Gaining Intercultural Competence through Literature: A Contemporary Curriculum for the University Classroom

David Ostman
オストマン・ディビッド

162-G9204

Acknowledgements

Committee Members

Committee Chair: Richard Gilbert, Ph.D.

      Professor, Graduate School of Social and Cultural Sciences

      Kumamoto University

Committee Member: Hidenaga Arai, Ph.D.

      Professor, Graduate School of Social and Cultural Sciences

      Kumamoto University

Committee Member: Sadahiro Kumamoto, Ph.D.

      Professor, Graduate School of Social and Cultural Sciences

      Kumamoto University

Committee Member: Tobias Andreas Bauer

      Associate Professor, Graduate School of Social and Cultural Sciences

      Kumamoto University

Abstract

This dissertation presents a new pedagogical approach to intercultural competence: Intercultural Competence through Literature (ICL), offering practical examples for classroom implementation. Tasked with preparing undergraduates for success in a world characterized by increasing heterogeneity, educators require pedagogical strategies that develop learner creativity, imagination, and cognitive flexibility. Intercultural competence education addresses these concerns through the fostering of *a flexible ethnorelative worldview* involving the development of critical cultural awareness and perspective-taking, for the purposes of encouraging cultural understanding, and the cultivation of attitudes of toleration, respect, and intercultural openness. Experiencing ICL pedagogy, learners are exposed to narratives involving protagonists hailing from diverse cultures; this methodology presents the educator with several unique advantages: 1) Psychology research indicates that reader immersion in a text activates both cognitive and affective empathy, eliciting *empathic concern* towards protagonists; 2) through character identification, readers gain access to alternate social and cultural perspectives; 3) reader engagement with literary narratives simulates social experiences, through which readers gain cultural insight through co-experiencing events with characters; 4) research also indicates that readers process literary narratives with increased openness when compared to expository or non-narrative texts.

There are four primary expository aims in this research: 1) To identify conflicting understandings of the role and nature of empathy through examination of research in the field of intercultural competence, 2) to argue for an understanding of empathy as a critical causal component in acquiring intercultural competence based upon multidisciplinary research, 3) to present an empathy-centered pedagogical approach (ICL) involving the use of short narrative texts for the acquisition of intercultural competence, 4) and to demonstrate the efficacy of an ICL approach in semester-length university EFL classes.

Implementing an Intercultural Competence through Literature approach addresses the

following contemporary educational concerns: 1) ICL develops cognitive flexibility through developing the ability to imaginatively understand a situation from multiple perspectives, 2) ICL facilitates the ability for learners to function effectively in culturally heterogeneous situations through the fostering of positive attitudes towards cultures, and 3) by fostering imagination and creativity, ICL prepares learners for successful participation across countries and cultures as global citizens.

Keywords: intercultural competence, empathy, literature, narrative, EFL

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Introduction

A Crisis in Education

In the 21st Century all is not well in the university classroom. Simply stated, in a contemporary environment of accelerating innovation and change, university educators are generally unable to fully provide an education that equips learners with the skills, tools and knowledge necessary for future success. Areas of concern include 1) successful participation in the workforce; 2) becoming informed participants within democratic societies and; 3) becoming interculturally literate, *proactive* global thinkers and citizens.

Today's learners can expect to compete in a world that is highly connected, yet marked by traditional differences between nations and cultures. In this environment, the ability to imaginatively engage with "otherness" has been seen by noted educators to be a contributing factor to learner success (*cf.* Ting-Toomey & Chung; 2005; Dziedziewicz, Gajda, & Karwowski, 2014).

In compiling the *DHL Global Connectedness Index 2016*, globalization researchers Ghemawat and Altman (2016) have witnessed record levels of connectedness, as measured by cross-border flows of trade, capital, information and populations. Connectedness, however, does not inevitably lead to uniformity:

> Looking forward, levels of global connectedness may increase, stagnate or even suffer a sharp reversal, but given the parameters of the current situation, it is unlikely that increases will any time soon yield a state in which the differences or barriers between countries can be ignored. (Ghemawat & Altman, p. 27)

As can be surmised, future success hinges on a learner's ability to navigate a world that is becoming closer in communicative proximity, while (at the same time) retaining a high degree of cultural heterogeneity. In considering what the future may hold for learners, the disquieting truth is that educators have limited powers of augury. Those technologies which will shape the

future, and the extent to which ideological and political movements will determine future learning-environments, leave open the question of the particular static forms of knowledge educators should most relevantly impart. As such, any new curricula aiming to bestow upon learners the specific information from which they will benefit (with regards to democratic and global citizenship, and their working lives) will need to focus on process-oriented modes of learning (developing imagination, creativity, and critical thinking) in order to best enable learners to face future challenges as they arise. In arguing for a future-orientated education, Ken Robinson, in *Out of Our Minds: Learning to be Creative* (2011) echoes this assertion:

> Given the speed of change, governments and businesses throughout the world recognize that education and training are the keys to the future, and they emphasize the vital need to develop powers of creativity and innovation. (p. 6)

Aiding learners in developing imagination and creativity are already at the top of curricular agendas, as seen in the Nordic countries; these educational systems are producing the highest per-capita number of qualified creative researchers, worldwide (The World Bank, 2018). In his investigation of world-leading Finnish educational success, Harvard professor Tony Wagner describes the country's system as primarily educator-driven:

> [Finland has] changed the nature of teaching. Teachers are no longer assembly line workers…. They have become knowledge workers, working collaboratively, thinking of their classroom as their laboratory for continuous innovation; trying to understand how to ensure that all learners achieve at very, very high levels. (2011a)

According to Wagner, Finnish teachers educate for success by focusing on teaching learners how to think, and aiding them in engaging actively through the development of individual learning styles. In contrast to learning environments focusing on factual recall and memorization, where educators "teach to the test," Finnish teachers have defined what is most important to learn: it is not a memorization-based curriculum, but rather *a thinking-based* curriculum (Wagner, 2011b).

The question of how to teach for imagination and creativity remains thorny; this research has arisen from an attempt to address the question of how imagination and creativity may be supported and expanded at the university level. In working with learners from various disciplines, a powerful application for an under-appreciated medium has been uncovered: *narrative literature*.

Anthropological belief in the universality of stories in human societies is long established (Hsu, 2008); as such, the meta-objective of this research seeks to present a framework through which educators can harness both the imaginative and creative energies of narrative—combining narrative works with the empathic act of perspective-taking in order to encourage learners to see the world through alternate perspectives.

In this research, the three main elements (seen below) present the main topics under purview:

1. Facilitating intercultural competence via perspective-taking in narrative literature.

2. Utilizing the power of empathy for intercultural competence.

3. Imagination through narrative literature.

Facilitating Intercultural Competence via Perspective-taking in Narrative Literature

The novel approach to curriculum development presented here is centered on the concept of educating for intercultural competence through substitutional encounters with literary protagonists. The first core-component of this research concerns learner interactions with brief narrative literature (in fictive and non-fictive forms), giving learners the opportunity to step outside of limited worldviews, and thereby to gain intercultural competence via the experiencing of life, from the perspective of protagonists hailing from varying cultural backgrounds. This approach will henceforth be referred to as "Intercultural Competence through Literature" (ICL). The three key components of ICL are: 1) intercultural competence, 2) empathic perspective-taking, and 3) the use of narrative literature.

Intercultural competence (IC) refers to a broad set of skills, which include creativity, imagination, and critical thinking; and attitudes, such as toleration, openness, and interest towards members of cultural backgrounds differing from one's own. Building on research in the fields of cultural literacy and intercultural communication, the term *competence* in "intercultural competence" refers to the ability to communicate effectively and appropriately— not only across languages, but across cultures. Grounded in Hymes' (1972) ideas of communicative competence, wherein the ability to communicate amongst native speakers was determined to be dependent on their sociocultural understanding of the time, place, and manner in which to communicate, IC stresses the importance of cultivating a depth of cultural knowledge. Additionally, prosocial learner attitudes, which within the context of IC include interest, toleration and openness, contribute to the facilitation of successful interactions across cultures. This research defines *prosocial attitudes* as those attitudes which predispose a learner to engage in prosocial behavior, i.e. "voluntary, intentional behavior that results in benefits for another" (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987, p. 92). Within the context of IC, prosocial attitudes specifically refer to positive attitudes towards other cultures, including toleration, respect, openness, and curiosity, hereafter termed *pro-cultural attitudes*.

By way of introduction, although no unified definition of IC exists, certain aspects may be propitiously described. As Deardorff (2006) points out, IC refers to a transition through which a learner develops the ability to see the world as *relative* to culture, rather than as a reality grounded in one's native environment. There have been numerous attempts to model the process and development of IC; one of the earliest was adapted from Howell's four-stage model (1982): a learner moves from unconscious incompetence, to conscious incompetence, to conscious competence, to unconscious competence. In 1993, Bennett reframed this model to describe IC development as moving through *six* stages: from three stages of *ethnocentricm* (denial, defense and minimization), where the learner sees the world primarily through the lens of their culture, to three stages of *ethnorelativism* (acceptance, adaptation and integration),

where *the learner becomes capable of experiencing reality within the context of other cultures*. Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman (2003) later replaced the words "ethnocentric" and "ethnorelative" with "monocultural" and "intercultural." Each of these models remains influential, as each illustrates the primary focus of IC on developing cultural understanding, cognitive flexibility, and the ability to take-in or identify with a plurality of cultural perspectives.

Competent learners are capable of approaching challenges with creativity and imagination, and engaging in decision-making grounded in insights gained from *the ability to take multiple perspectives*. "Competent learners" can be defined as those equipped to participate in democratic societies, and of possessing the ability to cross geographic and cultural boundaries in order to collaboratively conceptualize solutions to issues of global concern. An ICL approach to facilitating the acquisition of intercultural competence involves a process through which learners come to acquire the creative and imaginative ability to understand and interact with *differences* (primarily, though not exclusively, cultural). Through this research, it will be shown that learners educated for intercultural competence through active engagement with literary narratives become more advantageously equipped to face novel challenges posed by an uncertain future.

In this dissertation, Chapter One introduces foundational concepts and precursors to the field of IC, presenting a range of definitions. Based upon a solid grasp of scholarly understandings of IC, influential models and modes of assessment are then introduced and analyzed. It will be demonstrated that: 1) the concept of empathy—largely overlooked—is critical to developing intercultural competence; 2) employing empathic perspective-taking is efficacious in developing pro-cultural attitudes as a prerequisite for competence; and that 3) by providing insight into the culture(s) underlying a target language, incorporating IC education into university EFL curricula will proactively increase communicative ability.

Competence through Empathy

The purpose of this section is to clarify the current state of research on the subject of empathy, and to present the specific manner in which this present research will employ the concept. (A Glossary of Terms can be found in Appendix A.)

The second core component of this research, *empathy*, has historically been a difficult term to define, in part due to its use within numerous fields (e.g., psychology, philosophy, neuroscience, etc.). The *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* summarizes the situation:

> It is important to emphasize that empathy is the topic of an ongoing interdisciplinary research project that has transcended the disciplinary and subdisciplinary boundaries, which have characterized empathy research so far. Specifically, the addition of a neuroscientific perspective has been crucial in recent years. Such interdisciplinarity has contributed to *overcoming the conceptual confusions hindering and unnecessarily compartmentalizing* the scientific study of empathy. (Stueber, 2013, "Conclusion," para. 1; emphasis added).

In moving away from the practice of partitioning various components and aspects of empathy into separate areas of inquiry, there has been a shift towards broader definitions that contain both affective (emotional) and cognitive (neuroscientific) aspects. The following definition of empathy by Davis (2018) is representative of recent thinking:

> Empathy is broadly defined as a set of constructs having to do with the responses of one individual to the experiences of another. These constructs specifically include *processes* taking place within the observer and the affective and non-affective *outcomes* which result from those processes. (p. 12)

Davis conceptualizes empathy as a single concept with many components and processes, capable of incorporating cognitive aspects, including *theory of mind* and *perspective-taking*, as well as affective components (e.g., *emotional contagion*, *emotional distress*, and *empathic concern*—to be later discussed).

The understanding of empathy has been further altered by advances in the study of *mirror neurons*—a type of brain cell that fires when an individual performs an action, and also when an individual *watches* someone perform the same action. The presence of mirror neurons suggests an underlying cause for why it is that we are able to recognize the emotional states of others simply by observing body language and facial expressions. Originally identified in macaque monkeys, it now seems likely that mirror neurons are present across species, potentially adding to the interdisciplinary corpus of empathy research.

Recognizing that empathy is a complex topical area, this research utilizes two specific aspects of the general concept in order to address the acquisition of intercultural competence in university learners: *perspective-taking* and *empathic concern*. These two aspects will next be discussed.

Perspective-taking, defined as "the cognitive capacity to consider the world from another individual's viewpoint" (Galinsky, Maddux, Gilin, & White, 2008, p. 378), relates to *cognitive empathy*, one of two major types of empathy (the other is affective empathy), which Goldie (2000) defines as a collection of processes "by which a person centrally imagines the *narrative* of another person" (p. 195). In referring to narrative, Goldie is indicating another's thoughts, feelings, and emotions. Perspective-taking may take many forms and involve multiple layers of difficulty (or "abstraction"), ranging from simple attempts at taking visual perspectives, such as standing inside a room with a window and imagining what a person would see from outside, to more complex cognitive tasks, such as imagining what another person thinks or believes—even another person's guess about what a third person thinks or believes (*cf.* Hodges & Myer, 2007).

Perspective-taking is an imaginative exercise, which according to *simulation theory* involves representing other peoples' mental states by adopting their perspective by "matching their states with resonant states of one's own" (Gallese & Goldman, 1998, p. 493). Engaging in perspective-taking involves an imaginative departure from one's own worldview into that of

another individual. In the context of ICL, the "others" are persons from culturally diverse backgrounds. Perspective-taking allows learners to gain critical cultural awareness *firsthand*. In this way, perspective-taking offers learners the opportunity to *step inside* another's culture and so to view the world from alternate orientations. This relational modality departs from didactic and direct methods of classroom training, wherein critical cultural awareness is encouraged through impersonal investigations of cultural difference.

The second aspect of empathy under purview—*empathic concern*— is considered a component of affective empathy, described by Hoffman (2000) as "the involvement of psychological processes that make a person have feelings that are more congruent with another's situation than with his own situation" (p. 30). Although many definitions of affective empathy posit that the emotions experienced by both parties are roughly equivalent, according to Hoffman's definition, it is not strictly required that the subject and target feel similar emotions for affective empathy to occur. A component of affective empathy, empathic concern is "an other-oriented emotional response elicited by and congruent with the perceived welfare of a person in need" (Batson, Eklund, Chermok, Hoyt, & Ortiz, 2007, p. 64), characterized by feelings of compassion and tenderness towards another's perceived distress or suffering.

Germane to this discussion is that the *cognitive act of perspective-taking* results in the elicitation of emotions in the taker.

Empathic concern represents a higher form of affective response, characterized by feelings of tenderness and compassion—this has been linked with a desire to engage in helping behavior. According to Hodges and Myer:

> Research consistently finds a positive correlation between how much empathic concern individuals report feeling for another person (or group of people) and their willingness to help those people, even when helping requires some sacrifice (e.g., time, effort, or money). (2007, p. 297)

Empathic concern results from the gaining of insight into another's mental and/or emotional

state *through taking their perspective*.

Empathic concern likewise presents the educator with a unique opportunity to develop positive attitudes toward members of other cultures. These are *pro-cultural attitudes*: that is, attitudes of toleration, respect, openness, and curiosity. Such attitudes are commonly regarded as prerequisites to the acquisition of intercultural competence. As will be demonstrated (through classroom research, discussed in Chapter Four), as learners take the perspectives of members of other cultures, the compassion and tenderness triggered may be employed in the fostering of *pro-cultural* attitudes that underscore the acquisition of intercultural competence.

This approach builds on research conducted by Batson, et al. (1997b) who found that "feeling empathy for a member of a stigmatized group can improve attitudes towards the groups as a whole [e.g., AIDS sufferers; the homeless]" (p. 105), and towards individuals suffering from drug addiction (Batson, Chang, Orr, and Rowland, 2002). Similar results regarding empathy have been reported in relation to racial prejudice (*cf.* Stephan & Finlay, 1999; Finlay & Stephan, 2000), as well as the function of empathy in changing attitudes towards environmental concerns (*cf.* Schultz, 2000; Berenguer, 2007).

Approaching attitude development through empathy addresses a pedagogical issue in the field of IC: how to *indirectly* foster pro-cultural attitudes in learners. Rather than the instructor attempting to directly foster positive attitudes through instruction, through personal (learner) discovery of other cultures pro-cultural attitudes are formed. By individually encountering cultural others in attempting to view the world through their perspectives, learners discover similarities in the human experience that allow them to understand and emotionally connect across cultures.

Previous research attempting to measure the effects of empathy on attitudes has employed a variety of media (advertisements, videos, news articles, etc.). By contrast, an ICL approach utilizes *literary narratives* through which the learner is encouraged to take on the perspectives of characters, written from the orientation of cultures foreign to the source culture.

This process is described in the following section.

A detailed discussion of empathy is presented in Chapter Two, which outlines contemporary empathy theory across disciplines (including philosophy, psychology, neuroscience, and ethology). Presented is an investigation of how researchers have attempted to teach empathy to learners, along with a brief survey of empathy instruments, in order to demonstrate: 1) that employing an empathy-centered approach develops learner faculties of imagination and cognitive flexibility; 2) that ICL is efficacious in developing critical cultural awareness of other/distant cultures through empathic encounter; and that 3) through engaging empathic concern, learners are able to autonomously acquire positive attitudes towards other cultures.

Empathy through Narrative

This section focuses on the specific manner in which empathy will be employed through narrative for the acquisition of IC in the classroom. According to Suzanne Keen (2013), narrative empathy is "the sharing of feeling and perspective-taking induced by reading, viewing, hearing, or imagining narratives of another's situation and condition" ("narrative empathy," para 1). Understood in this way, the act of reading engages multiple aspects of empathy, including both cognitive and emotional aspects (i.e., perspective-taking and empathic concern).

Psychologists have endeavored to understand the nature of reader-interaction with literary texts. Green and Brock (2000) posit that the effects of fiction on the reader directly relate to *reader transportation*, which they define as "a convergent process, where all mental systems and capacities become focused on events occurring in the narrative" (p. 701). The transported reader experiences a high degree of internal imagery, with the degree of transportation serving as an accurate predictor of the emotional impact of the story.

In considering reader transportation, University of Toronto psychologist Keith Oatley (1999) has suggested that transportation through fiction-reading simulates real-world problems,

resulting in real consequences for the reader. Together with psychologist Raymond Mar, Mar and Oatley (2008) have proposed a comprehensive theory: reading narrative fiction facilitates a reader's ability to take the perspectives of literary characters, *resulting in simulated social experiences* (*cf.* Mar, Oatley, Hirsh, dela Paz, Peterson, 2006; Bal and Veltkamp, 2013; Oatley, 2016). Such simulation involves the reader experiencing thoughts and feelings consistent with those of characters in stories; in consequence, readers process events as though they actually occurred. Oatley (2016) insists that "both fiction and everyday consciousness are based on simulations of the social world; thus, *reading a work of fiction can be thought of as taking in a piece of consciousness*" (p. 618; emphasis added). Steven Pinker (2004) has also promoted the value of fiction for perspective-taking:

> By project[ing] yourself into the lives of people of different times and places and races, in a way that wouldn't spontaneously occur to you, fiction can force you into the perspective of a person unlike yourself, who might otherwise seem subhuman. (p48)

Building on Mar and Oatley's (2008) work, this research seeks to facilitate learner engagement in perspective-taking with literary characters, in order to gain knowledge and insight into other cultures through *simulated interaction*. IC education typically emphasizes interactions between physically present individuals of differing cultural backgrounds for cultural understanding, with outcomes largely dependent on the intrinsic quality of such encounters. By contrast, an ICL approach facilitates intimate encounters through interactions with literary characters; in addition to minimizing learner stress, an ICL approach makes use of carefully selected narratives, organized for consistent educational outcomes.

Learner interaction with literature has also been shown to elicit *affective components of empathy in readers*. The act of reading is a complex cerebral process, revealed through fMRI scans to activate specific areas of the brain (*cf.* Price, 2012). Included in this process is the amygdala, which performs a primary role in generating an emotional response, leading to the supposition that, through reading, this area "may be activated as the narrative text evokes

emotional responses to the protagonist and other characters" (Xu, Kemeny, Park, Frattali, and Braun, 2005, p. 1012; emphasis added).

There is reason to believe that this elicited emotional response includes empathic concern—(the second aspect of empathy employed in this study) as Oatley (1999) has postulated that character identification through reading fiction results in empathic concern, as both reader and character experience the events in the story *together*. He maintains that repeated reader/character interactions help the reader "practice" the act of generating concern. Rather than a fleeting emotion, experienced and forgotten, in certain settings this mode of experience results in lasting impressions (*cf*. Mar, Oatley, Hirsh, Dela Paz, & Peterson, 2006; Mar, Oatley, & Peterson 2009).

Adding weight to this argument are various studies in which literary reading has been correlated with elevated scores on empathy instruments. Mar et al. (2006) concluded that for long-term readers of fiction, "the tendency to become absorbed in a story also predicted empathy scores" (p. 694). In seeking to verify the results of Mar's team, Johnson (2012) studied direct and immediate responses to reading a fictional story; he found that "participants who were more transported into the story exhibited higher affective empathy and were more likely to engage in prosocial behavior" (p. 150).

This present research seeks to *foster pro-cultural attitudes* (e.g., toleration, respect, openness, curiosity); these attitudes functionally underscore successful encounters with culturally diverse persons. In order to foster such attitudes, there must first be some assurance that literature is up to the task. As readers are transported into narratives, empathy towards the characters is triggered through reader transportation and perspective-taking; in this way, experiences between reader and the protagonist(s) of the story become shared. Frank Hakemulder (2000; 2004; 2008a) insists that, experienced through reading, empathy (primarily, empathic concern), stimulates the formation of a "habitual empathic attitude towards fellow humans" (2000, p. 154). Similarly, Hoffman (1981; 1982; 1987; 2000; 2001) promotes the idea

that reading literature stimulates prosocial moral motivation. As this recent research indicates, empathy in the context of reading tends to result in an increase of positive (pro-social, pro-cultural) attitudes towards diverse others. Narrative literature thus represents an efficacious vehicle for promoting intercultural competence in the university curriculum.

In particular, the phenomenon of reader transportation works to draw learners into close interactions with members of other cultures—not only to share their perspectives, but also to *live their experiences through simulation*. This results in a first-hand understanding of other cultural orientations, an imaginative discovery of conceptual worlds, and the concomitant affective experiencing of life as "other" individuals. In experiencing life through the eyes of other cultures, learners develop attitudes foundational to acquiring intercultural competency.

Developing Creativity through Narrative Literature

The *narrative voice* possesses the power to transport learners into, and thereby identify with, the lives of fictional and non-fictional characters—to suffer as they suffer; to exalt in their triumphs and thus to empathize with their suffering and challenges. To discover (with them) heretofore hidden aspects of the human experience.

Stories surround our every waking moment—in news reports, TV commercials, and in literature. Roland Barthes (1975) summarizes this universality of storytelling: "there is not, there has never been anywhere, any people without narrative; all classes, all human groups, have their stories" (p. 237). As a vehicle through which we convey desire, fear, passion, and hope, narrative may be more than enjoyable pastime or escape; it is the medium through which a depth of human experience can be expressed. A brief example is the following flash-fiction excerpt from *Butterfly Forever*, by Taiwanese author Chen Qiyou:

> I open my eyes and remain standing under the balcony, blankly, my eyes filled with hot tears. All the cars in the entire world have stopped. People rush to the middle of the road. Nobody knows the one that lies on the road there is mine, my butterfly. At

this moment she is only five meters away from me, yet it is so far away. Bigger raindrops fall onto my glasses, splashing into my life.

Why? Why did we bring only one umbrella? (2015, pp. 120-121)

What might appear in a local newspaper under the bald headline of "Woman Struck and Killed by Car," becomes a window into the intense pain of a man, robbed of the one he loves, left to grapple with an unanswerable and unknowable "Why?" It is possible to see in this example that through immersion in the protagonist's story, narrative literature has the ability to rapidly bring the reader face-to-face with unfamiliar aspects of corporeal existence, and further, provide a window into the panoply of cultural heterogeneity present in the world. Plenitudes of the human condition may be explored, allowing us to ask (as with the protagonist in the above story), how *we* would react to witnessing the loss of a loved one on a rainy Taiwan street.

Well-written short stories condense and intensify moments of action, emotion and meaning into forceful and accessible narrative experiences. As to why this is so, the noted author Ali Smith, in an interview with *The Independent*, explains: "short stories consume you faster…. With the short story, you are up against mortality" (Akbar, 2012, para 24). According to acclaimed novelist Neil Gaiman, the workings of short prose are comparable to the act of a magician: "A short story is the ultimate close-up magic trick—a couple of thousand words to take you around the universe or break your heart" (qtd. in Poeltl, 2015). American essayist and writer Dinty W. Moore concurs:

> What I love about exceptionally brief stories is the way that they often bring me to a point of recognition in a paragraph or two, and then leave me there, absolutely suspended. There is no gentle letdown, no winding down, no expulsion of air—just that wonderful moment. (qtd. in Thomas, Shapard, & Merrill, 2015, p. 227)

Though the medium of short stories, *brevity* becomes a powerful force—a potency which Chekhov referred to as "the sister of talent" (1924, p. 170). Unlike lengthier prose, the

minimalistic style of effective short stories compels them to be impactful in a fraction of the time necessary to complete long-form reading. Ernest Hemingway (1932) describes this effect:

> If a writer of prose knows enough of what he is writing about he may omit things that he knows and the reader, if the writer is writing truly enough, will have a feeling of those things as strongly as though the writer had stated them. The dignity of movement of an iceberg is due to only one-eighth of it being above water. (p. 192)

In the hands of a skilled writer, the brevity which defines short prose becomes a powerful force that can strike directly at the heart of those subjects and experiences of concern to the story. For this reason, well-written short narratives and the enjoyment gained from their reading are expedient in learning environments, as they enable the reader to enter alternate worldviews with minimal time and effort.

In advancing their "narrative transportation" theory, Green, Strange and Brock (2002) proposed that readers engrossed in a story experience attitudinal changes which reflect the tenor of what they have read—a concept also applied by Adaval, Isbell, and Wyer (2007) to demonstrate that transportation into a story—as distinguished from a series of sentences in non-narrative form—is connected with *changes in cognitive and affective empathy that inform reader belief*.

In addition to psychological theory, transportation into literary narratives has been demonstrated in the field of neuroscience (*cf.* Speer, Reynolds, Swallow, & Zacks, 2009), which has provided insight into ongoing neurological functions as we read fiction. In a study involving 28 participants, each subject was connected to an fMRI scanner, after which each was asked to read a short story presented a-word-at-a-time on a screen. The researchers found that as each participant read, brain regions were activated that indicated that they themselves, rather than the character in the story, were *performing* the action. This result reinforces what psychologists such as Keith Oatley (2011a) have long asserted: the brain responds to narrative literature as though the reader—together with the character—*acts* and *feels* in the story. In the

preface to *Such Stuff as Dreams: The Psychology of Fiction*, Oatley, basing his conclusions on 20 years of research, writes:

> [F]iction is a kind of simulation, one that runs not on computers but on minds: a simulation of selves in their interactions with others in the social world. This is what Shakespeare and others called a dream. (p. viii)

In addition to evoking feelings in the reader through connections with characters, narratives make use of *literary foregrounding*, in which certain aspects of a narrative are brought into relief with others minimized, with *deautomization*, the use of unusual syntax and collocations utilized, necessitating the reader to reduce reading speed in order to process the text. Both literary foregrounding and deautomization promote imaginative *defamiliarization* (Miall & Kuiken, 1994): the characteristic of a narrative to cause cognitive disruption in response to which the reader must expend effort in order to process and interpret (i.e., *refamiliarize*). According to Miall and Kuiken, defamiliarization in narratives work to create the cognitive space in readers necessary for contemplation and self-reflection.

The stimulative effects of reading literature have been well documented. Berns, Blaine, Prietula, and Pye (2013) asked undergraduates to read the novel *Pompeii*, by Robert Harris over the course of nine days, with each reading performed in the evening. This was followed by a content quiz and an fMRI scan the following day. Results included heightened connectivity in the left temporal cortex—indicating stimulation in areas of the brain associated with language reception, demonstrating the degree to which regular reading of literature activates the brain.

Not all *narrative mediums* are equal; Takeuchi et al (2015) studied the effects of television viewing on 276 children and found that the long-term effect of TV-watching included negative effects on verbal intelligence, verbal competence, increased aggression, and decreased physical activity. Active imagination in a text provides a stark contrast to passive reception.

In Chapter Three is presented a survey of narrative literature, addressing concepts of narrative empathy and reader empathy. Specific attention is paid to scholarly research concerning the mechanisms though which narrative stimulates emotional empathy (i.e., empathic concern), and the use of narrative in expanding aspects related to cognitive empathy (i.e., perspective-taking). This discussion will be followed by an exposition of the efficacy of narrative literature in stimulating and expanding the faculties of reader imagination.

A Multidisciplinary Approach

An ICL approach is essentially multidisciplinary in nature. The practice of employing narrative literature to engage in perspective-taking is present, for instance, in the field of medicine. Understanding that the young physician who lacks empathy for their patients delivers sub-optimal health care, educators in the field of medicine have turned to narrative literature to enable young caregivers the opportunity to experience alternate states of health, ability, and age through engagement with protagonists in literary narratives. Research conducted by Shapiro, Morrison, and Boker (2004), Halpern (2001), and Charon (2006), demonstrate the efficacy of narrative in raising empathy within this professional population. As well, educators have long struggled to help health-workers-in-training gain insight into the lives of their prospective charges. A principal challenge experienced by educators in medicine involves the disparity between the health and life experiences of young trainees, and by contrast that of the debilitated, disabled, and elderly persons whom they are preparing to serve, who often come from diverse cultural backgrounds.

Psychology is another field in which narrative literature for empathic development has been extensively investigated. Recent research has demonstrated the correlation, long theorized, between the reading of literature and positive impacts on empathy and social competence (*cf.* Howe, 2013). Testing the effect of narrative literature in various empathy instruments, psychology researchers have found a direct correlation between the repeated/ongoing reading

of narratives and elevated empathy scores (*cf.* Johnson, 2012; Bal & Veltkamp, 2013; Mar, Tackett, & Moore, 2010; Kidd & Castano, 2013). As in the field of medicine, the empathic therapist is more successful in psychotherapeutic treatment than one who is unable to take on the perspective of a client.

As above illustrated, exposure to narrative literature enables learners in the fields of medicine and psychology to imaginatively view the world from the perspectives of literary protagonists, whose physical and mental conditions (and often, situations) closely resemble that of the individuals with whose care they will be entrusted. Empathic engagement with literary characters engenders a deeper understanding of the condition and needs of others that, combined with prosocial attitudes of toleration and curiosity, assist in their development as healthcare workers and therapists.

Employing a multidisciplinary approach, the strength of ICL rests in its ability to draw on a wide range of research to create a new curricular approach. Just as the understanding of empathy put forward here is informed by concepts from psychology, neuroscience, and ethology, the pedagogical application of literature for the development of learner empathy is grounded in research from multiple fields. Resting on a foundation of scientific knowledge ensures that an ICL approach to curricular development can provide practical pedagogical solutions that can be applied and tested. As part of this process, Chapter Three surveys educational strategies involving the use of narratives in the field of medicine to demonstrate the manner in which narrative has been specifically employed to engender empathy in learners.

Reflection through Narrative

The concluding aspect of this research addresses the pedagogical utility of learner engagement in the reflective examination of narrative, as a means of amplifying the efficacy of perspective-taking through reader transportation. Reflective examination involves returning to the text of a narrative in order to analyze the narrative construct and underlying cultural

factors; it likewise refers to the reader act of looking inward to consider one's own thoughts and feelings as one takes the perspectives of literary characters. Facilitating reflection—in the forms of self-answer questioning, and group discussion—concerns the verification (through qualitative research) of the degree to which a reader becomes engaged. This aspect deserves careful consideration, as it is imperative that some degree of *transportation* occur for readers, so that they are able to derive the full benefit of perspective-taking through narrative. If learners fail to interact with a story, the value of perspective-taking will largely be lost, necessitating additional or divergent strategies to encourage active engagement. Having learners reflect on narratives addresses this issue. Reflective exercises encourage readers to return to a text to further engage in perspective-taking; such interactive classroom-based practices amplify the degree to which a reader is transported.

The use of reflective exercises addresses the issue of how to encourage learners to engage in empathy. Interestingly, educational attempts to *didactically* inform university learners of the importance of empathizing with others has elicited unfavorable reactions, as seen in the research of Henry-Tillman, Deloney, Savidge, Graham, and Klimberg (2002), who measured the effects of a class for medical learners in which they were directly informed of the benefits of increased empathy towards patients. The study found that learners responded negatively to exhortations to "be more empathic," with some expressing resentment at the inference that they were somehow lacking in empathy; this group of learners considered injunctions to be "good people" as patronizing and condescending.

If learners cannot be *overtly* directed to empathize, they must be encouraged in other ways. Doing so involves providing learners with the opportunity to re-engage with what they have read, by asking them to 1) identify what characters think and how they feel, and 2) analyze cultural factors influencing character behavior. These are process-considerations leading learners to imagine how they would feel, behave, and act in place of the characters in the read narratives. A final exercise involves 3) learners sharing their conclusions with others, thus

allowing for exposure to aspects and interpretations of the narrative to which they may not have been aware. This group-collaborative approach borrows from a corpus of psychological studies where researchers, such as Ornaghi, Brockmeier and Grazzani (2014), found that including *post-reading exercises significantly raised empathy scores*, when compared with a control group that engaged in a non-reflective exercise following the reading. Discussing their findings, the researchers stated:

> The [post-reading exercise] group outperformed the control group on emotion comprehension, theory of mind, and empathy, and the positive training outcomes for emotion understanding remained stable over 6 months. (p. 26)

Arguing against the assertion that reading alone is sufficient for altering reader attitudes and behaviors, Keen (2007) comments:

> [T]hough novel reading certainly involves role-taking imagination, for novels to change attitudes about others and inspire prosocial action requires more than just reading…. [Research] reveals that the development of social and moral understanding requires *discussion*. (p. 146)

While Oatley (2011a; 2011b; 2016) has proposed that the act of reading literature does itself constitute a form of perspective-taking, all learners cannot be expected to *automatically* engage in empathic interaction with a given narrative. As such, repeated engagement with the story through post-reading exercises provides learners with maximal opportunities to enter into deep engagement with literary characters.

Combining the theoretical analyses from Chapters One, Two, and Three, Chapter Four demonstrates how an ICL approach may be practically implemented in the university classroom. ICL theory in a real-life educational setting will be shown as efficacious in the EFL classroom—the teaching environment under study (included are examples of materials and post-reading exercise questions). The efficacy of ICL pedagogy will also be discussed in light of results from two experimental classes conducted. Chapter four concludes with a detailed

proposal for a new curricular approach, grounded in the results of subject survey instruments,

subject feedback, and instructor observations.

Chapter One: Intercultural Competence through Empathy

Introduction

Chapter One of this dissertation presents the concept of *intercultural competence* (IC), the first component essential to developing an Intercultural Competence through Literature (ICL) educational approach. To gain a comprehensive understanding of IC, this chapter will employ a literature review to survey ideas foundational to the field, and that have contributed to the emergence of IC as an independent discipline. These include: 1) cultural literacy, 2) intercultural literacy, and 3) intercultural communication. With an understanding of these three main precursors underscoring IC, definitions, models, and methods of learner-assessment will next be presented. The chapter then turns to the subject of how *empathy*—the second component of ICL—is understood within the IC field. It will be argued that empathy is a poorly-defined concept, despite its prominence in IC literature; the problem here is that contradictory conceptualizations regarding the nature and function of empathy have resulted in an under-appreciation of its practical pedagogical applications, as regards fostering IC in learners. The chapter will conclude by presenting a new understanding of empathy.

