succeeding in Chinese and other Asian markets? The reasons involve both differences in business practices and cultural differences between East and West. For example, business dealings in China, as in many Eastern countries, are relationship oriented, and business relationships cannot succeed without respect and harmony. Specifically, in China, three concepts are crucial:

- *Qingmian* (human feelings), which involves respect for the feelings of others
- *He* (harmony), which emphasizes the smooth functioning of a group or society
- *Guanxi* or *Kuan-hsi* (relationship or connection), which underscores the importance of relationships in Chinese business

The high value placed on these concepts highlights other differences as well. For example, contract law is practiced very differently in China. Whereas in the West the law is the essential set of rules of conduct, the "rules of conduct" in China are the ethics and standards of behavior required in a Confucian society. This means that social pressures rather than legal instruments are used to ensure compliance. Thus, what we might conceptualize as a legal issue may be seen in China as a relationship issue (Varner & Beamer, 2011).

Sometimes there are cultural differences in work ethics. One of our students, Vincent, describes a difference he observed while working as an intern in a manufacturing company:

When looking back at this internship I can easily see that Mexican workers were more loyal to the company. I constantly noticed that American workers at this company would be walking around talking or smoking while they were supposed to be at their work stations, but the Mexican workers would never leave their stations until it was time for break. This sometimes created problems between Mexicans and other employees because of the differences in work ethics.

We discuss the implications of these types of cultural differences for relationships (Chapter 10) and conflicts (Chapter 11).

Cultural differences in business practices have implications not only when people from different companies do business with each other but also when people

CHINA CHOPS NIKE AD

The U.S. sportswear firm Nike has apologized for running a commercial in China which has been banned by popular demand for offending the country's national dignity.

The 90-second advertisement was meant to combine Kill Bill-style martial arts with sassy basketball bravado. U.S. National Basketball Association star LeBron James is shown running rings around the animated figure of a wizened and bearded kung fu master, who resembles the martial arts teacher from Quentin Tarantino's latest movie.

In the commercial, the American athlete also gets the better of two women in traditional Chinese attire, and a pair of dragons—considered to be a symbol of China.

In a sign of the growing influence of Internet opinion, the government has pulled the "Chamber of Fear" advertisement off the airwaves, after protests in online chat rooms overturned the initial approval by state censors.

According to the U.S. company, the commercial was designed by its advertising agent, Wieden and Kennedy, to encourage teenagers to overcome temptation, envy, complacency and self-doubt. But it has only managed to stir up irritation in China.

The state administration for radio, television, and film posted a statement saying that Nike had violated the condition that all advertisements in China should uphold national dignity.

"This ad shows Chinese characters losing again and again. It makes our country look helpless against America," said one chat room contributor.

Faced with the loss of business from a market in which its sales have nearly doubled in the past year, Nike meekly accepted the government's decision.

"We had no intention of hurting the emotions of Chinese consumers," the company said in a statement.

"We place much attention on the Chinese market and there was a lot of careful consideration before launching the advertisement," they said.

Source: From J. Watts, "China Chops Nike Ad; Multinational Apologizes After Outcry," *The Guardian* (London), December 8, 2004, p. 15.

from different cultures work on the same team. One effect of globalization is increasing numbers of international teams—sometimes working as virtual teams and rarely meeting face-to-face. These teams present large challenges in intercultural communication. A recent Hewlett-Packard project involved a 16-country multilingual virtual team that operated on both sides of the international dateline. The leaders describe the challenges: "Relatively routine tasks, such as scheduling a meeting, become complex and fraught with interpersonal friction when one

person's work day begins as another is sitting down to dinner or sound asleep. A simple e-mail exchange frazzles nerves because of cultural misunderstandings" (Snyder, 2003).

Even when employees have good language skills, they naturally interpret written and verbal communication through the filter of their own culture. For example, Israeli workers in the project just described wondered why their U.S. counterparts would sometimes seem upset by e-mail exchanges. It turned out that Israelis, who tend to be rather direct and sometimes blunt, were sending e-mails that seemed rude to their American counterparts. And Americans' e-mails seemed "wishy-washy" to the Israelis. The Americans' requests, with phrases like "Thanks in advance for sending me . . .," mystified the Israelis who would say, "Thanks for what? I haven't done anything yet." After some cultural training, both sides adapted to the other (Snyder, 2003). In later chapters, we explore the implications of these and other cultural differences in communication practices.

multinational corporations Companies that have operations in two or more nations.

maquiladoras Assembly plants or factories (mainly of U.S. companies) established on the U.S.-Mexican border and using mainly Mexican labor.

Globalization presents many new issues. Increasingly, multinational corporations are moving operations to new locations, often overseas, because of lower labor costs. These business moves have far-reaching implications, including the loss of jobs at closed facilities. Many U.S.-owned companies have established production facilities, known as *maquiladoras*, along the U.S.-Mexican border, where workers produce goods bound mainly for U.S. markets. These companies benefit from lower labor costs, tax breaks, and relaxed environmental regulations. Although Mexican laborers profit from the jobs, there is a cost in terms of environmental hazards. *Maquiladoras* thus present intercultural challenges for Mexicans and U.S. Americans.

Domestic diversity also requires businesses to be attentive to cultural differences. As the workforce becomes more diverse, many businesses are interested in capitalizing on these differences for economic gain. As trainers Bernardo M. Ferdman and Sara Einy Brody (1996) suggest, "Once organizations learn to adopt an inclusive orientation in dealing with their members, this will also have a positive impact on how they look at their customer base, how they develop products and assess business opportunities, and how they relate to their communities" (p. 289).

Understanding cultural differences involves not only working with diverse employees but also recognizing new business markets, developing new products, and so on. From this perspective, diversity is a potentially powerful economic resource if organizations view the challenge as an opportunity. In this sense, then, business can capitalize on diversity.

THE TECHNOLOGICAL IMPERATIVE

Today, with the explosion of computers and other communication technologies, we truly live in the **global village** envisioned by media expert Marshall McLuhan (1967). Communication technology links us to events from the most remote parts of the world and connects us to persons we may never meet face-to-face from around the world.

global village A term coined by Marshall McLuhan in the 1960s that refers to a world in which communication technology unites people in remote parts of the world.

Technology and Human Communication

The impact of technology on our everyday communication is staggering. Think of how often you use technology to communicate in any given day: You may text-message friends about evening plans, post a Facebook message with your latest news, participate in a discussion board for one of your courses, and check your cell phone website to see how many more minutes you can use this month without getting charged. And you are not alone. A recent survey showed that young people spent almost 8 hours a day on some electronic communication device, smartphone, computer, or the like (Rideout, Foehr, & Roberts, 2010). The effect of social media like Facebook and Twitter have far-reaching consequences, and it is important to understand that these technologies can have positive and negative impacts on intercultural encounters. For example, through social media like Twitter and Facebook, people were able to receive up-to-the-minute information and connect with friends and family in the immediate aftermath of the devastating Japanese tsunami in January 2011 (Smith, 2011). On the other hand, a recent viral YouTube video posted by a UCLA undergraduate offended thousands who saw and heard the vicious anti-Asian rant. This video, and others like it, illustrate the far-reaching negative potential of communication technologies (Internet uproar, 2011).

More and more people around the world are using technology to communicate with each other. Consider these statistics:

- The rate of Internet usage in Africa increased more than 2000% in the past 10 years (2000–2010) (www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm).
- As of December 2011, Facebook had more than 800 million active users; 70% of users are outside the United States (www.facebook.com/press/info.php?statistics).
- As of March, 2011, there were 1 billion tweets sent each week (<http://blog.kissmetrics.com/twitter-statistics/>).
- 60% of the world's population owns a mobile phone, and Russia has the highest percentage of cell phones per capita in the world (121%)—Russia actually has more cell phones than people (www.associatedcontent.com/article/1764228/top_5_countries_with_most_cell_phone.html?cat=15).