Literature Review 1: Cultural Literacy

Cultural literacy is a term coined by E.D. Hirsch in his 1980 article *Culture and Literacy*, and further discussed in his *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know* (1988). For Hirsch, cultural literacy, or "knowledge of what others know" (1980, p. 34), refers to the degree to which a given population can share a common canon of knowledge; as corollary, the degree of prolixity (brevity) in communication being directly proportional to the degree to which communicants share cultural knowledge.[i] Hirsch argues that just as speakers require a degree of shared language with which to transmit meaning, a degree of *shared cultural knowledge* is also required for the effective interaction between members of a culture. In Hirsch's view, the ability of members of a given community to communicate meaning

(e.g., give directions, gossip, etc.) with a minimal degree of explanation is enabled by the existence of a shared corpus of knowledge. Two individuals can only engage in effective communication when they both possess the same cultural knowledge, and therefore, a culturally literate person is one who possesses the requisite cultural knowledge for effective communication with other members of the same group. For Hirsch, culturally literate individuals are at an advantage because they can communicate with less effort—and greater mutual understanding—than interlocutors possessing lesser degrees of shared cultural knowledge.

Hirsch considered differences in reading-ability between younger and older children to be due primarily to the older children possessing greater cultural knowledge—rather than to discrepancies in the *amount* of acquired language. He argued that the more a learner knew about their culture, the higher their reading ability would be—an idea which led him to criticize the trend of pluralism in the school curriculum, claiming that it failed to provide children with a sufficient degree of shared information, in order for them to become literate in their own culture. Hirsch's ideas on education were not universally shared, and his call for increased standardization, or *canonization*, of the American curriculum (which relied heavily on classical and European materials) was criticized as overly conservative, with some suggesting that his analogy to cultural literacy had been over-extended (e.g., House, Emmer, & Lawrence, 1991). Nonetheless, Hirsch's concept of cultural literacy is significant to the field of IC: In conceiving of effective communication as being underscored by cultural knowledge, Hirsch argued for the development of curricula that effectively transmitted important cultural knowledge. As will be shown, compositional models of IC necessarily place a high importance on learner-cultivation of cultural knowledge for effective communication in the contexts of other cultures.

Literature Review 2: Intercultural Literacy

Hirsch's assertion concerning the importance of shared cultural knowledge has been

influential in promoting the belief that foreign-language education should extend beyond the study of language to include culture, an idea expressed in the twin concepts of *intercultural literacy* and *intercultural communication*.

While cultural literacy emphasizes the importance of shared cultural knowledge for interactions between members of the *same* culture, researchers and educators in foreign-language education increasingly recognize the importance of cultural knowledge in interactions between members of *different* cultures. Representative of this view are Genc and Bada (2005), who assert that poor outcomes in language learners often result from a lack of cultural knowledge of both the native (source) culture and the target language. Such conclusions underscore a general push to incorporate cultural components into foreign-language curricula, in order to ensure that communicative ability is supported by requisite cultural knowledge (Genc & Bada, 2005). Doing so promotes intercultural literacy in learners; it also promotes communicative ability, informed and supported by cultural understanding.

In contrast to Hirsch's straightforward conceptualization of cultural literacy, definitions of intercultural literacy have come to denote far more than simple collections of static information that language learners should come to possess. Exemplary of this expanded perspective is Heyward (2002), who defines intercultural literacy as "the competencies, understandings, attitudes, language proficiencies, participation and identities necessary for effective cross-cultural engagement" (p. 9). For Heyward, the interculturally literate learner is one who applies cultural information to gain an understanding of interlocutors from other cultures—with this understanding supported by communicative ability and positive cultural attitudes.

The idea of intercultural literacy has proven foundational to the concept of intercultural competence. A comprehensive examination of IC follows in a later section; it suffices here to note that Heyward's concept of intercultural literacy—that the literate learner possesses a

combination of skills, knowledge, and attitudes—closely corresponds to elements found in definitions of IC. In fact, the tendency to equate intercultural *literacy* with intercultural *competence* is illustrated by researchers such as Savić (2013), who employs these two terms interchangeably. For the purposes of this research, it can be noted that field of IC has integrated important aspects of intercultural literacy as core concepts.

Literature Review 3: Intercultural Communication

Intercultural communication (ICC) is another set of concepts which has influenced the field of IC. Intercultural communication is not an independent academic discipline, but rather a subject of investigation and development across numerous fields (e.g., education; communication studies, management science, behavioral psychology). The concept of ICC can be traced back to Hall (1959), who coined the phrase in his book, *The Silent Language* (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1990). Hall focused on the non-verbal aspects of communication, in particular on *proxemics*[ii]—cultural perceptions and uses of social and personal space (e.g., seating arrangements)—and *chronemics*[iii]—how cultures use time. It is this focus on non-verbal aspects of communication that differentiates ICC from concepts of literacy; ICC concepts remain influential in foreign-language learning and theory.

Trained as an anthropologist, Hall worked in the Foreign Service Institute, where he trained members of the U.S. State Department for service overseas. Hall and his colleagues developed a curriculum for ICC, which Rogers, Hart, and Miike (2002) outline:

1. A focus on communication, rather than on macro-level monocultural study.

2. Instruction in nonverbal communication.

3. An emphasis on the out-of-awareness level of information-exchange (primarily, but not exclusively relating to nonverbal communication).

4. A non-judgmental approach to communication accepting of cultural differences (reflecting perspectives from Hall's anthropological research and training).

5. Participatory (active) training methods (simulation games, role-playing, other participant-involving experimental methods).

6. A highly applied type of training, intended to ameliorate the lack of skills of U.S. American diplomats and development technicians. (pp. 10-11)

Hall's curricular approach contains concepts that have been transmitted into, expanded, and taught as part of communication studies in universities and colleges into the present (Hart, 1996). Drawing upon the six themes shown just above, with regards to the field of IC, the following concepts have been incorporated: 1) a belief that culture should be examined from the perspective of its members, 2) an interest in identifying and understanding the relationship between non-verbal aspects of culture and their manifestation in communicative patterns, and 3) a commitment to engendering non-judgmental (positive) attitudes in learners.

Another ICC concept that has influenced IC is *cultural empathy*. Defined as "the capacity to clearly project an interest in others, as well as to obtain and to consider a reasonable, complete and accurate sense of another's thoughts, feelings, and/or experiences" (Ruben, 1976, p. 340), this concept involves demonstrating sensitivity and consideration for cultural differences, and an understanding and care for people from differing cultural backgrounds. While influential, the concept of cultural empathy has been the source of confusion in IC, a subject to be taken up later in this chapter.

Intercultural communication has attracted significant academic interest, resulting in a variety of definitional understandings. In its simplest sense it is "the exchange of information between individuals who are unalike culturally" (Rogers & Steinfatt, 1999, p. 1). As such, ICC has traditionally focused on differences in linguistic behavior between cultures through analysis of *intercultural situations*: interactive encounters between individuals sharing different cultural backgrounds. Examining intercultural situations facilitates an understanding of the ways in which culture influences actions, feelings, thoughts, and communication (Dodd, 1991). ICC curricula typically facilitate analyses of intercultural situations, in order to promote

learner understanding of cultural perceptions (beliefs, values, attitudes, worldview), cognition patterns, verbal and non-verbal behaviors, and context/situational factors differentiating communication styles from one culture to another.

While it might be argued that a focus on understanding non-verbal communication and the ways in which culture influences communication patterns are present in definitions and models of IC, *perception*—the ability to perceive what members of other cultures think and feel from *their* perspective—remains primary, and is central to this research. Sercu's (2005) definition of ICC as "the ability to see the world through the others' eyes," as well as "the willingness to engage with foreign culture" (p. 2) mirrors this concept in IC literature. That is, *it is important to view the world through alternate perspectives.* Definitions of ICC have also contributed to a focus on learner attitudes in IC, with Fantini and Tirmizi (2006) offering a salient understanding: ICC refers to those "abilities needed to perform effectively and appropriately when interacting with others who are linguistically and culturally different from oneself" (p. 12). As will be discussed, the question of what abilities learners need, and the manner in which these abilities may be developed, are important subjects in the field of IC.

As the world in which Hall wrote *The Silent Language* has changed considerably, so has the scope of ICC education. Globalization and increased global awareness has prompted instructors and academics to argue for a greater educational role for ICC curricula, including the promotion of multiculturalism, and the fostering of global citizenship. In the introduction to the 2010 (18th) edition of *Intercultural Communication: A Reader* (1972), McDaniel, Samovar, and Porter comment on the value of ICC:

> As tides of immigrants and refugees continue to arrive in the United States and other developed nations, we will be confronted with increased cultural diversity. If we are to continue to assert that cultural diversity is a valuable, desirable asset and embrace the concept of a global village, we must quickly learn to accept and tolerate the resulting differences…[As] a means of better preparing you for life in the global village, which

will require frequent interactions with people who experience the world differently

from you, we do hope to stimulate thought and discussion about the advantages and

difficulties of multiculturalism and the need for effective intercultural communication.

(p. 17)

The above understanding of the utility of ICC education within a global context represents a

conceptual broadening, compared to the more limited objectives of Hall's earlier intercultural

communication training program for government personnel. Under the influence of ICC

curricula, IC literature has evolved to reflect an interest in providing education that promotes

multiculturalism, and prepares learners for global participation.

Although ICC curricula typically contain many aspects that are shared with IC (e.g., the

promotion of critical cultural awareness; an emphasis on acquiring cultural knowledge, and the

fostering of positive attitudes towards culture), ICC should be regarded as distinct in two

important ways. First, ICC was developed to meet the practical communicative needs of

government workers involved in overseas work, and has thus always focused on developing an

understanding of those cultural factors which influence language, for the purpose of

communication. This is reflected in many popular definitions of ICC, such as that provided by

Ting-Toomey and Chung (2005): "the symbolic exchange process whereby individuals from

two (or more) different cultural communities negotiate shared meanings in an interactive

situation" (p. 39). As this definition makes clear, the goals of ICC education are primarily aimed

at educating learners for the successful transmission of meaning in intercultural situations. As

such, the field seeks to provide understandings of those verbal and non-verbal factors involved

in communication across cultures. By contrast, IC theory places a greater emphasis on

developing abilities and positive attitudes to effectively experience and understand culture.

The second difference between ICC and IC relates to the scope of learner development.

As has been shown, though ICC literature references goals of multiculturalism and global

citizenship, from its inception with Hall, ICC has chiefly concerned itself with developing

practical communicative proficiencies in learners. By contrast, in concentrating on learner *competencies*, IC paradigms have consistently placed a strong emphasis on *developing curricula for the promotion of personal growth and global participation*. In this way, IC curricular goals go beyond the development of linguistic proficiency.

The concepts of cultural literacy, intercultural literacy, and ICC have been surveyed for two reasons. First, as scholarship in these areas largely predates the emergence of IC, a detailed discussion allows for a greater understanding of the degree to which IC is intellectually indebted to concepts of literacy and intercultural communication. It is no exaggeration to assert that without theory and practice in these areas, IC could not have evolved to its present form. A second reason for addressing concepts of literacy and ICC relates to the historical manner in which they developed. Hirsch's emphasis on the necessity of canonical cultural information, shared by all members, now seems out of place with current attempts to educate issues of diversity and inclusion. Moreover, the creation of any canon represents an improbable undertaking of debatable value, considering the ceaseless demographic changes occurring through immigration, within many societies. Hall's methods for educating government officials for work overseas would find little purchase in a globally-connected world where IT technologies and software solutions have succeeded in addressing most of the basic, practical communicative needs that a foreigner abroad might face. Consequently, presenting discussions that interweave the subject-concerns of literacy, intercultural literacy, and ICC, allow us to consider the trajectory of thought in communication studies—from an emphasis on developing communicative proficiency in specific situations, to a desire to provide learners with the understandings and skills required to succeed in a world in which positive intercultural interaction is prerequisite for success. While IC education aims at facilitating linguistic proficiency, the triune manner in which it seeks to do so—through learner development of critical cultural awareness, cultural understanding, and positive cultural attitudes—closely aligns with the primary objective of this research: an educational pedagogy that fosters

curricular designs addressing learner creativity, personal growth and cognitive flexibility, as a means of promoting successful global participation.

Deciphering Intercultural Competence

The following sections provide a comprehensive survey of the concept of intercultural competence by investigating the following areas:

1) Definitions of intercultural competence.

2) Models of intercultural competence.

3) Assessment and measurement in intercultural competence.

Defining intercultural competence.

In each decade from the 1980's, there has occurred exponential growth in intercultural-competence research (Pillar, 2011). Considering this phenomenon, it is important to address the matter of why *competence*, rather than communication, has come to prominence.

Impetus for the growth in intercultural competency studies has been spurred by migration trends, which have been expanding at historical rates (United Nations, 2016), pushing people from differing cultural backgrounds into ever-closer proximity. As well, global connectedness regarding information, goods, and services increasingly facilitates economic interaction across cultural boundaries—demonstrated for instance by the total value of U.S. exports in 2016 at USD $2.1 trillion—roughly double then that seen at the turn of the century (Department of Commerce, 2017). Considering these trends, the perceived need for individuals and organizations to interact competently with members and groups in other cultures continues to grow in importance.

While the emergence of the field of IC is a response to this need, efforts to define IC have resulted in numerous competing conceptualizations (Deardorff, 2006). Spitzberg and Changnon (2009) outline the various learning outcomes associated with IC education: "satisfaction (e.g., communication satisfaction, relational satisfaction, relational quality),

effectiveness (e.g., goal achievement, efficiency, institutional success, negotiation success), and appropriateness (e.g., legitimacy, acceptance, assimilation)" being cornerstones (p. 6). The authors also note that a common approach to conceptualizing competence has been to equate it with "a set of abilities or skills" (p. 6).

Spitzberg and Changnon identify a consequence of conceptual confusion in IC: that it has resulted in confusion regarding how it should be assessed in learners, with measurement of competency being "a subjective evaluative impression" (p. 6). That the word "subjective," is employed here is relevant, as unlike communicative proficiency, which may be evaluated objectively through standardized testing, determining what IC is and deciding the degree to which learners have acquired it involves considerable flexibility, as at present no consensus exists as to how IC learners should be assessed (*cf.* Fantini, 2009; Deardorff, 2011).

One way of conceptualizing IC is as an extension of the concept of *communicative competence*, a term coined by Dell Hymes in response to Chomsky's (1965) idea of *linguistic competence*.[iv] Discussing competence in children, Hymes (1972) defined communicative competence as follows:

> [A child] acquires knowledge of sentences not only as grammatical, but also as appropriate. He or she acquires competence as to when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, where, and in what manner. In short, a child becomes able to accomplish a repertoire of speech acts, to take part in speech acts, and to evaluate their accomplishment by others. (p. 277)

Here, Hymes is referring to the language-development of children in shared communicative contexts; however, within the field of communication studies, his concept has been adapted to focus on considerations relating to communication between members of differing languages. As a result, intercultural competency refers to the ability of an interlocutor of one communicative competence (CC_1) to both convey and understand information with an interlocutor (CC_2) whose communicative competence differs. More than simply referring to

the ability to convey and accept messages, Hymes saw the competent user as one who understands the appropriate (i.e., acceptable) time, place, and manner (context) in which to communicate. Hymes' ideas have been used in definitions of IC, such as Deardorff's (2009): that IC is "the presence of CC_1 and the development of CC_2 and, in addition, the insights that derive from now being in a position to compare and contrast both" (p. 458). Similarly, Wiseman (2002) asserts that IC involves the ability to behave (verbally and non-verbally) in order to "accomplish social functions, obtain personal goals, and to conform to the normative expectations of the situation" (p. 210). In this sense, assisting learners in acquiring intercultural competence involves not only fostering an understanding of culturally-acceptable speech and behavior in the context of another culture, but also a realization that the norms and values that determine what is appropriate vary from culture to culture. Therefore, acquiring IC involves an expansion of communicative competences through both *behavioral and cognitive transformation*.

The confused state of IC has previously been referenced; as the field has expanded, so has the call for definitional consensus, such as Lapointe (1994), who indicated that consensus was necessary for further progress definitional constructs and compositional models. At present, the most comprehensive attempt at developing a unified understanding of IC (and its components) has been undertaken by Deardorff (2006), who employed the Delphi technique (an iterative process used to achieve consensus among a panel of experts) to conduct a study that included 24 U.S. postsecondary institutions, each of which was given nine scholarly definitions of intercultural competence. Results of the study revealed that the only concept to receive 100% agreement as a definitional component of IC, was that IC involved "understanding others' worldviews" (2006, p. 249). Additionally, the study revealed the following additional definitions of IC that received over 80% agreement among top intercultural scholars:

- Ability to communicate effectively and appropriately in intercultural situations

based on one's intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes.

- Ability to shift frame of reference appropriately and adapt behavior to cultural context; adaptability, expandability, and flexibility of one's frame of reference/filter.

- Ability to identify behaviors guided by culture and engage in new behaviors in other cultures even when behaviors are unfamiliar given a person's own socialization.

- Behaving appropriately and effectively in intercultural situations based on one's knowledge, skills, and motivation.

- Ability to achieve one's goals to some degree through constructive interaction in an intercultural context.

- Good interpersonal skills exercised interculturally; the sending and receiving of messages that are accurate and appropriate.

- Transformational process toward enlightened global citizenship that involves intercultural adroitness (behavioral aspect focusing on communication skills), intercultural awareness (cognitive aspect of understanding cultural differences), and intercultural sensitivity (focus on positive emotion toward cultural difference).

 (Deardorff; 2006, p. 249)

Although definitions in the above list tend to overlap, they are illustrative of the diversity present in the field, and one can observe several recurring themes. First, all participants agreed that IC involved gaining an understanding of how others think and feel. Second, the majority of scholars concurred that IC involves the learner shifting worldviews. Third, multiple definitions (as presented above) indicate that IC involves a combination of intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes. Finally, it is significant that over 80% of participants agreed that acquiring IC is *a transformational process facilitating global citizenship*. This transformation has been incorporated into various IC developmental models, and involves the learner progressing from an orientation (i.e., worldview) in which other cultures are understood and judged from the perspective of one's own culture, to an orientation from which learners

understand that their beliefs and behaviors are but one reality among many viable possibilities (Bennett, 2004).

In addition to the above definitions, Deardorff (2006) presented a list of specific components of IC that received between 80 to 100% scholarly agreement. These can be organized into four categories: *abilities, skills, knowledge,* and *attitudes*.

Abilities

- to understand other's worldviews

- to understand the value of cultural diversity;

- to understand the role and impact of situational, social, and historical contexts;

- to adapt to varying intercultural communication and learning styles;

- to adapt and adjust to a new cultural environment

- to be culturally self-aware

- to be aware of the relation between language and meaning in societal context

- to be able to self-assess

- to be able to take an ethnorelative view; to be cognitively flexible

- to learn through interaction

Skills

- to analyze

- to interpret

- to relate

Knowledge

- culture-specific knowledge (e. g., host culture's traditions)

- deep knowledge and understanding of culture (one's own and others')

Attitudes

- empathy

- mindfulness

- toleration/withholding judgment

- curiosity

- respect for other cultures

- flexibility

- openness toward learning; openness towards people from other cultures

(summarized from Deardorff, 2006, pp. 249-250)

As the above list indicates, there is a majority consensus among academics surveyed that being interculturally competent involves a synergistic relationship between three main knowledge-domains: a toolkit of abilities/skills, a corpus of cultural knowledge, and a set of positive attitudes towards culture. Deardorff (2006) observed that "intercultural scholars and higher education administrators did not define intercultural competence in relation to specific components" (i.e., what specifically constitutes intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes), and that "both groups preferred definitions that were broader in nature" (p. 253). This comment illustrates the scholarly desire to avoid over-simplified or vocational understandings of IC, perhaps to differentiate it from intercultural *communication*.

Definitions of IC are also fluid, and subject to continual change. Commenting on the views of the participating panelists, Deardorff (2006) remarked that "[their] opinions and definitions have changed throughout the years, so what was written 10–to-15 years ago by these scholars may not be considered valid anymore by the author" (p. 258). Lacking a unified understanding of IC, educators may exercise some freedom in developing definitions and learning strategies that match specific curricular objectives.

For the purposes of this research, IC education is defined in this way:

1. IC seeks to develop the ability to communicate and behave effectively and appropriately within the contexts of other cultures.

2. IC fosters a combination of cultural knowledge, abilities, and attitudes.

3. IC facilitates personal growth through an increased awareness and understanding of oneself, one's culture, and one's place in a global society.

With these parameters in place, it becomes possible to identify the learning objectives of the ICL approach put forward in this dissertation:

An ICL curriculum aims to utilize learner engagement with narrative literature to:

1. Develops cultural understanding through the ability to take the perspectives of members of other cultures.

2. Fosters positive attitudes towards culture (e.g., toleration, respect, openness, curiosity).

3. Facilitates personal growth through reflection and discussion of narrative content.

As ICL facilitates encounters through narratives, as opposed to physical encounters; it refrains from providing direct instruction concerning appropriate intercultural interaction. Rather, through fostering positive attitudes and the ability to take alternate cultural perspectives, ICL aims to engender cultural sensitivity and awareness in learners.

Modeling and Assessing Intercultural Competence

Before moving to the second topic of the chapter—the function and nature of empathy in IC, it is necessary to 1) survey influential IC models in order to better understand how scholars conceptualize intercultural competence, and 2) discuss learner-assessment methodology to better understand how IC acquisition in learners may be evaluated. An understanding of developmental, compositional, and causal models of IC facilitates a greater understanding of how empathy is understood to function in the acquisition of competence. Additionally, a survey of influential models provides insight into assessment strategies for an empathy-centered approach to IC. The following sections briefly introduce developmental, compositional, and causal process-models of IC, followed by an outline of IC-assessment

methodologies.

An outline of the developmental approach.

Developmental models conceptualize the process of IC acquisition over time, often beginning with states of minimal competence. Broadwell (1969) outlined his *four stages of teaching,* which were later adapted into a model by Noel Burch (an employee with Gordon Training International), commonly known as the *Four Stages of Competence* (Adams, n.d.). In this model, learning takes place across four stages as the learner begins from a state of *unconscious incompetence*, before moving through the stages of *conscious incompetence* and *conscious competence*, until achieving the final stage, *unconscious competence*. Howell (1982) employs these stages to create the *Four Levels of Cultural Awareness,*[v] and Ting-Toomey and Chung (2005) model them, as seen below:

Unconscious Competence Stage

Conscious Competence Stage

Conscious Incompetence Stage

Unconscious Incompetence Stage
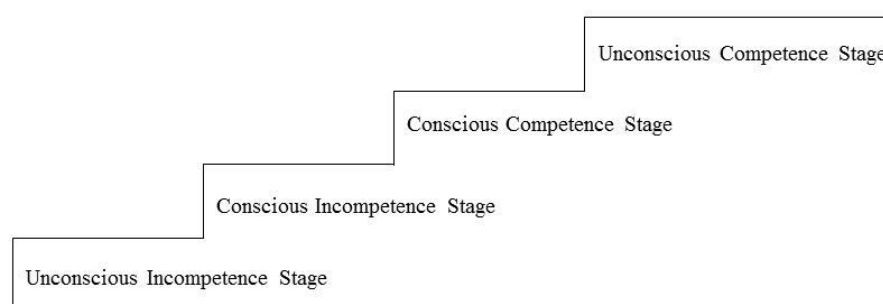
Figure 1. A Staircase Model of Intercultural Communication Competence
Source: Adapted from Ting-Toomey and Chung (2005)

According to Ting-Toomey and Chung, a learner at the lowest stage possesses minimal culture-related knowledge and lacks attitudes that would enable communication with members of other cultures. The cultural viewpoint of the learner is firmly ethnocentric, in that they lack the ability to see the world from other cultural perspectives. In stage two, the learner begins to recognize that they lack the skills and knowledge to communicate competently with others, and hence begin to question their ethnocentric worldview. For a learner to progress from stage two to stage three, they must make persistent efforts to improve communication competencies,

and as well, recognize the need for cultural knowledge. A learner at this stage gains the ability to recognize culturally-based behavior, and begins to exhibit behavior that is *interculturally competent*. The fourth stage is marked by the learner's ability to competently shift from one communication system to another, without considerable conscious effort. Ting-Toomey and Chung (2005) describe a learner at this stage:

> They can code-switch effortlessly between the two different intercultural communication systems. Their effort appears to be very "seamless"—thus, the notion of unconscious competence. (p. 21)

In another conceptual model, Bennett (1986) provides an alternate paradigm for understanding the acquisition of intercultural competence. While he also employs stages to illustrate how a learner moves from a state of ignorance, Bennett reconceptualizes the progress of learners. Rather than modeling learner development from incompetence to competence, he visualizes it a progression from a state of *ethnocentrism*, where one evaluates other cultures based on the standards and values of one's own culture, to one of *ethnorelativism*, where one experiences one's culture in the context of other cultures:
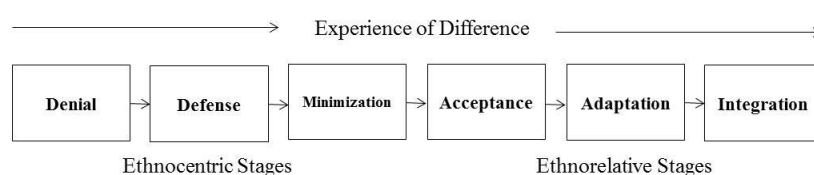
Figure 2. Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity
Source: Adapted visualization from Bennett (1986)

Under the title "Becoming Interculturally Competent," Bennett (2004) describes this process as consisting of six stages (or orientations) beginning with the first stage, *Denial of Difference*, where the learner reacts to cultural differences with confusion. This indicates a minimal understanding of culture (of others' and often of their own), resulting generally in disinterest in, or an avoidance of, other cultures. At this stage, the learner employs broad categorizations of culture (e.g., employing terms such as "foreigner," "African," "white," etc.).

As well, individuals are often unable to see cultural contexts as influencing factors; perceptions of *right and wrong* and *natural/unnatural* remain grounded in the commonsense of the learner's culture. In stage two, *Defense against Difference*, learners continue to see the world in terms of "us and them," and feel threatened by cultural difference, often resorting to simplistic or negative stereotypes. Bennett references the concept of social Darwinism to explain the orientation of learners at this stage—in which learners envision a hierarchy of cultures. Interestingly, Bennett notes that although the learner's culture is typically placed at the top of such a social hierarchy, it is possible to view another culture as monolithically superior to one's own, as cultural knowledge and awareness tends to remain superficial. The final ethnocentric stage, *Minimization of Difference*, finds the learner (due to psychological/spiritual/philosophical understandings) ready to countenance the idea of a shared humanity of peoples, across cultures. The assertion that "everyone is basically the same," while a positive step, may also function in a negative sense, in that the learner avoids contemplating the nuanced manners in which culture underscores cultural behaviors; as a result, there is generally little effort to understand or to adapt to cultural difference. While refraining from passing judgement on other cultures, the learner at this stage still expends little effort in understanding how or why other cultures differ from their own. Bennett's ethnorelative stages begin with stage four, *Acceptance of Difference*, where the learner is now able to recognize that behaviors, values, and beliefs—including their own—should be understood within specific cultural contexts. This leads to a general acceptance that cultures function according to realities defined by their respective worldviews. At this initial stage of ethnorelativism, learners may not agree with or accept cultural differences, yet will withhold ethical judgments about other cultures. Stage five, *Adaptation to Difference*, sees learners go beyond acceptance to consciously alter behavior in intercultural situations. According to Bennett (2011), it is at this stage that a learner displays *intercultural empathy*; as indicated by Bennett, this is the point where genuine adaptation begins to take place:

The ability to empathize with another worldview in turn allows modified behavior to

flow naturally from that experience. It is this natural flow of behavior that keeps

code-shifting from being fake or inauthentic. (p. 9)

In the final stage, *Integration of Difference*, learners are unfixed to any culture, and capable of

fluidly adapting behavior to match cultural contexts. Rather than passing judgement, learners

at advanced stages seek to understand the cultural contexts underscoring cultural differences.

It is important to note that this understanding does not equate with learner agreement that

certain values or behaviors are morally justified, only that they can be understood.

The loss of ethnocentrism, while reducing one's sense of belonging to a particular

culture, allows for learners to participate meaningfully in other cultures based on their ability

to view the world from differing cultural perspectives. Not only do these stages make it possible

to roughly assess learner progress, they also make possible the development of stage-specific

objectives. Also of significance here is Bennett's focus on empathic ability for progression to

higher stages of ethnorelativism. An ICL approach is primarily an *empathy-centered* approach

to acquiring competence, where learner-ability to empathize is directly targeted.

Bennett's model informs this research, as his recapitalization of learner development in

terms of cultural orientation allows for a nuanced understanding of learners of culture—rather

than being incompetent, they begin the learning process from orientations where their reality

is expressed primarily through the worldview of their source culture. The research approach

presented in this dissertation provides learners with opportunities to take alternate worldviews

in order to engender cultural awareness, and to foster a realization that other cultural realities

exist, and are understandable. Bennett's research is also helpful in providing detailed

descriptions of each stage in the learning process. Applying Bennett's model, it becomes

possible to identify the orientations of learners whom, having limited firsthand experiences of

other cultures, are generally assessed to be in the early ethnocentric stages.

Based on Bennett's theoretical framework, Hammer, Bennett, and Wiseman (2003)

developed the *Intercultural Development Inventory*, which maps intercultural competence across five orientations (Denial, Polarization, Minimization, Acceptance, Adaptation). In place of Bennett's conceptualization of a learner transitioning from ethnocentric to ethnorelative orientations, the Inventory diagrams a progression from a *monocultural* worldview, towards one that is *intercultural*. Speaking on the development process of IC, Hammer (2012) comments:

> Building intercultural competence involves increasing cultural self-awareness; deepening understanding of the experiences, values, perceptions, and behaviors of people from diverse cultural communities; and expanding the capability to shift cultural perspective and adapt behavior to bridge across cultural differences. (p. 116)

Hammer's assertion that the ability to take on the cultural perspectives of others largely equates with Bennett's concept of intercultural empathy, with the presence/absence of such abilities serving to differentiate the ethnocentric/monocultural learner from one who is ethnorelative/intercultural. Interestingly, neither Hammer nor Bennett offer advice as to how an *educator* might promote empathic ability. ICL addresses this concern by outlining practical strategies for facilitating empathic development in learners, employing the medium of narrative literature written from alternate cultural perspectives; ICL also utilizes strategies to enhance learner-ability to engage empathically with literary characters with diverse cultural backgrounds.

Educational attempts to employ developmental models.

One issue arising from educational attempts to employ developmental models relates to a perceived interchangeability between the words "sensitivity" and "competence." In addressing this issue, Hammer, Bennett and Wiseman (2003) define cultural sensitivity as "the ability to discriminate and experience relevant cultural differences," and intercultural competence as "the ability to think and act in interculturally appropriate ways"—although the

authors concede that "greater intercultural sensitivity is associated with greater potential for exercising intercultural competence" (p. 422). Bennett's model contains the term "sensitivity" in the title; however, as it models a progression through which learners gain increasingly sophisticated experiences and understandings of other cultures it has come to be accepted as a general developmental model for IC (rather than a specific model for one aspect of IC development).

King and Baxter Magolda (2005) present an alternative developmental model for post-secondary learners consisting of three development frameworks, *initial, intermediate,* and *mature*:

Initial Development Level	Intermediate Development Level	Mature Development Level
Cognitive • Categorical knowledge • Naïve about cultural practices • Resists knowledge challenges	**Cognitive** • Evolving awareness and acceptance of perspectives • Shift from authority to autonomous knowledge	**Cognitive** • Able to consciously shift perspectives • Use multiple cultural frames
Intrapersonal • Lacks awareness of social role intersections (race, class, etc.) • Lacks awareness of cultures • Externally defined beliefs • Differences viewed as threats	**Intrapersonal** • Evolving identity distinct from external perceptions • Tension between internal and external prompts • Recognizes legitimacy of other cultures	**Intrapersonal** • Able to create internal self • Challenges own views of social identities (race, class) • Integrates self identity
Interpersonal • Identify dependent on similar others • Different views are considered wrong • Lacks awareness of social systems and norms • Views social problems egocentrically	**Interpersonal** • Willingness to interact with divergent others • Explores how social systems affect group norms and relations	**Interpersonal** • Able to engage in diverse interdependent relationships • Ground relations in appreciation of differences • Understands intersection of social systems and practices • Willing to work for others' rights

Figure 3. King and Baxter Magolda's Intercultural Maturity Model
Source: Adapted from King and Baxter Magolda (2005, p. 576)

Although similar in conception to previously-mentioned models, the *Intercultural Maturity Model* was *designed for a specific learner* (university/college students), for the purpose of establishing goals and evaluating progress. As with Bennett's model, King and Baxter Magolda associate low intercultural competence with 1) a lack of cultural knowledge, 2) an unconsciously-held culturally-determined worldview, and 3) a strong resistance/aversion to cultural differences. The mature learner, by contrast, has the ability to 1) see the world through

differing cultural perspectives, 2) a high degree of self-awareness to challenge societal values and norms, and 3) the desire and capacity to form meaningful interpersonal relationships. Of particular note, King and Baxter Magolda describe the mature learner as capable of engaging in cognitive perspective-taking, which largely equates with "the ability to take perspectives," as found in Bennett and Hammer's ethnorelative/intercultural learner (however, in classifying this ability as *cognitive*, they offer further clarification concerning what exactly the act of perspective-taking entails). Perspective-taking, it will be argued here, should be understood as *a specific process related to cognitive empathy*.

In summary, a number of different IC developmental models prove to be utile in visualizing learner progression over time. By presenting development over a continuum, they allow learners and educators to generally assess current levels of competence, as well as map out future progress towards the advanced states of competence. Nonetheless, while developmental models succeed in connecting the various stages of learner competence into a continuum, they are of lesser relevance when trying to understand those specific traits that underscore abilities observed among interculturally competent learners (*cf.* Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). In addressing this concern, the following section surveys "compositional" models of IC.

An outline of the compositional approach.

Compositional models attempt to identify those components necessary for intercultural competence to be realized in learners. Byram (1997) produced a model consisting of five factors (*saviors*) involved in IC. Working in foreign-language education at the university level, Byram's model presents IC as an interplay of skills, knowledge, and attitudes.
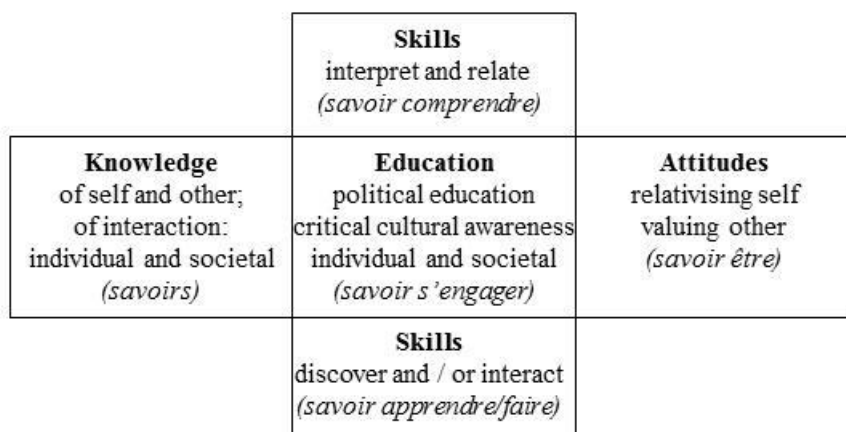
Figure 4. Byram's Five *Savoirs*
Source: Adapted visualization from Byram (1997)

For Byram, *attitudes* (*savoir être*) refer to learner attitudes towards those individuals who are regarded as different. While negative attitudes (e.g., disrespect and prejudice) act to inhibit effective communication, positive attitudes (e.g., curiosity, openness, and the suspension of judgment) are modeled as facilitating competence. *Knowledge* (*savoir comprendre*) is divided into two categories: knowledge of one's own culture + culture of the interlocutor, and knowledge of how people interact (or interact differently) in other cultures. The first kind of knowledge involves a general awareness of history, geography, and other generally observable elements related to national culture. Conversely, the second type of knowledge requires an understanding of (what Ting-Toomey and Chung (2005) call) intermediate-level culture (e.g., symbols, meanings, and norms), and deep-level culture (e.g., traditions, beliefs, and values). *Skills* are also divided into two categories: the skills to interpret + relate (*savoir comprendre*), and the skills to discover (*savoir apprendre/faire*). For Byram, the skill to interpret refers to the act of *gaining meaning from a text*—an act that requires knowledge of both cultures; this includes intermediate and deep-level understandings. The skill of interpreting (e.g., writings, messages, etc.) is differentiated from the skill to discover—it requires no physical interaction with a separate interlocutor. Discovery develops over the course of repeated intercultural encounters.

Although Byram presented his model over two decades ago, it remains influential (Hoff, 2014). The relevance of Byram's work resides in his articulation of a new paradigm for language learning. Byram (1997) argues that previous methodologies for educating for communicative competence are not sufficient to meet learner needs:

> Life in the contemporary world brings almost everybody into contact with people of other languages and cultures. Foreign and second language teaching has evolved to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century by putting a new emphasis on learning for communication, or communicative competence…. [F]urther evolution is required, to take account of the affective and cognitive effects of engaging with otherness, of encountering people of different cultural identities and social values and behaviors. In other words, language learners need to acquire intercultural competence, too. (back cover)

In calling for the development of curricula to foster intercultural competence, Byram indicates an important truth concerning the needs of learners today: that they exist in heterogeneous environments and need to develop more than proficiency in a foreign language: they also require the skills, attitudes, and knowledge to understand and appreciate cultural differences. Developing curricula for foreign-language learners involves providing learners with a curriculum that allows them to empathically encounter members of other cultures, and through such encounters, helps them develop positive attitudes of respect, openness and toleration.

Deardorff (2006) used the results from her study to construct her own compositional model of intercultural competence:

Desired External Outcome
Behaving and communicating effectively and appropriately (based on one's intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes) to achieve one's goals to some degree

Desired Internal Outcome
Informed frame of reference/filter shift
- Adaptability (to different communication styles and behaviors; adjustment to new cultural environments)
- Flexibility (selecting and using appropriate communication styles and behaviors; cognitive flexibility)
- Ethnorelative view
- Empathy

Knowledge & Comprehension
- Cultural self-awareness
- Deep understanding and knowledge of culture
- Cultural-specific information
- Sociolinguistic awareness

Skills
- Listen
- Observe
- Interpret
- Analyze
- Evaluate
- Relate

Requisite Attitudes
- Respect (valuing other cultures, cultural diversity)
- Openness (to intercultural learning and to people from other cultures)
- Curiosity and discovery (tolerating ambiguity and uncertainty)

Figure 5. Deardorff's Pyramid Model of Intercultural Competence
Source: Adapted from Deardorff (2006)

Deardorff's Pyramid Model visualizes the lower levels as strengthening elements for the higher ones. According to Deardorff (2006):

[The model] eliminates long fragmented lists by placing components of intercultural competence within a visual framework that can be entered from various levels. However, having components on the lower levels enhances upper levels. (p. 254)

In justifying her placement of attitudes at the base of her model, Deardorff (2006, citing Byram, 1997) asserts that attitudes of respect, openness, curiosity, and discovery are the most important factors influencing success in IC development. Accordingly, failure to foster positive attitudes in learners inhibits the development of other components. Curricula that succeed in fostering attitudes support cultural understanding, and develop abilities productive of desirable internal and external outcomes. For Deardorff (2006), internal outcomes involve "an internal shift in frame of reference" (p. 255), while external outcomes are observable and described as "behaving and communicating appropriately and effectively in intercultural situations" (2004, p. 196). Surprisingly, despite the importance granted to attitudinal development in her model, Deardorff offers little insight into the manner or methods by which such attitudes might

be fostered in learners. This is worth considering, as according to Deardorff, the failure of curricula to foster positive cultural attitudes negatively impacts IC development in other areas. In considering these problems, the approach set out in this research provides a strategy for developing requisite attitudes in learners through a focus on developing learner ability to engage in perspective-taking—an aspect of cognitive empathy to which Bennett (2003), Hammer (2012), and King and Baxter-Magolda (2005) cite as an ability present in advanced learners. This research argues that the ability to take perspectives is not only an aspect of learners in ethnorelative stages—it is the vehicle through which attitudinal development is promoted. When learners successfully take others' perspectives, they gain understanding of how others think and feel, resulting in the experiencing of *empathic concern*, a genuine concern for the welfare of others, from which may be developed the positive attitudes that Deardorff prioritizes. That the utility and function of empathy for IC acquisition has failed to be appreciated becomes clear, when surveying causal process models—as discussed below.

An outline of the causal process approach.

The final group of models to be examined are causal process models. In contrast to compositional models, these are attempts to visualize the stage-order by which competence is achieved; they also identify causal interrelations among the different components of IC. Ting-Toomey's (1999) *Multilevel Process Change Model* presents three sets of factors involved in IC: *antecedent* (system level, individual level, interpersonal level), *change process factors* (managing culture shock; managing identity change; managing new relationships; managing the environment), and *outcome factors* at system, interpersonal, and personal levels.
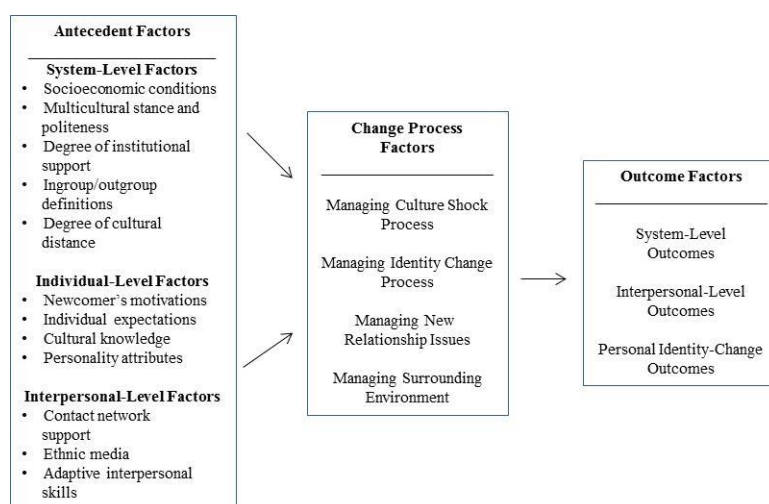
Figure 6. Ting-Toomey's Multilevel Process Change Model of Intercultural Competence
Source: Adapted from Ting-Toomey (1999)

An underlying concept of the model is that changes resulting from systemic, personal, or interpersonal factors can be managed in the "change process," allowing for various outcomes. Of interest here is the classification of antecedent factors, which act to assist or hinder learner-development. These factors allow educators to identify specific factors where individuals or groups may face difficulties in acquiring IC. While developmental models allow the educator to generally assess learner progress, the *Multilevel Process Change* model facilitates an examination of specific factors that influence the learner-acquisition of competence.

Deardorff (2006) also offers a *Process Model of Intercultural Competence* to compliment her Pyramid Model, in which attitudes are again prerequisite to gaining cultural knowledge, awareness (of self; of language), and skills, resulting in positive cognitive and behavioral outcomes. As mentioned previously, the degree to which the requisite attitudes are present or lacking may serve to enhance or stultify development further down the process (i.e., acquiring knowledge, developing skills):
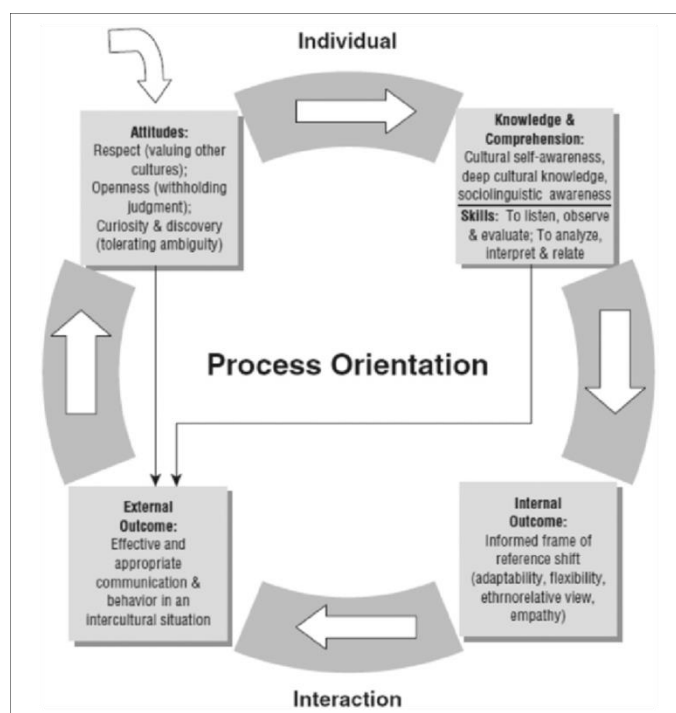
Figure 7. Deardorff's Process Model of Intercultural Competence
Source: Adapted from Deardorff (2006)

Interestingly, as with her compositional model, Deardorff places empathy at the bottom of a list of internal outcomes, indicating that rather than being a pedagogical goal, empathy is passively acquired through IC education. It will be shown that such an understanding represents a conceptual misunderstanding of empathy as an attitude, and in so doing fails to consider the educational application of empathy for developing IC. This misunderstanding becomes increasingly clear when surveying the manner in which empathy is assessed. To further this discussion, a survey of IC assessments strategies follows.

Assessing intercultural competence.

Given that there is no consensus as to what it means to *be* interculturally competent, the measurement and assessment of IC frequently results in the creation of assessment instruments based around educator-generated definitions. These act to define the aspects of IC to be measured, as well as the various levels at which learners are to be assessed. Fantini (2009) listed over 100 assessment instruments currently in use, demonstrating the existing diversity in the field. Later, in reviewing ten tools for the assessment of intercultural competence, Matveev

and Merz (2014) found that each model differed in terms of its focus and use of dimensions. Citing difficulties in relying solely on one form of measurement (such as written self-assessments or self-reporting instruments) Deardorff (2009) has opined that "it would be challenging—if not impossible—for one tool to measure an individual's intercultural competence" (p. 74). Considering the wide definitional spectrum within IC research, it is probable that educators will continue to assess learners based on objectives specific to their curricula. Deardorff (2009) recommends that researchers employ various forms of direct evidence (e.g., learner contracts, e-portfolios, blogs, journals, observations), as well as indirect evidence in the form of surveys and questionnaires.

The difficulty involved in producing a comprehensive measurement metric of IC has resulted in a focus on the assessment of learner attitudes. These instruments typically discriminate between three dimensions of IC: conative (social distance), cognitive (stereotypes), and emotional (ethnocentrism). In doing so, a conception of intercultural competence has recently been developed, based on learner ability to demonstrate positive attitudes in relation to other cultures (Fritz, Möllenberg, & Chen, 2002). Examples of researchers employing this assessment strategy are Gudykunst, Wiseman, and Hammer (1977), Abe and Wiseman (1983), and Wiseman, Hammer, and Nishida (1989). These assessment tools conceptualize IC as the ability of learners to develop positive attitudes towards other cultures, and they employ different strategies for attitudinal measurement. For example, involving subjects from the United States and Japan, Wiseman, Hammer, and Nishida measured reactions to 44 intercultural situations, and used a 29-item standardized test measuring subject stereotypes, ethnocentrism, and social distance. However, this approach has been criticized as failing to take into account other important aspects of IC, such as individual behaviors and skills underscoring effective intercultural interaction.

Subsequent assessment tools have focused on *intercultural attitudes*, which incorporate aspects of earlier models to measure the degree to which learners' express positive attitudes

towards other cultures. Representative of these attempts are Van der Zee and Van Oudenhoven's (2000, 2001) *Multicultural Personality Questionnaire* (MPQ), which was later incorporated in Arasaratnam's (2009) *Intercultural Communication Competence Instrument*. This instrument attempts to measure intercultural attitudes over five dimensions: cultural empathy, open-mindedness, social initiative, emotional stability, and flexibility. (See Appendix B for a further discussion of IC assessments.)

Attempts have also been made to address the plurality existing in IC assessment through the consolidation and adaptation of existing instruments. One example is Chen and Starosta's (2000) *Intercultural Sensitivity Scale*, a 24-item-instrument measuring five affective areas of IC: respect for cultural differences, interaction engagement, interaction attentiveness, interaction enjoyment, and interaction confidence. In developing and testing the scale, Chen and Starosta (2000) assert its compatibility with other assessment tools:

> The predicted validity test from 174 participants showed that individuals with high [Intercultural Sensitivity Scale] scores also scored high in intercultural effectiveness and intercultural attitude scales." (p. 1)

In the 20-plus years since its creation, the Intercultural Sensitivity Scale has been tested and verified in various cultural contexts, including Germany (Fritz, Möllenberg, & Chen, 2002), Malaysia (Tamam, 2010), The United States (Fritz, Graf, Hentze, Möllenberg, & Chen, 2005), and Japan (Flowers, 2015). Despite this wide acceptance, there are serious issues with the ways in which items are worded. Consider the following:

Item #

1. I am pretty sure of myself in interacting with people from different cultures.

3. I always know what to say when interacting with people from different cultures.

5. I often feel happy about interacting with people from different cultures.

12. I often feel useless when interacting with people from different cultures.

37. I often appreciate different views raised by people from different cultures.

(Chen & Starosta, 2000, pp. 6-7)

The use of words such as "always" and "often" assumes that learners have frequent interactions with members of other cultures, yet some environments do not provide learners with intercultural opportunities. In fact, the approach presented in this research has been created to specifically address the needs of learners in relatively homogenous cultural environments—learners who have reported minimal, sometimes zero, contact with members of other cultures or cultural backgrounds.

A survey of assessment instruments reveals a strong focus on measuring learner attitudes towards other cultures. Despite the importance placed on perspective-taking in the literature, such research instruments give little consideration to learner empathy. A failure to specifically target learner empathy stems from a lack of consensual understanding in the literature concerning what empathy is and how it functions in learners to promote IC.

Empathy in Intercultural Competence

The final sections of this chapter address the issue of how empathy is conceived and applied within the field of IC. Gaining an understanding of empathy in IC—the second component of the ICL approach—is a critical aim. Properly understood, empathy becomes a core pedagogical tool, and strategies can be developed to facilitate learner-ability with regards to engagement in perspective-taking activities, in order to foster cultural understanding, awareness, and positive cultural attitudes *through experiencing concern for others*. The following sections outline the ways that empathy has been defined in IC, and how academics and educators have employed empathy as a pedagogical tool for the acquisition of IC in learners. From this groundwork, three assertions are determined: 1) Empathy suffers from ambiguous and incomplete understandings within the field of IC, 2) this ambiguity and general disinterest has resulted in a widespread failure to recognize the function of empathy in learner development; 3) clarifying the nature and function of empathy enables the development of pedagogical strategies targeting learner empathy—leading to the acquisition of IC.

A misunderstood concept.

When considering the standing of empathy within the field of IC, one observes a majority scholarly consensus regarding the concept of empathy being a component of IC. In their analysis of IC literature, Fantini and Tirmizi (2006) listed empathy as one of the 15 attributes commonly appearing in 138 publications on intercultural competence. Fantini (2009) later indicated empathy as one of the most frequently-cited traits in the academic understanding of competency. Similarly, Deardorff (2006) identified empathy as one of the 22 specific components of IC that at least 80% of respondents agreed should be included as definitional. Her research furthermore revealed that "understanding others' worldviews" was the only definitional concept to receive unanimous agreement among academics and educators. Nonetheless, she found little indication that such understanding of others' worldviews had been consciously connected with the component of empathy in IC literature. In particular, in investigating conceptions of the nature and function of empathy in IC, little evidence was found to show that academics regarded the act of taking others' perspectives—a core cognitive process of empathy—as a strategy for gaining an understanding of alternate worldviews.

These results indicate a need to analyze models and definitions—performed in this research—with the aim of better understanding how academics and educators have heretofore conceptualized empathy, and understand the role of empathy in developing other components of IC. This research has revealed that some in the field understand empathy as an ability, while others describe it as an important learner-attitude. Similarly, while some academics consider the development of learner empathy to be critical for developing other IC components, others find little causal role for the concept. To address differences in perspective and valuation of empathy in IC, it is first necessary to understand how it is that empathy has largely come to be conceptualized as an attitude with little causal role in IC development. The following sections reveal the roots of such misunderstandings; a new understanding of empathy for the acquisition of IC will also be provided.

Ability or attitude?

Within IC literature, empathy is frequently described as an important attitude exhibited by learners in interactions with members of other groups or cultures, as illustrated by Deardorff's (2006) designation of empathy as an attitudinal component of IC. Contrastingly, it is also understood to be an ability to take perspectives of others in order to gain understanding of differing worldviews. The concept of empathy as an *attitude* rather than as an ability to take perspectives may be partially explained by influence from the concept of *cultural empathy*, which predates the emergence of IC. Ruben's (1976) understanding of cultural empathy (as both an ability to understand others' thoughts and feelings *and* "the capacity to clearly project an interest in others" (p. 340) has influenced concepts of empathy in IC.

While gaining insight into another's thoughts and feelings would seem to refer to the cognitive empathic ability to engage in perspective-taking, the ability to *clearly project interest* in others is problematic. Within psychology, projection refers to an ego-defense mechanism, which acts to "protect ourselves from feelings of anxiety or guilt, which arise because we feel threatened, or because our id or superego becomes too demanding" (McLeod, 2017, para 3). Freud (1936) described projection as an individual attributing their own thoughts, feelings, and motivations onto others. For instance, feelings of hatred felt towards others, understood on some level to be unacceptable, may be reconciled by believing that one is hated by others. It can be reasonably assumed that in using the term "project" Ruben is not referencing psychological projection, which is distinct and unrelated to psychological understandings of empathy. Rather, it is possible that Ruben uses "project" to refer to what Deardorff (2004) describes as an external outcome of IC: behaving and communicating appropriately and effectively in intercultural situations. In this way, Ruben's cultural empathy is both the ability to take others' perspectives *and* the ability to *display* an underlying attitude of interest towards other cultures in an intercultural situation. This may partially explain why over 80% of educators and academics in Deardorff's (2006) research list empathy as an attitudinal

component of IC, rather than an ability. However, the concept of empathy as an attitude that can be displayed in interactions is problematic from a psychological perspective, where empathy is understood primarily as a cognitive ability to take perspectives, resulting in affective (emotional) responses to knowledge gained of others' mental states. In this way, perspective-taking can result in an individual experiencing concern for another, which may connect with the fostering of positive attitudes. However, it is important to recognize that empathy and resultant attitudes are distinct—empathy is the causal force, attitudinal development the result. Therefore, the classification of empathy as an attitude, as is the case within the field of IC, represents a misapplication of the concept of psychological empathy (the topic of Chapter Two).

Despite the problematic nature of cultural empathy, this concept has become a target of assessment in a number of tools designed to measure intercultural competence. Among these, Matveev and Merz (2014) list the *Multicultural Personality Questionnaire*, the *Intercultural Communication Competence Instrument*, the *Intercultural Readiness Check*, the *Behavioral Assessment Scale for Intercultural Competence*, and the *Intercultural Competence Questionnaire*. The developers of the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire describe cultural empathy as "an interest in other people and a sensitivity towards others' feelings and beliefs" (Leone, Van der Zee, van Oudenhoven, Perugini, & Ercolani, 2005, p. 1450). While attitudes of interest and sensitivity are undoubtedly advantageous for learners, they are in no way synonymous with empathy or indicative of its underlying presence. Additionally, although the authors cite Ruben, they fail to include his cognitive aspects of empathy in their definition. Of further concern, among the instruments listed above, only the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire assesses IC via a definition of cultural empathy. In attempting to attribute positive attitudes towards other cultures as indicative of learner empathy, these instruments fail to consider the true relationship between learner capacity to empathize and the development of positive attitudes towards others. As mentioned above, psychological empathy refers to an

ability to take perspectives, which may result in emotional responses. Responses of concern towards others may influence the fostering of positive attitudes towards others; however, in conceptualizing learner empathy as cultural empathy—an *attitude of empathy* displayed by learners—the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire fails to recognize empathy as the impetus behind attitudinal development.

Bennett (1993) describes empathy as a skill that can be effectively applied towards the development of an ethnorelative worldview, asserting of the advanced learner that "they can empathize or take another person's perspective in order to understand and be understood across cultural boundaries" (p. 17). He further explains that learners at an advanced stage of development are "generally interculturally sensitive; with varying degrees of sophistication, they can apply skills of empathy and adaptation of behavior to any cultural context" (p. 17), and later comments that "people at adaptation (an advanced stage of IC) can engage in empathy—the ability to take perspective or shift frame of reference vis-à-vis other cultures" (2004, p. 68). Bennett clearly understands empathy—which he alternately refers to as perspective-taking—as a refined cognitive ability present in individuals achieving advanced degrees of competence. Nor is he alone in understanding empathy as a cognitive skill. In their developmental model of IC, King and Baxter Magolda (2005) describe the mature learner as one who is capable of shifting perspective, while Hammer (2012) stresses the importance of being able to shift cultural perspectives and adapt behavior in order to mediate cultural differences.

Deardorff's (2006) research demonstrated that "understanding others' worldviews" was the single definition to receive 100% agreement. Bennett and others see the ability to empathically take alternate perspectives as one avenue for gaining knowledge of others. This understanding of perspective-taking as empathy is correct from the perspective of psychology, where considerable empathy research has been conducted. Specifically, that perspective-taking is an ability associated with cognitive empathy. (This is discussed in detail, in Chapter Two.)

With an understanding of how empathy has come to be misapplied in much of IC literature, it is now possible to consider how academics and educators understand the function of empathy in the acquisition of IC.

Causal factor or internal outcome?

The failure to agree on the nature of empathy is primarily responsible for a scholarly disagreement regarding the causal relationship between empathy and the development of other components of IC. The result of such incomplete or incorrect understandings has been a disinterest in the utilization of empathy as a pedagogical tool.

It has been shown that Deardorff (2006) indicated that empathy is an internal outcome of a combination of attitudes, knowledge and understanding, and skills. According to this view, empathy is passively attained in the course of developing other components of IC. If true, this would preclude any further consideration of how empathy may be employed to facilitate development of other IC components. However, Arasaratnam (2006) has proposed an *Integrated Model of Intercultural Communication Competence* in which empathy plays an important role in both developing IC, and as a global attitude (roughly equivalent to Deardorff's attitudes of respect, openness, curiosity and discovery).
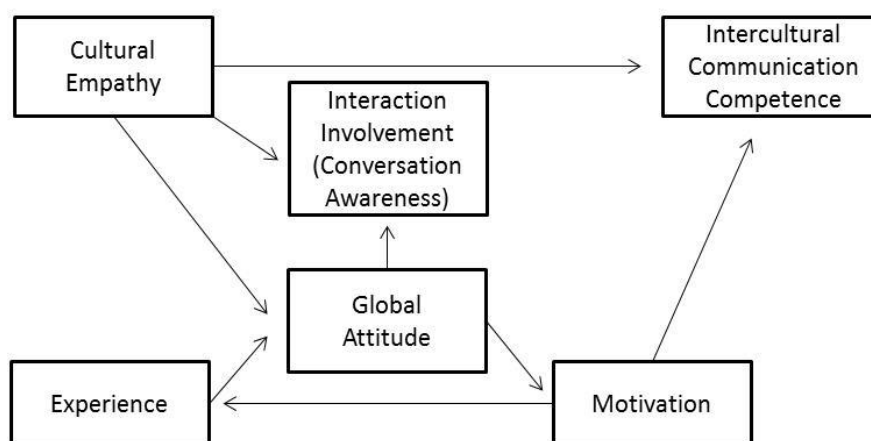
Figure 8. Arasaratnam's Integrated Model of Intercultural Communication Competence
Source: Adapted visualization from Arasaratnam (2006)

According to this view, empathy is modeled as a causal factor, which Arasaratnam, Banerjee, and Dembek (2010) define as "the ability to relate to another at a cognitive as well as emotional level" (p. 105). Here, then, are two competing understandings of the role of empathy that cannot coexist: empathy as an outcome passively attained vs. empathy as a causal factor in IC acquisition.

The implications—determining whether empathy is a cognitive ability or an emotional attitude, as well as whether it is a causal force or a passively acquired attitude—are significant. If Deardorff (2006) is correct, and empathy is an internal outcome, then clearly little attention need be paid to the function of empathy in aiding the acquisition of competence. However, if Arasaratnam is correct, academic consideration in developing strategies for the promotion and development of empathic ability in learners is warranted.

Empathy and ICL—The acquisition of competence.

The previous sections have identified *how* empathy has become a contentious subject within the field of IC acquisition; however, the question of *why* empathy has been treated as it has remains unanswered. This may be explained in two ways. First, in surveying empathy research from other scientific fields, such as psychology and neuroscience, there exists a body of knowledge that, if successfully incorporated into IC literature, would work to considerably alleviate present confusions. This research posits that the pervasive influence of concepts of *cultural empathy* is in part responsible for the present situation, and it may also be concluded that a failure to draw on empathy research from outside the narrow field of communication studies has also been detrimental.

A second reason for academic disinterest, particularly regarding the question of the causal role of empathy, relates to the multicultural learning environments in which much academic literature is being produced. Working in the United States, Deardorff (2011) advises educators to make use of local diversity to facilitate meaningful physical encounters for

learners. This involves providing opportunities to learners from different cultural backgrounds to work collaboratively, and to have learners organize activities together with ethnic groups in their communities. Meaningful physical encounters provide learners with firsthand access to alternate worldviews, where they are challenged to process and accept differences in individuals with whom they enjoy personal relationships. That such contact facilitates learner ability to take alternative perspectives and foster positive attitudes may help understand how some academics have come to view empathy as an internal outcome. Yet, however much empathy may be a product of encounter, it seems a mistake to conclude that empathy has no active role in the acquisition of IC.

It is therefore necessary to reconceptualize empathy in IC for the following reason: the confusion present in the field is detrimental to educators attempting understand what empathy is, and to the development of curricula which would foster it in learners. Without a concrete grasp of what empathy is and how it can be developed, frustrated educators are forced to shift curricular focus to other components of IC. This is unfortunate, because properly understood, empathy represents an expedient and efficacious vehicle for developing other indispensable aspects of IC, including 1) a deep understanding of other cultures, 2) the cognitive flexibility to take alternate worldviews, and 3) positive attitudes towards other cultures. As has been shown, IC literature references the importance of learners being able to take alternate perspectives and understand other worldviews, but without specifically-offered insight into how this may be accomplished. A specific, insight-oriented process is what ICL aims to offer, as a new paradigm for IC acquisition, where educators target and develop learner ability to take perspectives.

Concepts of empathy incorporated in ICL are grounded in a multidisciplinary study of empathy, which reveals that rather than an attitude or set of attitudes, empathy is a series of cognitive processes, including the ability to take the perspectives of others. Moreover, perspective-taking is something that humans are evolutionarily programmed to do, as

evidenced by animal research into the behavior of various social species. Perspective-taking, in turn, results in affective responses, such as empathic concern, which underscore the development of positive attitudes towards others.

An ICL approach is grounded in numerous studies in the field of psychology, which have demonstrated the utility of developing empathic ability to take perspectives for increased understanding and the formation of positive social attitudes. Similarly, it borrows from the field of medicine, where educators have developed a standardized approach to promoting empathic development in physicians and nurses involving the use of literature: *narrative medicine*. The uniqueness of ICL relates to its ability to incorporate a corpus of multidisciplinary knowledge and practice to create a theory and pedagogy for a novel application: the acquisition of IC.

Chapter One has surveyed concepts that have contributed to the emergence of IC as an independent field, and has reviewed IC literature to understand the ways in which it is defined and modeled. Definitions reveal that conceptualizations of IC are diverse, and that IC education focuses on developing complex understandings of culture, the ability to access alternate worldviews, and the development of positive attitudes towards cultures. Another aspect of IC education is its emphasis on fostering personal growth for learners, in order to develop an appreciation of otherness, thereby fostering success in culturally heterogenous environments.

This chapter has also identified serious problems with the manner in which empathy is conceptualized in IC, and has put forward the argument that: 1) empathy should be understood as the cognitive ability to take perspectives; 2) approaching IC education through a focus on developing learner empathy facilitates understanding of others, and fosters positive attitudes towards them. In surveying empathy research in other fields, Chapter Two will demonstrate that this dissertation's conceptualization of empathy is correct, and that strong evidence exists to support the assertion that a curricular focus on learner-empathy engenders understanding and facilitates attitudinal development.

Chapter Two: Empathy—Beyond Ambiguity

Empathy is the second core component of this research. For an ICL approach to intercultural competence to be realized, it is important to demonstrate that the assertions made in Chapter One—that empathy should be understood as an ability, and that it plays a causal role in the development of learner attitudes. ICL must therefore be grounded in existent conceptualizations of empathy, as demonstrated by empathy-research in other fields. In order to show that empathy has traditionally been understood as an ability to gain insight into others' mental states through engagement in perspective-taking, a survey of empathy in art, literature, and philosophy will first be undertaken. Consequently, empathy-research in the field of psychology will be presented, in which both the cognitive and affective aspects of empathy will be covered. Empathy research will be further considered through investigations of neuroscience and ethology. Finally, a discussion of how empathy relates to behavior and attitudes will present studies in which empathic ability has been targeted, in order to foster positive attitudes in learners. With this foundation of research in place, an empathy-centered ICL approach for the development of a new curriculum for promoting IC in learners will be presented.

Introduction to Empathy—Philosophical History

Long before the word "empathy" was coined in 1858 as *Einfühlung*, by German philosopher Rudolf Lotze (Online Etymology Dictionary, 2018), the concept was present in art and literature. In particular, empathy is intrinsic to the idea that one can engage in perspective-taking to gain insight into another's mental and emotional state. In *The Trojan Women* (415 BCE), Euripides asks his male Athenian audience to imagine the aftermath of the fall of Troy from a radically alternate perspective—that of the newly widowed and enslaved women of conquered Troy. Similarly, in *The Persians*, Aeschylus encourages his Athenian audience to take the perspective of a defeated foe in order to experience the pain and sorrow of

defeat through the eyes of their Persian rivals. In doing so, the Athenians thereby gain an understanding of the suffering that results from the loss of freedom to a foreign power.

Prior to its coinage in English, philosophers discussed aspects of empathy using the term *sympathy*. In his *A Treatise of Human Nature*, Hume (1739) asserted:

> No quality of human nature is more remarkable, both in itself and in its consequences, than that propensity we have to sympathize with others, and to receive by communication their inclinations and sentiments, however different from, or even contrary to our own. (pp. 833-834)

Hume later makes clear the mechanism by which sympathy is engendered: an idea infused by sympathy "is presently converted into an impression, and acquires such a degree of force and vivacity, as to become the very passion itself, and produce an equal emotion, as any original affection" (pp. 385-86). More than simply displaying pity or sorrow in the face of another's suffering, Hume indicates the ability to understand another's mental state. Hume's work on sympathy has been credited as a contribution formative to later understandings of empathy (Schuhmann & Smith, 1987).

Adam Smith, in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), similarly claimed that humans have a natural capacity to imaginatively take the perspectives of others:

> How selfish soever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it except the pleasure of seeing it. (p. 1)

The above statement might strike the reader as referring to a human capacity for compassion, yet in the following paragraph Smith clarifies: "As we have no immediate experience of what other men feel, we can form no idea of the manner in which they are affected, but by conceiving what we ourselves should feel in the like situation" (p. 2). Smith, like Hume, is here discussing a cognitive aspect of empathy: the ability of one person to imaginatively take another's perspective.

As can be seen, before empathy became a subject of inquiry in the fields of psychology and neuroscience, it was a philosophical topic of discussion. What follows is a brief summary of the philosophical debates occurring during the late 19th–early 20th centuries. Examining these philosophical concepts supports an understanding of empathy as a cognitive ability (and illustrates the long history enjoyed by this understanding). Originally, *Einfühlung* referred to an ability to "feel into" works of art, or into aspects of nature (Wispé, 1987), and was employed to discuss how it is that we can look at a sculpture or natural scene, perceive similarities with the human condition, and ascribe human feelings to such things (Nowak, 2011). Robert Vischer (1873/1994) argued that *Einfühlung* should be understood in a more technical sense, believing that rather than merely explaining how people experience inanimate objects, the use of "empathy" should be expanded to include considerations of how people are able to understand the mental states of others (Montag, Gallinat, & Heinz, 2008). Vischer also argued for a more detailed investigation of the meaning of *Einfühlung* via a more thorough philosophical analysis; a challenge taken up by Theodor Lipps (1906, 1912). As with Vischer, for Lipps, *Einfühlung* was important not only for the aesthetic appreciation of art and nature, but also relevant regarding our ability to recognize the mental states of others (Sawicki, 1997). For Lipps, by projecting our own thoughts and feelings onto another person, we gain access to their mental states (Wispé, 1987). Familiar with Lipps' work, in 1908 Titchener conveyed this understanding of *Einfühlung* into English using the word empathy (Coplan & Goldie, 2011). Prior to Lipps and Titchener, *Einfühlung* was commonly translated into English as sympathy. Therefore, one important contribution of Lipps was to effect a transition from early-modern notions of sympathy to our contemporary understanding of empathy, as a philosophical and psychological concept (Jahoda, 2005).

Beginning in the 20th century, the concept of empathy became associated with the question of how it is we are able to understand others' mental states, also known as the problem of *intersubjectivity*: "how one is mentally connected with and distinguished from others" (May,

2017, p. 169). Intersubjectivity is grounded in the reasoning that the only mind one has direct access to is one's own; access to the mind of another is only available through their observable bodily behavior. That is, we read the mental and emotional states of others by considering how our mental states relate to our bodily behavior, then infer similar conclusions onto another (*cf.* Zahavi, 2001). For instance, because we associate crying with emotional sadness, we infer that others are similarly sad when we observe them crying.

As can be seen, work in philosophy shows that following the coinage of empathy, the term has consistently been associated with concepts of taking perspectives and perceiving the thoughts and feelings of others. While the question of how we accomplish this remains unresolved, the concept of empathy in historical philosophical tradition is significant, in that it has enabled discussion and inquiry to progress in associated fields. From *Einfühlung* to empathy, research and discussion in philosophy has laid the groundwork for empathy research in psychology and neuroscience, as well as within the field of ethology, where empathic behavior is studied in social animals. The following sections survey research in these three fields.

Empathy Research in Psychology

This section surveys definitions of empathy in psychology, before outlining psychological understandings of processes of empathy. In psychology, empathy broadly refers to a set of cognitive skills (cognitive empathy), most notably the ability to take perspectives. Engaging in cognitive empathy produces affective, or emotional, responses—combined, these (emotional contagion; emotional distress; empathic concern) are referred to as affective empathy. Having presented a basic understanding of cognitive and affective empathy, this section will explain how two specific empathic process—perspective-taking and empathic concern—relate to an ICL approach.

Psychological interest in the processes of empathy has a long clinical history, with

Pigman (1995) noting Freud's belief that an empathic bond between analyst and patient was essential for any interpretation to take place. Carl Rogers (1959) was one of the earliest to define empathy in a modern context, commenting: "The state of empathy, or being empathic, is to perceive the internal frame of reference of another with accuracy and with the emotional components and meanings which pertain thereto as if one were the person" (p. 210). Speaking of the application of empathy in clinical practice, Rogers (1975) insisted that for the therapist "it is one of the most delicate and powerful ways we have of using ourselves" (p. 2), and then revised his previous static definition: "I believe it to be a process, rather than a state" (p. 4). For Rogers, attempting to take the perspectives of patients represented an important therapeutic tool.

Psychological definitions of empathy have varied greatly, with the concept having been invoked to refer to: 1) an imaginative capacity to *feel or project oneself into a situation* (Titchener, 1915); 2) a *process of imitating others* through which we become aware of what it feels to be another (Downey, 1929); 3) an *imaginative transposition* into another's thoughts feelings and actions (Allport, 1961); and, 4) "an information-gathering activity" (Kohut, 1984, p. 84). These four definitions all reference an empathic ability that is roughly analogous to perspective-taking. Within psychology, empathy continues to be variously defined, with Spreng, McKinnon, Mar, and Levine (2009) noting that "despite the prominence of the empathy construct in developmental research…. a clear, consensual definition of the construct of empathy remains elusive" (p. 62). Cuff, Brown, Taylor, and Howat (2014) also listed a total of 43 distinct scholarly definitions. Though strict terminological definition remains in abeyance, as with the concept of IC, an understanding of empathy can be achieved through an investigation into its components.

Psychology research has focused on those cognitive processes underlying our ability to understand others, and the propensity to react emotionally when encountering others in perceived states of suffering or distress (Stueber, 2013). To understand how empathy functions

in learners, and how it may be employed in curricula to foster IC, it is necessary to first understand how psychology understands the two main types of empathy (the cognitive and affective processes of empathy). Cognitive empathy will be considered first. The basis of cognitive empathy arises from the fact that we are able to discern, to varying degrees, the thoughts and feelings of others (through perceptual skill or by interpreting available evidence). A short chronology of scholarly understandings of cognitive empathy include Hogan (1969), who describes it as "the act of constructing for oneself another person's mental state (p. 308), Hollin (1994), who characterizes cognitive empathy as "the ability to see the world, including one's own behavior, from another person's point of view" (p. 1240), and Goldie (2000), who states that cognitive empathy is "a process by which a person centrally imagines the *narrative* (including the thoughts, feelings, and emotions) of another person" (p. 195).