These communication technologies have tremendous implications for intercultural communication. We will focus on five aspects of culture and technology: (1) increased information about peoples and cultures; (2) increased contact with people who are different from us; (3) increased contact with people who are similar to us who can provide communities of support; (4) identity, culture, and technology; and (5) differential access to communication technology.

Increase in Information You may have found that the Internet provides access to information about other cultures and other peoples. We can now instantaneously find out almost anything about any group in the world simply by searching the Internet. This *should* give us a better understanding of our global

neighbors and perhaps some motivation to coexist peacefully in our global village; however, the evidence seems to be to the contrary. According to the Center for Systemic Peace, of the approximately 95 armed conflicts in the world between 2004 and 2009, only 10 have been traditional international conflicts. The rest have arisen between ethnic or political groups within a country—for example, in Turkey, Pakistan, Chad, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Kenya, Thailand, Mexico, Lebanon, Sudan, and Russia (www.systemicpeace.org/warlist.htm). Apparently, knowledge about others does not necessarily lead to better communication or heightened understanding. We will tackle issues like this in later chapters.

Through communication technologies like the World Wide Web, people also have access to increasing amounts of information about what is happening in their own and other countries. This is especially important in countries where media are government controlled. For example, people in Pakistan and Afghanistan learn more about military actions in their countries by accessing CNN.com than through their local newspapers. In some ways, the Internet has democratized information, in that more people control and disseminate information than ever before. For this reason, leaders in some countries try to limit their citizens' access to information. The Chinese government censored Internet searches for years, resulting in Google threatening to shut down its China office; Egyptian leaders, faced with a major antigovernment uprising, suspended Internet and cell phone service in January 2011, practically shutting down Internet traffic and severely limiting the protesters' ability to organize and spread their message (Richtel, 2011).

In spite of this and other governments' attempts to limit their citizens' access to computer-mediated communication (CMC), the Internet is providing information, world news, and possibilities for interpersonal communication that were not available previously.

Increased Contact with People Who Differ Communication technology brings us in contact with people we might never have the opportunity to know otherwise. And many of these people are from different cultural backgrounds. The Internet/e-mail allows us to have "pen pals" from different cultures and to carry on discussions with these people in virtual chat rooms and on discussion boards.

However, such mediated communication across cultures does present unique challenges. Unlike face-to-face communication, mediated communication filters out important nonverbal cues. One of our students, Val, described the challenges of intercultural e-mails:

I met a girl from Korea my junior year of college, and we became good friends. When it came time for her to go back to Korea we decided we would stay friends and become pen pals via e-mail. I found it much more difficult to communicate with her because she didn't always understand what I was writing and I couldn't repeat my sentences like I could if I were speaking to her, and the same applied to her. It definitely puts a strain on our relationship.

When we are talking to individuals face-to-face, we use nonverbal information to help us interpret what they are *really* saying—tone of voice, facial expressions, gestures, and so on. The absence of these cues in some mediated

contexts (e.g., e-mail, text messages, tweets) makes communication more difficult and can lead to misunderstandings. And these misunderstandings can be compounded when communicating across cultures. For example, a U.S. colleague reports that she was offended when the e-mails she received from colleagues overseas seemed too brief and to the point. She has since discovered that her colleagues overseas are charged computer time by the minute and so have learned to be very concise in their e-mail messages. What she interpreted as rudeness had more to do with the economic context in which the interaction took place than with the communicators themselves. If she had been able to observe their nonverbal cues while communicating, she probably would have known that they were not being rude.

Also, language may be a factor. The people we talk to on e-mail networks may speak languages different from our own. An interesting situation arose recently for one of the authors of this book. Tom was using an electronic bulletin board when someone posted a message in Dutch. It was met with a flurry of hostile responses from people protesting the use of an exclusionary language, one most people couldn't read. A discussion ensued about which languages might be acceptable on the network.

The decision reached was that subscribers could post messages in any language as long as there was an English translation. In a subsequent posting, someone from a university in South Africa recommended a book "for those of you who can read Dutch (heh-heh, all four of us)"—an apparent reaction to the exclusionary sentiments of other subscribers. Machine and other translation techniques are new ways to facilitate online intercultural communication, as seen in the Point of View box on page 26. The use of some languages is given even more privilege in the high-tech communication world, where we are likely to encounter many more people. Although many experts think that the Internet is dominated by English, there are indications that Chinese is becoming a formidable linguistic player in the Internet world. According to one source, the first day that registration opened for Chinese language domain names, 360,000 applications were filed (english1.e21times.com/asp/sacd.asp?r=880&p=0). Surprisingly, the most recent research suggests that the move is actually toward more multilingualism on the Net—rather than toward a global English Internet (Dor, 2004). Some speculate that this is because global businesses need to adapt to local languages to sell their products and also that learning a language is an awesome task and it is not feasible to think of the entire world learning a second language to accommodate.

Increased Contact with People Who Are Similar Communication technology also allows us to have more contact with people who are very similar to ourselves. Perhaps you participate in chat rooms or discussion boards with people who share your interests and opinions. Perhaps you turn to Internet groups for support and community. For example, international students can stay in touch with their local communities, keep up with what's going on at home, and receive emotional support during difficult times of cultural adaptation.

The Internet can also be used to strengthen a sense of identity, as is the case for some **diasporic groups**—ethnic and/or national groups that are geographically

diasporic groups Ethnic and/or national groups that are geographically dispersed throughout the world.



New techniques and technologies of translation have helped to bring different bodies of literature to English audiences. Remember from earlier that the Middle East has seen a sharp increase in Internet usage since 2008. In this article, the topic of Arabic literature is explored.

Saudi author Raja Alsanea spoke on topic [of Arabic literature in the English language], talking interestingly about her successful novel *Girls of Riyadh* and receiving the lion's share of questions from the audience.

Translated into 23 languages and started when the author was only 18, this novel, Alsanea explained, could be seen as having captured the experience of a generation of young Saudi women who have used the Internet—blogs, forums, and chat sites—to create a “virtual liberating space” allowing freedom of expression. A new language, “Arabish,” had been invented for use in this space, consisting of a mix of English and colloquial Arabic written in the Latin alphabet.

Asked whether the success of *Girls of Riyadh* in translation had surprised her, Alsanea said that she had collaborated on the English translation and was aware that “western readers are more interested in Saudi Arabia than they are in Saudi literature.” She was not “a feminist or an activist,” though the novel did show up the “confused boundary” between “freedom in virtual space and the traditions that dominate the non-virtual space of family and society.”

Source: From David Tresilian, “The fun of the fair.” Retrieved May 13, 2008, from <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2008/894/cu21.htm>.

dispersed throughout the world, sometimes as refugees fleeing from war, sometimes as voluntary emigrants. A recent study of children of South Asian immigrants found that the Internet plays a major role in creating a sense of community and ethnic identity for these young people. Whereas earlier generations of immigrants were expected to assimilate as quickly as possible into the host culture, the Internet now allows these children of immigrants to connect with other Indian adolescents, discussing religion and issues concerning Indian and immigrant identity. Similar diasporic discussions are held in the *Kava Bowl* and the *Kamehameha Roundtable*, online meeting places for the Polynesian diaspora and other people from the Pacific Islands who live in the United States, Australia, and New Zealand (Franklin, 2003). Similarly, discussion boards can provide virtual communities of support for cultural minorities (e.g., Planetout.com, a discussion board for gays and lesbians). However, the Internet can also provide a venue for like-minded people to promote prejudice and hatred. A British e-mail filtering company has been monitoring websites that were categorized as hate and violence sites. In 2000, there were about 2,500 such sites. However, the number of sites that promote hatred against Americans, Muslims, Jews, homosexuals, and people of non-European ancestry, as well as graphic violence, continues to rise. In fact, a recent report by

the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Tolerance estimates that there are now more than 11,500 online hate groups. Social networking is where the biggest growth is happening, particularly on Facebook and YouTube, where hate-filled messages are often packaged in very creative ways. Experts point out that young people are especially vulnerable to racist online flash games, jokes, and general hate-filled information on social networking sites, blogs, and web pages (www.wiesenthal.com/site/apps/s/content.asp?c=lsKWLBpJLnF&b=4442915&ct=8430507).