Here, too, a clear consensus emerges, involving the taking of others' perspectives, and in fact, cognitive empathy is commonly referred to synonymously as perspective-taking in psychology literature (the terms *mind-reading*, and *mentalizing* are also commonly found; Smith, 2006). This research will hereafter refer to cognitive empathy as *perspective-taking*, and define it as *the cognitive empathic ability to imaginatively view oneself and others from alternate perspectives*. There is broad agreement concerning the idea that perspective-taking involves multiple layers of difficulty, ranging from simple attempts at taking visual perspectives (e.g., standing inside a room with a window and imagining what a person would see from outside); to more complex cognitive tasks, such as imagining what another person thinks or believes; even another person's guess about what a third person thinks or believes (*cf.* Hodges & Myer, 2007). It should also be noted that cognitive empathy is linked to the development of a theory of mind (ToM), which in children involves the development of an understanding that another's thoughts may differ from one's own (*cf.* Baren-cohen, 1997; Doherty, 2008). ToM partially explains how children learn to understand others.[vi]

As in philosophy, debate continues concerning how it is that individuals are able to take

alternate perspectives. One line of reasoning maintains that it is through *simulation* that insight into another's thoughts and feelings is gained (i.e., *simulation theory*): by imagining ourselves into the place of another person we are able to take their perspective, resulting in degrees of understanding. By contrast, it has been proposed that over time individuals develop theories about human thought and behavior that allow for the *prediction and explanation* of the actions of others (i.e., *theory-theory*). This partially relates to Lipps' theory that we gain understanding of others based upon an understanding of how our mental states are manifested in our behavior. Hodges and Myer (2007) conclude that "successful perspective-taking probably frequently requires drawing on both strategies" (p. 297).

The second aspect of empathy to be discussed is *affective empathy* which Eisenberg and Strayer (1987) define as "an emotional response that stems from another's emotional state or condition and that is congruent with the other's emotional state or situation" (p. 5). This differs from perspective-taking, through which one acquires a cognitive understanding of another's thoughts and feelings. Hoffman (1987) defines affective empathy as "an affective response more appropriate to someone else's situation than to one's own" (p. 48).

Hoffman's definition hints at the confusion caused by conflating concepts of empathy with that of sympathy, and it is true that these terms have historically been used interchangeably; however, emotional empathy and sympathy are distinct. Empathy refers to the *matching* of one's emotional state to that of another person's (Feshbach & Roe, 1968), while sympathy involves an emotional response that *is not identical* to another's emotional state (Stotland, 1969). Furthermore, this emotional response is characteristically comprised of sorrow or concern. Differentiating the two concepts, Eisenberg and Miller (1987) define sympathy as follows:

> [Sympathy is] an emotional response stemming from another's emotional state or condition that is not identical to the other's emotion, but consists of feelings of sorrow or concern for another's welfare. (p. 92)

Howe (2013) offers a simpler understanding of the difference between the two concepts, stating "sympathy is me orientated; empathy is you orientated" (p. 12). The distinction between affective empathy and sympathy is seen in clinical-psychology practice, where the gaining access to a patient's affective state results in understanding, while sympathetic feelings of pity towards a patient's distress risk a loss of subjectivity and may result in dangerous emotional involvement.

While affective empathy is commonly understood as a linking of one's emotional state with another person, the psychological understanding is more complex, with three separate components identified:

> The first [component] is feeling the same emotion as another person…. The second component, personal distress in response to perceiving another's plight…. The third emotional component, feeling compassion for another person, is the one most frequently associated with the study of empathy in psychology.
>
> (Hodges & Myer, 2007, p. 296)

The first component of affective empathy relates to *emotional contagion*, which has been defined as "the tendency to automatically mimic and synchronize expressions, vocalizations, postures, and movements with those of another person's and, consequently, to converge emotionally" (Hatfield, Cacioppo, & Rapson, 1993, p. 96). Primarily seen as an involuntary reaction, emotional contagion can explain how a spectator is able to share feelings of elation or despair with characters in a movie, or athletes on a basketball court.

The second component of affective empathy relates to the phenomenon of *emotional distress*—the distress felt at witnessing the suffering of another person (Batson, Ahmad, & Lishmer, 2009). This experience may prompt a suppression of emotional response, an attempt to escape from feeling, or the possibility of assuaging uncomfortable feelings by offering another help. Emotional distress is experienced through a cognitive understanding of another's suffering, resulting in self-oriented feelings of anxiety or pain. For example, a person

witnessing a traffic accident may become distressed and avoid helping victims to assuage an uncomfortable emotional state. It is also common for individuals experiencing distress to engage in helping behavior, such as giving money when confronted with a homeless person. Such helping behaviors, rather than out of genuine concern, are performed in order to escape painful emotional states.

The connection between emotional distress and subsequent helping behavior has led to speculation regarding the social benefits of encouraging people to experience emotional distress. This subject remains controversial, with Pinker (2011) asserting that the emotional distress an individual experiences when exposed to the suffering of another has little, if any, relation to the desire to come to the aid of an identified sufferer. According to this view, witnessing others in pain, while causing us distress, is no guarantee that we will exhibit helpful behavior or foster attitudes of genuine concern.

Additional criticism has been leveled at the idea that there are psychological benefits to experiencing emotional distress, as well as towards the exhortation that we should seek to empathically experience the pain of others. Citing the tragic USA school-shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School, in considering objective rational responses regarding the handling of one's own children and crafting of public policy, Paul Bloom (2016) questions the practical benefits of attempting to experience the suffering of parents whose children were lost in the tragedy.

The arguments of Pinker and Bloom are important for this research, which aims to elicit genuine concern for members of other cultures rather than distress. While it might be tempting to attempt to elicit emotional distress in learners, there is no scientific basis supporting a connection between distress and the fostering of positive attitudes. With regard to this research, emotional distress represents a danger to be carefully avoided, as distress represents a form of trauma, that—once elicited in learners—results in a desire to escape the source of mental anguish. Rather than encouraging emotional distress in learners, ICL promotes

perspective-taking with literary characters, from whose worldviews learners gain an understanding of what it is like to be a member of another culture, and experience the positive effects of the third component of affective empathy—*empathic concern*.

Empathic concern is defined as "an other-oriented emotional response elicited by and congruent with the perceived welfare of a person in need" (Batson, Eklund, Chermok, Hoyt, & Ortiz, 2007, p. 64). Empathic concern includes feelings of tenderness, compassion, and has been linked with a desire to engage in helping behavior. According to Hodges and Myer:

> Research consistently finds a positive correlation between how much empathic concern individuals report feeling for another person (or group of people) and their willingness to help those people, even when helping requires some sacrifice (e.g., time, effort, or money). (2007, p. 297)

Unlike emotional distress, helping behavior motivated by empathic concern is performed out a genuine concern for another's welfare, underscored by internal attitudes of caring

Empathic concern offers a solution to an important problem raised in the previous chapter: how to foster positive attitudes in IC learners towards foreign cultures. When learners successfully take the perspectives of individuals from other cultures, they step outside of their cultural orientations to experience the world as a member of another culture experiences it. When this occurs, the learner gains both understanding of the other and a concern for their welfare, resulting in the formation of those positive attitudes that Deardorff (2006) designates as foundational to the acquisition of competence: a respect for others as human beings, an openness to their worldviews, and a toleration of differences in lifestyles, thoughts and values.

With an understanding of perspective-taking and empathic concern, and their functioning in an ICL approach, the next section introduces empathy research in the field of neuroscience.

Empathy Research in Neuroscience

Neuroscience research has provided new perspectives concerning the manner in which empathic processes operate in the brain, and recent developments have led to assertions by researchers that empathy can best be understood neuroscientifically. This is not necessarily the case; this issue will next be examined.

Until recently, little investigation was undertaken into the neurophysiological mechanisms underlying empathy. According to Iacoboni (2011), this was primarily due to the perceived complexity of the subject and the belief that empathy related primarily to cognitive (rather than affective) processes, with the dominant metaphor being "the mind as a computer" (p. 45). However, the 1992 discovery of mirror neurons suggested a strong neurophysiological basis for understanding empathy. The presence of mirror neurons—a type of brain-cell that fires when you perform an action, and when you *watch* someone perform the same action— was accidentally discovered in monkeys when it was observed that the same brain neurons fired when the monkey picked up a raisin as when the monkey watched a raisin being picked up by a researcher (di Pellegrino, Fadiga, Fogassi, Gallese, & Rizzolatti, 1992).[vii] While much of the information available has been obtained through experiments involving monkeys, research has also indicated the presence of mirror neurons in humans, including Mukamel, Ekstrom, Kaplan, Iacoboni, and Fried (2010), who reported neurons with mirror properties in the human brain.

The discovery of the presence of mirror neurons has implications for many scientific disciplines. Iacoboni (2008) elaborates:

> No one could begin to explain how it is that we know what others are doing, thinking, and feeling. Now we can. We achieve our very subtle understanding of other people thanks to certain collections of special cells in the brain called mirror neurons. These are the tiny miracles that get us through the day. They are at the heart of how we navigate through our lives. They bind us with each other, mentally and emotionally. (p. 4)

Similarly, Keysers (2011), who has collaborated with the Italian team, explains the importance of the discovery of mirror neurons:

> Mirror neurons not only help us understand other people, they also provide surprising new responses to very old questions such as how evolution led to human language and how our body is related to how we think. Besides changing our view of human nature, studying mirror neurons also gives us insights into more inconspicuous aspects of our everyday lives, such as why your arms start twitching while you watch your favorite baseball player swing at a critical pitch, or why it's so hard for a pianist not to move his fingers while listening to a piece of piano music, or how we learn skills by simply watching what others do. (p. 11)

According to Keysers, mirror neurons explain not only how we can respond emotionally to the states of those close to us, but also how we are able to share feelings of fear, suspense, and joy with fictional characters on the television or radio with whom we enjoy no intimate connection.

Neuroscientific findings, which accord mirror neurons an important role in recognizing another person's emotional and cognitive states, would seem to offer empirical evidence for Lipps' understanding of empathy as inner imitation (Stueber, 2013). Neuroscience also increases our understanding of the relationship between facial recognition and our experiencing of emotion. From an evolutionary perspective, human interaction has been primarily face-to-face, and so mirror neuron functioning in physical encounters has been referred to by Gallese (2001) as the "shared manifold" of intersubjectivity. Iacoboni (2008) offers further insight into how mirror neurons visually relate to empathic processes:

> When we see someone else suffering or in pain, mirror neurons help us to read her or his facial expression and actually make us feel the suffering or the pain of the other person. These moments, I will argue, are the foundation of empathy and possibly of morality, a morality that is deeply rooted in our biology. (pp. 4-5)

In this way, mirror neurons aid in understanding how it is that we are able to "read" others'

thoughts and feelings.

While investigation into mirror neurons in humans is still in its nascent stages, neuroscientific belief in the importance of future research to our understanding of human mental processes remains strong. Representative is Ramachandran (2000), who predicts that "mirror neurons will do for psychology what DNA did for biology: they will provide a unifying framework and help explain a host of mental abilities that have hitherto remained mysterious and inaccessible to experiments" (p. 1).

Claims of this magnitude have invited criticism, such as Pinker (2011), who notes that the original subjects in which mirror neurons were discovered—rhesus macaques—display almost no overt affective empathy, and that the areas of the brain in which the neurons have been discovered are largely unrelated to empathic processes. Other researchers have expressed doubts about the ability of mirror neurons to accurately explain all cognitive and affective processes of empathy in humans. Hoffman (2011) argues that while mirror neurons may explain facial mimicry, and how we perceive others' states through audio/visual cues, they are inadequate in explaining more complex affective phenomenon, such as the human propensity to display empathic concern for people not physically present. As well, the possible presence of mirror neurons in humans fails to explain how it is we are capable of higher-order perspective-taking (i.e., taking the perspective of an individual not physically present or of an imagined individual). Similarly, mirror neurons cannot explain how humans experience empathic concern towards individuals and even, as will be later shown, inanimate objects.

Notwithstanding the above caveats, the contribution of neuroscientific research into mirror neurons furthers our understanding of simulation theory (the theory that we gain insight into another's thoughts and feelings through simulating them in our own minds). Mirror neurons help in understanding how it is that we read visual cues, and how it is we can mimic another's actions simply by watching. While mirror neurons cannot provide a comprehensive understanding of cognitive and affective empathic processes, they do indicate a strong

biological basis for empathy. Neuroscience continues to expand our understanding of empathy in other areas, including empathy and gender (*cf.* Appendix C) and affective response and the production of oxytocin (*cf.* Appendix D).

The following section discusses empathy research in the field of ethology, outlining how the capacity of other social animals to engage in empathic concern provides an evolutionary understanding of empathy in humans, who have evolved empathic abilities to strengthen group cohesion in our survival as a species. ICL seeks to make use of the products of our long evolution to promote understanding of and positive attitudes towards members of other cultures.

Perspectives on Empathy in Ethology

Ethology, the study of animal behavior and social organization from a biological perspective, is another avenue for inquiry into empathy. Ethology research into empathy provides evidence for an evolutionary understanding of empathy in humans, while also demonstrating variance in empathic ability cross-species. Understanding that humans possess pronounced empathic abilities compared with other animals lends support for the approach put forward in this research: to make use of uniquely human capacities to shift perspectives, and experience empathic concern for distant/culturally diverse others.

Ethologist and primatologist Frans de Waal, in *The Age of Empathy: Nature's Lessons for a Kinder Society* (2009), argues that the positive emotional traits of kindness, sharing, and empathy play an important role in our evolutionary rise as a species. De Waal echoes the claims of Russian philosopher Peter Kropotkin, who in *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* (1904) identified networks of mutual cooperation within species, arguing that "besides the *law of Mutual Struggle* there is in Nature *the law of Mutual Aid,* which for the success of the struggle of life, and especially for the progressive evolution of the species, is far more important than the law of mutual contest" (p. x). Over a century later, de Waal states that human empathy is

the product of our long evolution, and that we have inherited empathic tendencies from our animal ancestors. Yet for de Waal (2009), the human capacity for empathy may be greater than that observed in other species:

> The full capacity [of human empathy] seems put together like a Russian doll. At its core is an automated process shared with a multitude of species, surrounded by outer layers that fine-tune its aim and reach. Not all species possess all layers: Only a few take another's perspective, something we are masters at. But even the most sophisticated layers of the doll remain firmly tied to its primal core. (pp. 208-209)

According to this view, despite a core of shared empathic skills, the heightened and multilayered ability to take perspectives and experience empathic concern is what separates humans from other species.

Our heightened empathic abilities notwithstanding, higher cognitive empathic processes have been demonstrated in other apes. Povinelli, Nelson, and Boysen (1992) trained chimpanzees to act as either an informant, who knew the location of food, or an operator, who did not know the location, but was able to operate a series of controls that would result in food for both subjects. When the roles were reversed, it was noted that the subjects did not require time to learn their new roles, indicating that the chimpanzees were capable of perspective-taking and adopting behaviors only witnessed in their partner. The researchers found that the results were not replicated when the participants used were various species of monkeys. This argues strongly for the assertion that empathic ability varies between species.

Ethologists have also studied processes related to affective empathy in other species, and the existence of empathic concern and empathy-related helping behaviors in animals has been known for some time, particularly in response to perceived distress in others. Church (1959) conducted experiments with mice in which results indicated that subjects could learn to help others absent any gratification or immediate reward. Rice and Gainer (1962) also used rats in an experiment where faced with the sight of a rat suspended off the floor, a subject could

push a bar, which lowered the distressed rat. The sight of a fellow animal in distress resulted in an increase in bar-pressing, suggesting a capacity in rats to experience concern. It has also been noted that in experiments designed to elicit distress in children, family dogs have consistently displayed behaviors seemingly motivated by empathic concern (*cf.* Zahn-Waxler, Cummings, McKnew, and Radke-Yarrow, 1984). In their extensive research on primate behavior, Preston and de Waal (2002) provide various anecdotes of animal empathy, such as the actions of Binti, a lowland gorilla kept at the Chicago zoo that famously protected and consoled a three-year-old boy who had fallen into the enclosure. Considering Binti's behavior, they assert:

> Her behavior fits entirely with everything else we know about apes, which is that they respond comfortingly to individuals in distress. The only significant difference was that in this case the behavior was directed at a member of a different species. (p. 297)

In addition to gorillas and chimpanzees, de Waal has recorded empirical evidence of comforting behavior in other ape species. In *Bonobo: The Forgotten Ape* (1997), he relates the following story:

> Kidogo, a 21-year old bonobo at the Milwaukee County Zoo, suffers from a serious heart condition. He is feeble, lacking the normal stamina and self-confidence of a grown male. When first moved to Milwaukee Zoo, the keepers' shifting commands in the unfamiliar building thoroughly confused him. He failed to understand where to go when people urged him to move from one place to another.
>
> Other apes in the group would step in, however. They would approach Kidogo, take him by the hand, and lead him in the right direction. Care-taker and animal trainer Barbara Bell observed many instances of spontaneous assistance, and learned to call upon other bonobos to move Kidogo. If lost, Kidogo would utter distress calls, whereupon others would calm him down, or act as his guide. One of his main helpers was the highest-ranking male, Lody. These observations of bonobo males walking hand-in-hand dispel the notion that they are unsupportive of each other.

(de Waal & Lanting, p. 157)

Ethologists have theorized that the capacity for empathy has evolved in a range of mammals that live in complex social groups, including primates, elephants, whales, social carnivores, and rodents. Pierce (2008) summarizes the evolutionary process of empathy across social species:

> Because empathy is grounded in the same neurological architecture as other prosocial behaviors such as trust, reciprocity, cooperation, and fairness, it seems likely that a whole suite of interlined moral behaviors have co-evolved in social mammals. (p. 75)

Pierce's assertion is significant. Ethology research into the capacity of other species to take alternate perspectives and evidence empathic concern indicates a deep evolutionary basis for empathy in a variety of social species. Furthermore, in demonstrating differences in empathic abilities according to species, ethology research lends support to an idea that underscores an ICL approach: that amongst social species, humans are endowed with a unique capacity for taking perspectives and experiencing concern.

ICL aims at developing empathic abilities in learners; therefore, it will be necessary to discuss the manners in which empathy has been measured in subjects— the topic of the following section.

Measuring Empathy

First, a brief chronological survey of empathy assessment tools will be presented, before laying out an ICL-approach to assessment. As early definitions of empathy emerged, so did a desire to measure it. Initial attempts employed questionnaires through which two participants would rate themselves and each other on various personality traits. Representative of this approach is Dymond (1949), who measured empathy using six traits (self-confidence, superior-inferior, selfish-unselfish, friendly-unfriendly, leader-follower, sense of humor). Involving two respondents (A and B), her questionnaire required participants to complete four

parts:

1. A rates his/her own personality traits.

2. A rates B's personality traits.

3. A estimates how they believe B will rate B.

4. A estimates how they believe B will rate A.

Empathic ability was determined by the degree to which A's answers to parts 3 and 4 corresponded to B's answers to parts 1 and 2 (*cf.* Dymond, 1949).

Subsequent attempts to measure empathy have also made use of self-reporting instruments. One early example is Truax and Carkhuff's (1967) *Accurate Empathy Scale*, which divided levels of empathic response across eight stages. More influential still has been *The Empathy Scale* by Hogan (1969), a 64-item self-report measure of empathy employing four dimensions: social self-confidence, even-temperedness, sensitivity, and nonconformity. Employing his scale, Hogan was able to categorize respondents into categories ranking empathy from high to low in order to analyze differences in response between groups. Although widely used, the scale has been criticized for measuring social skills rather than empathy (Davis, 1983).

Many self-reporting instruments have since been created. In constructing the *Questionnaire Measure of Emotional Empathy* (QMEE), Mehrabian and Epstein (1972) included seven subscales that when combined (the researchers claimed) indicated degrees of affective empathy. However, it was noted that the instrument measured emotional arousal more than affective empathy (Mehrabian, Young, & Sato, 1988). Davis (1983) presented the *Interpersonal Reactivity Index*, which contained four subscales measuring *perspective-taking, fantasy, empathic concern, and personal distress*, in an attempt to measure cognitive and affective aspects of empathy. This instrument has also received criticism, particularly pertaining to the fantasy subscale, which was argued to be more appropriate for assessing imagination (Baron-Cohen & Wheelwright, 2004).

Differences in definitions of empathy, and a general lack of consensus as to what components of empathy should be measured, have frustrated attempts to create empathy-instruments that meet with broad support (*cf.* Appendix E). As a result, more recent instruments employ self-report questionnaires for the purpose of measuring empathy in specific populations. Included in this group are Reynolds' (2000) *Nursing Empathy Scale*, the *Jefferson Scale of Physician Empathy* (Hojat et al., 2001), and Hashimoto and Shiomi's (2002) *Japanese Adolescent Empathy Scale*. These attempts are illustrative of a growing realization that empathy measurements are best delimited to: 1) specific groups, and 2) in assessing the efficacy of specific curricula.

As this research aims to measure learners *in a specific setting* (the foreign-language classroom), it is now possible to discuss the question of empathy assessment as it pertains to an ICL approach. First, as an empathy-centered approach to acquiring competence, it is important to measure learner-empathy, in order to assess the efficacy of curricula, and it must also be demonstrated that curricular activities (in this case learner-interactions with characters in narrative literature) are positively impacting learners. There are numerous self-report instruments available; however, there is as yet no single assessment-tool specifically targeting those aspects of empathy that an ICL approach sets out to develop. These are: 1) the ability to take the perspectives of members of other cultures, and 2) the development of positive attitudes towards members of other cultures. Wang et al. (2003) created the *Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy* (SEE), a 31-item "self-report instrument that measures empathy towards people of racial and ethnic backgrounds different from one's own" (p. 221). This instrument measures empathy over 4 factors: *empathic feeling and expression, empathic awareness, acceptance of cultural differences*, and *empathic perspective-taking*—the last being of direct relevance here, because it is largely synonymous to the *Intercultural Sensitivity Scale* (see Chapter One), which (problematically) contains numerous items that assume learners have access to frequent intercultural encounters; however, in highly homogeneous cultural settings this is generally not

the case. In attempting to measure learner-ability to take intercultural perspectives—the assessment item *empathic perspective-taking* represents a utile tool for this present study. The manner in which it will be employed is discussed in Chapter Four (the items used in this assessment tool are shown in Appendix F).

This brief summary of empathy instruments makes it possible to draw two conclusions. First, that no consensus exists as to how best to measure or assess empathy—a situation that has resulted from a lack of definitional consensus. That said, broad agreement exists concerning the applicability and use of self-reporting instruments as viable modes of measurement. Second, as the trend in empathy instruments has moved away from tools for universal assessment, towards those that measure empathy in specific groups according to specific curricular objectives, it is advisable to employ tools that have been created for defined groups, in order to measure specific aspects of empathy. Therefore, this research will attempt to measure the development of learner cognitive-ability—perspective-taking—using a specialized self-report instrument: the Empathic Perspective-taking component embedded in the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy. We will now turn to the question of the type of pedagogical approach educators can employ, so as to effectively develop empathy in learners.

Teaching Empathy

The important question of how empathy may be developed in learners can be addressed through an examination of research studies conducted with the objective of increasing learner empathic ability; in these studies, a variety of educational strategies have been shown to be effective. The concept of teaching empathy to learners has attracted significant interest among educators and academics across multiple disciplines; yet some doubt has been expressed as to whether empathy can be taught directly. Within the field of physical therapy, Carol Davis (1990) contends that being experiential in nature, direct attempts to teach empathy are ineffective. Despite her admonition, attempts have been made. Henry-Tillman, Deloney,

Savidge, Graham, and Klimberg (2002), measured the effects of a class of medical students, in which they were directly informed of the benefits of increased empathy towards patients. The researchers found that students responded negatively to the instruction, with some expressing resentment at the inference that they were lacking in empathy. This result indicates the necessity of developing alternative strategies for developing empathy in learners—strategies that are *indirect* and provide a degree of *autonomy* to the learner. This research indicates the inadvisability of employing direct instruction for empathy-development in learners.

Research has also revealed important considerations affecting learner empathic-engagement. Smith (1989) observed that subjects are more likely to respond empathically to people with whom they perceive to share similarities. This corresponds with Batson, who (based on Stotland, 1969 and Krebs, 1975) states that the degree to which a subject perceives similarities between themselves and another directly influences the affective empathy they experience when the target is in a state of distress (*cf.* Batson 1991; 2016). In investigating the failure of others' suffering to induce empathy (in certain contexts), Cikara, Bruneau, and Saxe (2011) note the importance of ingroup-outgroup perception. Although we easily experience empathy towards those with whom we share close relationships or high degrees of perceived similarity, members of groups who are less connected, or perceived as being dissimilar, often fail to elicit empathy. The researchers explain that "if an individual is a member of an outgroup, they are more likely to fail to initiate our empathy, and could even be targets of Schadenfreude in competitive contexts" (p. 12). Evidence from neuroscience further supports this claim.[viii]

Indicated is the importance of drawing learner attention to areas of commonality, in order to facilitate empathic responses. In one experiment, Batson, Duncan, Ackerman, Buckley, and Birch (1981), informed subjects prior to encountering an empathy target that the results of a personality text indicated that they were either similar or different in values and interests. Batson et al. explains the result:

Compared with subjects in the dissimilar condition, subjects who perceived themselves

to be similar to the performer showed greater physiological arousal in response to his

pleasure and pain, reported identifying with him to a greater degree, and reported

feeling worse while waiting for him to receive shock. These subjects also subsequently

helped him more. (Batson, Duncan, Ackerman, Buckley, & Birch, 1981, p. 293)

The above research strongly suggests that learners are more disposed to feel empathy towards

those individuals whom they perceive a degree of similarity, and more importantly, the degree

to which they feel affinity can be *increased*.

Researchers have noted the tendency for subjects to experience more empathy towards

those whom they believe to have experiences shared in common (Murphy, 1937). It has also

been shown that a lack of experience acts as an impediment to experiencing empathy, resulting

in a type of cognitive bias known as *hot-cold empathy gaps*. Simply stated, a person without

prior experience may be unable to fully imagine the severity or degree of emotional/physical

stress (*cold-to-hot*); while those in a hot state may not fully comprehend the degree to which

their behavior is being influenced by their current state (*hot-to-cold*). Read and Loewenstein

(1999) illustrated this phenomenon when they asked university students to set a price for the

painful experience of immersing their hands into icy water. Results showed that the highest

prices were set by the students who had prior experience of immersion, while those without

such experience tended to request lower compensation. Van Boven and Loewenstein (2003)

conducted a similar experiment involving one group of students who had just exercised

vigorously, and another group who had performed no exercise, immediately preceding the

experiment. Both groups were presented with a story of hikers who became lost, and without

provisions. When researchers asked students to choose whether hunger or thirst would be more

unpleasant, students in the exercise group were more likely to choose thirst over hunger than

the student-group that had performed no exercise.

To gain a better understanding of how factors such as perceived similarities, perceived

shared experiences, and cold-to-hot empathy gaps affect learner ability to take perspectives and experience empathic concern, researchers have experimented with instructions and activities prior to asking subjects to engage in perspective-taking. Batson*, Early, & Salvarani (1997a) tested the effects on empathic response of manipulating subject engagement in perspective-taking, prior to an encounter. Before playing a recording of a woman in serious need, one-third of subjects were instructed to remain objective during listening, one-third were asked to imagine how the woman felt, and the final third to imagine how they would feel in the woman's situation. Subjects engaging in perspective-taking demonstrated a greater affective response, with the second group evidencing empathic concern, and the final group evidencing signs of both empathic concern and emotional distress. In addition to indicating the efficacy of having subjects imagine how others think and feel—as opposed to only how they would feel in another's shoes—this research demonstrates the importance of engaging learner empathy *prior* to facilitating encounters, in order to prepare the learner for more involved empathic engagement.

In addition to considerations to be addressed prior to asking learners to engage in perspective-taking, research also supports the efficacy of following empathic encounters with reflective exercise and class discussion. In an attempt to measure the effects of discussion following an activity designed to facilitate perspective-taking and empathic concern, Ornaghi, Brockmeier, and Grazzani (2014) enrolled 110 elementary-school children, divided them into two groups, and then presented the subjects a reading course with emotionally-stimulative content. Following the readings, one group (the empathy group) engaged in discussions on the content of the literature they had read, while the second group (the control group) was instructed only to draw pictures about the stories. The first group was asked how they would feel if they were in the shoes of the protagonist, as well as what they would do if they were suddenly transported into the story. Results showed that subjects who reflected on the story in the discussion group showed greater advances in empathic development, when compared with

the non-discussion group.

In recognizing the value and necessity of developing empathy in nursing students and physicians in training, attempts have been made in the field of medicine to raise learner-ability to take patient perspectives for understanding and genuine concern (Wheeler and Barrett. 1994). Among the approaches that have been implemented are the construction of patient narratives, dramatic role-playing, and patient interviews. Dow, Leong, Anderson, and Wenzel (2007) investigated the efficacy of empathy workshops led by professors in the Theater Department at Virginia Commonwealth University for improving the empathy scores of medical students. Compared to a control group, students who participated in reflective exercises, discussions, and dramatizations of doctor-patient encounters displayed significantly higher empathy scores (for a further discussion of role-playing for empathic development, see Appendix G). Batt-Rawden, Chisolm, Anton, and Flickinger (2013) reviewed fifteen quantitative and three qualitative studies that variously employed reflective exercises and group discussions in order to evaluate their efficacy in promoting practitioner empathy towards patients. These researchers concluded that "educational interventions can be effective in maintaining and enhancing empathy in undergraduate medical students" (p. 1171).

An examination of existing research has shown the inadvisability of attempting to directly instruct learners to be empathic. In introducing learners to literary narratives, ICL therefore takes an indirect approach. Research also indicates the importance of drawing learner-attention to areas of commonality, and to experiences that a given individual and the object (other) of empathic encounter may share. An ICL approach involves learner encounters with members of other cultures; therefore, prior to encounters in narrative, learners are asked to imagine an experience similar to that which they will soon encounter in the story. In cases where such shared experiences cannot be reasonably assumed, learners are asked to imagine how they would think and feel in a situation similar to that portrayed in the narrative. Such imaginative preparation helps to alleviate the effects of cold-to-hot empathy gaps, where

learners are unable to engage in empathy, due to a lack of shared experience.

An analysis of the research has also shown that post-encounter exercises have been employed with success. Therefore, an ICL approach follows narrative encounters with reflective activities and group discussions. Drawing on findings from Batson, Early, and Salvarani (1997a), ICL self-reflective exercises seek to avoid eliciting emotional distress by first asking the learner to take character perspectives (e.g., How would they feel?), as opposed to immediately imagining themselves into characters (e.g., How would you feel?). Finally, an ICL approach contains reflective activities in the form of written reflections and group discussions, thus allowing learners to further reflect on the narrative, and learn from the discoveries of others.

With an understanding of factors influencing learner-ability to engage in empathy, and an explanation of how an ICL curriculum addresses them, the following section discusses research in which empathy-centered curricula have been employed to foster positive attitudes in learners.

Empathy and Attitude

As Deardorff (2006) has asserted, the development of positive attitudes towards cultures—which she defines as toleration, respect, openness, and curiosity—represents a foundational aspect of IC. An ICL approach aims to engender these positive attitudes (hereafter referred to as *pro-cultural attitudes*) through the elicitation of empathic concern through empathic engagement with literary characters, from various cultural backgrounds. Research has consistently associated affective empathic responses with observable helping behaviors (Hodges & Myer, 2007). This fact has resulted in a contentious debate concerning the relationship of empathy to altruistic behavior, defined as "behavior motivated by a desire to benefit someone other than oneself for that person's sake" (*Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2016). Researchers, such as Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce, and Neuberg (1997),

have asserted that many helping behaviors are linked to the emotional distress one feels at witnessing the suffering or pain of others. However, other researchers (in particular Hoffman, 1982; 1987; 2000), have argued for an understanding of helping behavior as motivated by an altruistic empathic concern for others (for a fuller discussion of this empathy-altruism debate, see Appendix H). While eliciting emotional distress may not be effective in inculcating pro-cultural attitudes, empathic concern presents the educator with a powerful tool for shaping positive attitudes in learners, as empathic concern is triggered when one gains insights into another's mental and/or emotional state *through taking their perspective*.

As demonstrated, research studies have shown the efficacy of activating empathic concern in learners through perspective-taking for attitude development. To begin with, engaging empathic concern through perspective-taking has been shown to improve attitudes towards specific groups. Clore and Jeffrey (1972) had undergraduates assume the role of a disabled person by having them travel around campus alone for an hour in a wheelchair (during which time they were compelled to navigate stairs, elevators, and perform other tasks). It was found that this experience significantly improved subject-attitudes towards the disabled. Of interest to this present study, students who only *observed* the experiment *also* demonstrated positive attitudinal changes, which were again observed in follow-ups, four months post-experiment. The researchers theorized that watching classmates with whom they had regular contact struggle to navigate the campus in a wheelchair heightened observer ability to take perspectives and experience concern. From the perspective of their disabled classmates, students were able to gain understanding and insight into the difficulties faced by disabled persons on campus. This understanding promoted concern, and resulted in attitudinal changes. Furthermore, post-experiment results demonstrated that the concern and positive attitudes experienced towards acquaintances was extended to other disabled persons with whom *observers* had no direct contact. In comparing the results of an empathy instrument completed by the three groups (wheelchair riders, observers, and a control group), Clore and Jeffrey noted

that "the Role Playing and Vicarious groups were almost identical in their empathy scores, both being significantly different from the Controls" (1972, p. 12). The effect of role playing a stressful experience—an undergraduate's first day on campus in a wheelchair—was virtually the same in those who experienced it indirectly *and* vicariously.

Batson et al. (1997b) attempted to measure the effects of eliciting empathy on attitudes towards a member of a stigmatized group (AIDS sufferers). In a first experiment, subjects listened to a broadcast detailing the situation of a fictional woman (Julie) suffering from AIDS. Subject-empathy was manipulated prior to listening by instructing one group to remain objective (low-empathy group), while the second group (high empathy) was instructed to "imagine how the woman who is interviewed feels about what has happened and how it has affected her life" (p. 108). Subjects in both groups were further divided into two groups: one who listened to an interview in which the performer was portrayed as not responsible for contracting AIDS (victim-not-responsible), and another where she admitted to contracting the virus through unprotected sexual contact (victim-responsible). Although responsibility partially mediated respondent answers on a post-experiment survey instrument, both high-empathy groups demonstrated higher scores on an empathy index. Furthermore, subjects in the high-empathy group demonstrated more positive attitudes towards AIDS sufferers *as a group* compared with the low-empathy groups—regarding which Batson et al. concluded "inducing empathy for Julie produced more positive attitudes toward the stigmatized group of which she was a member" (1997b, p. 109-110). Batson, Chang, Orr, and Rowland (2002) produced similar results by eliciting subject empathic concern for drug addicts.[ix]

Similar results have been recorded in experiments seeking to ascertain the efficacy of empathy for improving attitudes toward other races. Finlay and Stephan (2000) found that inducing empathy in Anglo Americans was effective in changing attitudes towards African Americans. Similar to Batson's experiments, the researchers first manipulated subjects by eliciting empathy in some (high empathy group) while not in others (low empathy group), after

which all subjects were provided information about acts of discrimination commonly experienced by African Americans. The researchers concluded that "reading about discrimination against African Americans or inducing empathy reduces in-group-out-group bias in attitudes toward African Americans vs. Anglo Americans" (p. 1720). A similar experiment was performed by Vescio, Sechrist, and Paolucci (2003).[x]

The efficacy of empathy for improving subject attitudes towards the environment has also been studied. Schultz (2000) divided students from five countries (the United States, Mexico, Nicaragua, Peru, and Spain) into two groups: an objective group (low empathy) and a perspective-taking group (high empathy). Subjects in both groups were then shown three series of pictures: people in nature, animals in nature, animals in nature harmed by human activity (by pollution, commercial fishing, etc.). Participants in the objective group were instructed to take a neutral perspective, and to closely observe the postures, mannerisms, details, and facial expressions. Conversely, subjects in the perspective-taking group were given the following instruction:

> As you view the images, try to imagine how the subjects in the images feel. Try to take the perspective of the subjects, imagining how they are feeling about what is happening. While you view the images, picture to yourself just how they feel. Think about their reactions. In your mind's eye visualize clearly and vividly how they feel in their situation. Try not to concern yourself with attending to all the information presented. Just imagine how the subjects feel in their situation. (p. 399)

Respondents completed a post-viewing questionnaire, which revealed no significant differences between the groups in relation to pictures involving people in nature and animals in nature. However, the perspective group was found to exhibit significantly higher empathic concern in relation to the animals being harmed than the objective group. Berenguer (2007) similarly demonstrated the efficacy of eliciting empathic concern through perspective-taking to foster positive attitudes towards nature.[xi]

The examples cited here are representative of a corpus of research supporting the fostering of attitudes through the elicitation of empathic concern, via perspective-taking. Furthermore, research results indicate that empathic concern experienced towards an individual is directed towards the greater group to which the individual is associated. Eliciting empathic concern—rather than emotional distress—represents a viable strategy for effecting attitudinal changes in learners, who may not otherwise respond favorably to direct forms of instruction. Based upon the studies presented in this section, an ICL approach employs strategies that, performed prior to encountering an empathy target in narratives, facilitate learner-ability to take perspectives for the experiencing of empathic concern. Additionally, ICL employs post-encounter activities to facilitate learner re-engagement, through which they are afforded further opportunities to take the perspectives of others to experience empathic concern.

As can be seen, research studies demonstrating the efficacy of eliciting empathy for the fostering of positive attitudes form the foundation of an ICL approach to inculcating pro-cultural attitudes in learners, for the acquisition of intercultural competence. Through taking the perspectives of literary characters from various cultural backgrounds, learners experience concern, which is then extended to larger groups. From this develops the attitudes foundational to the acquisition of IC. The following section summarizes ICL's empathy-centered approach to IC education.

Competence through Empathy

Empathy research from the field of psychology provides a clear understanding of empathic abilities and responses, while ethology reveals the rootedness of empathy in our evolutionary history. Accessing empathy studies from outside the field of IC allows for insight into how an empathic ability to take perspectives may be targeted to facilitate understanding of others, and also demonstrates the efficacy of eliciting empathic concern for the fostering of positive attitudes. These findings support the assertions of Chapter One—that empathy must

be understood as an *ability*, and that it may be employed causally to develop those attitudes foundational to the acquisition of IC.

An ICL approach to IC education represents a novel application of these findings. As with the experiments surveyed, ICL provides learners with personal encounters, through which they are encouraged to take alternate perspectives. In the case of ICL, encounters are literary encounters with members of other cultures, representing a low-stress alternative to physical encounters. This approach also addresses the problem posed by learners hailing from culturally homogeneous environments, who may have minimal access to—or experience of—cultural diversity. ICL utilizes 1) research detailing factors that influence the experiencing of empathy, 2) employs pre-encounter strategies designed to draw learner attention to similarities, and 3) shared experiences prior to taking the perspectives of characters. Post-reading reflections and discussions provide learners with opportunities to 1) empathically re-engage following readings, and 2) maximize the experiencing of empathic concern. Finally, the experiencing of concern towards individuals results in pro-cultural attitudes that extend beyond the individual target of empathy.

This, then, is ICL's empathy-centered approach to IC education. Through empathic encounter learners come to understand what it is like to be someone from another culture and, in addition to increasing cultural awareness and knowledge, develop the ability to imagine others, strengthen their cognitive flexibility, and form positive attitudes towards cultural groups. ICL addresses the question of how educators might more effectively utilize empathy in IC, and also offers a practical approach to fostering the pro-cultural attitudes foundational to IC acquisition.

Chapter Three will outline specific aspects of literature that make it an effective medium for empathic interaction, introduce specific narrative forms useful in the classroom, and present studies in which literature has been shown to increase empathy in learners.

Chapter Three: Perspective-taking through Narrative Literature

As an ICL approach seeks to facilitate empathic encounters with literary characters as an alternative to physical intercultural encounters, research into literary narratives represents the third component of this investigation. Within IC, direct encounter plays a central role in 1) the learner-acquisition of cultural knowledge, 2) the ability to understand and interpret from alternate perspectives, and 3) the fostering of pro-cultural attitudes. For learners in multicultural, heterogeneous societies, these encounters are commonly facilitated on school campuses and in local communities (Deardorff, 2011). However, not all learners have access to high levels of diversity, and some—such as the learners under study in this research—reside in highly homogenous cultural environments, where contact with members of other cultures is minimal. This raises the question of how, in the absence of physical intercultural interactions, educators may seek to develop IC in learners.

Thus far, studies have been surveyed in which learners have taken perspectives of individuals (and objects) not physically present, in order to gain understanding of other groups (e.g., the disabled, AIDS sufferers, the environment), resulting in the development of positive attitudes through the experiencing of empathic concern (*cf.* Clore & Jeffrey, 1972; Batson et al. 1997b; Schultz, 2000). It has been shown how perspective-taking represents a viable approach to gaining insight into others' mental states—such an understanding underscores the fostering of positive attitudes in learners, with regard to IC education. In the following sections, a bolder claim is made—that perspective-taking through narrative literature represents an *alternative* to physical intercultural encounters, and is an effective medium through which learners can identify with literary protagonists, in order to foster positive cultural attitudes. In making this case, aspects of literature will next be presented that enhance reader-ability to engage in and experience empathy. These aspects include: reader transportation, character identification, and the capacity of narratives to function as social simulation. Factors influencing reader-ability to empathically engage with texts will also be

discussed, with further attention given to the capacity of literature to stimulate imagination, creativity, and reflection. As well, forms of narrative will be presented, and an explanation of the manner in which an ICL approach applies narrative literature outlined. The chapter will conclude with an explanation of the manner in which ICL employs literature to transmit cultural knowledge in the context of the EFL classroom.

Concerning Narrative: Empathic Reader-response

Narratives are all around us—they are the everyday stories we ingest as news, relate in gossip, and tell ourselves to make sense of our lives. Narrative takes many forms, as Roland Barthes explains:

> Narrative is present in myth, legend, fable, tale, novella, epic, history, tragedy, drama, comedy, mime, painting…, stained glass windows, cinema, comics, news items, conversation. Moreover, under this almost infinite diversity of forms, narrative is present in every age, in every place, in every society; it begins with the very history of mankind and there nowhere is nor has been a people without narrative. (1975, p. 237)

According to Barthes, narratives are a ubiquitous fact of human existence, as well as a principal medium of communication. While the social impact of narrative has long been noted, the mechanisms by which it achieves its effects have been relatively ignored. Brock, Strange, and Green (2002) note that although thousands of studies have been conducted to comprehend the psychological techniques employed in communications related to advocacy and propaganda, little consideration has been given to other narrative genres, such as novels and narrative nonfiction.

This oversight is striking, considering the social, political, and economic impact that certain books have exercised. One example is author Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852/1994), an anti-slavery book that sold over one million copies in Britain in its first year of publication, and has been credited with swaying British opinion towards taking a neutral

stance in the American Civil War. Says Johnson (1997): "In Britain the success of the novel helped to ensure that, seven years later, the British, whose economic interest lay with the South, remained strictly neutral" (p. 280). Nor is Stowe's work an anomaly; literary works of the twentieth century, such George Orwell's *1984* (1949/2017), and Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932/2006) continue to influence the political discourse, while Ayn Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* (1957/2007) is arguably as influential today as at any time in the past.

Narrative differs from other expressive mediums. It its simplest sense a narrative is "a story or a description of a series of events" (*Cambridge Dictionary*, 2018). Although synonymous with "story," descriptive conceptions are varied, and best approached through an examination of defining components. Narratives typically contain: 1) a beginning, middle, and end; 2) a plot; and, 3) action (Riessman, 2008). Another definition involves the idea that narratives are a series of causally linked events that transpire over time (Graesser, Hauft-Smith, Cohen, & Pyles, 1980). The term "narrative," as used in this research refers to descriptions of series of events (stories) in text, and will not include discussions of narrative in other forms (e.g., television, painting, oral storytelling, etc.).

An important aspect of narrative is *narrative empathy*, which Suzanne Keen (2013) defines as "the sharing of feeling and perspective-taking induced by reading, viewing, hearing, or imagining narratives of another's situation and condition" ("narrative empathy," para 1). Narrative empathy involves the reader being immersed or transported into a text, facilitating the engagement of multiple aspects of empathy, including perspective-taking and affective components such as emotional distress and empathic concern. It is through transportation that readers forge bonds with characters. This bond allows readers to simulate the social events contained in texts, which transported readers co-experience with characters to improve social functioning. Through transportation into author-created worlds, reader imagination is stimulated and developed. Finally, narratives are also an efficacious medium for promoting reader reflection—critical for the formation of positive attitudes. These topics will next be discussed in more detail.

Reader transportation.

The mechanisms by which readers process literary narratives have recently become an area of academic interest. An emergent conceptualization involves the idea of narrative as a cognitive adventure, allowing readers to escape the confines of the physical world. According to Gibson (1980):

> The fact is that every time we open the pages of another piece of writing, we are embarked on a new adventure in which we become a new person…. We assume, for the sake of the experience, that set of attitudes and qualities which the language asks us to assume, and, if we cannot assume them, we throw the book away. (p. 1)

Gibson is referencing the phenomenon of reader transportation, the process through which one successfully embarks on an imaginary voyage contained in the text.

In an academic sense, reader transportation refers to "the extent that individuals are absorbed into a story or transported into a narrative world" (Green & Brock, 2000, 701). Gerrig (1993) further explicates this idea:

> 1. Someone ("the traveler") is transported
>
> 2. by some means of transportation [the narrative]
>
> 3. as a result of performing certain actions.
>
> 4. The traveler goes some distance from his or her world of origin
>
> 5. which makes some aspects of the world of origin inaccessible.
>
> 6. The traveler returns to the world of origin, somewhat changed by the journey.   (pp. 9-10)

As seen in Gibson, Gerrig likewise uses the analogy of travel to explain the process of the "transported reader."

Transportation requires cognitive focus on events in the narrative, and this experience results in several consequences. The first involves the reader suspending doubt, or partially losing access to facts and beliefs related to the world they know. This is necessary in order to

accept the narrative world created by the author—involved is a psychological distancing from one's perceived reality. This enables the reader to fully encounter the alternate reality presented in the narrative, a fact demonstrated by Brock, Strange, and Green (2002), who analyzed *false notes*, or areas in narratives that do not match reader knowledge or perception of reality. The researchers directed subjects to read through a narrative, circling areas they believed to be unreal or factually false. Brock, Strange, and Green demonstrated that "highly transported participants circled significantly fewer false notes than their less-transported counterparts" (p. 335). The exercise of circling false notes, which they called *Pinocchio scoring*, illuminates the degree to which transportation allows readers to suspend disbelief to fully enter the world presented by a narrative.

Research also suggests that readers approach narratives differently than expository texts (e.g., news articles, essays, textbooks), and it has been noted that information transmitted through narrative literature is largely communicated automatically, and is resistant to efforts to replace with alternate information (Marsh & Fazio, 2006). Zwaan (1994) demonstrated that the processing of texts differed depending on genre. For example, one study involved a news story, versus a passage from a novel. According to Zwaan, "subjects reading under a literary perspective had longer reading times, better memory for surface information, and a poorer memory for situational information than those reading under a news perspective," indicating that subjects process narrative less critically than non-narrative genres. Prentice and Gerrig (1999) similarly posit that *readers respond experientially rather than rationally to narrative texts*, and Green, Garst, and Brock (2004) propose that immersion into narrative fiction "may aid in suspension of disbelief and reduction of counterarguing about the issues raised in the story" (p. 168).

Reader disassociation from objective reality through transportation is perhaps best exemplified by the genre of fantasy; however, narratives often blend aspects of reality and unreality, which the reader must accept in order to be transported. Illustrative of such an

approach is J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (1997), where the reader is compelled to accept that witches, wizards, and a world of magic exist undetected in modern-day Britain. For Brock, Strange and Green (2002), "transportation appears to have an effect on the willingness of the reader to accept the story as authentic" (p. 334). In addition to processing narratives differently from other genres, *transportation* facilitates reader suspension of disbelief to enter the imaginative world presented in the story.

Gerrig's final stage (the return of the traveler) refers to the effects of transportation on the reader. Narrative content may result in transported readers experiencing strong emotions, including a sharing of character emotional states or concern for characters as the narrative unfolds (Gerrig, 1993). Transported readers may also find themselves adopting attitudes or beliefs espoused by characters in the narrative. Conducting a series of experiments to measure the effects of reader transportation, Green and Brock (2000) explain:

> The data provided initial evidence that transportation is associated with story-consistent beliefs. Highly transported participants showed beliefs more consonant with story conclusions as well as more positive evaluations of the story protagonists. Becoming involved in a narrative world seemed to have measurable consequences. Although these correlational analyses cannot establish causality, a likely possibility is that individuals altered their real-world beliefs in response to experiences in a story world. Furthermore, readers reacted to the people inhabiting the story world, with highly transported readers showing greater positivity toward characters." (p. 707)

Green and Brock's research suggests the applicability of employing narratives in an ICL approach. Readers transported into a story experience events together with characters, through whose perspectives they gain access to alternate mental states. Finally, positivity experienced towards individual characters, who in ICL curricula are from differing cultural backgrounds, can be used to foster positive attitudes towards non-native cultures. Research into reader transportation also indicates a key aspect that holds the power to influence reader attitudes: *character identification*.

Character identification.

While transportation relates to the degree to which a reader becomes engrossed in a narrative, character identification refers to a cognitive state in which the reader takes on character perspectives—in particular that of the protagonist. Identification with protagonists produces affective responses allowing readers to co-experience narrative events. Identification also involves the reader *adopting* character goals, so that as the protagonist moves to achieve goals or overcome challenges, the reader experiences emotions which are real, regardless of the veracity of the events portrayed (Oatley, 1995). Similar to perspective-taking, where the degree to which one perceives similarities in personality, background, and experience influences the degree to which one takes on new perspectives, the ability to identify with characters is influenced by similarities perceived by the reader. Kuiken et al. (2004) argues that emotional experiences produced by literature seem to depend on how closely events in the text match the real-life experiences of the reader. Accordingly, readers who are able to link their experiences with those of the protagonist are more likely to be impacted by the narrative. While perceived similarities between the reader and a character may promote identification, Miall (1988) suggests that similarities with character-motives and desires, rather than personality traits, are what determine reader-transportation, regarding identification with characters. This allows for dissimilarities in appearance, culture, etc., to be mediated by reader-ability to relate to the impulses and inclinations of the character.

Writers understand that a reader/character bond is desirable, in order to immerse readers in their work, and as such employ literary strategies aimed at facilitating character-identification early in their narratives. Common approaches may involve the creation of character suffering, or situations in which the character is in danger, or the creation of states of need or desire from which the character works towards resolution (Dixon, 2013). Suffering, striving, and desiring are universal aspects of the human experience that authors utilize to help readers bond with characters, and thereby achieve reader-immersion within the world of the

narrative.

There are several literary factors thought to influence reader-identification with literary characters. Hakemulder (2000) suggests that strong admiration for the author's writing style may actually cause the reader to engage *less readily* with the fictional characters, indicating the importance of having readers process a narrative not as "art," but as a story. Keen (2007) suggests that reader preference for literary techniques may influence reader-ability to connect with the story. For example, a narrative presented chronologically may succeed in eliciting higher degrees of character identification, when compared to more complicated approaches. Finally, the level of syntactic or lexical difficulty may also be expected to influence character identification, as readers who fail to comprehend aspects of the plot also fail to engage with characters. In the context of this research, reader-transportation and character identification are integral to achieving meaningful interactions with a text, without which the learner fails to embark on a cognitive journey.

Chapter Two discussed factors influencing learner-ability to engage in perspective-taking, such as perceived similarities, shared experiences, and ingroup/outgroup dynamics; similarly, research into narrative reveals important considerations for an ICL approach, which aims to facilitate reader transportation into a story. As might now be surmised, narratives should generally present chronologically and contain portrayals of characters engaged in activities or experiencing affective states that are relatable to readers, facilitating reader-ability to link their own experiences, motivations, and desires with those of the protagonist. Additionally, considering that ICL is developed for foreign-language learners (of English, in this research), narrative selection should seek to make use of stories that stylistically and lexically are not excessively difficult. Doing so provides learners with the opportunity to become immersed in texts and identify with characters.

Highly-transported readers take the perspectives of protagonists to gain insight into their worldviews and thereby develop concern for their welfare. Additionally, literary engagement may also uniquely function as *social simulation*.

Narrative empathy as simulation.

There is reason to believe that in processing intercultural encounters in narratives, learners are actually *practicing* social interactions. University of Toronto psychologist Keith Oatley (1999) has theorized that reader-transportation facilitates reader *simulations* of experiences in texts. Oatley argues that fiction should be understood as a medium "that runs on the minds of readers just as computer simulations run on computers" (1999, p. 101). Mar and Oatley (2008) explain that simulation through narrative texts produces two results. First, as a story progresses, reader simulation of events depicted in a narrative text leads to an empathic co-experiencing of character thoughts and emotions. This fact explains how a reader can experience the fear of frantically attempting to outswim a hungry shark, despite the event occurring by proxy, and being ostensibly fictional.

The second result of engaging with narratives is what Mar and Oatley (2008) refer to as *simulated social experience*. Oatley and colleagues (Oatley & Duncan, 1992; Oatley 1999) first proposed that reading narrative results in *a simulation of real-life social experiences*, a theory that has been extensively developed (*cf.* Mar, Oatley, Hirsh, dela Paz, & Peterson, 2006; Mar & Oatley, 2008; Oatley, 2016). Their argument is that rather than creating a realistic impression of reality, narratives "offer models or simulations of the social world via abstraction, simplification, and compression" (2008, p. 173). The result of abstraction and compression are scripts, or "sequenced representations of prototypical elements of a common interaction, such as visiting a restaurant" (p. 177). In simulating the world through simplified and abstracted scripts, complex sets of information related to social interactions are condensed. Then, through mechanisms, such as imagery and literary language, a simulative experience is produced that "allows for the compelling and efficient transmission of social knowledge" (p. 187). Oatley (2016) explains that "both fiction and everyday consciousness are based on simulations of the social world; thus, reading a work of fiction can be thought of as taking in a piece of consciousness" (p. 618). This finding supports a proposition made by Nussbaum (1995), that

literature contributes to social life through developing the ability to imaginatively consider others' thoughts, feelings, and predicaments. Rather than a form of mere escapism, reading narratives can "actually improve your social skills by helping you better understand other human beings" (Oatley, 2011b, p. 62).

Reading narratives can contribute to empathic *development*. Mar, Oatley, Hirsh, dela Paz, and Peterson (2006) correlated the long-term reading of fiction with the development of empathic ability and social processing skills, concluding that "in general, fiction print-exposure positively predicted measures of social ability, while non-fiction print-exposure was a negative predictor…. The tendency to become absorbed in a story also predicted empathy scores" (p. 694).

In addition to the transmission of social knowledge, Oatley (2011a) explains how simulation of narrative events can serve as a form of social practice:

Reading stories can actually improve your social skills by helping you better understand other human beings. The process of entering imagined worlds of fiction builds empathy and improves your ability to take another person's point of view. It can even change your personality. The seemingly solitary act of holing up with a book, then, is actually an exercise in human interaction. It can hone your social brain, so that when you put your book down you may be better prepared for camaraderie, collaboration, even love. ("Reading fiction can strengthen your social ties and even change your personality," para. 3)

According to Oatley, reader immersion, character identification, perspective-taking, and affective empathy work synergistically to simulate social experiences, which function as substitutional interactions. According to Mar, Oatley, Hirsh, dela Paz, and Peterson (2006), frequent readers of narratives "may bolster or maintain social-processing skills whilst reading stories, although they are removed from actual social contact during this activity" (p. 695). In this way, narratives offer readers opportunities to experience, learn from, and practice social

interactions to which they may not ordinarily have access.

Neuroscientific research lends support to Oatley's simulation theory. Zwaan (2004) hypothesizes that neurons activated during social interactions and when reading about social situations are largely the same. If correct, this postulation indicates that the brain draws little distinction between physical experience and simulated experience. Employing an fMRI scanner to monitor the brain-activity of subjects while reading fiction, Speer, Reynolds, Swallow, and Zacks (2009) found that reading activated areas of the brain associated with the physical performance of actions. Involving 28 participants and the use of an fMRI scanner, subjects were asked to read a short-story presented one word at a time on a screen. The researchers found that as they read, the subjects' brains responded as though they, rather than the character in the story, were performing the actions depicted in the narrative. This finding is congruent with Zwaan (2004), who notes that "when comprehending language, people's eye and hand movements are consistent with perceiving or acting in the described situation" (p. 3).

The concepts of reader transportation, character identification, and narrative as social simulation have interesting implications for this research. ICL learners transported into narratives written by authors presenting diverse cultural perspectives gain access to alternate worldviews, and in identifying with characters, experience concern for their welfare as the plot progresses. By reading about intercultural situations in narrative texts, learners are not only acquiring an understanding of character motivations and information about target cultures— they are *practicing* intercultural interactions. For learners in this current research—many of whom who lack firsthand experiences of other cultures—simulations of social interactions through narrative provides a non-threatening approach to intercultural encounter.

Two additional aspects of narrative include the capacity to stimulate imagination and the role of narrative in promoting learner reflection, next discussed.

Narrative power: Imagination and compression.

As can be seen, narrative literature has the ability to promote empathic interaction with characters in stories. On the topic of imagination, Mar and Oatley (2008) state that "we have to project ourselves into a story world in order to understand what the characters are thinking and feeling" (p. 178). Nussbaum (1995) has also proposed that reading narrative literature develops reader imagination, which she describes as an essential social ability to think and feel about others. Bal and Veltkamp (2013) similarly suggest that reading narratives strengthens reader imagination and creativity:

> Because fictional narrative experience is closely linked towards imaginative processing, readers of fiction learn to develop imagination in alternative worlds, through transportation in narratives. Subsequently, people develop broader action repertoires, causing them to be more creative in finding solutions for complex problems. ("Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research," para. 4)

In linking the development of creativity with the imaginative processing involved in reading narratives, the authors indicate an important benefit of reader transportation.

Sadoski, Goetz, and Kangiser (1988) conducted a series of experiments in which university students were given three short-stories and asked to rate each paragraph according to: 1) the degree of mental imagery evoked, 2) the degree of emotion evoked, and 3) the degree to which the paragraph was important to the story. Student interviews were also performed, where students were asked to explain their ratings. The researchers found that the aesthetic nature of short narratives was successful in engaging readers in personal imaginative experiences, and that learner-descriptions of what was imagined were "very consistent with the text, but [were] also frequently elaborated beyond the text" (p. 333). In analyzing learner reflections on the stories, the researchers concluded that the narratives evoked a "unique imaginative experience in each reader" (p. 333). Long, Winograd, and Bridge (1989) explored the connections between reading and the production of mental imagery. These researchers had

fifth-grade students read three genres of literature orally, halting at designated points to consider and discuss what they had read. It was found that in addition to improving comprehension, the evocation of imagery was linked to a number of narrative elements, including descriptions of sensations and emotions, dramatic climaxes, and analogies/figurative language. In sum, employing narratives, an ICL approach seeks to expand learner imagination to experience other cultures.

Reading narrative evokes reader-memory; providing subjects with two texts (a fictional story and an essay), Larsen and Seilman (1988) asked subjects to indicate those points in texts where their memory was triggered and, following the act of reading, to provide specific details concerning the nature of the memories evoked. These researchers found that the narrative text evoked more personal memories than the expository text. Mar, Oatley, and Eng (2003), conducted similar experiments to analogously conclude that an advantage of narrative texts lies in their ability to elicit vivid personal memories. These researchers also noted that texts are more evocative when the reader is able to imagine themselves in or observing scenes, and less "stimulative" in scenes of greater abstraction. Further evidence suggests that a connection exists between reader life-experience and the degree to which a reader can be imaginatively transported into a story.

Green (2004) presented subjects with a story in which a homosexual man attends a fraternity party, to find that students with knowledge of or experience related to the themes (e.g., homosexual friends or family members) were more transported than those readers who lacked such knowledge. With regards to an ICL approach, these findings indicate the importance of drawing learner-attention to learner/character similarities and common experiences, in order to provide greater opportunities to imaginatively engage narratives.

A reader's ability to imagine is also highly related to the use of *compression* in literary narratives. Compression involves simplifications of reality, which in part explains why they are effective in stimulating the imagination. For example, the plot of a story, rather than being

a comprehensive representation of real life in its myriad details, contains a series of simplified personalities and events, orchestrated toward a pre-determined purpose. Real-world experience involves a degree of detail that would be impossible to describe in narrative; even the simplest act (such as making a sandwich) would consume countless pages to accurately and comprehensively describe. Story plots eliminate much of this complexity by drawing the reader's attention to areas of direct importance to the narrative; in constructing a framework of meaning, narratives simplify experiences of life by limiting elements to those that further character goals, within the context of the greater narrative (Oatley, 1992). Reality presents us with vast amounts of information, much of which is of no relevance to the tasks or goals with which we are engaged. By contrast, a good plot underscores a coherent narrative by ensuring that all elements presented in a story are relevant to world-creation.

In addition to simplifying reality, narratives act as scaffolds onto which the reader builds an imaginary world (or worlds). Rather than seeking to provide the reader with all-encompassing descriptions of author-imagined worlds, compression aids imagination by giving the reader the tools with which to reconstruct the world presented in narrative. This is described by Graesser and Wiemer-Hastings (1999) as a *mental microworld*:

> When a reader comprehends a story, the reader constructs a mental microworld. The microworld includes the core plot that sustains the interest of the reader: the characters who perform actions in pursuit of goals, events that present obstacles to goals, conflicts between characters, clever methods of resolving conflicts, and emotional reactions to events and conflicts. The mental microworld sometimes includes elaborations that flesh out the plot and add color: the spatial setting, the style and procedure of actions, props, objects, properties of objects, and traits of agents. (p. 77)

The mental microworld is the world of imagination, expanded onto the framework presented by the author.

Compression also functions to summarize events and human interactions. Mar and Oatley (2008) explain that "for literary stories, the understanding gleaned from complex social events can be seen to generalize from one instance to many similar instances" (p. 177). Just as reader imagination is aided by the cohesion in narratives, compression facilitates the ease by which a reader is able to comprehend and potentially learn from what they are reading. It should be noted that while narratives compress information, effective narrative compression does not *oversimplify*. Mar and Oatley (2008) note that literary narratives are "substantially less simple than other more explicitly didactic representations of social information that tend to be nonnarrative in structure" (p. 177).

For learners in an ICL approach, reading narratives offers the opportunity to develop imagination as they construct the worlds of other cultures, based on the information provided in texts. Furthermore, interaction with narratives develops the ability to imagine together with empathic ability, through perspective-taking. As perspective-taking involves an imaginative consideration of what one would think and feel in another's shoes—as well as what *an other* thinks and feels—reading narratives set in other cultures allows imagination and empathy to be refined and developed *in concert*.

To stimulate reader imagination, it is important to link narrative events with reader life-experiences. In various experiments measuring empathy, attitudes, and altruistic behavior, Batson and his colleagues employed perspective-taking exercises with some subjects (in the "empathy group") prior to the main tests. Compared with groups who were asked to experience experiments objectively (the objective group), having learners imagine themselves in situations similar to those of strangers to whom they were subsequently exposed positively influenced subject empathy and attitude (*cf.* Batson, Eklund, Chermok, Hoyt, & Ortiz, 2007; Batson, Chang, Orr, & Rowland, 2002).

Research into reader-imagination *viz* narrative also indicates a need for caution, as an ICL approach provides learners with narratives in which dissimilarities in protagonist culture

(or narrative events) may render content difficult for learners to imagine. Drawing upon this research, as will be seen in Chapter Four, an ICL approach prepares learners to experience cultural differences through employing pre-reading exercises in which learners are asked to imagine themselves in situations similar to those faced by the characters in stories. These imaginative experiences may then be linked to experiences encountered in narratives. For example, the reading of a story in which a character encounters a wild animal could be prefaced by having readers imagine themselves in a naturally setting (e.g. a forest) in which such an encounter could take place. Similarly, having a reader recall an experience where they encountered the animal (e.g., at a zoo), could also serve to draw attention to similarities in reader/character experience.

With an understanding of how narratives stimulate and develop imagination, the following section outlines aspects of narratives that promote reader-reflection, and will also present post-reading strategies that ICL seeks to employ, in order to assist learners in fully engaging in the narratives they read.

Narrative and reader reflection.

Pedagogically, ICL seeks to assist learners in reflecting upon what they have read. In addition to the properties of narratives that prompt learners to consider the content and context of their reading, ICL includes post-reading exercises, which provide learners with ample opportunity to reflect on the meanings of narrative events, character motivations, and the manner of their thought and feeling, in place of protagonists. Contributing to learner-understanding of the content of stories, reflective exercises (as discussed in Chapter Four) encourage learners to return to stories in order to reengage with narrative events, to further take character perspectives, to experience concern, and to foster positive attitudes. In asking learners to consider their mental states in place of characters, reflection promotes a *consciousness of self*.

The concept that reading literature promotes reflection is widely held. Suzanne Keen (2006) states that "when texts invite readers to feel, they also stimulate [a] reader's thinking" (p. 213). Cognitive and affective stimulation resulting in reflection has relation to the phenomenon of character identification. Conducting a qualitative study to understand how narratives promote transformational change in readers, Levitt, Rattanasampan, Chaidaroon, Stanley, and Robinson (2009), explain that: "identification with characters' experiences created a safe venue to consider threat and experiment with new possibilities and perspectives. Empathizing with protagonists enabled readers to integrate new modes of responding to personally difficult situations" (p. 295). Character identification can produce affective responses from which the reader is able to reflect and learn. Oatley (1999) describes this process:

> Insights of a personal kind when reading fiction are more likely to occur when the reader is moved emotionally by what he or she is reading and when the accompanying context helps the understanding of the resulting emotions." (p. 115)

Character identification offers one explanation as to how *narratives promote reader-reflection*.

Another set of explanations pertains to how the act of reading leads to the experiencing of cognitive *stillness*. Narratives can also promote reflection by altering the speed by which readers process a text. In offering a reading list of fiction to former Canadian Prime Minister Steven Harper, author Yann Martel (2009) proposed that in the hectic, hustle-bustle of everyday life, literature offers the reader moments of cognitive quietude. It is in these moments, Martel opines, that we are able to perceive deeper aspects of existence—thereby to engage in self-contemplation. Koopman and Hakemulder (2015) describe this stillness as "an attitude of detachment, allowing for contemplation to take place" (p. 80), arguing that stillness itself is not reflection, but rather its precursor, and the result of reading processes, such as *defamiliarization*.

Developed by Miall and Kuiken (1994; 1999), defamiliarization refers to cognitive disjunctions in reader-experience, resulting from narrative elements such as *literary*

foregrounding, where certain objects or beings are made to stand out from the surrounding text; i.e., to be thrown into relief. Foregrounding works to create complexity, which requires cognitive attention on the part of the reader, and this results in a type of disruption. The use of alliteration and metaphor in foregrounding draws attention to particular objects and concepts (while minimizing others), sparking reader interest. For instance, referring to darkness as *the stygian black* causes readers to reduce reading speed in order to process the allusive metaphor, a phenomenon also known as *deautomization.* For Miall and Kuiken, the cumulative effects of foregrounding and deautomization—defamiliarization—necessitate the reader to then consequently *refamiliarize* (i.e., interpret/re-interpret the text), in order to proceed. Defamiliarization, they propose, creates the cognitive space for reflection to take place. While physical encounters often proceed at the pace set by one or more interlocutor, encounters through narrative are experienced at the pace of the reader—intrinsically providing the requisite stillness for contemplation.

In addition to the inherent nature of narrative texts to promote reflection, psychology studies reveal the efficacy of *following* readings with reflective exercises to increase empathy in learners. In attempting to encourage and measure emotional aspects of social cognition in young children (with a mean age of seven years), Ornaghi, Brockmeier and Grazzani (2014) divided students into a training group, where readings were followed by group discussions on narrative content—and a control group, whose students were instructed to draw pictures based on the story. Results showed that "the training group outperformed the control group on emotion comprehension, theory-of-mind, and empathy, and the positive training outcomes for emotion understanding remained stable over 6 months" (p. 26). While narratives may themselves promote reader reflection, this experimental study indicates the value of incorporating post-reading opportunities for reader-reflection.

Research studies in the field of medicine have also employed reflective exercises to improve physician empathy. Lancaster, Hart, and Gardner (2002) organized a four-week course

for medical students in which a variety of narratives were read and discussed, in groups. Learners were also asked to respond to questions regarding textual content. These researchers found that reflecting on literature allowed learners to gain insight into patients, as well as their experience of illness. On a self-report instrument, learners also identified that empathy and understanding were the principal benefits of reflective readings and discussion. Similarly, Shapiro, Morrison, and Boker (2004) studied the effects of an eight-week literature course on empathy and attitudes towards patients, where first-year medical students read and reflected on patient narratives. They divided subjects into two groups, with one waiting six months to take the course, in order to ensure that experimental results were not influenced by the subjects' standard curriculum. Readings addressed such topics as doctor-patient relationships, patient pain, cross-cultural issues, and listening to patients. The researchers describe the overarching themes of the curriculum:

> We placed special emphasis on understanding of, and identifying with, different points
> of view in the texts, including those of physicians, patients, and family members, as
> well as their own. (p. 76)

Readings were completed in groups, followed by discussions related to the narratives. In addition to post-course measurements demonstrating higher empathy scores in both groups, results showed that "*after a relatively brief exposure to literature, students also had a more sophisticated understanding* of patients" (p. 82; emphasis added). Shapiro, Morrison, and Boker, noting that empathy scores in the delayed group (who were directly informed of the benefits of empathy in the standard curriculum) were consistent with those of the first, concluded that learner exposure to the standard teaching methodology (cognitive-behavioral method), did not improve empathy scores. Informing subjects of the benefits and necessity of empathy in physical-patient interactions did not result in empathic development; however, gaining insights into patient perspectives through literary narratives did improve scores.

Research has additionally focused on writing *personal narratives* for reflection.

DasGupta and Charon (2004) conducted a second-year humanities seminar for medical students titled *Reading the Body, Writing the Body: Women's Illness Narratives*, in which students read patient narratives in order to gain an empathic understanding of female patients. The course also included a reflective written component in which learners were asked to write either about a personal illness experience or that of someone with whom they had a close relationship. The researchers describe the benefit of the exercise:

> The writing of the "personal illness narrative" allowed participants to benefit from reflective writing in a new way. Rather than maintaining a clinician's point of view, or adopting the point of view of an "other," this exercise allowed medical students to explore subjective experiences of illness. (p. 354)

Students were asked to complete a course evaluation, in which they responded that despite being challenged by writing exercises, they highly recommended they be incorporated into future curricula.

The above research demonstrates the efficacy of combining literature readings with post-reading reflective exercises. Through the processes of foregrounding and deautomization in narratives, varieties of cognitive stillness are created. Written reflective-exercises utilize this space to facilitate deeper degrees of empathic engagement with literary characters. As well, discussion gives learners the opportunity to share their reflections and learn from others. In arguing for post-reading discussion, Keen (2007) insists:

> Though novel reading certainly involves role-taking imagination, for novels to change attitudes about others and inspire prosocial action requires more than just reading…. [Research] reveals that the development of social and moral understanding requires *discussion*. (p. 146)

ICL exercises promoting reflection can be divided into three categories: 1) exercises that promote cultural understandings of narrative content, 2) individual written exercises that encourage reflection and re-engagement with narratives, and 3) group discussion. For

reflective examination to take place, readers must first return to the text, and then analyze the narrative construct to determine underlying cultural factors. This includes an investigation of the plot, as well as cultural features alluded to or referenced within the narrative. Facilitating learner investigation of narrative structure and unfamiliar cultural aspects promotes a deeper understanding of the story, which in turn aids subsequent reflection on narrative content. Additional exercises prompt learners to re-engage with what they have read, by asking them to: 1) identify what characters think and how they feel, and 2) identify how they (the learner) would think and feel in the place of characters. A final reflective-exercise involves learners sharing their conclusions through discussion, allowing for exposure to aspects and interpretations of the narrative to which they may not have been aware.

Narrative Forms

To this point, the manner in which reader empathy functions in narrative has been examined. The use of narratives as they pertain to an ICL approach has also been discussed; these uses include: the facilitation of perspective-taking, stimulation and development of reader-imagination, encouragement of reader-reflection, and the efficacious function of narrative regarding substitutional simulated experiences. The following sections discuss the two narrative forms used in this research: autobiographical/biographical immigrant narratives, and short fiction.