Identity, Culture, and Technology Advances in communication technology lead us to think differently about ourselves and our **identity management**. For example, communication technologies gives us more choices in how we express our identities than we typically have in face-to-face interaction. As noted previously, many of the identity cues individuals use to figure out how to communicate with others—such as age, gender, and ethnicity—are filtered out on the Internet. For instance, when you send an e-mail message or post a message, you can choose whether to reveal certain aspects of your identity. The recipients won't know if you are male or female, young or old, and so on—unless you tell them. You can choose which aspects, if any, of your identity you want to reveal. In fact, you can even give false information about your identity.

This capability has resulted in the opportunity for **identity tourism**—taking on the identities of other races, gender, classes, or sexual orientations for recreational purposes. And some online contexts (e.g., online games like *Dungeons and Dragons*) require users to take on new identities. How is this related to intercultural communication? One of the oft-touted skills of intercultural communication is empathy, the ability to understand what it's like to “walk in someone's shoes.” Communication technology now affords an opportunity to do this—virtually. Thus, for instance, by taking on the virtual identity of a male, by participating in male-only online discussions, females might come to understand better what it feels like to be a male. The same might be true for other identities as well.

Although identity tourism provides intriguing possibilities for improving intercultural understanding, it also raises some important ethical questions. In one celebrated example, a male psychiatrist participated in online discussions as a disabled female. Ostensibly, he did so because he wanted to understand something of what it felt like to be a woman and to be disabled. The project backfired, however, as other chat room participants responded to him as a woman and, over time, even fell in love with him. Ultimately, many of the women suffered severe psychological problems as a result of their experiences with him (Turtle, 1995).

The idea of identity tourism may seem somewhat scary, but the same lack of nonverbal cues can result in less prejudice and stereotyping in mediated intercultural interaction. Some of these same nonverbal cues that are filtered out (indicators of age, gender, ethnicity, race) are often the basis for stereotyping and prejudice in initial interactions. When these cues are absent, communication may be more open because people cannot use the information to form impressions that often negatively impact communication.

identity management
The way individuals make sense of their multiple images concerning the sense of self in different social contexts.

identity tourism
A concept that refers to people taking on the identities of other races, genders, classes, or sexual orientations for recreational purposes.

Access to Communication Technology

As we've seen, technology plays a huge role in our everyday lives and often has a lot to do with our success as students and professionals. What would you do if you had no access to communication technology? If you were not able to text-message your friends or could not use your cell phone? Could not e-mail your family? How might you feel in our technology-dominated world? Although communication technologies are a fact of life for millions of people around the world, lack of access to these technologies is a reality for many people. Consider that

- As of 2010, only 56% of African Americans, only 45% of adults with a household income of under \$30,000, and 33% of people who have less than a high school education use high-speed Internet at home.
- The rates of broadband adoption in rural areas trail those in urban areas by about five years. Meaning, the 2010 rate of Internet use in rural areas equates to the 2005 rate of use in cities.
- Even when education and income are the same, blacks and Latinos are less likely to have broadband access than whites.

Even larger inequalities exist outside the United States:

- Africa contains more than 14% of the world's population, but just 3% of the world's Internet users, while North America contains only 5% of the world's population, but accounts for 17.5% of the world's Internet users.
- There are more Internet users in Germany than there are in the entire continent of Africa.

Sources: A. Smith (2010, August 11). *Home broadband 2010*. Pew Internet & American Life Project. Retrieved April 29, 2011, from www.pewinternet.org/~media/Files/Reports/2010/Home%20broadband%202010.pdf; www.internetworldstats.com/stats.htm.

These inequities are called the "digital divide" and have enormous implications for intercultural communication. In the global information society, information is an important commodity. Everybody needs it to function. This ability is especially important in an increasingly "networked" society. It is easy to see how without these skills and knowledge one can feel marginalized and disconnected from the center of society (Rojas, Straubhaar, Roychowdhury, & Okur, 2004; van Dijk, 2004).

The implications for intercultural communication are enormous. How do people relate to each other when one is information technology rich and the other is not? When there is increasing use of English on the Internet, what happens to those who don't speak English? Can this lead to resentment? Will the increase in communication technology lead to increasing gaps between haves and have-nots? To more misunderstandings?

Recent communication technology has impacted our lives in ways our grandparents could not have imagined and requires that we reexamine even our most basic conceptions of self, others, and culture. As Sherry Turkle (1995) observes, once we take virtuality seriously as a way of life, we need to consider who we are in these virtual relationships and what the connection is between our physical and virtual bodies. What kind of society or societies are we creating when we are so

connected in cyberspace but not really present in physical spaces? We check our phones for text messages when eating a meal with friends, for example, not really relationally present with them (Turkle, 2008). We might also examine our own technological use: Who are we in contact with? People who are like ourselves? People who are different? Do we use technology to increase our contact with and understanding of other cultures or merely to hang out with people who are like us? What does this say about us and our identities?

THE PEACE IMPERATIVE

The bottom line seems to be this: Can individuals of different genders, ages, ethnicities, races, languages, socioeconomic statuses, and cultural backgrounds coexist on this planet? (See Figure 1-4.) Both the history of humankind and recent world events lead us not to be very optimistic on this point. And this imperative is even more evident after the events of September 11, 2001. Contact among different cultural groups—from the earliest civilizations until today—often has led to disharmony. For example, consider the ethnic/religious strife between Muslims and the Western world; the ethnic struggles in Bosnia and the



Picture 1-4 This Iraqi boy looks at shoes and clothes of victims of a car bomb explosion in Baghdad on March 1, 2006. The causes of this violence stem from long histories of intercultural conflict and are likely to influence intercultural relations in the future. (© Akram Saleh/Getty Images)



STARBUCKS' LOGO REDESIGN COULD PROVE BENEFICIAL TO COMPANY

A recent press release describes why Starbucks' decision to change its logo could be a good move as it expands into Asian markets. It recently dropped both its name and the word "coffee" from its 40-year-old logo in preparation for tripling its locations in China from about 400 to 1,500.

In this release, Rice University Professor of Marketing Vikas Mittal described the interesting results of several studies investigating customers, logos, and brand commitment. He and his co-researchers found that, while Starbucks may have alienated some of their loyal U.S. customers, the redesign will probably attract new consumers in Asian countries like China, India, Taiwan, and Singapore, where consumers tend to be culturally collectivist and interdependent.

Mittal said that removing the lettering gives the logo a more rounded appearance, and his research found that people with collectivistic values, like those in Asia, prefer rounded shapes. In fact, brands in collectivistic countries tend to have a higher percentage of rounded logos when compared to logos in individualistic countries (e.g., the United States), and logos and product shapes that are rounded are more acceptable and embraced in those cultures. The researchers' explanation for Asians' preference for rounded shapes is that these shapes represent harmony, which is consistent with an interdependent view of the world.

Source: J. Stark, "Rice Research Shows Starbucks Logo Redesign Could Prove Beneficial to Company," Press Release, Rice University, January 6, 2011. Retrieved May 25, 2011, from www.media.rice.edu/media/NewsBot.asp?MODE=VIEW&ID=15215&SnID=1521497554.

former Soviet Union; the war between Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda (Africa); the continued unrest in the Middle East; and the racial and ethnic struggles and tensions in neighborhoods in Boston, Los Angeles, and other U.S. cities.

Some of these conflicts are tied to histories of **colonialism** around the world, whereby European powers lumped diverse groups—differing in language, culture, religion, or identity—together as one state. For example, the division of Pakistan and India was imposed by the British; eventually, East Pakistan declared its independence to become Bangladesh. Nevertheless, ethnic and religious differences in some areas of India and Pakistan continue to cause unrest. And the acquisition of nuclear weapons by both India and Pakistan makes these antagonisms of increasing concern. The tremendous diversity—and accompanying antagonisms—within many former colonies must be understood in the context of histories of colonialism.

Some of the conflicts are also tied to economic disparities and influenced by U.S. technology and media. Many people in the United States see these influences as beneficial, but they also stimulate resistance. Communication scholar Fernando Delgado (2002) explains:

colonialism (1) The system by which groups with diverse languages, cultures, religions, and identities were united to form one state, usually by a European power; (2) the system by which a country maintains power over other countries or groups of people to exploit them economically, politically, and culturally.

Such cultural dominance, though celebrated at home, can spark intercultural conflicts because it inhibits the development of other nations' indigenous popular culture products, stunts their economic development and foists U.S. values and perspectives on other cultures. These effects, in turn, often lead to resentment and conflict. (p. 353)

For example, according to many Canadians, a Canadian cultural identity is almost impossible because of the dominance of U.S. media. This type of cultural domination is very complex. Delgado recalls that he noticed anti-American sentiments in graffiti, newspapers, and TV programs during a recent trip to Europe, but that he also saw U.S. influence everywhere—in music, television, film, cars, fast food, and fashion. He notes that "resentment, frustration, and disdain among the locals coexisted with an amazement at the penetration of U.S. popular culture" (p. 355).

Some of the conflicts have roots in past foreign policies. For example, the attacks in September 2001 were partly related to the confusing and shifting alliances among the United States, Afghanistan, and Arab and Muslim countries. In Afghanistan in the early 1990s, the Taliban seized power in response to the destructive rule of the Northern Alliance, a loose coalition of warlords. The United States had supported the Taliban in the fight against Soviet aggression in the late 1980s and had promised aid in rebuilding their country after the hostilities were over. However, with the withdrawal of Soviet forces and the fall of the Soviet Union, the United States wasn't as concerned about fulfilling its promises to the Afghan nation, leaving the Afghan people at the mercy of the Taliban. In addition, U.S. foreign policies toward many Arab countries in the last half century, coupled with open support for Israel, have caused widespread resentment (Kirkpatrick, 2011). Although there is no simple explanation for why terrorists attacked the United States, the attacks clearly did not happen in a vacuum. They need to be understood in historical, political, religious, and economic contexts.

It would be naive to assume that simply understanding the issues of intercultural communication would end war and intercultural conflict, but these problems do underscore the need for individuals to learn more about social groups other than their own. (See Figure 1-5.) Ultimately, people, and not countries, negotiate and sign peace treaties. An example of how individual communication styles may influence political outcomes can be seen in the negotiations between Iraqi president Saddam Hussein and representatives of the United States and the United Nations just prior to the Gulf War, in 1990. Many Middle East experts assumed that Hussein was not ready to fight, that he was merely bluffing, using an Arabic style of communication (see Chapter 6). This style emphasizes the importance of animation, exaggeration, and conversational form over content (Slackman, 2006). Communication specialists note that in conflict situations Arabic speakers may threaten the life and property of their opponents but have no intention of actually carrying out the threats. Rather, they use threats to buy time and intimidate their opponents. Thus, declaratory statements by U.S. leaders, such as "We will find the cancer and cut it out," seemed mundane and

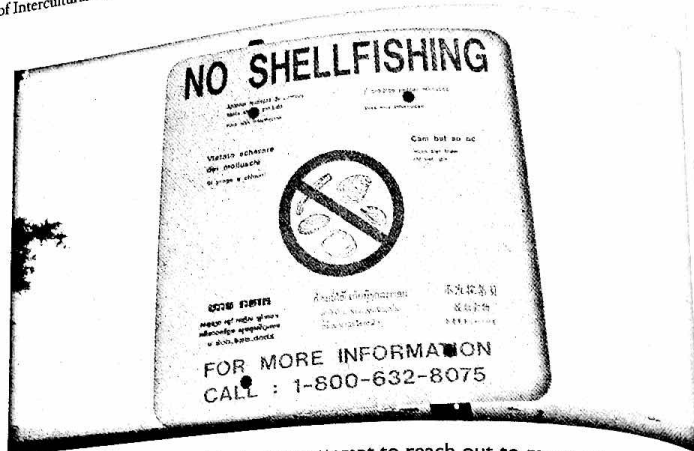


FIGURE 1-5 Although this sign is an attempt to reach out to many cultural groups in Boston Harbor by posting in many languages, it does not explain the rationale for the ban and differing views on who “owns” natural resources, health concerns, and other issues facing shellfishing may lead to misunderstanding and conflicts among cultural groups. (Courtesy T. K. Nakayama)

unintimidating to Arab listeners. Verbal exchanges, regardless of the different speech styles, often take the place of physical violence (Griefat & Katriel, 1989).

However, we always need to consider the relationship between individual and societal forces in studying intercultural communication. Although communication on the interpersonal level is important, we must remember that individuals often are born into and are caught up in conflicts that they neither started nor chose.

THE ETHICAL IMPERATIVE

Living in an intercultural world presents ethical challenges as well. Ethics may be thought of as principles of conduct that help govern the behavior of individuals and groups. These principles often arise from communities' consensus on what is good and bad behavior. Cultural values tell us what is “good” and what “ought” to be good. Ethical judgments focus more on the degrees of rightness and wrongness in human behavior than do cultural values (Johannesen, 1990).

Some judgments are stated very explicitly. For example, the Ten Commandments teach that it is wrong to steal, tell a lie, commit murder, and so on. Many other identifiable principles of conduct that arise from our cultural experience may be less explicit—for instance, that people should be treated equally and should work hard. Several issues come to mind in a discussion of ethics in intercultural communication. For example, what happens when two ethical systems collide? Although an individual may want to “do the right thing” to contribute to a better

society, it is not always easy to know what is “right” in specific situations. Ethical principles are often culture bound, and intercultural conflicts arise from various notions of what is ethical behavior.

One common cross-cultural ethical dilemma involves standards of conducting business in multinational corporations. The U.S. Congress and the Securities and Exchange Commission consider it unethical to make payments to government officials of other countries to promote trade. (Essentially, such payments smack of bribery.) However, in many countries, like China, government officials are paid in this informal way instead of being supported by taxes (Ambler & Witzel, 2000). What, then, is ethical behavior for personnel in multinational subsidiaries?

Relativity versus Universality

In this book, we stress the relativity of cultural behavior—that no cultural pattern is inherently right or wrong. So, is there any universality in ethics? Are any cultural behaviors always right or always wrong? The answers depend on one's perspective. A universalist might try, for example, to identify acts and conditions that most societies think of as wrong, such as murder, theft, or treason. Someone who takes an extreme universalist position would insist that cultural differences are only superficial, that fundamental notions of right and wrong are universal. Some religions take universal positions—for example, that the Ten Commandments are a universal code of behavior. But Christian groups often disagree about the universality of the Bible. For example, are the teachings of the New Testament mainly guidelines for the Christians of Jesus's time, or can they be applied to Christians in the 21st century? These are difficult issues for many people searching for ethical guidelines (Johannesen, 1990). The philosopher Immanuel Kant (1949) believed in the universality of moral laws. His well-known “categorical imperative” states that people should act only on maxims that apply universally, to *all* individuals.

The extreme relativist position holds that any cultural behavior can be judged only within the cultural context in which it occurs. This means that only those members of a community can truly judge the ethics of their own members. According to communication scholar William S. Howell (1982),

The environment, the situation, the timing of an interaction, human relationships, all affect the way ethical standards are applied. . . . The concept of universal ethics, standards of goodness that apply to everyone, everywhere, and at all times, is the sort of myth people struggle to hold onto. (pp. 182, 187)

And yet, to accept a completely relativistic position seems to tacitly accept the horrors of Nazi Germany, South African apartheid, or U.S. slavery. In each case, the larger community developed cultural beliefs that supported persecution and discrimination in such extreme forms that worldwide condemnation ultimately resulted (Hall, 1997, p. 23).