Non-fiction narratives.

The majority of studies and experiments referenced in this dissertation employ literature in fictive form. This section will argue for the applicability of non-fiction narrative as well, and will present the first form of fiction employed within an ICL approach: non-fiction immigrant biographies and autobiographies.

Fiction has been shown to be more effective in stimulating reader imagination, compared with expository texts; an investigation into reader-empathy (presented above) has

discussed those aspects of narrative that facilitate empathic engagement with literary characters. In attempting to measure which type of text would elicit the greatest degree of reader empathy, Suzanne Keen (2007) provided students with three texts—a fraudulent email beseeching the recipient for assistance with an African business opportunity, a handwritten appeal from a young African girl for assistance to continue her schooling, and an excerpt from a fictitious story about the plight of a wheelchair-bound orphan. She found that while the first text was met with universal skepticism, few students found the African girl's story to be authentic. Only the fictitious third text succeeded in generating any degree of affective response. Keen's experiment lends support to the use of fiction in favor of other narrative forms; however, her conclusion may be called into question, as Keen first presented subjects with a transparently fraudulent narrative (an email requesting money), which aroused universal skepticism. This may partially explain why the second narrative form (a hand-written appeal narrating a young African woman's struggles) was also viewed with suspicion. While Keen's experiment would appear to illustrate the power of fiction to suppress reader skepticism, it fails to consider the potential empathic response in cases where readers believe the women's narrative to be *true*. There is reason to suppose that empathic response in Keen's subjects would have been greater had they not been given reason to doubt the veracity of the first or second narratives.

Research conducted in the field of narrative medicine provides additional support for the use of non-fictive narratives in eliciting learner empathy. Charon (2006) has pioneered the practice of *narrative medicine*, which involves physicians-in-training joining with patients to discuss and record their life narratives. The act of working with patients to compile narratives of their illnesses—where presumably narrative veracity is not an issue—has been shown to improve empathy in physicians. While narrative fiction, when successful, facilitates character identification, Djikic, Oatley, & Moldoveanu (2013) indicate that it is also possible for readers to identify with protagonists through other forms of literature (e.g., autobiography, biography and individual-centered accounts). Similarly, Keen (2016) herself admits that "nonfictional

narrative has been given short shrift in empirical research programs" (p. 10), and that a distinction exists—*not* between fiction and non-fiction—but rather between literature that is narrative and non-narrative. Expository texts such as essays, which seek to explain or describe in order to argue a position, may not succeed in engendering an empathic response—while true-life accounts, if believed, may be as engaging as fictive forms when including aspects of narrative (plot, character motivation, character action). One example is the true-life account of education activist and Nobel Prize recipient Malala Yousafzai, whose life story prompted widespread international attention, and whose book, *I am Malala* (2013) became an international bestseller. It could be argued that her narrative derives its empathic and emotive power from the fact that readers understand it *to be true*.

Non-fictive forms, such as biography and autobiography, are often realistic narratives involving events and motivations in which readers can easily relate and take character perspectives. Discussing the use of literature for empathy-development in children, Cress and Holm (1998) refer to the utility of realistic narrative in helping children generalize empathic lessons from stories, in order to apply them to their real-life situations. Batson (1991; 2016) noted in his experiments that the ability to empathize with another was facilitated by subjects perceiving similarities between themselves and the "target," while Kuiken et al. (2004) indicated that the degree to which a reader is able to identify with characters may depend on how closely experiences in the text match the real-life experiences of the reader. These findings suggest that Malala's story has value for this research, as her story is relatable and moving; not because the majority of readers have experienced childhoods in Pakistan or assassination attempts, but because readers are able to relate the author's experiences of childhood and education to their own formative experiences. Having experienced childhood, most adult readers can relate to her life in some way.

Auto-/biographical narratives are appropriate for use in an ICL approach, as by following a predictable literary construct—moving say from childhood through adolescence to

adulthood—they contain plot constructs that are easily accessible to readers. Auto-/biographical narratives depict aspects of life that are also often familiar to readers (e.g., childhood, education, interpersonal relationships). Such accounts contain characters who strive toward goals, and against adversity—motivations with which most readers can relate. As this research employs an ICL approach in the context of the foreign-language classroom, it is important to provide learners with literature that is both engaging *and* comprehensible at an appropriate second/other-language lexical and semantic level. As such, a series of immigrant narratives are used, presenting learners with opportunities to understand and co-experience other cultures through the worldview of immigrants. In this way, reflecting on intercultural encounters, learners are challenged to understand and adapt to new cultural surroundings.

Short fiction.

Short fiction is the second narrative form employed in an ICL approach. Most of the research experiments surveyed in this chapter have employed short stories, or excerpts from longer works (*cf.* Shechtman, 2000; Gerrig & Bailis, 1997; Kidd & Castano, 2013). As the processes of reader-empathy at work in narrative fiction have been discussed, this section argues the advantages of employing short works of fiction for facilitating empathic engagement.

Short works of fiction are practical in an educational setting where time is limited, as they provide learners immediate access to the thoughts, feelings, and experiences of characters in less time than longer fictional works. In the case of extremely short fiction (flash fiction), the author may require as little as a single paragraph to engage the reader. Thomas and Shapard (2006), describing flash fiction as *"very* short stories" (p. 11), set out several parameters of flash stories in the Editor's Note to the flash fiction anthology *Flash Fiction Forward*. In terms of length, flash stories should be within 750 words so that the reader "shouldn't have to turn the page more than once" (p. 12). However, length should not be considered the principle guideline of textual appropriateness. The editors indicate another aspect of flash stories—that

they involve the compression of larger subjects into a confined space.

Fiction, by its nature, simplifies archetypical human experiences, foregrounding certain aspects while excerpting those irrelevant to the plot. Flash fiction, then, represents an extreme form of compression, where every sentence—even each word—is carefully crafted in service to the narrative; every phrase fights for its life. Brevity, which Anton Chekov has referred to as "the sister of talent" (1924, p. 170) is the strength of flash fiction which, stripped of the unnecessary, strikes directly to the heart of those aspects of human experience that move the reader, granting immediate access to a given protagonist's mental states. For Thomas and Shepard (2006), brevity is important, insomuch as it imbues the reader with a lasting impression—it should be *memorable*. They argue that "a good flash should move the reader emotionally or intellectually, [and] it should be well written" (p. 13). Consider the following story—*Fingers* by Gary Gildner:

When Ronald, Mr. Lacey's son, came home from the war, he showered, put on a pair of new jeans and a new T-shirt, found his old high-school baseball cap and pulled it down snug over his forehead, then went outside and shot baskets. he shot baskets for about two weeks. One day Mr. Lacey said, "What about that money you saved up? What are you going to do with it?' Ronald shot baskets for a while longer, then went downtown and bought an old Hudson Hornet. he spent five days driving the Hudson back and forth through the town, stopping for a root beer when he got thirsty. On the sixth day, when a tire went flat, Ronald locked the car and put his thumb in the air. The next day in the Atkins Museum in Kansas City, he bought a dozen picture postcards of Houdon's bust of Benjamin Franklin, because with that bald top and that long hair in back that fell to his shoulders, Franklin looked like the queerest duck he'd ever seen. Also Franklin seemed peeved about something. Then Ronald took a bus to New York City. The ride was nothing to crow about—and for maybe three hundred miles a man next to him wanted to describe losing his prostate gland. In New York,

Ronald found a room a stone's throw from Yankee Stadium. He sent one of the Franklin

cards to his father, saying only "Love, Ronald." Then he sat looking out the window.

On the fire escape was a piece of red balloon that the wind was trying to blow away.

Finally the wind succeeded and Ronald was tired. He took off his clothes, climbed into

bed, and began to count the fingers on his shooting hand. (1992, pp. 100-101)

In the space of 293 words, the reader is offered a window into the psyche of a returned war

veteran—lost in normal society, and preoccupied with being preoccupied. The author's skillful

use of the phrase "shooting hand" as a double-entendre reveals the lost innocence of the soldier,

who was transplanted from shooting baskets to engage in the taking of human life

(e.g., shooting weapons). In compressing important subjects, well-written flash stories give the

reader immediate access to prose that is both accessible and thought-provoking.

Flash stories are also capable of emotionally moving the reader. In contrast to the

19th-century novel, where heroic individuals engage in moral decisions over the course of 100s

of pages, flash-fiction narratives eliminate the "journey," in order to focus on one evocative

moment: that lightning flash of realization. Consider *The Past*, by Juan Carlos Botero:

She looked at him for a long time then finally unburdened herself of the weight of her

suffering. "For a year now I've been seeing someone else," she pronounced in a broken

voice. "We're going to get married." And then she broke down, crying uncontrollably,

tearing at her hair and wailing: "It's horrible. *Horrible!*" He went cold. He stared at her

in astonishment, not managing to pinpoint his feelings. Suddenly, the past year seemed

to turn in his memory. The whole series of events rotated as in a kaleidoscope until

settling on an inconceivable and yet irrefutable image. So: all the times she visited her

mother, the weekends when work kept her away from him, the times she got back late

from the office, the times the phone rang and she hung up after saying "wrong number,"

began stripping themselves of their innocence and assumed new meanings, ones with

cast-iron signs of betrayal. Now, he discovered, his memory was storing *another* past.

He experienced a painful prick to the heart but, before it shattered to pieces, he began

to see that the past was not a fixed route, rigid and frozen in time, as he had always

believed, but rather quite the opposite, a fragile journey, malleable and, above all,

vulnerable. Just one phrase, he realized, could alter the whole past. (2015, pp. 110-111)

The shock of betrayal; the desperate suffering of the victimizer; the sudden realization that the

past holds the power to inflict pain into the present—in a single paragraph the author confronts

the reader with an emotional rawness that transcends the terse prose.

When learners are prepared for imaginative and empathic interaction, short narratives

enable near-instantaneous access to captivating and emotionally stimulating experiences. This

research seeks to harness the aesthetic and evocative power of short fiction (as glossed in the

stories just above) for use within an ICL approach. Flash fiction, which employs settings in

other cultures, *combined* with perspectives of protagonists experiencing powerful emotions, is

therefore utile in this approach. Although lexically and stylistically more challenging than the

factual, memoir sub-genre of immigrant narratives, flash fiction used in ICL portrays

experiences in well-constructed plot-sequences which may be of potentially greater interest to

the learner, who is *challenged* to take character perspectives. (Chapter Four contains a detailed

discussion of immigrant narratives and flash fiction stories.)

Perspective-taking through Literature, in Practice

In this section, the ways in which narrative literature has been employed in university

curricula, specifically in the field of medicine, are presented.

Applications in Medicine.

The field of medicine has been on the forefront in developing practical curricular

approaches to increase empathic abilities in learners. In part, this is due to a recognition among

educators that for young caregivers to provide superior service to patients and healthcare

recipients, it is first necessary for them to be able to engage empathically with individuals

whose life-situations differ drastically from their own. Pediatrician John Lantos (2011) describes the problem:

> The medical students and pediatric residents who work with me are often frustrated by something about this work and these patients. The diseases are, in some vague but important sense, uninteresting diseases. Usually, there are no diagnostic dilemmas. My patients require care that is relatively low-tech…. Year after year, residents "rotate" through the chronic disease hospital, and year after year, I get to watch them struggle with the challenges. Some give up almost immediately. The giving up takes the form of retreating into a narrow technical approach to the care of these chronically ill patients. Such residents stick to careful attention to medications, and remain uninvolved in broader aspects of care. (p. vii)

Lantos describes a difficult educational issue; educators are tasked with preparing medical students to care for individuals, such as sufferers of chronic diseases, to whom they are often *unable to relate*.

In her book, *From Detached Concern to Empathy: Humanizing Medical Practice*, physician and professor Jodi Halpern (2001) indicates the importance of developing empathy in learners, in order to address this problem. In arguing for empathic training in medicine, she cites the example of medical residents who evidenced improved empathic ability after being instructed by a superior to spend one hour per week with patients, gathering their personal histories—regarding which she noted: "when one person actually listens to another person's story, emotional resonance and empathy often occur effortlessly" (p. 130).

As understanding of the need for empathy in medicine has grown within the field, so has the recognition of literature as an efficacious medium for introducing learners to patient perspectives. The importance of *stories* has been raised by individuals like Dr. Howard Spiro (1992):

> Conversations about experiences, discussions of patients and their human stories, more

leisure and unstructured contemplation of the humanities help physicians to cherish

empathy and to retain their passion. Physicians need rhetoric as much as knowledge,

and they need stories as much as journals if they are to be more empathetic than

computers. (p. 843)

The example of Shapiro, Morrison, and Boker (2004), who measured the empathic

development of medical students enrolled in a course on literature and medicine, has been

previously mentioned. It was noted that these researchers found that learners exhibited more

complex and detailed understandings of patients after literary exposure to patient perspectives.

Furthermore, it was evidenced that literature succeeded in developing empathic connections in

ways that traditional training did not.

Professor of Medicine Rita Charon, Columbia University, is the originator of the field

of narrative medicine (and Director, Program in Narrative Medicine), which involves

physicians gaining a narrative knowledge of their patients. Narrative knowledge, according to

Charon (2001) is "what one uses to understand the meaning and significance of stories through

cognitive, symbolic, and affective means" (p. 1898). Narrative knowledge contrasts with the

detached, logical, scientific observer-role commonly employed by physicians. Incorporating

literature into medical training, Charon (2004) explains the important function of narrative in

medicine:

Capacities that medicine now sometimes lacks—attunement to patients' individuality,

sensitivity to emotional or cultural dimensions of care, ethical commitment to patients

despite fragmentation and subspecialization, acknowledgment and then prevention of

error—may be provided through a rigorous development of narrative skills. (p. 863)

Narrative medicine involves transforming the way physicians think about patients—from mere

"cases," to *personal narratives*. As part of the curriculum instituted at Columbia, medical

students work together with patients to compile illness narratives from the perspective of the

sufferer, through which young physicians-in-training acquire insight into disease, from the

patient's perspective. Although narratives have tended to be in fictive form, narrative medicine has grown to include biography, memoir, news story, obituary, and clinical case report (Hurwitz, Cushing, & Chisnall, 2011). Over the past two decades, the program has also come to encompass a variety of activities and participants. According to Charon:

> Teachers of literature, novelists, storytellers, and patients who have written about their illnesses have become collaborators at our medical centers in teaching health professionals the skills needed to listen to the narratives of illness, to understand what they mean, to attain rich and accurate interpretations of these stories, and to grasp the plights of patients in all their complexity. (2008, p. 3)

Narrative medicine represents an imaginative response to a practical and ongoing educational concern: how to teach learners to understand and positively interact with individuals and groups with whom there are perceived (sociocultural) differences.

Charon (2012) also illustrates the power of narrative to inform and *humanize* medical practice. She cites a typical medical report involving a deceased patient:

> On Admission: Patient walked in bleeding profusely from the mouth. Pulse strong, at first rapid, later slowed down. Ord. Ergot, tannic acid solution.
>
> Sept 1: Feels better this AM. Ord. Ergot
>
> Sept 3: Very weak and short of breath, still spits blood clots.
>
> Sept 4: Very much weaker. Infusion Digitalis. Growing cyanotic, still raising blood.
>
> Sept 5: Patient gradually sank at 8 am. No radial pulse. Temperature 105 and at 9:15, quietly died. ("Narratives of Clinical Practice," para. 7)

Contrast the above account with an experience of death related by a third-year medical student:

> I saw one patient die. They had just announced a code overhead, and we ran, and my resident was doing chest compressions, and everything, and pushing the drugs, and all that, and then, at the end, they called—you know, the time of death, and it was over, and then everyone like, walked out of the room…[U]h, everyone walked out of the

room, and the patient was just lying on the bed, naked. She had her head bent back, and

the tube in her throat, and tape across her face, trying to hold it down, and her groin

was all bloody from the multiple ABGs [arterial blood gas tests] we had done, or sent,

and it just looked very horrible, and it was just very—everyone just left, like, they were

like, okay, it's over now, and just left. ("Narratives of Clinical Practice," para. 12)

The first account is impersonal and objective, offering no insight into the mental or emotional

state of the patient. In contrast, the second account is personal, poignant, and revealing. The

manner in which the dead body was grotesque in death; the way in which it was abandoned

following the failure to resuscitate—these aspects of the narrative elicit disgust, pity, and anger

at the callous treatment of a human body devoid of life. Whereas the first account provides the

facts of death—from which little may be learned—the second account stimulates the reader to

consider how the death of a hospital inpatient might be better handled; thus the primary aims

of narrative medicine are consciousness-raising—and the medium though which this occurs

relates to an increase of empathic response, activated through narrative literature. For Charon,

this is the function of narrative: to humanize others, to engender self-reflection, and to instruct.

Charon's work with narrative medicine has been expanded to deal with cross-cultural

considerations in medical treatment. Identifying the problem of young physicians having little

experience or interaction with cultural diversity, DasGupta, Meyer, Calero-Breckheimer,

Costley, and Guillen (2006) organized a narrative reading and discussion program that

attempted to "place students directly in contact with the community outside of the medical

institution" (p. 14). Involving second-year pediatric residents, a monthly reading study group

was formed, with each session involving discussion of a chapter from a text (*The Spirit Catches

You and You Fall Down: A Hmong Child, Her American Doctors, and the Collision of Two

Cultures*). Discussions involved addressing issues related to the readings, including cultural

miscommunication and experiences with chronically-ill patients from other cultures, as well as

general issues related to medicine (e.g., physician behavior, medical culture, etc.). A

post-course student questionnaire revealed that participants believed the use of narrative to be beneficial for improving cultural sensitivity. The researchers concluded: "Cultural competency and narrative medicine are perspectives that greatly enrich medical educators' abilities to teach effective, empathetic, and appropriate communication and care" (p. 17).

Narrative medicine curricula and projects have proliferated throughout North America and Europe (Charon, 2007), and at present there exists considerable diversity within the field. The employment of narrative has become standard in medical training; many medical and nursing programs make use of more than one form of narrative, often including visual media, first-hand accounts from patients, and patient/physician writing-exercises.

Next examined are curricula in which narrative literature has been employed as the primary education tool. Welch and Harrison (2016) organized a four-week literature and medicine distance learning course, employing readings from various genres (short stories, novels, poetry, nonfiction medical narratives), covering topics related to patient care and the experience of suffering from a medical condition. Weekly discussions were held via video conference in which students and teachers: 1) offered interpretations of the meaning and significance of readings; 2) discussed characters' actions and motives, as well as the ethical decisions of physicians; and 3) engaged in discussions concerning how learners would approach the care of a particular character. According to the researchers, these discussions had the following benefits:

1. Enhanced students' ability to listen and interpret their patient's story, even in difficult and ambiguous situations.

2. Provided students with the opportunity to contemplate difficult questions before they occurred in clinical practice.

3. Helped uncover biases and enhanced empathy.

(Welch & Harrison, 2016, "Course Structure," para. 4).

In conducting a post-course survey, students reported largely positive outcomes, including the increased ability to take patient perspectives, to self-reflect and examine personal biases, and an improved ability to discuss unfamiliar or difficult topics, among others.

Research from narrative medicine directly relates to an ICL approach as the problems addressed are similar; narrative medicine concerns itself with the distance between healthcare providers and patients; an ICL approach seeks to close the distance between foreign-language learners and members of other cultures. Both attempt to humanize, inform, and provide deeper insight into life experiences with which learners are unfamiliar. Just as discussion and reflection are central to the narrative medicine curriculum, they are also vital to achieving IC through literature. Those discussions and writing exercises that promoted physician empathy and insight into patient suffering and needs in the educational-research studies can be predicted to similarly assist undergraduate learners, in successfully encountering cultural diversity.

The growth of narrative medicine curricula has led to cooperation between a variety of departments and organizations, resulting in a growing corpus of narratives for use in medical and nursing programs. For example, in selecting narratives for use in their research, Welch and Harrison (2016) made use of the New York University School of Medicine Literature, Arts, and Medicine Database, and the John Hopkins University journal *Literature and Medicine*. These examples reveal the multidisciplinary nature of educational pedagogies that employ literary narrative (*vis* narrative medicine and ICL) in successfully addressing intercultural competence. In selecting and testing various narratives for an ICL curriculum, this research establishes a narrative corpus through which learners will engage in a narrative approach to intercultural competence.

The final sections of this chapter examine the ways in which a cultural component has been incorporated into EFL curricula, as well as the manner in which literature has been employed in the foreign-language classroom.

ICL: A New Approach to "Culture" in University EFL Education

The interrelatedness of culture to language has been comprehensively researched. According to Wardhaugh (2010), language contains and reflects the values of a culture, with language structure acting as a determinative factor in shaping the worldview of its speakers. Kramsch (1998) asserts that cultural reality is expressed through language, while language itself serves as a store of cultural identity. These views are representative of an academic tradition linking culture with language, pioneered by Edward Sapir (1929), who described the relationship between language and culture as follows:

> Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression in their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection: The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. (p. 209)

Sapir's student, Benjamin Lee Whorf, also asserted the importance of language in unconsciously determining how a person perceives and interacts with the world:

> [E]very language is a vast pattern-system, different from others, in which are culturally ordained the forms and categories by which the personality not only communicates, but also analyzes nature, notices or neglects types of relationship and phenomena, channels his reasoning, and builds the house of his consciousness.
>
> (Whorf, Carroll, & Chase, 1956, p. 252)

Much work has been produced on the topic since Sapir and Whorf, helping to deepen understandings of the interrelatedness of language and culture.

Within foreign language education, support has increased for the belief that language and culture are optimally acquired in unison (Schulz, 2007). Nonetheless, despite the general

agreement concerning the need to incorporate culture into language teaching, a lack of consensus exists regarding how to *integrate* culture into foreign-language acquisition instruction (Dema & Moeller, 2012). While it is understood that culture and language are intertwined, the question of what content to include, and how to include it, has sometimes resulted in educators minimizing or excluding cultural components in their curriculum.

In considering why language educators choose to avoid teaching culture, Alice Omaggio Hadley (1993) indicates: 1) time constraints, 2) teacher concerns over possessing inadequate knowledge to teach culture, and 3) a fear of confronting negative student attitudes towards cultures. Teaching culture in the EFL classroom involves two main concerns: *what* aspects of culture to include in EFL education, and *how* best to teach these aspects.

Regarding the first concern, one approach to teaching culture involves providing language learners with what Brooks critically (1971) refers to as Olympian culture, where students are exposed to the musical, literary, and artistic masterpieces of a given culture. Criticized for those aspects of culture that this practice ignores, a contrasting approach involves substituting a high-culture perspective with an anthropological approach focusing on everyday customs, habits, and behaviors. Disagreement regarding whether to focus on high or low culture has often resulted in some combination of the two, which Galloway (1981) characterizes as belonging to four common approaches:

1. The Frankenstein Approach: A taco from here, a flamenco dancer from there, a gaucho from here, a bullfight from there.

2. The 4-F Approach: Folk dances, festivals, fairs, and food.

3. The Tour Guide Approach: The identification of monuments, rivers, and cities.

4. The "By-the-Way" Approach: Sporadic lectures or bits of behavior selected indiscriminately to emphasize sharp differences. (cit. Hadley, 1993)

Of the above approaches, the first three indicate a knowledge (information-based) approach to teaching culture, which itself has come under criticism for inadequately addressing learners' needs to develop a *critical* understanding of culture.

Specifically addressing this issue, Bennett (2005) argues that cultural knowledge itself is not sufficient for developing competence:

> [Descriptive knowledge] is the basis of the many "area studies" orientation programs and websites that purport to teach people how to get along in other cultures by giving them information about the institutions, customs, and mores of the "target" culture. Sometimes this information is even about subjective culture, such as information about nonverbal behavior, communication style, or cultural values. While such information may be a useful concomitant of intercultural competence, it does not in itself constitute competence. One must know what to do with the information to make it useful. For instance, a medical doctor who has all the latest information about cancer is not necessarily able to perform a successful cancer surgery. In every other arena, we are used to the idea that knowledge is only useful in a more general context of competence. Perhaps it is a special characteristic of ethnocentrism that people often cannot imagine that crossing cultures might demand competence, and so they think information will suffice." (p. 5)

In addition to indicating the practical value of imagination in "crossing cultures," Bennett makes clear that merely providing learners with facts leaves them unprepared when engaging in intercultural situations, arguing that foreign-language education should provide more than factual information about a given culture.

Other researchers have argued that foreign-language education should provide deep insight into the motivations, thoughts, and behaviors of a language's speakers. Byram (1997) asserts that foreign-language training should facilitate not only a cognitive orientation, where learners acquire knowledge and understanding about other cultures, but also an evaluative

orientation, where learners develop the ability to reflect on the social norms and values in their own culture, as well as in others. In discussing what aspects of culture to incorporate in curricula, Byram (1989) urged language teachers to focus on the hidden curriculum, which he described as "the part of foreign language teaching which conveys information, attitudes, images and perhaps even prejudice about the people and countries where the particular language is spoken" (p.1). Similarly, Seelye (1984) insisted on a deeper teaching of culture grounded in cultural understandings of the interlocutor's thoughts, emotions, and cultural contexts, in order to develop effective communicative abilities in learners.

Incorporating an ICL approach into foreign-language curricula satisfies the concerns outlined in this section. First, learners gain knowledge of cultures through reading narratives set in various cultural environments, rather than approaching culture from an Olympian or 4-F pedagogical orientation. Approaching cultural understanding through narrative facilitates a natural experience of culture from the inside—the intimate perspective of literary characters. While a traditional approach might survey famous monuments from the perspective of a third party, ICL allows learners to encounter these aspects of high culture (e.g., a building; a natural landscape; a festival) as a native participant would: as part of the tapestry of everyday life. In this way, learners are brought into contact with aspects of other cultures not as uninterested individuals, but as co-participants in narrative events.

In line with Byram (1989; 1997) and Seelye (1984), an ICL approach employs literature in order for learners to gain direct access to character thoughts and emotions. As learners develop the ability to engage in perspective-taking, they gain an awareness and understanding of cultural differences. Rather than a detached fact-based consideration of culture, ICL fosters understanding through reader involvement in impactful narrative events, while reflective post-reading exercises encourage learners to consider how they might respond from their cultural orientation.

An ICL approach addresses the question of how to educate for IC in concert with linguistic proficiency. Through transportation into the lives of protagonists from differing cultural backgrounds, learners engage in simulated encounters with members of diverse cultures. This, in turn, makes use of the power of literature to positively shape reader attitudes towards cultural heterogeneity, and engenders toleration, respect, appreciation, and curiosity— the attitudes that underscore an ethnorelative orientation and an interculturally competent learner.

Finally, the integration of literature into foreign-language curricula represents a more fluid approach to addressing culture in the language classroom. Rather than interspersing language exercises and drills with various forms of cultural information, culture is encountered in the course of reading, with reflective exercises and group discussions serving to expand communicative ability, cultural knowledge, and cultural awareness *concurrently*.

ICL: Utilizing Literature in University EFL Education

Educators have indicated compelling reasons for the inclusion of literary texts in curricula for foreign-language learners. To begin, literature is often more interesting for learners than textbooks utilizing other forms of discourse (Lazar, 1993). Unlike other textual forms, literature invites readers to draw on their experiences, attitudes, and emotions, thereby personalizing the learning experience and resulting in increased learner motivation (Littlewood, 1976; Choudhary, 2016). The use of literature also benefits learners by exposing them to authentic, unmodified material (Barnett, 1989; Lazar, 1993), and is effective in building a wider range of vocabulary when compared with informational texts (Povey, 1967). In addition, the reading of literature is a highly autonomous and learner-centered activity (Brumfit, 1986), which incorporates stylistic forms particular to written English, as well as non-standard language usage (Carter & Long, 1991). Through touching on subjects and themes related to society and the human condition, reading literature encourages meaningful learner interaction

(Lazar, 1993), leading to a more fulfilling classroom experience. Widdowson (1979) identifies a further dimension of literature: the interaction between the reader and writer through the medium of the text, which Rosenblatt (1994), in her theory of literary reading, describes as a *transactional relationship* between a reader and a literary work.

Literature also encourages reader imagination (Brumfit, 1986), and differs from informational texts in its relationship to reality. Littlewood (1976) explains that in interacting with a text, readers assume a *co-creative* imaginative role as they expend effort to maintain a picture of the world presented in the text. Literature is often subtler in taking up difficult subjects, towards which readers may consider and form opinions. Literary narratives often contain values to which learners may be asked to respond (Lazar, 1993), and aid in fostering humanitarian attitudes through engagement in writing and idea formulation (Burke & Brumfit, 1986).

The benefits listed above fall into Carter and Long's (1991) *language model* (the use of literature for promoting language skills) and *personal growth model* (the use of literature for promoting personal growth). However, they also propose a third model for incorporating literature in the foreign language classroom: *the cultural model*. If literary texts are authentic representatives of real language, they may also serve as authentic windows into the culture underlying the text. Indeed, claims have been made ranging from the belief that reading literature may aid in facilitating cultural understanding of the target language (Lazar, 1993), to the assertion that literature plays an important role in transmitting cultural information (Marckwardt, 1978). Carter and Long (1991) indicate the benefit of literature for engendering cultural awareness:

> The text describes, or is the setting for, a whole series of features which are very different from one's normal everyday experience. You do not suffer 'culture shock' from reading. You must however think your way into another culture. You must 'cross' cultures. (p. 153)

As this research has argued, "thinking your way into another culture" involves imaginatively attempting to take the perspectives of literary characters in a text—to experience and understand the thoughts, feelings, and motivations underlying character behavior.

The potential benefits of incorporating literature into the language classroom notwithstanding, practical objections have also been raised. It has been argued that literature is often level inappropriate (Vincent & Carter, 1986), and seldom matched to the respective needs of learners. Buckledee (2002) adds to this criticism in asserting that EFL learners are often presented with literary texts that have been selected for their status as literature, rather than their applicability or accessibility. Others object to the use of literary excerpts, which when extracted from longer narratives are robbed of context and stylistic continuity (Cook, 1986). Still others point to the structural complexity of literature, noting that it often has little application for the occupational or academic goals of learners (McKay, 1986). Far from a recent development, the belief in the inapplicability of literature in EFL curricula have existed for some time, as seen in H.G. Widdowson's 1978 publication of *Teaching Language as Communication*, in which the use of literature in the language classroom is almost entirely omitted.

Other objections focus less on efficacy, and more on the cultural and social impact of employing literature in EFL curricula. Mirroring Paulo Freire's 1968 work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Thiong'o (1986) argues that including a corpus of British literature in Kenyan primary education acts as a continuation of Eurocentric imperialism. Criticism has also been leveled at belief in the positive effects of reading literature. While conceding that *some* literature may succeed in promoting positive attitudes and understandings towards other cultures, they argue that literature also risks creating or reinforcing negative stereotypes or prejudice against groups of people who are different. Keen (2007) illustrates this dilemma by pointing out that if literature (especially fiction) can promote altruism and caring, reader engagement with stories of Aryan racial superiority possesses the power to produce hatred and

discrimination. The point is clear; if literature holds the power to promote pro-cultural attitudes, it is also capable of engendering negative ones, such as the promulgation racial biases and prejudice, militarism, or, as Edward Said (1993) has indicated, the glorification of imperialism.

These criticisms deserve to be addressed. While the syntax and vocabulary contained in literature often presents a hurdle for language learners, an ICL approach employs short forms of literature, ensuring that learners are presented with manageable narratives from which they are able to benefit from interaction with genuine texts. As narratives are selected for a specific purpose—to facilitate empathic encounters with members of diverse cultural backgrounds—they avoid the criticism of being Olympian or imperialistic. Furthermore, as each text is written from the perspective of a member of another culture (and typically by a member of that culture), it would be difficult to argue that they create or perpetuate negative cultural stereotypes. In addition, the stories presented to learners are complete texts, and not excerpts taken out of context from longer works.

Keen's warning of the inappropriate nature of some narratives notwithstanding, the literature employed in this research seeks not to indoctrinate, but rather to develop the ability to understand others through the act of taking perspectives and imaginatively experiencing the world through their eyes. Furthermore, rather than reinforcing stereotypes and biases, post-reading reflection reinforces development of cognitive flexibility necessary for acquiring ethnorelative attitudes towards culture.

In attempting to present and publish portions of this research, the author has encountered resistance from an unexpected area: educators currently employing literature in the foreign-language classroom. An editor of a particular journal covering issues and research pertaining to the use of literature in language teaching expressed the opinion that this dissertation's use of literature was overly pragmatic, and perhaps better suited for publication outside the field. In reflecting on this reaction, it is possible that the manner in which this research approaches literature—for its ability to facilitate cultural awareness and foster positive

attitudes towards other cultures, as opposed to appreciating its aesthetic value—strikes members of this community as uninteresting or, possibly, insensitive to the inherent value of the literary texts used.

The question of how literature *should* be incorporated into foreign-language curricula is a contested issue. However, it may be argued that the manner in which this research seeks to employ narrative texts *compliments* authorial desire to craft evocative narratives that stimulate, impress, and elicit affective reader response. While there are undoubtedly numerous ways to enjoy and implement literary texts in foreign-language education, this dissertation posits that in facilitating deep learner engagement with literary texts (through encouraging identification with characters and simulation of character experiences; by promoting reader reflection), this dissertation's use of literature is reflective of the spirit in which the narratives were written.

Chapter Four: Narrative Literature in Practice—Classroom Research and Curricula

Foreign-language education provides an excellent environment in which to implement an ICL approach, as language-study necessarily incorporates cultural instruction, facilitating an understanding of cultural patterns underscoring communication. By promoting intercultural *encounters* through literature, an ICL approach provides learners with literary interactions with members of other cultures, exposing them to diverse patterns of thought, behavior, and communication. Another key factor in ICL pedagogy concerns the development of cognitive flexibility: learners imaginatively experience and therefore encounter imaginative scenarios leading to a greater comprehension of cultural heterogeneity. Through literary study in the target language, learners also develop a set of linguistic skills, as familiarly found in foreign-language education "four skills" (reading, writing, listening, speaking) methodologies.

In Chapters 1–3, the three principal components of an ICL approach were investigated: intercultural competence, empathy, and narrative literature. This chapter presents a model ICL curriculum design, explaining how each component functions to promote the acquisition of IC in learners. This will be followed by an example of an ICL approach in the EFL classroom. Finally, this chapter presents the experimental results of two classes undertaken at a Japanese prefectural university for the purpose of demonstrating a proof of concept regarding an ICL approach. The chapter concludes with practical recommendations for improvement and implementation of ICL in university language-learning, at the undergraduate level.

A Process-model of ICL

This section presents a process-model of ICL, and illustrates how the research presented in the preceding three chapters is incorporated into an ICL approach.
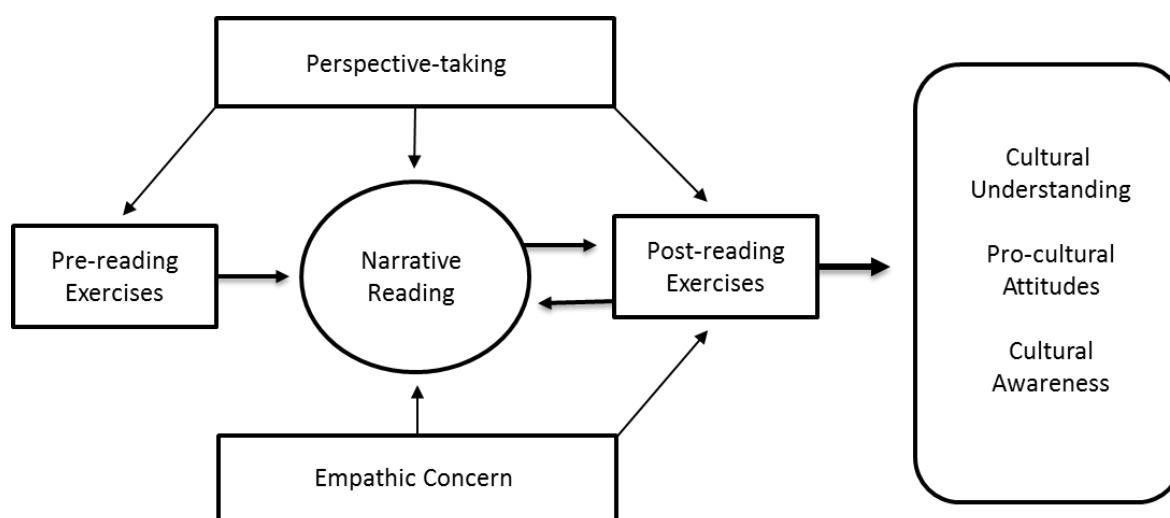
Figure 9. A Process-model of Intercultural Competence through Literature

Figure 9 represents a visualization of how perspective-taking and empathic concern function through narrative to foster IC in learners. The ICL process is divided into three stages:

1. Pre-reading exercises

2. Narrative reading

3. Post-reading exercises

Learners engage in perspective-taking in all three stages, and experience empathic concern during narrative readings, and through re-engagement with the narrative during post-reading exercises. This re-engagement is indicated by the left-arrow (from *post-reading exercises* to *narrative reading*), signifying a protracted process by which readers repeatedly return to the narrative in order to reflect and engage in perspective-taking. Empathic engagement with a narrative's characters results in the fostering of components underscoring the acquisition of IC: cultural understanding, pro-cultural attitudes, and cultural awareness. The rationale and function of each stage is explicated below.