Philosophers and anthropologists have struggled to develop ethical guidelines that seem universally applicable but that also recognize the tremendous

ethics Principles of conduct that help govern behaviors of individuals and groups.

This writer decries a certain kind of intercultural learning—the learning that some study-abroad students pursue—whereby people in other countries are objectified and viewed as exotic and strange. The real problem arises when these students are hired to write television commercials and to present ideas about other cultures.

One type of commercial model shows us exotic humans in all their tribal finery, but, in a multicultural twist, they—Masai warriors, Sicilian matrons, Tibetan monks, Irish fishermen—are revealed as strangely prescient consumers with a quirky knowledge of luxury cars or Internet stock trading. In one commercial, we witness an Inuit elder teaching his grandson about tracking by identifying marks in the snow. “That,” he says, “is a caribou.” Then, after a pause, during which the wise man stares at the snow, he reverentially intones the single word “Audi.” From ads like those, astute students learn that foreigners are obsessed with us—our commodities and displays. What we may learn from them pales in comparison with the glories that they see in our consumer lifestyle.

Other commercials reduce distant lands to images of animals or nature and imply that nature can be thoroughly dominated by SUVs or swaggering, extreme-sports youths. Athletes and Nissan Pathfinders fight bulls in a ring, giant outdoorsmen tap the miniaturized Rockies, a hiker butts heads with a bigborn sheep. And, of course, sophisticated viewers know that all those animals are the creation of technology.

In one commercial, a driver—insulated in his fully self-sufficient cocoon—is able to program both the road and the various beautiful and exotic settings it passes through. Not only is the technologically empowered American greater than nature, we create nature to suit our whims. There is no outside world anymore, no dark places of mystery, yet to be seen. Our SUVs do not travel to an unknown world so much as create different options from a well-known list. Television’s emphasis is on how the actor—whether a contestant on a reality-TV show or the driver in a car ad—is seen and manipulates how she is seen. Even when outsiders exist, everyone is looking at us.

When a promotional piece for the reality-TV show *The Amazing Race* shows an American woman in a clearly foreign space—perhaps India—she is not troubled, confused, or interested in her environment. Instead she strips

down to a bikini emblazoned with a U.S. flag to get directions to the next challenge from a bug-eyed and eager native. “Will I wear this if it helps me get home?” she says. “Hell, yeah!” The young woman clearly did not travel to broaden her horizons. For her, India becomes, as much as Salt Lake City or Kandahar, a place for aggressive performance of her American identity—unwrapping herself in the flag, so to speak.

We now are the world, to be looked at, admired, or despised; what is important about the activity of others is their response to our display. . . . [Study-abroad students] talk about interactions with outsiders only in vague abstractions, while expostulating brilliantly about the nuances of American students’ interactions with one another. The few individuals who left their peers to engage the outside world explained that move as an individual rejection of the group and still found it easier to discuss their fellow students than the generically defined “friends” they met at bars.

One young American who traveled to Guatemala bragged that “I have a surprising ability to relate to almost everyone,” but “everyone” turned out to mean members of preconceived categories of human-rights workers, Indians, and children, whom she described as objects of more first-person sentences. She specifically excluded less exotic, fast-talking city folk who were “just different” and not worth mentioning.

Students return from study-abroad programs having seen the world, but the world they return to tell tales about is more often than not the world they already knew, the imaginary world of globalized, postmodern capitalism where everything is already known, everyone speaks the same language, and the outside world keeps its eyes on those of us who come from the center.

. . . we should avoid pre- and post-travel orientation sessions that focus on group dynamics and individual growth. Instead, those sessions could be used as opportunities for students to learn how to question the way that we tell stories about our travels, and to discover for themselves how those stories share features with commercials about men who play football with lions and reality shows where contestants dare each other to swallow centipedes.

Source: From B. Feinberg, “What Students Don’t Learn Abroad,” *The Chronicle Review*, May 2, 2000, p. B20.

cultural variability in the world. And many ethical relativists appeal to more natural, humanitarian principles. This more moderate position assumes that people can evaluate cultures without succumbing to ethnocentrism, that all individuals and cultural groups share a fundamental humanistic belief in the sanctity of the human spirit and the goodness of peace, and that people should respect the well-being of others (Kale, 1994).

Communication scholar Bradford J. Hall (1997) reminds us that relativistic and universalistic approaches to ethics should be viewed not as a dichotomy, but

rather as a compound of universalism and relativism. All ethics systems involve a tension between the universal and the relative. So, although we recognize some universal will toward ethical principles, we may have to live with the tension of not being able to impose our “universal” ethic on others.

A recent suggestion for meeting the ethical imperative is to employ a **dialogical approach** (Evanoff, 2004). The dialogical approach emphasizes the importance of relationships and dialogues between individuals and communities in wrestling with ethical dilemmas. Communication scholars Stanley Deetz,

dialogical approach
Focuses on the importance of dialogue in developing and maintaining relationships between individuals and communities.

Deborah Cohen, and Paige P. Edley (1997) suggest that even in international business contexts, a dialogical approach can work. As an example, they cite the ethical challenges that arise when a corporation relocates its operations overseas. Although this relocation may make good business sense, the move often has difficult personal and social (and therefore ethical) ramifications. The move may cause a wave of unemployment in the old location and raise issues of exploitation of the workforce and harm to the environment in the new location (especially where poverty is a problem).

Deetz and colleagues (1997) suggest that moving from an owner/manager model to a dialogical stakeholder model can help clarify some of the ethical issues. The dialogical approach emphasizes the importance of the relationship and dialogue between the company and the various communities and stakeholders. They propose forums for discussion even while acknowledging that sometimes discussions and forums are used by management to suppress or diffuse conflict rather than to promote genuine debate for the sake of company improvement. In this case, a dialogical approach

does not rest in agreement or consensus but in the avoidance of the suppression of alternative conceptions and possibilities . . . the heterogeneity of the international community and the creative possibilities residing in intercultural communication provide possibilities that may have been overlooked in national cultures. (Deetz, et al., 1997, pp. 222-223)

The study of intercultural communication not only provides insights into cultural patterns but also helps us address the ethical issues involved in intercultural interaction. Specifically we should be able to (1) judge what is ethical and unethical behavior given variations in cultural priorities and (2) identify guidelines for ethical behavior in intercultural contexts in which ethics clash.

Being Ethical Students of Culture

Related to the issue of judging cultural patterns as ethical or unethical are the issues surrounding the study of culture. Part of learning about intercultural communication is learning about cultural patterns and cultural identities—our own and others. There are three issues to address here: developing self-reflexivity, learning about others, and acquiring a sense of social justice.

Developing Self-Reflexivity In studying intercultural communication, it is vital to develop self-reflexivity—to understand ourselves and our position in society. In learning about other cultures and cultural practices, we often learn much about ourselves. Immigrants often comment that they never felt so much like someone of their own nationality until they left their homeland.

Think about it: Many cultural attitudes and ideas are instilled in you, but these can be difficult to unravel and identify. Knowing who you are is never simple; rather, it is an ongoing process that can never fully capture the ever-emerging person. Not only will you grow older but your intercultural experiences will change who you are and who you think you are. It is also important

self-reflexivity A process of learning to understand oneself and one's position in society.

STUDENT VOICES



I have spent three years in the United States seeking an education. I am from Singapore, and I believe that in many ways both countries are similar. They are both multicultural. They both have a dominant culture. In the United States the dominant culture is white, and in Singapore it is Chinese.

Coming to the United States has taught me to be more aware of diversity. Even though in Singapore we are diverse, because I was part of the majority there, I didn't feel the need to increase my level of intercultural awareness. In the United States I became a minority, and that has made me feel the need to become more culturally competent.