ICL employs pre-reading activities to 1) draw learner attention to similarities shared by the learner and literary characters, and to 2) have the learner imagine themselves into experiences that are similar to those faced by literary characters. For example, in preparation for reading a narrative set in an elementary school, learners might be asked to recall personal

experiences of primary education. Doing so draws attention to learner/character similarities, creating an affinity that facilitates transportation into the narrative in the second stage. This conclusion is supported by Miall (1988) and Kuiken et al. (2004), who found that readers who are able to link their experiences with those of the protagonist are more likely to be impacted by the narrative. In cases where learners lack shared experiences with literary characters (e.g., the illness of a loved one), they may be asked to imagine someone close to them suffering from a chronic condition, and encouraged to not only imagine how they would feel, but also how it would feel to be slowly victimized by a debilitating disease.

Pre-reading activities are performed to give learners the greatest chance to successfully engage in perspective-taking during readings. Psychology research indicates that learners are more easily able to take the perspectives of people with whom they share similarities (*cf.* Stotland, 1969; Krebs, 1975; Smith, 1989), and Batson (1991; 2016) has demonstrated that the degree of empathic concern experienced may be directly influenced by perceived similarities. As well, Cikara, Bruneau, and Saxe (2011) note the importance of ingroup-outgroup perception in experiencing empathy towards others. Experiments into hot-cold empathy gaps by Read and Loewenstein (1999) and Van Boven and Loewenstein (2003) illustrate the degree to which disparities in experiences negatively influence empathy towards others in states of need or suffering. Research has also shown that drawing learner attention to similarities in habits, preferences and life experiences increases the ability to engage in perspective-taking, and increases empathic concern (*cf.* Batson*,* Early, & Salvarani, 1997a; Batson, Duncan, Ackerman, Buckley, & Birch,1981). Sample pre-reading exercises are shown in pp. 145-146, below.

The second stage of ICL, *narrative reading*, employs short narratives to allow learners to benefit from aspects of narrative empathy: reader transportation, character identification, and simulation of social events. ICL employs narratives due to their ability to assist readers in suspending disbelief, to become absorbed in the world offered by the author (*cf.* Brock, Stange,

& Green, 2002; Marsh & Fazio, 2006). The narrative medium was also chosen for its ability to develop imagination (*cf.* Sadoski, Goetz, & Kangiser, 1988; Graesser & Wiemer-Hastings, 1999), and creativity (Bal & Veltkamp, 2013) as leaners construct *mental microworlds* onto the narrative framework (Graesser & Wiemer-Hastings, 1999). Based in research from Gibson (1980), Gerrig (1993), and Green and Brock (2000), ICL views transportation as a cognitive journey, where readers imagine themselves into narratives to identify with characters, through which genuine concern develops for characters' well-being. The result of this experienced empathic concern is the fostering of positive attitudes towards individuals and the groups they are associated with. Studies demonstrating the link between experiencing empathic concern and the fostering of positive attitudes have been cited in this research (*cf.* Clore & Jeffrey, 1972; Batson et al. 1997b; Schultz, 2000). ICL's approach to eliciting empathic concern also draws on studies in the field of medicine, where narrative literature has been employed to positively shape the attitudes of physicians-in-training and nursing students towards patients (*cf.* Shapiro, Morrison, & Boker, 2004; DasGupta, Meyer, Calero-Breckheimer, Costley, & Guillen, 2006).

An ICL approach also utilizes narratives to facilitate learner simulation of social events in stories. Grounded in the work of Oatley (1999; 2011a; 2016) and Mar and Oatley (2008), ICL presents learners with social situations set in various cultures allowing them to simulate narrative events through the perspective of characters. In doing so, learners *practice* social events and gain social knowledge about other cultures. This assertion is supported by Zwaan (2004) and Speer, Reynolds, Swallow, and Zacks (2009), who in analyzing the brain during reading, found that from a neurophysiological perspective, the brain draws little distinction between physical experience and experiences simulated in narratives. A sample narrative reading is shown in pp. 146-147, below.

The third stage of ICL—*post-reading exercises*—are performed to provide learners with multiple opportunities to engage with narratives. Drawing on the work of Ornaghi, Brockmeier, and Grazzani (2014), who demonstrated the ability of post-reading activities to

raise empathy scores, an ICL approach assists learners in returning to the text to 1) gain a thorough understanding of the plot, 2) analyze cultural aspects of the narrative, 3) take character perspectives to consider their mental states, 4) imagine oneself into the circumstances of characters, and 5) share knowledge and reflections with other learners. Sample post-reading exercises are shown in pp. 147-148, below.

Learners progressing through the three stages of ICL (see Fig. 9) develop the requisite skills, attitudes, and knowledge allowing for the acquisition of intercultural competence. Through literary encounters of other cultures, learners gain valuable cultural knowledge, corresponding to Byram's (1997) *knowledge of others*. Through experiencing empathic concern, learners foster positive attitudes towards other cultures; attitudes—such as respect, toleration, openness, and curiosity—that Deardorff (2006) indicates as foundational to the acquisition of IC. Through imaginative consideration of how members of other cultures think and feel (as well as how one would think and feel in their place), learners develop the ability to shift perspectives, which Bennett (2003) indicates as a hallmark of the learner in stages of ethnorelativism, where one is capable of shifting cultural perspectives to gain understanding of others. Finally, ability to fluidly shift worldviews contributes to an increased awareness of cultures: of others' as well as one's own.

With an understanding of the above-illustrated theoretical underpinnings of ICL, the following section presents an example of an ICL approach as constructed for use in a 90-minute EFL class.

The following is an example of an ICL approach as applied in an experimental undergraduate course held between October, 2017 and February, 2018. The curriculum presented was employed in the third week of a once-a-week 90-minute class (of 15), and held in a computer-equipped classroom. The flash-fiction story employed in this class, entitled *The Snake*, is set in a Kenyan town and involves the experience of a group of Kenyans reacting to

the frightening appearance of a dangerous snake inside a dwelling during a communal gathering to drink tea.

The lesson plan consists of the following components:

1. Pre-reading empathic exercises.

2. Reading of the narrative.

3. Post-reading exercise 1 – plot/text comprehension.

4. Post-reading exercise 2 – investigation of cultural aspects in narrative.

5. Post-reading exercise 3 – perspective-taking.

6. Post-reading exercise 4 – group discussion.

Each component is detailed below.

To prepare for imaginative engagement with literary characters, learners were asked a series of questions regarding their experiences with snakes, including if they had ever encountered a snake in the wild, if they had any experience with any of the dangerous snakes indigenous to Japan, or if they knew of someone who had such an experience. Learners provided written answers, which they were encouraged to share with the class.

Learners were then instructed to imagine a poisonous snake indigenous to Japan (a *mamushi*, or a Japanese pit viper), and were asked to consider how they would react if one were to appear in the classroom—would they flee the classroom in panic, for example, or would they move to protect classmates closest to the snake? Again, the learners provided written answers that were subsequently shared with classmates. These pre-reading exercises completed, learners were next paired and asked to read the following one-paragraph narrative:

The Snake (Eric Rugara)

That kid saw it first. Everyone else was busy talking and sipping tea when the kid suddenly cried out, "Snake!" The father leapt up, swift, like a Maasai Moran. "Where?" "There!" At the end of the kid's pointed finger was the gray wall and on the gray wall, above the window and next to the door was a long, black thing slithering. Against the

wall was a table the father leapt upon with all the young blood pounding in his veins. "Get me a big stick!" he yelled. The mother was out and back in a second holding a long wooden pole and handed it to the father and all the hidden talent for warfare that the father had came out in the open when he handled that pole with utmost skill and a surprising dexterity, driving it into the head of the snake as though it was a part of his arms, like throwing a punch, the snake fell off the wall and onto the floor and the father jumped off the table and pushed out the snake with the opposite end of the pole and someone said, "Watch out!" but the father was fast and he leapt back as the snake's head lashed at him and he brought down the pole on the snake's head and he pushed it out with all his might and it soared through the air, out the door, and onto the ground, raising a small cloud of dust. "Make sure it doesn't get onto the grass," someone said. "Once it gets on the grass you won't see it, it will zip off like a flash of lightning." But the father was somewhere else: in the zone he raised the pole, with both hands, over his head and commenced to bring it down upon the body and head and tail of the snake even as it tried to lash back, beat it mercilessly till it was battered and dead and the skin peeled off in certain places, beat it till its head was like chewed-up meat. "Let's burn it," he said. The mother went back in and came out with a can of oil and a red lighter, the father handled the snake on the opposite end of the pole and everyone followed him to the rubbish pit where the oil was poured on it and the fire caught upon it and its snake skin came alive and twisted and coiled as it broiled and burned and everyone felt very, very good especially the father and the kid who were the heroes of the moment, the kid for his keen eyes, the father for his leap into action and his brilliance with the pole and everyone trooped back into the house and a fresh thermos of tea was brought in and everyone poured it into their cups and chattered about the moment, the emotion, the action and the aliveness that they felt.

Following the reading, learners engaged in a series of exercises aimed at supporting reading comprehension. These included matching English terms with Japanese translations, as well as exercises in which learners identified the characters in the story, and the sequence of events narrated in the plot. Learners were encouraged to work in pairs, and correct answers were provided by the teacher.

Learners were subsequently directed to access the Internet to answer questions involving cultural aspects related to the reading. These included investigating the concept of the *Maasai Moran*, which learners were asked to define, as well, to explain the cultural significance of this concept within Maasai society. A second series of questions involved the black snack, which learners were asked to identify (the snake is a black mamba) and to explain the snake's reputation in sub-Saharan Africa (extremely fast; highly aggressive; considered the deadliest snake in East Africa; at the center of African myths). Additionally, learners were asked to consider the possible living arrangements of the characters in the story; for example, that the windows and doors of the house were purposefully left open, allowing for the snake to both enter and exit the abode. This was aided by the use of Google mapping services (Google Streetview), allowing learners to access images of typical Kenyan houses in order to better imagine the events in the story. Finally, learners were asked to consider some similarities and differences between Kenyan and Japanese tea-drinking customs.

With an understanding of the plot, and some insight into the cultural significance of the *Maasai Moran* and the black mamba, learners were next instructed to take the perspectives of the characters in the story. Specifically, learners were asked to imagine both the father and mother's mental states, and to consider what motivated these characters to risk their lives to attack the snake. Learners were also asked to take character perspectives to attempt to understand the harsh treatment of the snake in the light of what they had learned about the black mamba in Kenyan culture.

Following these exercises, learners were asked to imagine themselves into the story and then to consider how they might react—not as college-age adults—but as mothers and fathers with the responsibility to protect their children. Would they have risen to attack the snack like the Maasai warrior in the story? Would they have assisted the brave father in the manner of the wife? Would they have rejoiced in the death of this dangerous animal? Would being a parent influence their response to the snake? Additionally, learners were asked to imagine how their own parents would react in a similar situation, and provide reasons for their answers. Then learners were encouraged to share their responses with partners.

The final part of the class involved learners forming small groups of 4-5, in which they discussed their answers and exchanged information concerning Kenyan culture—thus giving learners the opportunity to consider alternate perspectives and acquire cultural information that they might have missed.

The rationale for each component is as follows. Pre-reading exercises were performed for two reasons. First, utilizing learner memories of and familiarity with local snakes prepared them to encounter a snake in an unfamiliar setting. Additionally, having learners imagine how they would react to an experience similar to that portrayed in the story attempted to facilitate learner ability to become immersed in the events of the narrative. As cultural settings differed considerably (Kenya vs. Japan) it was important that some degree of familiarity be established prior to reading.

The first set of post-reading exercises were performed to promote learner-understanding of the language of the text, as well as of the characters and sequence of the plot. This allowed learners to reread the story multiple times in order to gain confidence and mastery of the content. Having learners work in pairs allowed for collaboration, which was intended to partially alleviate the confusion and frustration that can occur when encountering literature in a foreign language.

The second set of exercises made use of the aspects of Kenyan culture that these readers encountered in the narrative. Rather than being told didactically about the significance of Maasai warrior culture, learners first encountered the concept in the text, after which they independently conducted research in collaboration with other learners. Learner-understanding of the Maasai Moran assisted them in understanding the actions of the father in the story. The narrative introduced learners to Kenyan culture through the social custom of communal tea drinking, and in taking character perspectives learners were invited to partake in this aspect of everyday Kenyan life. Encouraging learners to compare and contrast Kenyan communal tea drinking with Japanese tea-drinking customs had the aim of fostering critical cultural awareness of similarities and differences between two cultures.

The third set of perspective-taking exercises was aimed at facilitating learner-ability to take perspectives on several levels. By imagining themselves in the place of the father and mother, learners gained insight into how the experience of being confronted by the deadliest snake in Africa might affect them. More challenging were those questions asking them to imagine the thoughts, feelings, and motivations of the characters from *the characters'* perspectives. Attempting such perspective-taking was intended to draw learners more closely into the story, and so to enhance potential affective responses to the experiences of the characters. Changing perspectives again, learners were asked to imagine how they would react, not as their present selves, but as parents with children threatened by a snake, after which they imagined how *their* parents would react in place of the Kenyan couple. In taking alternate perspectives, learners were encouraged to step outside of their experiences to gain a depth of understanding regarding why the Kenyan mother and father rushed to intercept a lethal danger. Furthermore, in taking the perspective of *their own* parents, learners gained insight into the protective selflessness that parents experience towards their children. Considering the context of the story (i.e., Kenyan culture), learners gained an understanding of the significance of

Kenyan concepts of maleness (the Maasai Moran warrior), and were given the opportunity to simulate an aspect of Kenyan culture (communal tea drinking). Finally, learners were encouraged to view the brutal slaying of the snake from the perspective of those whose lives it endangered.

Combined, these exercises attempted to accomplish the following objectives:

1. Present learners with a short example of well-written literature in the target language.

2. Enhance learner-understanding and appreciation of a target culture through ground-level participation in a social experience.

3. Develop critical cultural awareness of customs and habits between cultures.

4. Stimulate learner-imagination through the presenting of an unusual experience.

5. Refine empathic ability regarding the taking of alternate perspectives.

6. Engender positive cultural attitudes through activation of empathic concern generated from engagement in the story.

7. Promote an understanding of self (and of one's parents) through reflective exercises and discussion.

Through an empathy-centered approach, ICL achieves multiple objectives. Learner engagement with literary characters develops the ability to take alternate perspectives, while simultaneously providing insight into and knowledge of other cultures. In processing narratives learners develop imaginative abilities; they identify with protagonists to experience empathic concern, resulting in the development of positive cultural attitudes. Through a co-experiencing of narrative events, learners simulate social experiences in other cultures, to gain cultural understanding. Finally, for learners who lack access to physical intercultural encounters, literary narratives written from the perspective of other cultures provide substitutional encounters.

ICL in the Foreign-language Classroom

The following sections of this chapter introduce results from the two ICL-experimental classes.

Immigrant narratives in a class for second-year English majors.

The first experimental class was titled *Cross-cultural Communication B2* (異文化コミュニケーション論 B2), taught for second-year English majors at the Prefectural University of Kumamoto. The class was intended to build on coursework completed in *Cross-cultural Communication B1*, which introduced subjects to definitions of culture, cultural communication patterns, non-verbal communication styles, the relationship between culture and values, and cultural stereotypes. This class also introduced a series of case studies from *Exploring Culture: Exercises, Stories and Synthetic Cultures* by Hofstede, Pedersen, and Hofstede (2002). Subjects were asked to: 1) analyze the case studies, each of which presented an example of miscommunication due to cultural differences, 2) offer explanations for the miscommunication based on Hofstede's (1986, 1991, 2011) six dimensions of culture,[xii] and 3) examine how a Japanese cultural orientation might influence the communication outcomes presented in each case-study.

At the conclusion of the class, it was noted by the instructor that while learners demonstrated the ability to recognize and attribute differences in communication styles to the cultural orientations of the speakers, they expressed little interest in the cultural factors underlying differences in communication styles, or much appreciation of cultural diversity present outside of Japan. Instructor conversations with subjects indicated an ethnocentric attitude towards non-Japanese, where the correctness of behavior was evaluated based on Japanese norms, rather than the values of the respective societies illustrated in the class.

In considering these results, this author (Ostman, 2017) conducted a survey between July 27, 2016 and August 8, 2016, consisting of 33 questions (presented in Appendix I) divided

into three sections (subject news habits, subject knowledge/attitudes concerning immigrants, subject knowledge/attitudes concerning immigrants). All questions were composed in English, before being translated into Japanese. The survey was designed to gain deeper insight into Japanese learner understandings of and attitudes towards a group of non-Japanese: immigrants. The survey was taken by 161 undergraduate students, with results as follows:

1. A majority of subjects (57%) correctly defined the term "immigrant," [xiii] and demonstrated an understanding of the cultural groups forming the majority of Japan's immigrants.

2. A majority of subjects failed to recognize the benefits of immigration in addressing problems related to Japan's worsening demographics (rapidly aging society; low birth rate; labor shortages).

3. A majority of subjects expressed concern that allowing immigration would negatively impact public safety.

4. A majority of subjects failed to identify practical benefits to immigrants taking up residence in Japan (higher wages; higher standard of living; access to education and healthcare).

5. Subjects demonstrated an inability to imagine the motivations of immigrants, or the challenges they faced in relocating to another country.

In order to address subject inability to understand and empathize with immigrants in their country, this author (Ostman, 2018) designed a curriculum for use in the course *Cross-cultural Communication B2*, which was implemented from October 2016, through February, 2017.

Curriculum.

The curriculum consisted of a series of first-person narratives, written anonymously by immigrants, and posted on online blogs. Some accounts required changes in grammar and spelling; however, absent such mistakes texts were left unchanged. Text selection was based

on three criteria: 1) the texts clearly stated the immigrant's motivation for immigrating, 2) the texts made clear the activities of the immigrant in their adopted countries (the benefits of the immigrant to the country), and 3) the texts included examples of cultural misunderstandings and cultural challenges to assimilation faced by the immigrants. In presenting this information to subjects, it was hypothesized that subject understanding of immigrant motivations and social contributions would be increased, while efforts to take immigrant perspectives—to experience immigrant challenges and struggles in acclimating to new environments—would foster sensitivity towards immigrants and the immigrant experience. An example of an immigrant narrative is provided below:

<div align="center">A Turk in America</div>

I immigrated to the east coast of America in the late 1970's. I studied engineering in Turkey, but my parents wanted me to go to a rich country like America because they thought that I could have a better life. Engineers do not make so much money in Turkey. I applied for scholarships to go to universities in many countries, but was only accepted by one. It was hard to leave my family.

In America, I met some Turkish students and we spent much time together. We were desperately homesick, and longed for a famous Turkish food called Sarma (stuffed grape leaves). One day, we were driving down some country road and to our amazement we saw an abandoned field of grape leaves! We pulled over and started gathering as many leaves as we could so we could make sarma that night.

Some American must have driven by and seen us, because about 15 minutes later some cars pulled up and policemen came rushing out with their guns. We later found out that an old lady had reported that a bunch of Mexicans were in a field harvesting marijuana plants. It took a long time to explain what we were doing, but when the police understood they started to laugh. My friends and I did not laugh.

(For further examples of immigrant narratives, see Appendices J and K)

Following each autobiographical account, subjects were required to answer a series of questions asking them to 1) analyze the cultural characteristics of both cultures involved (the immigrant's native culture and adopted culture), 2) consider the experience of immigration/cultural acclimation from the perspective of the author, and 3) imagine themselves into the story to understand how they would think and feel in the place of the immigrant. The first set of questions involved subjects utilizing analytical skills developed in the first semester, in which Hofstede's cultural dimensions were employed in order to evaluate and understand cultural differences. Exercises involving perspective-taking encouraged subjects to imagine the thoughts and feelings of the immigrants in the stories, all of whom described themselves as facing communicative and cultural challenges. In order to consider the motivations of immigrants, subjects were asked to identify possible reasons (when not clearly stated) for the immigrant choosing to move to another country, as well as whether the subject would make the same decision if in a similar life circumstance. Finally, subjects were asked to imagine themselves as the immigrant in the narrative in order to consider how the learner would feel if in a similar situation to the character in the story.

In the final month of the class, the first-person narratives included accounts by Japanese who had immigrated to North and South America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In two cases the accounts were biographical, as they were written by the children of the immigrants in question. In both cases the criteria for text selection remained the same.

The role of the instructor was limited to discussion of the readings and questions. No attempt was made to directly inform subjects on areas they had previously demonstrated lacunae (common motivations for immigrating, benefits provided by immigrants, benefits experienced by immigrants). Results of the first survey (completed by all subjects enrolled in the class) were not discussed.

At the completion of the course, 39 subjects were re-surveyed using a modified version of the first instrument.[xiv] As with the original survey, all questions appeared in both English and Japanese.

Result.

Compared with the first survey, subject -ability to correctly define the term "immigrant" significantly improved (87% vs. 57%). Subject answers regarding the benefits of immigration were also changed, with higher percentages of subjects indicating practical and diplomatic benefits from immigration. Results are shown below in Table 1.

Table 1
Immigrant Benefits for Japan

Benefit	Cultural	Practical	Diplomatic	Intrinsic	No benefit
Survey group 1 (%)	58	36	4	1	1
Survey group 2 (%)	35	47	15	0	3

Source: Ostman (2018)

While the majority of subjects in the first survey group were only able to identify potential cultural benefits to Japan from the acceptance of immigrants (i.e., internationalization), responses in the follow-up survey indicated that accepting immigrants would be a source of needed labor, would potentially boost the birth rate, and would provide support for Japan's aging population.

Subject answers also differed concerning the question of how immigrants would benefit from relocating to Japan. While the benefit of safety being the most frequent answer in the first survey group, subjects in the second survey group were more likely to indicate practical benefits (higher wages; access to health care; access to social welfare).

Table 2
Benefits for Immigrants to Japan

Benefit	Safety	Practical	Environmental	Cultural
Survey group 1 (%)	48	27	7	19
Survey group 2 (%)	33	33	15	18

Source: Ostman (2018)

In addition, the percentage of subjects who indicated that immigrants would benefit from Japan's clean environment also increased in the second survey group.

Finally, subjects in both survey groups were asked to respond to the statements "Japan should increase the number of immigrants," and "Japan needs to accept more immigrants in the future."

Table 3

Japan Should Accept More Immigrants

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Survey group 1 (%)	3	25	44	24	3
Survey group 2 (%)	5	38	26	31	0
Change (%)	+2	+13	-18	+7	-3

Source: Ostman (2018)

The largest difference in the second survey group regarding the first statement was in the percentage of subjects who responded "neither" (-18%). The second largest change was in the percentage of subjects who responded "strongly agree" and "agree" (+15% combined), while the percentage of subjects who answered "disagree" to the statement also increased (+7%); however, this increase was partially offset as no subjects responded "strongly disagree" (-3%). In summary, the percentage of subjects who responded "neither" decreased from the first survey group, resulting in increases in percentages of subjects who agreed or strongly agreed, followed by a small increase (+4%) in the percentage of subjects who disagreed.

Compared with the first statement, changes in subject-response between survey groups for the second statement were more pronounced. Table 4 compares responses between the two survey groups:

Table 4

Japan Needs to Accept More Immigrants in the Future

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Survey group 1 (%)	3	30	38	25	4
Survey group 2 (%)	8	59	18	15	0
Change (%)	+5	+29	-20	-10	-4

Source: Ostman (2018)

When asked to respond to the statement indicating that Japan should increase immigration, 43% of subjects agreed/strongly agreed, compared with 31% who disagreed that increasing immigration was something the country should do. When asked to respond to the statement indicating that Japan needed to accept more immigrants, subjects responded favorably, with 67% agreeing or strongly agreeing, compared with 15% who disagreed. No subjects strongly disagreed. Agreement rose 34% in the second survey-group compared with responses from subjects in the first, while disagreement decreased by 14%.

Discussion.

After analyzing the results of a 2016 survey-instrument designed to identify areas where subjects lacked knowledge and cultural awareness, pedagogical challenges emerged. To begin, while subjects demonstrated lacunae that could be directly addressed by the teacher (i.e., who an immigrant is, why they come, and how they benefit society), subject responses also revealed a lack of empathy and awareness towards the challenges faced by immigrants. After reviewing positive results from the field of narrative medicine, in which narrative literature was shown to improve scores on instruments designed to measure empathy, a curriculum consisting of narrative accounts was introduced in a one-semester course, during which subjects were encouraged to reflect on and discuss the experiences of immigrant authors through empathic attempts to take their perspectives.

At the conclusion of the semester, subjects were re-surveyed and the results analyzed for differences in order to 1) determine if the narrative literature administered throughout the semester had improved subjects' immigrant-related knowledge, and 2) to consider the effectiveness on the narrative literature on subject-attitudes towards this group.

Regarding learner knowledge, results in the follow-up survey group revealed improved definitional correctness, and a broader understanding of the practical benefits provided by immigrants, as well as the benefits that immigrants themselves enjoy in their new society. As

no attempt was made "teach" this information directly, the literary texts proved capable of improving subject knowledge on a specific topic.

Although the survey instrument was not designed to measure cultural sensitivity or empathy, but rather to ascertain areas of subject lacunae, it is possible to consider the efficacy of the narrative literature employed to influence subject attitudes. Improved favorability in subject response to the propositions that "Japan should and needs to increase immigration" (+15% and +34% respectively) indicates a change in subject attitudes towards immigrants. Interestingly, subjects who reported attending the most classes indicated the highest favorability, while those who reported attending the least reported the lowest. This suggests that those subjects who engaged more strongly with immigrant protagonists experienced higher favorability to the prospect of increased immigration to their country. It is possible that increased favorability towards accepting immigrants into Japan reflects the development of positive subject attitudes towards immigrants, fostered through interaction with the immigrant protagonists to whom they were exposed, via the curriculum texts.

While conclusions drawn from the results of this experimental course are limited, non-fictive literature was demonstrated to hold the capacity to impart information to subjects, *absent of direct instruction* (e.g., the nature of immigrants; immigrant contributions to society; immigrant benefits). Furthermore, interaction with immigrant narratives influenced subject opinion on a specific issue (the advisability and necessity of allowing immigrants into the country).

The results from this experimental class formed the genesis for further research. Conducted in the first year of this doctoral research, experimental class #1 represented a first attempt to implement an ICL approach in the foreign-language classroom. This experience resulted in important implications which were then applied to subsequent investigations. It was theorized that if literature could inform and positively influence subject knowledge and perception on a single issue (immigration), narratives could be adapted to cover a larger

pedagogical scope: assisting undergraduates to acquire cultural knowledge and positive cultural attitudes (i.e., toleration, openness, respect, appreciation) foundational to intercultural competence.

Flash fiction for first-year non-English majors.

A second experimental class was conducted for 19 Japanese first-year students in the Faculty of Environmental and Symbiotic Sciences, October 2017—February 2018. Subjects were informed that they would be participating in a class involving short stories—they would be asked to read, analyze and discuss these stories. Subjects were additionally told that the stories were set in other countries and cultures, and that they would be asked to engage in perspective-taking, in order to gain understanding and insight into the thoughts and feelings of the characters.

Following this explanation, subjects were asked to complete the *Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy* (SEE), a 31-question instrument developed by Wang et al. (2003). As mentioned, according to the developers, the SEE is "a self-report instrument that measures empathy towards people of racial and ethnic backgrounds different from one's own" (p. 221). The instrument was designed to measure four factors: empathic feeling and expression, empathic perspective-taking, acceptance of cultural difference, and empathic awareness. The scale was translated into Japanese and was re-administered in the final class. One subject in the initial survey failed to complete the second half of the instrument (questions 16-31).

The SEE was employed for two reasons. First, it was deemed necessary that a quantitative attempt be made to measure the impact of empathic interaction with narratives on subject empathy. Second, the SEE was considered useful in its attempt to specifically measure subject ability to take perspectives, as evidenced in the following statements:

19. It is easy for me to understand what it would feel like to be a person of another racial or ethnic background other than my own.

28. It is difficult for me to put myself in the shoes of someone who is racially and/or ethnically different from me.

31. It is difficult for me to relate to stories in which people talk about racial or ethnic discrimination they experience in their day to day lives.

All instrument items are listed in English and Japanese in Appendix F.

While the first experimental class utilized immigrant narratives in which individuals related challenges in acclimating and gaining acceptance in their adopted country, flash-fiction narratives were set in protagonists' cultural contexts, and, with the exception of one story (*My Brother at the Canadian Border*), did not focus on issues or episodes related to racial/ethnic prejudice or discrimination. All stories were taken from an edited flash-fiction collection entitled *Flash Fiction International: Very Short Stories from Around the World* (2015). A complete list of story titles and descriptions are found in Appendix L.

Result.

All subjects completed the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy at the in the first and last classes of the course. The SEE was selected over other instruments due to its inclusion of a component of seven items (items 2, 4, 6, 19, 28, 29, 31) specifically developed to measure respondent ability to engage in empathic perspective-taking. The pre- and post-class results for each question are discussed below. All items employed a 5-point Likert Scale.

Item 2, the first item in the "Empathic Perspective Taking" component of the SEE, asked subjects to respond to the statement: *I don't know a lot of information about important social and political events of racial and ethnic groups other than my own.*

Table 5

Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy: Item 2

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	1(5%)	3(16%)	1(5%)	12(63%)	2(11%)
Post-class (#)	0(0%)	4(21%)	2(11%)	13(68%)	0(0%)
Change	-5%	+5%	+5%	+5%	-11%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=19

While small changes were seen between groups in each of the five points, overall agreement remained unchanged, while overall disagreement decreased by 6%. Subjects were given some opportunity to deepen their cultural understanding in the course of exploring the cultural backgrounds of the characters encountered in stories; however, no concerted effort was made on the part of the instructor to offer a summary of the salient political or social features of a given culture. It is possible that a more mainstream approach to teaching culture, in which the festivals, history, and broad characteristics of cultures are presented, may have resulted in more pronounced changes between survey groups.

Item 4 asked subjects to agree or disagree with the statement: *I know what it feels like to be the only person of a certain race or ethnicity in a group of people.*

Table 6
Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy: Item 4

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	3(16%)	5(26%)	4(21%)	6(32%)	1(5%)
Post-class (#)	3(16%)	3(16%)	6(32%)	6(32%)	1(5%)
Change	0%	-11%	+11%	0%	0%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=19

Change in response in the post-class survey group was seen only in the percentage of subjects who agreed (-11%), and those who neither agreed or disagreed with the statement (+11%). As previously stated, the stability in responses between the two groups may be related to the fact that racism and racial isolation were not topics covered in the curriculum, which rather attempted to bring readers into an encounter with culturally diverse individuals and groups in the context of *their* cultures. Unlike the first experimental course in which subjects were asked to consider life from the perspective of various immigrants, who found themselves as members of ethnic minorities in their adopted countries, the curriculum in the second class was restricted to asking subjects to imagine themselves into the thoughts and feelings of the characters in the stories.

Item 6 similarly asked subjects to agree or disagree with the statement: *I can relate to the frustration that some people feel about having fewer opportunities due to their racial or ethnic backgrounds.*

Table 7
Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy: Item 6

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	0(0%)	5(26%)	7(37%)	6(32%)	1(5%)
Post-class (#)	2(11%)	5(26%)	5(26%)	6(32%)	1(5%)
Change	+11%	0%	-11%	0%	0%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=19

While responses remained consistent between the two groups, the single area of change involved a decrease in subject's responding that they neither agreed or disagreed (-11%) in favor of the category "strongly agree" (+11%). Again, as no story involved members of a given race or ethnicity being denied social opportunities, it is difficult to offer an explanation for this shift.

Item 19 asked subjects to respond to the statement: *It is easy for me to understand what it would feel like to be a person of another racial or ethnic background other than my own.*

Table 8
Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy: Item 19

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	2(11%)	4(22%)	7(39%)	3(17%)	2(11%)
Post-class (#)	1(5%)	3(16%)	9(47%)	6(32%)	0(0%)
Change	-6%	-6%	+8%	+15%	-11%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

Initially subjects were more likely to agree or strongly disagree with the statement compared with responses following the completion of the curriculum. In the post-class survey, the greatest change was seen in the percentage of subjects who disagreed that cultural perspective-taking was easy; however, considering that the second largest shift was seen in the percentage of subjects who strongly disagreed with the statement, it would appear that the result of actively attempting to take alternate cultural perspectives was to alter subject perception of the ease of

engaging in perspective-taking. While a smaller percentage of subjects agreed that understanding of differing races/ethnicities through perspective-taking was easy, that no respondent selected "strongly disagree" indicates that no subject in the post-class survey group believed that it was *excessively difficult*.

Item 28 asked subjects to respond to the statement: *It is difficult for me to put myself in the shoes of someone who is racially and/or ethnically different from me.* Responses between survey groups varied significantly.

Table 9

Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy: Item 28

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	4(22%)	6(33%)	2(11%)	4(22%)	2(11%)
Post-class (#)	2(11%)	2(11%)	11(58%)	1(5%)	3(16%)
Change	-12%	-23%	+47%	-17%	+5%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

Compared with 55% of subjects who agreed and strongly agreed that taking the perspectives of those racially different was difficult, agreement decreased to 22% in the post-course survey group. However, the greatest change was seen in the number of subjects who neither agreed or disagreed with the statement in the post-class survey group (+47), possibly indicating increased subject appreciation of the difficulty involved in taking alternate ethnic/racial perspectives.

Item 29 on the SEE asked subjects to respond to the statement: *I feel uncomfortable when I am around a significant number of people who are racially/ethnically different than me.*

Table 10

Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy: Item 29

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	1(6%)	2(11%)	5(28%)	7(39%)	3(17%)
Post-class (#)	0(0%)	0(0%)	6(32%)	10(53%)	3(16%)
Change	-6%	-11%	+4%	+14%	-1%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

No subject in the second survey group agreed with the statement, compared with 17% in the pre-class survey group. Change was also seen in the percentage of subjects who disagreed (+14%), possibly indicating an increase in "comfortability" with members of different ethnic/racial groups. Given that the curriculum was designed to facilitate subjects with literary encounters with members of other cultures—encounters that were minimally available in their educational setting—it is possible that this change reflects the positive outcomes of subject interactions with literary characters.

Regarding Item 31 (*It is difficult for me to relate to stories in which people talk about racial or ethnic discrimination they experience in their day to day lives*.), subject-responses in the second survey group indicated a greater tendency to both agree and disagree with the statement.

Table 11
Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy: Item 31

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	1(6%)	5(28%)	10(56%)	2(11%)	0(0%)
Post-class (#)	1(5%)	6(32%)	8(42%)	3(16%)	1(5%)
Change	0%	+4%	-13%	+5%	+5%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

While the percentage of subjects who disagreed or strongly disagreed that it was difficult to relate to stories dealing with discrimination rose by 10%, it is interesting to note that following the course, the subjects who agreed also rose by 4%, possibly reflecting a greater appreciation of the difficulty involved in understanding how members of other cultures feel in the face of discrimination. However, it should be noted that only one narrative (*My Brother at the Canadian Border*) broached the subject of race/ethnicity, and no narrative depicted a character as the victim of racial/ethnic bias or discrimination. (See Appendix M for complete survey results.)

In addition to administering the SEE, subjects were given a questionnaire in which they were asked:

1. Which story(s) they found the most impactful.

2. Their opinion concerning the encounter of other cultures through literature.

3. Their opinion on perspective-taking exercises.

4. Their recommendations to improve the curriculum.

Responses to the first question revealed that interest in the stories was highly subject-specific, with only one story (*Butterfly Forever*) receiving five votes. This was followed by *The Snake* and *The Young Widow* with three votes, and *Honor Killing*, *Love*, *Amerika Street*, and *The Most Beautiful Girl* with two. Interestingly, the three stories receiving no mention (*Prisoner of War, My Brother at the Canadian Border, The Past*) were covered in the first classes of the course (class # 1, 2, & 4). *The Snake* (story # 3) was the only story from this first quarter of the course that subjects reported to have left a lasting impression.