—Jacqueline

to reflect on your place in society. By recognizing the social categories to which you belong, and the implications of those categories, you will be in a better position to understand how to communicate. For example, being an undergraduate student positions you to communicate your ideas on specific subjects and in particular ways to various members of the faculty or staff at your school. You might want to communicate to the registrar your desire to change majors—this would be an appropriate topic to address to that person. But you would not be well positioned during an exam to communicate to your chemistry professor your problems with your girl- or boyfriend.

Learning About Others It is important to remember that the study of cultures is actually the study of other people. Never lose sight of the humanity at the core of the topic. Try not to observe people as if they are zoo animals. Communication scholar Bradford Hall (1997) cautions against using the “zoo approach” to studying culture:

When using such an approach we view the study of culture as if we were walking through a zoo admiring, gasping and chuckling at the various exotic animals we observe. One may discover amazing, interesting and valuable information by using such a perspective and even develop a real fondness for these exotic people, but miss the point that we are as culturally “caged” as others and that they are culturally as “free” as we are. (p. 14)

Remember that you are studying real people who have real lives, and your conclusions about them may have very real consequences for them and for you. Cultural studies scholar Linda Alcoff (1991/1992) acknowledges the ethical issues involved when students of culture try to describe the cultural patterns of others; she recognizes the difficulty of speaking “for” and “about” others who have different lives. Instead, she suggests, students of culture should try to speak “with” and “to” others. Rather than merely describe others from a distance, it's better to engage others in a dialogue about their cultural realities.

Learn to listen to the voices of others, to cultivate experiential knowledge. Hearing about the experiences of people who are different from you can broaden

your ways of viewing the world. Many differences—based on race, gender, sexual orientation, nationality, ethnicity, age, and so on—deeply affect people's everyday lives. Listening carefully as people relate their experiences and their ways of knowing will help you learn about the many aspects of intercultural communication.

Developing a Sense of Social Justice A final ethical issue involves the responsibility that comes with the acquisition of intercultural knowledge and insights—that this educational experience is not just transformative for the individual but should also benefit the larger society and other cultural groups in the increasingly interdependent world.

Everett Kleinjans (1975), an international educator, stresses that intercultural education differs from some other kinds of education: Although all education may be potentially transformative, learning as a result of intercultural contact is particularly so in that it deals with fundamental aspects of human behavior. Learning about intercultural communication sometimes calls into question the core of our basic assumptions about ourselves, our culture, and our worldviews and challenges existing and preferred beliefs, values, and patterns of behavior. Liliana, a Colombian student, describes such a transformation:

When I first came to the States to study and live I was surprised with all the diversity and different cultures I encountered. I realized I came from a country, society, school and group of friends with little diversity. During all the years I lived in Colombia I did not meet more than five people from other countries. Even at my school, there was little diversity—only two students of color among three thousand students. I realized that big difference when I was suddenly sharing a college classroom with students from all over the world, people of all colors and cultures. At the beginning it was difficult getting used to it because of the wide diversity, but I like and enjoy it now and I wish my family and friends could experience and learn as much as I have.

As you learn about yourself and others as cultural beings, as you come to understand the larger economic, political, and historical contexts in which interaction occurs, is there an ethical obligation to continue learning? We believe that as members of an increasingly interdependent global community, intercultural communication students have a responsibility to educate themselves, not just about interesting cultural differences but also about intercultural conflicts, the impacts of stereotyping and prejudice, and the larger systems that can oppress and deny basic human rights—and to apply this knowledge to the communities in which they live and interact. This is the basis of social justice.

For example, how could you apply intercultural communication concepts in situations where gay and lesbian young people are the targets of bullying? Statistics show that these adolescents get bullied two to three times more than their heterosexual peers (Berlan, Corliss, Field, Goodman, & Austin, 2010). Why does this happen? What can be done to reduce harassment of this particular cultural group? In the following chapters, you will learn about the causes and patterns of conflict between various cultural groups, the origins and expressions of prejudice and discrimination, as well as strategies for reducing conflict and discrimination.

Consider the homeless—another cultural group rarely mentioned by cultural communication scholars—often the target of prejudice and violence. Perhaps increased knowledge about this group and ethical application of intercultural communication principles could lead to better understanding of these individuals and ultimately to less discrimination and prejudice. After working as an advocate for homeless people in Denver, one communication scholar, Professor Phil Tompkins, describes the link between communication skills and social justice. He defines social justice as the “process of communicating, inspiring, advocating, organizing and working with others of similar and diverse organizational affiliations to help all people gain respect and participate fully in society in a way that benefits the community as well as the individual” (Tompkins, 2009). This definition has three important components: (1) communication is central; (2) the outcome of social justice must be beneficial to society, not just the individuals involved; and (3) respect for and participation by all is important. We hope that as you read the following chapters, you will agree with us that learning about intercultural communication also involves ethical application of that knowledge.

What are unethical applications of intercultural communication knowledge? One questionable practice involves people who study intercultural communication in order to proselytize others without their consent. (Some religious organizations conduct Bible study on college campuses for international students under the guise of English language lessons.) Another questionable practice is the behavior of cross-cultural consultants who misrepresent or exaggerate their ability to deal with complex issues of prejudice and racism in brief, one-shot training sessions (Paige & Martin, 1996).

A final questionable practice concerns research on the intercultural communication of U.S. minority groups. A common approach in the United States is for a white tenured faculty member to conduct such research employing graduate and undergraduate students from the minority groups being studied:

Minority students are sometimes used as a way to gain immediate access to the community of interest. These students go into communities and the (usually white) professors are spared the intense, time-consuming work of establishing relationships in the community. (Martin & Butler, 2001, p. 291)

These students are then asked to report their findings to and interpret their community for the faculty member. Unfortunately, doing so can jeopardize their relationship to their community, which may be suspicious of the academic community. The faculty member publishes articles and reaps the tangible rewards of others' hard work—promotions, pay raises, and professional visibility. Meanwhile, the community and the students may receive little for their valuable contributions to this academic work.

We feel there is a concomitant responsibility that goes along with this intercultural knowledge: to work toward a more equitable and fair society and world. We want you to keep in mind this ethical issue as you study the various topics covered in this book. In the final chapter, we'll address this issue again with practical suggestions for meeting this ethical challenge.

INTERNET RESOURCES

www.intercultural.org/
This is the website of a nonprofit organization dedicated to improving intercultural communication. It contains a lot of valuable information aimed at a broad audience, including businesses. The most interesting aspect of the website is that it is full of actual training materials used by intercultural practitioners in helping their clients develop a greater intercultural proficiency.

www.refintl.org/
This website explores the topic of refugees. Many people consider intercultural communication in the business setting, but intercultural communication due to refugee migrations is actually rather common. This site estimates that there are more than 34 million refugees around the world. What special intercultural issues are present when considering refugees?

www.kwintessential.co.uk/cultural-services/articles/intercultural-communication-tips.html

This is a “quick-tip” guide to intercultural communication. There are some good tips on this page, like encouragement to reflect on the practices you engage in while communicating in an intercultural context. It is worth considering that this is the type of information many people use when engaging in intercultural business, and so forth. What types of information or analysis are missing from its list of tips?

SUMMARY

There are six reasons or imperatives for studying intercultural communication:

- The self-awareness imperative involves increasing understanding of our own location in larger social, political, and historical contexts.
- The demographic imperative includes the changing domestic and international migration—raising questions of class and religious diversity.
- The economic imperative highlights issues of globalization and the challenges for increased cultural understanding needed to reach the global market.
- The technological imperative gives us increasing information and increased contact with people who are similar and different from us. Increased use of communication technology also raises questions about identity and access to these technologies.
- The peace imperative involves working through issues of colonialism, economic disparities, and racial, ethnic, and religious differences.
- The ethical imperative calls for an understanding of the universalist, relativist, and dialogic approach to ethical issues.

Being an ethical student of culture involves developing self-reflexivity, learning about others, and developing a sense of social justice and responsibility.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. How do electronic means of communication (e-mail, the Internet, fax, and so on) differ from face-to-face interactions?
2. How do these communication technologies change intercultural communication interaction?
3. What are some of the potential challenges organizations face as they become more diverse?
4. Why is it important to think beyond ourselves as individuals in intercultural interaction?
5. How do economic situations affect intergroup relations?

Go to the self-quizzes on the Online Learning Center at www.mhhe.com/martinnakayama6 to further test your knowledge.

ACTIVITIES

1. *Family Tree.* Interview the oldest member of your family you can contact. Then answer the following questions:
 - a. When did your ancestors come to the United States?
 - b. Where did they come from?
 - c. What were the reasons for their move? Did they come voluntarily?
 - d. What language(s) did they speak?
 - e. What difficulties did they encounter?
 - f. Did they change their names? For what reasons?
 - g. What were their occupations before they came, and what jobs did they take on their arrival?
 - h. How has your family status changed through the generations?

Compare your family experience with those of your classmates. Did most immigrants come for the same reasons? What are the differences in the various stories?
2. *Intercultural Encounter.* Describe and analyze a recent intercultural encounter. This may mean talking with someone of a different age, ethnicity, race, religion, and so on.
 - a. Describe the encounter. What made it “intercultural”?
 - b. Explain how you initially felt about the communication.
 - c. Describe how you felt after the encounter, and explain why you think you felt as you did.
 - d. Describe any challenges in trying to communicate. If there were no challenges, explain why you think it was so easy.
 - e. Based on this experience, identify some characteristics that may be important for successful intercultural communication.

KEY WORDS

Anglocentrism (12)
colonialism (30)
demographics (6)
dialogical approach (35)
diasporic groups (25)
diversity (9)
ethics (32)

ethnocentrism (5)
global village (22)
heterogeneous (8)
homogeneous (8)
identity
management (27)
identity tourism (27)

immigrants (9)
maquiladoras (22)
melting pot (12)
multinational
corporations (22)
nativistic (12)
self-reflexivity (36)

The Online Learning Center at www.mhhe.com/martinnakayama6 features flashcards and crossword puzzles based on these terms and concepts.

REFERENCES

- Adler, P. S. (1975). The transition experience: An alternative view of culture shock. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 15, 13–23.
- Alcoff, L. (1991/1992). The problem of speaking for others. *Cultural Critique*, 20, 5–32.
- Allegretto, S. A. (2011, March 23). The state of working America's wealth, 2011. Economic Policy Institute State of Working America Briefing Paper #292, retrieved April 26, 2011 from HYPERLINK "http://epi.3cdn.net/002c5fc0fda0ae9cce_aem6idhp5.pdf" http://epi.3cdn.net/002c5fc0fda0ae9cce_aem6idhp5.pdf
- Ambler, T., & Witzel, M. (2000). *Doing business in China*. New York: Routledge.
- American Indians by the Number, US Census Bureau, retrieved December 26, 2011 from www.infoplease.com/spot/aihmccensus1.html.
- Archibold, R. (2010, April 24). Arizona enacts stringent law on immigration. *The New York Times*, p. 1.
- Baldwin, J. (1955). *Notes of a native son*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Banks, J. (1991). *Teaching strategies for ethnic studies*. Needham, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Berlan, E. D., Corliss, H. L., Field, A. E., Goodman, E., & Austin, S. B. (2010). Sexual orientation and bullying among adolescents in the Growing Up Today study. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 46(4), 366–371.
- Branding so much more than a name (2011). *Strategic Direction*, 27(3), 6–8.
- Canadian Press. (2008, August 27). Tour requires foreign golfers to speak English by next year. *Toronto Star*. Retrieved August 28, 2008 from www.thestar.com/Sports/Golf/article/486172.
- Cole, D. (1998). Five myths about immigration. In P. S. Rothenberg (Ed.), *Race, class, and gender in the United States: An integrated study* (4th ed., pp. 125–129). New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Curtin, P. D. (1969). *The Atlantic slave trade: A census*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Deetz, S., Cohen, D., & Edley, P. P. (1997). Toward a dialogic ethic in the context of international business organization. In F. L. Casmir (Ed.), *Ethics in intercultural and international communication* (pp. 183–226). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Delgado, F. (2002). Mass-mediated communication and intercultural conflict. In J. N. Martin, T. K. Nakayama, & L. A. Flores (Eds.), *Readings in intercultural communication* (pp. 351–359). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Dillon, S. (2010, December 7). Top test scores from Shanghai stun educators. *The New York Times*, p. 1A.
- Dor, D. (2004). From Englishization to imposed multilingualism: Globalization, the Internet, and the political economy of the linguistic code. *Public Culture*, 16, 97–118.
- Evanoff, R. J. (2004). Universalist, relativist, and constructivist approaches to intercultural ethics. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 28, 439–458.
- Ferdman, B. M., & Brody, S. E. (1996). Models of diversity training. In D. Landis & R. Bhagat (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training* (2nd ed., pp. 282–303). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Flores, L. A., Moon, D. G., & Nakayama, T. K. (2006). Dynamic rhetorics of race: California's Racial Privacy Initiative and the shifting grounds of racial politics. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*.
- Foner, E. (1998). Who is an American? In P. S. Rothenberg (Ed.), *Race, class, and gender in the United States: An integrated study* (4th ed., pp. 84–92). New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Fox, S. (2011, January 21). *Americans living with disability and their technology profile*. Pew Internet & American Life Project. Retrieved April 29, 2011, from www.pewinternet.org/~media/Files/Reports/2011/PIP_Disability.pdf.
- Franklin, M. I. (2003). I define my own identity: Pacific articulations of 'race' and 'culture' on the Internet. *Ethnicities*, 3, 465–490.
- Friedman, T. L. (2005). *The world is flat: A brief history of the twenty-first century*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux.
- Fussell, P. (1992). *Class: A guide through the American status system*. New York: Touchstone Books.
- Grieco, E. M., & Trevelyan, E. N. (2010, October). *Place of birth of the foreign-born population: 2009*. U.S. Census Bureau: American Community Survey Briefs, ACSBR/09-15. Retrieved May 5, 2011, from www.census.gov/prod/2010pubs/acsbr09-15.pdf.
- Griefat, Y., & Katriel, T. (1989). Life demands *musayara*: Communication and culture among Arabs in Israel. In S. Ting-Toomey & F. Korzeny (Eds.), *Language, communication and culture: International and intercultural communication annual* (Vol. 13, pp. 121–138). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Griffin, G. (2011, April 20). Egypt's uprising: Tracking the social media factor. *PBS News-hour*. Retrieved May 7, 2011, from www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/middle_east/jan-june11/revsocial_04-19.html.
- Hacker, K. L., & Steiner, R. (2002). The digital divide for Hispanic Americans. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 13, 267–283.
- Hall, B. J. (1997). Culture, ethics and communication. In F. L. Casmir (Ed.), *Ethics in intercultural and international communication* (pp. 11–41). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Harris, P., & Gallagher, P. (2011, April 2). Terry Jones defiant despite murders in Afghanistan over Qur'an burning. *guardian.co.uk*. Retrieved April 22, 2011, from www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/apr/02/pastor-terry-jones-burning-koran?
- Hochman, (2004, June 21). NBA teams continue to look outside U.S. *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), p. 2.
- Howell, W. S. (1982). *The empathic communicator*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Internet rant causes uproar at UD university (2011, March 27). *VOANews.com*. Retrieved May 6, 2011, from www.voanews.com/english/news/usa/Internet-Rant-Causes-Uproar-at-US-University-118747924.html.
- Jackson, L. A., Barbatsis, G., Biocca, F. A., von Eye, A., Zhao, Y., & Fitzgerald, H. E. (2004). Home Internet use in low-income families: Is access enough to eliminate the digital divide? In E. P. Bucy & J. E. Newhagen (Eds.), *Media access: Social and psychological dimensions of new technology use* (pp. 155–186). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Jiménez, Tomás R. (2010). *Replenished ethnicity: Mexican Americans, immigration, and identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Johannesen, R. L. (1990). *Ethics in human communication* (3rd ed.). Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Kale, D. W. (1994). Peace as an ethic for intercultural communication. In L. Samovar & R. E. Porter (Eds.), *Intercultural communication: A reader* (7th ed., pp. 435–441). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Kant, I. (1949). *Fundamental principles of the metaphysics of morals* (T. Abbott, Trans.). Indianapolis, IN: Library of Liberal Arts/Bobbs-Merrill.
- Kirkpatrick, D. D. (2011, May 20). Many in Arab world say Obama's speech doesn't dispel grievances against U. S. *The New York Times*, p. A10.
- Kleinjans, E. (1975). A question of ethics. *International Education and Cultural Exchange*, 10, 20–25.
- Lapchick, R. (2011, April 21). The 2011 racial and gender report card: Major League Baseball. The Institute for Diversity and Ethics in Sport, University of Central Florida. Retrieved May 5, 2011, from www.tidesport.org/RGRC/2011/2011_MLB_RGRC_FINAL.pdf.
- Lenhart, A., Horrigan, J., Rainie, L., Allen, K., Boyce, A., Madden, M., & O'Grady, E. (2003, April 16). *The ever-shifting Internet population: A new look at Internet access and the digital divide*. Washington, DC: Pew Internet & American Life Project (www.pewinternet.org).
- Loewen, J. W. (1995). *Lies my teacher told me*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Magaña, Lisa. (2005). *Mexican Americans and the politics of diversity: Querer es poder!* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Mantsios, G. (2001). Class in America: Myths and realities. In P. S. Rothenberg (Ed.), *Race, class, and gender in the United States: An integrated study* (5th ed., pp. 168–182). New York: Worth.
- Martin, J. N., & Butler, R. L. W. (2001). Toward an ethic of intercultural communication research. In V. H. Milhouse, M. K. Asante, & P. O. Nwosu (Eds.), *Transcultural realities: Interdisciplinary perspectives on cross-cultural relations* (pp. 283–298). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- McGreal, C. (2010, August 12). Ground Zero mosque plans "fuelling anti-Muslim protests across US." *guardian.co.uk*. Retrieved April 29, 2011, from www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/aug/12/ground-zero-mosque-islamophobia?
- McLuhan, M. (1967). *The medium is the message*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Muzrui, A. (2001). Historical struggles between Islamic and Christian worldviews: An interpretation. In V. H. Milhouse, M. K. Asante, & P. O. Nwosu (Eds.), *Transcultural realities: Interdisciplinary perspectives on cross-cultural relations* (pp. 109–120). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Now a nation of more immigrants than ever. (2002, February 7). *Christian Science Monitor*, p. 1.

- Paige, R. M., & Martin, J. N. (1996). Ethics in intercultural training. In D. Landis & R. Bhagat (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training* (pp. 35-60). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Passel, J. S., & Cohn, D. V. (2008, February 11). *U.S. populations projections: 2005-2050*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center.
- Rachman, G. (2011). Welcome to a zero-sum world. *The Economist: A 25 year Special Edition*, pp. 85-86.
- Richtell, M. (2011, January 29). Egypt halts most Internet and cell service, and scale of shutdown surprises experts. *The New York Times*, Late Edition, Foreign Desk, p. 13A.
- Rideout, V. J., Foehr, U. G., & Roberts, D. F. (2010). *Generation M2: Media in the lives of 8- to 18-year-olds* (A Kaiser Family Foundation Study). Menlo Park, CA: Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation.
- Roediger, D. (1991). *The wages of whiteness: Race and the making of the American working class*. New York: Verso.
- Rojas, V., Straubhaar, J., Roychowdhury, D., & Okur, O. (2004). Communities, cultural capital, and the digital divide. In E. P. Bucy & J. E. Newhagen (Eds.), *Media access: Social and psychological dimensions of new technology use* (pp. 107-130). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Scheer, R. (2005, September 6). The real costs of a culture of greed. *Los Angeles Times*, p. B11.
- Schmitt, E. (2001, April 3). Analysis of census finds segregation along with diversity. www.nytimes.com/2001/04/04/national/04CENS.html?ex=987410510&ei=1&en=a2cf77e31f7952.
- Scommegna, P. (2003). U.S. growing bigger, older and more diverse. Population Reference Bureau Web site. www.prb.org/Template.cfm?Section=PRB&template=/ContentManagement/ContentDisplay.cfm&ContentID=10201.
- Shepard, B. (2005, April 7). International numbers grow. *Chattanooga Times Free Press*, p. D6.
- Slackman, M. (2006, August 6). Iranian 101: A lesson for Americans; the fine art of hiding what you mean to say. *The New York Times online*. Retrieved May 24, 2011, from <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9A04E1DD1E3FF935A3575BC0A9609C8B63>.
- Smith, A. (2010, August 11). *Home broadband 2010*. Pew Internet & American Life Project. Retrieved April 29, 2011, from www.pewinternet.org/~media/Files/Reports/2010/Home%20broadband%202010.pdf.
- Smith, A. (2010, September 17). *Commentary: Technology trends among people of color*. Pew Internet & American Life Project. Retrieved April 29, 2011, from www.pewinternet.org/Commentary/2010/September/Technology-Trends-Among-People-of-Color.aspx#.
- Smith, C. (2011, March 14). Twitter user statistics show stunning growth. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved April 6, 2011, from www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/03/14/twitter-user-statistics_n_835581.html.
- Snyder, B. (2003, May). Teams that span time zones face new work rules. Stanford Graduate School of Business website: www.gsb.stanford.edu/news/bmag/sbsm0305/feature_virtual_teams.shtml.
- Spread the Wealth (2011, February 12-18). *The Economist*, 398(8720), p. 12.
- Takaki, R. (1989). *Strangers from a different shore*. New York: Penguin Books.
- The world in figures: Industries, *The Economist: A 25 year Special Edition*, p. 125.
- Tinsley, A. M. (2011, April 11). Texas lawmakers considering Sharia law ban. *The Miami Herald*. Retrieved April 29, 2011, from www.miamiherald.com/2011/04/11/2161529/texas-lawmakers-considering-sharia.html.
- Tompkins, P. K. (2009). *Who is my neighbor? Communicating and organizing to end homelessness*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.
- Turkle, S. (1995). *Life on the screen: Identity in the age of the Internet*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Turkle, S. (2008). Always-on/Always on you: The tethered self. In J. E. Katz (Ed.), *Handbook of communication studies* (pp. 121-137). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Undergraduate diversity: More minorities, more women (2010, September 24). *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 57(5), B45-B46.
- U.S. Religious Landscape Survey. (2008). *Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life*. Retrieved May 13, 2008, from <http://religions.pewforum.org/pdf/report-religious-landscape-study-full.pdf>.
- van Dijk, J. (2004). Divides in succession: Possession, skills, and use of new media for societal participation. In E. P. Bucy & J. E. Newhagen (Eds.), *Media access: Social and psychological dimensions of new technology use* (pp. 233-254). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Varner, I., & Beamer, L. (2010). *Intercultural communication in the global workplace*. 5th ed. Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Walsh, M. F., Winterich, K. P., & Mittal, V. (2010). Do logo redesigns help or hurt your brand? The role of brand commitment. *Journal of Product & Brand Management*, 19(2), 76-84.
- West, C. (1993). *Race matters*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Yen, H. (2010, September 28). Census finds record gap between rich and poor. *Salon.com*. Retrieved April 23, 2011, from www.salon.com/news/feature/2010/09/28/us_census_recession_s_impact_1.