When subjects were asked their opinion on the course's attempt to present other cultures through fiction, responses were favorable. A number of subjects responded that the literary narratives provided opportunities to encounter cultural others unavailable in their daily lives:

Subject 5: *I like this approach because we don't have opportunities to learn other cultures (especially, we live in Kyushu) and we should study it more and be internationally.*

Subject 7: *I like this approach because it is easier to learn other cultures. We can meet a lot of people from other cultures in a short time. It's very efficient.*

Subject 13: *Yes, I did* [like this course's approach]. *I have few opportunities to meet people from other cultures, so I think that such an approach should be available.*

Other subjects indicated that literature was an effective method for gaining information and understanding of other cultures.

Subject 14: *Yes* [I liked this approach]. *Because I could learn culture unique to the country while learning English.*

Subject 19: *I liked this approach. In stories, a lot of foreign people live their life. There are various events that happen based on culture. We research about the country's culture, people, and economic situation, etc. I can understand by doing it.*

Three subjects indicated unfavorable aspects regarding the course approach:

Subject 2: *I like this approach. However, I have too much unknown things about the way foreigners think to understand other cultures.*

Subject 4: *Some things could not understand well. However, I was glad to that I could touch moral things such as sad stories and stories [that] made me think.*

Subject 11: *It may be more interesting if there is video.*

The first two comments possibly indicate subject desire for more class time spent addressing the cultures underlying character thought and behavior in the narratives. The third comment, if interpreted similarly, might indicate a desire for more video-based explanations (visual representations) of cultures, allowing for easier understanding. Considering that subjects made use of Internet resources during the class (Google Search; Google Maps; YouTube), this final comment may indicate a general dissatisfaction with the medium of literature.

Subjects were also asked to give their opinion on the exercises encouraging perspective-taking. Specifically, they were asked: "Did this class help you think about what life would be like if you were someone else?" All 19 subjects responded positively to the question, with some indicating that subjects had been successful in taking the perspectives of members of other cultures.

Subject 1: *Yes, it did. By reading the story of people in other cultural spheres, I could replace characters with myself. And, I could understand. I am happy.*

Subject 7: *I think this class help me. I could learn many life of other cultures in this class. I like imagining it because it is interesting and fresh that imagining life of other cultures. We should try to imagine to understand other cultures.*

Subject 8: *Yes, it did. Many of these classes made me feel like the characters of the story.*

Subject 12: *Yes. I could share a lot of people with different sense of values.*

Subject 16: *Yes, I did. Through this lesson, you can think more from the others.*

These comments offer some indication that the readings (supported by pre- and post-reading perspective-taking exercises) resulted in some subjects achieving immersion and character identification.

Some subjects indicated belief in the educational value of the short stories and accompanying exercises.

Subject 4: *Because I like to think about myself and the other's life, the content of this lesson is very interesting and I learned a lot.*

Subject 13: *I could understand the ways that other people think and feel by reading stories of the people's lives of different cultures and seeing the pictures on the Internet.*

Although responding positively, other subjects indicated the difficulty of taking alternate perspectives.

Subject 2: *I imagined what somebody thinks but it was difficult. I have to learn more* [about] *other culture.*

Subject 14: [D]*epending on the story I could not imagine the scene well and it was difficult to think.*

Subject 19: *It is difficult for me to think about what I don't think in ordinary days. But, the more I think, the more interesting because I feel like becoming this person and understanding the story.*

Although generally positive in tone, these comments indicate the general difficulty involved in taking alternate cultural perspectives.

Finally, subjects were asked to provide advice to improve the class for future learners, to which a number of suggestions were offered. One subject indicated that it would be helpful

to devote more class time to comparing the cultures studied during the course with Japanese culture.

> Subject 2: *I think that it's better to compare with Japanese culture or the way Japanese think. However, this class was exciting!*

Although small group discussions were a regular feature of the class, one subject indicated a desire for greater thought exchange.

> Subject 3: *I think that it is better if we discuss* [our] *thoughts with people around us and deepen* [our] *thoughts while talking.*

Two subjects indicated a desire for greater vocabulary support, as well as more support for basic English skills.

> Subject 4: *I wanted something that took out some important words and keywords of the novel and made it easy to understand the whole story once.*

> Subject 12: *You should innovate more speaking for being skilled in pronunciation.*

A final subject (#17) suggested an extension to the existing perspective-taking exercises. Writing in Japanese, they offered the idea of having subjects work together to create reenactments of the stories, to be performed in front of the class. Additionally, the subject suggested including an exercise in which subjects re-write the stories to reflect how *they* would have responded in the circumstances depicted.

Discussion.

In planning for this course, a number of instruments were considered for qualitative evaluation of class materials. Specifically, it was hoped that an instrument could be employed to demonstrate the efficacy of narrative literature. As mentioned in a previous section, Chen and Starosta's *Intercultural Sensitivity Scale* was considered, before being discarded due to the inapplicable nature of many instrument items. The *Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy*, while representing a possible improvement, also contained many statements that were potentially

difficult for subjects to answer, given that they presupposed a high degree of intercultural contact, which subjects in this class reported lacking.

Overall, the use of this instrument was of mixed value in verifying of the efficacy of the course curriculum for increasing subject empathy towards other cultures. Pre- and post-course values for item 19 (*It is easy for me to understand what it would feel like to be a person of another racial or ethnic background other than my own.*) showed a small increase in disagreement (4%), although the percentage of subjects who strongly disagreed dropped from 11% to zero in the second survey. However, responses to Item 31 (*It is difficult for me to relate to stories in which people talk about racial or ethnic discrimination they experience in their day to day lives*) revealed that subject disagreement increased 10% in the second group. While welcome, this result may not be said to directly relate to any particular narrative, as no story in the curriculum portrayed characters as suffering from discrimination or racial prejudice. It may be that the inclusion of such narratives could function to further strengthen responses to this item of the SEE.

Interestingly, both total subject agreement and disagreement decreased (-35%; -12%) in response to Item 28 (*It is difficult for me to put myself in the shoes of someone who is racially and/or ethnically different from me.*). While subjects tended to disagree that cultural perspective-taking was difficult, in choosing "neither" they indicated that such empathic exercises were also not easy. Similarly, total agreement and disagreement decreased in response to Item 4 (*I know what it feels like to be the only person of a certain race or ethnicity in a group of people.*), corroborating the concept that subjects gained an appreciation of the difficulty of taking intercultural perspectives. As subjects in the first experimental class reported having had minimal contact with non-Japanese, it is also plausible that the degree of difficulty involved in understanding the thoughts and feelings of members of other cultures was underestimated.

Results from the subject questionnaire provided greater insight into subject interaction with course materials. To begin, that only one of the first four stories was chosen possibly

indicates that the content of the remaining three narratives (*Prisoner of War; My Brother at the Canadian Border; The Past*) was overly foreign and inappropriately timed. It is also possible that subjects would have benefitted from stories that contained increased similarity to their lives, and that more efforts were required in the forms of pre-reading exercise and post-reading explanation of narrative content. These three stories may have been received differently had they been offered in the second half of the course, at which point subjects had sufficient experience engaging in perspective-taking to achieve transportation into the stories.

Subject comments noting that the perspective-taking exercises were difficult, point to the importance of properly preparing subjects for empathic engagement prior to reading. Positive subject response to the narrative *The Snake*, a story set in a culture extremely foreign to Japanese learners, may be partially attributable to the effectiveness in connecting the events of the story to subject experiences, and to images of snakes in their own culture. It is possible that other pre-reading exercises were not as effective, particularly those employed for the three stories previously mentioned.

Subjects indicated overall satisfaction with the course's empathic approach; however, there are areas where pedagogical changes could work to positively impact the efficacy of the course. First, more support could be given to ensure textual understanding. This might include additional vocabulary exercises, as well as teacher exposition of grammatical structures. This is more applicable in cases where leaner levels are low, as was the case in the second experimental class.

A second area to be addressed concerns the implementation of a conceptual framework to assist subject ability to critically compare culture. Subjects in the first experimental class engaged immigrant narratives after a semester-long course in which they utilized Hofstede's six cultural dimensions to analyze a series of case studies. Facilitating subject understanding in this area, in conjunction with narrative literature, could further aid subjects in developing critical cultural awareness. Devoting the first classes of the course to explaining concepts of

culture, cultural factors underscoring communication, and frameworks for comparing culture may have enhanced subject ability to foster cultural awareness later in the course.

A third area for possible course improvement involves learner autonomy. While subjects were given class time for individual investigation and group discussion, little latitude was provided for creative expression. For example, giving subjects the opportunity to reenact or alter stories to suit their cultural sensibilities could function to elicit further empathic engagement with the narrative.

The two experimental classes reported in this research have important implications for future development of an ICL approach. To begin, results from the first class demonstrated the efficacy of providing subjects with immigrant narratives for the transmission of cultural knowledge. Reading about immigrant experiences, combined with attempts to take immigrant perspectives, resulted in greater subject understanding of who immigrants are, and of the motivations that underscore their decisions to move between countries. Furthermore, increased favorability towards immigrants recorded at the conclusion of the course indicated a positive shift in subject attitudes towards this specific group. Subject responses from the second class revealed that an empathy-centered narrative-approach was successful in facilitating subject ability to take alternate perspectives, from which they were able to consider narrative events from various worldviews. Additionally, that all subjects expressed favorability towards the curriculum, with many subjects referencing the value of engaging in perspective-taking, further indicates the applicability of employing an ICL approach in the EFL classroom.

Intercultural Competence through Literature: Genesis, Summary, Significance

Intercultural Competence through Literature (ICL) is conceptually grounded in research stemming from three areas: *intercultural competence*, *empathy*, and *narrative literature*. While these three components together comprise ICL, their integration has resulted from the aim to address the following pedagogical challenges: teaching culture in EFL curricula, fostering awareness and positive attitudes in learners, and providing an education that prepares learners for successful global participation in a rapidly evolving world.

This research began with an extensive investigation into the field of intercultural competence in order to better grasp concepts and refine specific course goals and curricula. During the course of this inquiry a reoccurring concept arose as a cornerstone: empathy. While IC educators and academics nearly unanimously agree that empathy is a requisite component in the advanced learner, a lack of definitional clarity, combined with conflicting conceptualizations of its role in developing intercultural competence, resulted in a desire to gain a better understanding of the term, and its academic usage.

The result has been a multidisciplinary foray into research on empathy: its various cognitive and affective components, and the potential for empathy to provide a greater understanding of others. In addition to gaining a cogent definitional understanding, the efficacy of developing cognitive processes of empathy, such as perspective-taking, has been instrumental to research on empathy. Numerous studies indicate that empathic processes are utilized to foster positive attitudes, such as respect and openness; these mirror educational perspectives and themes necessary for learners to acquire intercultural competence.

Researching empathy literature produced a further concern: if developing empathy in learners can assist in the fostering of positive cultural attitudes and the ability to understand alternate worldviews through perspective-taking, how might this be accomplished with university learners, in an EFL context?

Addressing these queries resulted in an exploration of ICL's third component*: narrative*

literature. Inquiry into the properties and nature of *narrative empathy* revealed a number of connected concepts, including the phenomenon that readers may strongly identify with literary characters (character identification) and become transported into texts (reader engagement/transportation). Deep engagement with protagonists in narratives can facilitate reader co-experiencing of events in stories, acting as simulated—or alternate—encounters allowing for a "practicing" of unfamiliar social situations and experiences. A variety of studies have demonstrated that the processing of narrative texts raises subject scores on empathy instruments, and promotes positive attitudes towards ethnic/cultural groups unfamiliar to the test subjects. It thus becomes possible to integrate concepts and research from IC, empathy, and narrative into a comprehensive approach to be tested in the EFL classroom: an ICL approach to English-language education.

The chapters in this dissertation have paralleled this journey. Below is a summary presenting the significance of this research.

Empathy in Intercultural Competence: An Under-appreciated Concept

Chapter One surveyed definitional understandings and models utilized within the field of intercultural competence to show that despite a lack of consensus as to what it means to be interculturally competent, researchers successfully identified several aspects of IC that achieve consensus from educators and administrators; these include the concept that IC involves "understanding others' worldviews" (Deardorff, 2006, p. 249), and that the acquisition of competence should be regarded as a progression from an ethnocentric orientation, towards one that is ethnorelative, characterized by learner ability to consider the world from a variety of alternate perspectives. Additionally, it was shown that within the field, empathy has consistently garnered broad support as an important component of IC (*cf.* Fantini & Tirmizi, 2006; Deardorff, 2006; Fantini, 2009)—with Bennett (1993, 2004) regarding it as a cognitive ability characteristic of advanced learners. Despite the ubiquity of the concept of empathy in

understandings and models of IC, it was shown that the field of IC research suffers from inadequate and sometimes contradictory understandings regarding the nature of empathy, which has contributed to an inability to effectively utilize learners' empathic abilities in facilitating the acquisition of intercultural competence.

Drawing on understandings of empathy from other scientific fields (e.g., psychology and neuroscience) this research has further demonstrated that within the field of IC, a degree of confusion exists as to whether empathy should be regarded as an attitudinal component or an ability—the former understanding seemingly influenced by the concept of *cultural empathy*, dating back to Ruben (1976). A similar disagreement is seen in understandings of empathy that indicate empathy as a causal factor in acquiring IC (e.g., Arasaratnam, 2006); and contrasted by those designating it as an internal outcome produced by attitudes, skills, and cultural knowledge (e.g., Deardorff, 2006).

The significance of these findings relates to the fundamental question of how educators may effectively facilitate learner progression from a monocultural to an intercultural orientation; specifically, how educators may assist in developing learner ability to take alternative perspectives, so as to understand the worldviews of others. In an attempt to alleviate this confusion, the chapter argued that empathy should be understood as an ability whose development plays a central causal role in taking alternate perspectives, and is thereby essential to the acquisition of intercultural competence.

Regarding the importance of developing positive attitudes towards other cultures (i.e., openness, respect, toleration, curiosity) for the acquisition of intercultural competence, it was found that broad agreement exists in the literature (e.g., Byram, 1997; Deardorff, 2006). However, there exists a lack of consensus and exposition concerning how such requisite attitudes might be encouraged in learners. To address this issue, a recognition of the practical applicability of engaging learner empathy for the development of positive cultural attitudes was advanced as a creative solution.

Finally, in demonstrating that within IC theory, empathy exists as an underappreciated, underutilized concept, Chapter One concluded by arguing that empathy represents an efficacious pedagogical tool for assisting learners in 1) acquiring the ability to take perspectives differing from their own, and 2) developing positive attitudes towards other cultures. Evidence for these claims relied on empathy research from outside the field of IC, which was the topic of Chapter Two.

Competence through Perspective-taking and Empathic Concern

Through a multidisciplinary investigation into empathy research, Chapter Two provided evidence from psychology, neuroscience, and ethology to support the assertion that empathy should be understood as a set of cognitive abilities with associated affective responses (as opposed to an attitude). Not only does such an understanding serve to alleviate ambiguity surrounding the concept in the field of IC, it also allows for a consideration of how aspects of cognitive and affective empathy may be utilized and developed for the acquisition of competence. Regarding this pursuit, two specific components of empathy were presented: 1) *cognitive perspective-taking* for critical cultural awareness and understanding of others, and 2) *affective empathic concern* for the fostering of positive cultural attitudes.

According to Byram (1997), an important aspect in developing critical cultural awareness in the foreign-language classroom involves learner capacity to analyze culture from perspectives other than their own. Drawing upon psychology research, this dissertation argued for the efficacy of supporting learner understanding of cultural differences through the development of the ability to engage in higher-order empathic perspective-taking (i.e., attempting to imagine how one would think and feel in the place of another; attempting to imagine what others think and feel from their perspectives). In contrast to teacher-led, "direct" forms of instruction, developing learner ability to imaginatively take alternate perspectives represents a learner-oriented approach to engendering cultural knowledge and understanding

of others.

Engagement in cognitive perspective-taking has been positively correlated with willingness to help others (*cf.* Hodges & Myer, 2007), and studies have demonstrated the efficacy of eliciting empathic concern (through perspective-taking) to positively shape attitudes towards groups, such as the sick and disabled (e.g., Clore & Jeffrey, 1972; Batson et al. 1997b; Batson, Chang, Orr, & Rowland, 2002), and ethnic groups (e.g., Finlay & Stephan, 2000; Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003). Such evidence points to the pedagogical applicability of targeting *empathic concern* in the fostering positive cultural attitudes in learners.

Chapter Two also distinguished practical considerations in developing learner empathy. Analyzing the methodologies of studies seeking to raise subject empathy-scores, specific practices for facilitating learner ability to empathize, prior to exposure to individuals from differing cultural backgrounds (*cultural others*), were found. These included: 1) drawing learner attention to areas of commonality shared with targets, 2) asking learners to identify possible shared experiences with cultural others, 3) having subjects imagine themselves in situations related to those experienced by cultural others, and 4) asking learners to imagine themselves in situations experienced by cultural others.

From this theoretical and philosophical basis, a practical method was sought that would allow learners to empathically encounter *cultural diversity*.

Competence through Empathic Encounters with Narrative

In exploring the functions of narrative empathy, Chapter Three presented those characteristics of narratives that make this literary art form a compelling vehicle for executing the educational goals, as set out in this research. Concepts of *reader transportation*, *character identification*, and narrative empathy as *social simulation* were investigated.

Within the university classroom, narrative literature (as a universal medium of information-exchange) represents an effective educational tool. Literary foregrounding and

abstraction in texts facilitate the ability of the reader to be transported into a story; to take the perspective of individuals whose ethnicity, culture, or life circumstances differs from their own. As Gerrig (1993) outlines, transportation into a text is analogous to a journey, where the reader departs their world of origin, suspending disbelief; faculties of imagination are allowed free reign, to eventually return to the point of departure—in some way changed. That readers process fictional narratives less critically than other forms of prose enhances the depth of transportation and, thus, the transformative nature of the journey (*cf.* Brock, Strange, & Green, 2002).

Also investigated was how transportation into a narrative is connected to the phenomenon of character identification: a co-experiencing of narrative events in concert with protagonists often identified by an accelerated heart rate, facial expressions, and additional physiological signs. In this research, specific factors were identified that function to enhance the degree to which readers identify with characters: 1) chronological depictions of narrative events (Keen, 2007), 2) narratives in which events parallel real-life experiences of the reader (Kuiken et al., 2004), and 3) narratives in which character motivations approximate those of the reader (Miall, 1988). Understanding these three salient factors underscores the importance of a successful selection of narratives—those with protagonists (and other characters) with whom readers can readily identify.

In arguing for the educational use of narratives, evidence was presented that cognitive exercise (viz reading) results in affective responses, including empathic concern. Repeated attempts to take perspectives and experience empathic concern for others constitutes what Oatley (1999) refers to as *empathic practice*. Reader transportation into texts, facilitated by identification with literary characters, allows for an experiencing of narratives through the perspectives of protagonists, leading to a sharing of the protagonist's thoughts and feelings, including a concern for their wellbeing. This research underscores two significant conclusions: 1) literary encounters through narrative represent a powerful tool for educators wishing to

expose learners to culturally diverse situations and individuals who they cannot meet in real life, and 2) unlike physical encounters, narrative encounters may be crafted by the educator to exert minimal stress on learners, when compared with physical encounters.

In addition to offering such substitutionary encounters, a case was put forward for *an expanded understanding of the pedagogical utility of narratives:* these may be used to enable learners to simulate a variety of intercultural situations. In contrast to realistic depictions of events, narratives compress and simplify social interactions into what Mar and Oatley (2008) describe as scripts, or "sequenced representations of prototypical elements, such as visiting a restaurant" (p. 177). Zwaan (2004) supports this view in asserting that neural activity generated through the act of reading closely mirrors neural activation in real experiences, lending support to Oatley's (1999; 2016) hypothesis that the reading of narratives involves a simulation of real-life social experiences. This understanding has received support from Mar, Oatley, Hirsh, dela Paz, and Peterson (2006), who found that subjects who reported reading more fiction *performed better in measures of social ability* compared with subjects who reported reading less. Thus, presenting learners with substitutional encounters through the simplified, compressed forms of narrative—along with opportunities to practice empathy—provides opportunities to learn from social encounters depicted in prose.

Chapter Three also examined practical applications of narrative literature, and surveyed studies in which literature-based approaches were employed to raise empathy scores and foster attitudinal development. The critical nature of engaging in self-refection and discussion post-reading was also discussed. While the literary characteristics of foregrounding and defamiliarization may create space for contemplation (what Koopman and Hakemulder [2015] refer to as a form of cognitive stillness), the transformative power of narrative largely relates to the degree to which readers *reflect* on texts following their reading of them. While reflective exercise primarily involves a conscious return to narratives, in order to consider how one thinks or feels within the context of what they have read, a review of studies from the fields of

psychology and medicine also revealed that attitudinal development is positively influenced by the inclusion of post-reading group discussions—supporting literary scholar Suzanne Keen's (2007) insistence that the capacity for novels to change attitudes derives from their ability to provide a nexus for discussion, from which emerges a deepened social and moral understanding.

Intercultural Competence through Literature in Practice

To demonstrate the efficacy of an ICL approach, Chapter Four presented experimental results from two one-semester classes for EFL learners conducted at a university in Kumamoto, Japan.

The first experimental class (Cross-cultural Communication B2, Autumn, 2016) demonstrated the ability of short immigrant narratives to: 1) inform learners on a specific topic (immigration), and 2) engender positive attitudes towards a specific group (immigrants). Grounded in psychology research, where positive attitudes formulated towards individuals was demonstrated to extend to members of the greater group, research results of the ICL teaching method (presenting learners with accounts of individual immigrants, in this case) was effective in positively altering both the understanding of immigrant identity and in positively changing subject-attitudes towards immigrants.

Informed by these results, the second experimental class (conducted at the same university, Autumn 2017) employed the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE) as an empathy instrument to measure the efficacy of brief narrative fiction (flash fiction). The goals were to: 1) measure learner ability to take intercultural perspectives, and 2) assess changes in learner attitudes towards other cultures. Incorporating concepts outlined in this research (pre-reading empathic exercises, post-reading written-reflection, and group discussion), the curriculum implemented and tested the ICL approach.

Results from items on the SEE were mixed. Of principle interest to this research were Items 19, 28, and 31, which specifically addressed learner ability to take intercultural

perspectives. While subjects in the second survey group were more likely to disagree (+15%) with the statement in Item 19 (*It is easy for me to understand what it would feel like to be a person of another racial or ethnic background other than my own.*), they were also more likely to disagree (+5%) or strongly disagree (+5%) with Item 31(*It is difficult for me to relate to stories in which people talk about racial or ethnic discrimination they experience in their day to day lives.*). Subject response to the statement in Item 28 (*It is difficult for me to put myself in the shoes of someone who is racially and/or ethnically different.*) revealed a large decrease in total agreement (-35%) and total disagreement (-12%), although a small increase was seen in the percentage of subjects who strongly disagreed (+5%). Taken together, these items provided little clarity regarding subject ability to take intercultural perspectives—while by contrast, subject responses on the questionnaire indicated that taking the perspectives of individuals from other cultures was challenging, and respondents (the learners) *widely indicated satisfaction with the course*, as evidenced by their comments expressing belief in the value of the curriculum. Finally, as subjects demonstrated no clear preference when asked to identify which narrative that they found the most impactful, *the applicability of employing a range of narratives portraying a diversity of topics and situations was indicated*.

Future Research: Improving the ICL Approach

Experimental results point to five main areas of consideration for ICL improvement:

1) Developing instruments to measure efficacy of ICL curricula.

2) Clarifying criteria for the selection of narratives.

3) Standardizing pre- and post-reading exercises.

4) Increasing language support for EFL learners.

5) Including cultural information to strengthen learner understanding of narratives.

These five subjects will be discussed in turn.

Results produced by the instruments in both experimental classes point to the necessity

of developing instruments for the measurement of 1) learner ability to engage in perspective-taking, and 2) changes in learner attitudes towards other cultures. The instrument employed in the first experimental class was designed primarily to measure learner understanding of a subject (immigration), and secondarily to measure changes in learner attitudes towards a group (immigrants). Although the ability of narratives to transmit cultural knowledge was demonstrated, further research should employ instruments whose primary aim is to measure changes in learner attitudes towards other cultures over time. Similarly, despite containing items testing learner ability to take alternative perspectives, the instrument employed in the second experimental class (the SEE) contained items that were inappropriate for learners in educational contexts where intercultural encounters were minimal. Future assessment tools that better reflect the objectives of an ICL approach, as well as learner environments, should be selected/created. Deardorff (2011) recommends utilizing multiple forms of direct assessments (e.g., journals, blogs, reflection papers) and indirect assessments (e.g., surveys, inventories) to better understand the degree to which course materials are meeting curricular objectives. Future assessment of ICL pedagogical goals should take a more comprehensive approach to measuring the efficacy of an ICL approach.

A second area for improvement relates to the criteria employed in the selection of narrative texts. Questionnaire results from the second experimental class indicated learners found certain narratives more impactful than others. Future curricular implementation of narratives should include a systematic and sustained analysis of those narratives indicated by learners to be impactful, as well as attempts to understand causes for narratives to be "non-impactful" (e.g., grammatical/lexical complexity, excessive abstraction, narrative length). Additionally, the adoption/discarding of texts should be informed by questionnaire data from a sample-size larger than that presented in this research. Doing so would assist in selecting collections of texts with the greatest capacity to engage learners. Additionally, it would ensure that narratives are selected on the basis of their efficacy, rather than the subjective preferences

of the instructor.

A third area for further investigation and improvement follows: the selection and implementation of pre- and post-reading empathic exercises. The most impactful stories (*Butterfly Forever* and *The Snake*) were proceeded by a range of imaginative empathic exercises, resulting in longer times spent in empathic preparation prior to reading compared with other stories. This suggests the need for increased creative focus in this area in order to allow readers to mentally prepare for empathic engagement with literary protagonists. To this end a greater degree of standardization of pre-reading exercises is necessary ensure that learners are provided with the opportunity to adequately prepare for all narratives.

A fourth area for consideration concerns the need for increased language support of EFL learners in understanding narrative content. Despite the inclusion of exercises designed to facilitate lexical and narrative understanding (e.g., vocabulary matching, ordering of events in the plot), some learners struggled to grasp the content of stories, as evidenced by instructor observations of individuals who sought clarity from other members in the class. As the comprehension of texts is requisite for subsequent tasks supporting language acquisition (reflective writing and group discussions), future research is needed, particularly an investigation of practical methods for maximizing learner understanding of narrative content (e.g., reading and exposition of narratives in small groups, and CALL solutions).

A fifth concern relates to the manner in which cultural education is incorporated into EFL curricula. This dissertation has argued for exploration of culture primarily from the inside-out (i.e., through the eyes of literary protagonists), where readers are invited to experience another culture as the characters in stories experience it. In facilitating this experience, ICL equips learners with cultural understanding not provided by information-based pedagogical approaches to teaching culture. Nonetheless, this research recognizes that important cultural information may be transmitted directly to increase learner understanding. While efforts were expended in both experimental classes to directly present salient cultural

information regarding the cultural background of literary characters, future research may reseal in more detail how best to support learner acquisition of new cultural information requisite for understanding protagonist motivations.

Reimagining Culture in EFL Education

Language both contains and reflects underlying cultural values (Wardhaugh, 2010), with cultural realities often expressed primarily through the spoken word (Kramsch, 1998). Beginning with Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf, language and culture have come to be understood as inseparable and interrelated, contributing to the belief that language and culture are optimally acquired in concert (*cf.* Schulz, 2007).

In the context of EFL education, this understanding of language presents a dilemma: the question of how best to embed and align a cultural component along with the traditional goals of language acquisition; and, how to teach culture and language simultaneously, including the issue of what aspects of culture to include. An approach emphasizing *high culture* (e.g., musical/literary/artistic masterpieces) has received academic criticism, with Brooks (1971) referring to it as *Olympian culture*, while Galloway (1981) has similarly indicated the inadequacy of approaches that attempt to combine aspects of both high and *low culture* (e.g., everyday habits, customs and behaviors), arguing that resultant information-based curricula are inadequate for developing critical understandings of cultures.

In targeting the development of learner empathy for the promotion of cultural awareness, and the fostering of positive attitudes in the acquisition of intercultural competence, ICL represents a shift away from a fact-based curriculum. An ICL approach has the advantage of presenting cultural-linguistic learners with insight into cultures through taking the intimate perspectives of their members. Rather than viewing cultures as collections of facts to be absorbed, an ICL approach develops cultural understanding through learner-access to the thoughts and emotions of physically absent individuals. Furthermore, in facilitating cultural

encounters through the reading of native texts, combined with reflective writing and discussion in the target language, ICL infuses language acquisition with meaningful experiences of culture in ways that are natural and learner-centered. Finally, in facilitating the acquisition of intercultural competence (rather than simply providing fact-based cultural information), ICL provides an educational experience that learners can apply within the contexts of their careers and personal lives: the ability and requisite attitudes to successfully understand, appreciate, and interact with cultural diversity.

Literary narratives—the core of an ICL approach—are an advantageous and yet underutilized educational resource. Unlike non-narrative forms of knowledge presentation, the use of narrative literature increases learner motivation by inviting readers to connect experiences, attitudes, and emotions depicted in texts (Choudhary, 2016). Literature offers the benefit of being authentic (Barnett, 1989), and provides the language-learner the opportunity to experience a wider range of vocabulary, when compared to informational texts (Povey, 1967). In addressing topics related to the human condition, literature encourages meaningful learner interaction with texts (Lazar, 1993), and stimulates learner imagination (Brumfit, 1986). Literature also provides content for written reflection and oral discussion aiding in the fostering of positive social attitudes (Burke & Brumfit, 1986).

In employing narratives written from various cultural perspectives, an ICL approach harnesses these advantageous characteristics of literature, in order to promote the acquisition of intercultural competence. By presenting learners with authentic empathic texts of intrinsic value, they are challenged to imaginatively take the perspectives of culturally different individuals, and thus to understand and interpret characters' thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. Furthermore, pre- and post-reading written reflections and group discussions in the target-language promote the acquisition of cultural understanding and linguistic proficiency. The pedagogical power of ICL derives from its ability to provide learners with substitutional encounters, enabling the experiencing of social situations through imaginative interaction with

literary protagonists. Finally, in fostering positive attitudes through the mechanism of learner-generated empathic concern, ICL offers a solution to the problem of how attitudinal development toward cultural others may be fostered in learners in a variety of educational settings.

Final Thoughts and Future Needs—An ICL Approach to Alterity and AI

Due to the impact of rapidly accelerating social technologies, the identification of specific knowledge-sets that will most benefit future learners has become more difficult. Educators will need to shift focus to developing those abilities and attitudes that will serve learners in an unpredictable new world. Two challenges now increasingly confront learners: alterity and artificial intelligence.

An ICL approach prepares learners for encounters with alterity ("that aspect of things, and others, that is unfamiliar, alien, or obscure," Treanor, 2006), by aiding in the mitigation of undesirable feelings and reactions to otherness, including feelings of distrust, fear and distaste. An ICL approach brings learners into the lives of cultural others, transporting them into the worldviews of individuals in order to affect understanding, appreciation, and respect. Through taking perspectives with members of other cultures, learners gain insight into differences in culture by seeing the world from another's point of view—thus aiding in preparation for positive encounters with alterity.

In preparing learners to positively encounter alterity, this research represents a practical and effective method for stimulating the faculties of imagination necessary for global competence. On an individual level, engaging in perspective-taking leads to successful interpersonal interactions. Internationally, the ability to consider worldwide issues such as climate, pollution, and resource allocation from multiple perspectives will likely be increasingly necessary if meaningful international cooperation is to be achieved. An ICL approach ensures that learners are developing skills and attitudes that prepare them for global

participation.

The phenomenon of global connectedness in communication, trade, and migration has expanded opportunities for learners to engage with "otherness." The ability to respond flexibly to diversity has been labeled "global competence":

Global competence includes the acquisition of in-depth knowledge and understanding of global and intercultural issues; the ability to learn from and live with people from diverse backgrounds; and the attitudes and values necessary to interact respectfully with others (OECD, 2016, p. 1).

Educating for global competence involves the ability to flexibly imagine how another thinks or feels, so that mutually beneficial interaction is able to take place. Such imaginative flexibility may only be forged in the face of that which is *different*. While interaction with alterity facilitates formation of personal identity, the impact of alterity may be seen on the formation of *cultural identity*.

In addition to the challenge posed by alterity, another pressing reason for learners to develop the ability to empathize imaginatively concerns the growing emergence of machine-generated algorithms and artificial intelligence; imagination has a crucial role to play in this new social and vocational paradigm. Just as learners are faced with the demands of a heterogeneous world, AI presents challenges to traditional patterns of work and life. In discussing the potential future of automation in the workplace, Professor Yuval Noah Harari outlines a bleak future for many workers:

[O]ver the last few thousand years we humans have been specializing. A taxi driver or a cardiologist specializes in a much narrower niche than a hunter-gatherer, which makes it easier to replace them with AI. As I have repeatedly stressed, AI is nowhere near human-like existence. But 99 percent of human qualities and abilities are simply redundant for the performance of most modern jobs. For AI to squeeze humans out of the job market it needs only to outperform us in the specific abilities a particular profession

demands. (*Homo Deus: A Brief History of Tomorrow*, 2016, p. 375)

Finding opportunities in areas of the workforce that will not become redundant will increasingly become a challenge, as individuals strive to remain economically relevant.

As AI capabilities expand, educators can expect to face pressures to provide curricula that expand those abilities that artificial intelligences do not presently excel. There are early signs that recognition of such future challenges in education is already taking place. In designing the *Todai Robot,* an experimental AI robot designed to pass standard university entrance examinations in Japan, program director Noriko Arai (2017) found that the robot's ability to consistently access information to solve "factoid questions" allowed it to successful enter over 80% of universities in the country, and to score within the top 20% of test-takers entering Tokyo University, Japan's highest-ranking post-secondary institution.

With research and development into artificial intelligence set to expand exponentially, proactive learning approaches must endeavor to develop the area in which humans currently hold an advantage: imaginative innovation. Education in the previous century excelled at producing competent workers for the office and factory; however, a 21st Century innovative education must aim higher—it must endeavor to produce knowledgeable individuals capable of cognitive flexibility, creativity and imaginative response to the changes that artificial intelligences are sure to usher.

With respect to these challenges, this dissertation concludes that an ICL approach represents a pedagogical strategy that provides learners with those abilities that will enable successful navigation of an increasingly interconnected world—one characterized by automation, artificial intelligence and, above all, rapid change. ICL promotes learner ability to imagine the other, and develops cognitive flexibility through the formation of an ethnorelative worldview grounded in the ability to take alternate perspectives. Finally, ICL develops intercultural competence by fostering positive attitudes towards members of other groups.

This research has made the case for an educational use of empathy in a world where the ability to empathize—to gain understanding of others through taking their perspectives and engaging in interactions motivated by genuine concern—is of ever-increasing value. Educators increasingly recognize the importance of developing empathic abilities in learners, as a matter of societal care.

An ICL approach provides both an educational perspective and a curriculum that recognizes the value of developing learner-empathy; it benefits those learners wishing to acquire intercultural competence for successful participation in business, science and society. As the future arrives, competence and success in international contexts will increasingly involve becoming a global citizen.

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Appendix A

Glossary of Terms

Affective Empathy: "The involvement of psychological processes that make a person have feelings that are more congruent with another's situation than with his own situation" (Hoffman). Also commonly known as *emotional empathy*.

Altruistic Behavior: "Behavior motivated by a desire to benefit someone other than oneself for that person's sake" (*Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*).

Character Identification: A cognitive state in which the reader identifies with the protagonist.

Cognitive Empathy: The processes "by which a person centrally imagines the *narrative* (including the thoughts, feelings, and emotions) of another person" (Goldie).

Competence: - The ability to communicate effectively and appropriately, not only across languages, but also across cultures.

Empathy: "Empathy is broadly defined as a set of constructs having to do with the responses of one individual to the experiences of another. These constructs specifically include *processes* taking place within the observer and the affective and non-affective *outcomes* which result from those processes" (Davis)

Empathic Concern: "An other-oriented emotional response elicited by and congruent with the perceived welfare of a person in need" (Batson, Eklund, Chermok, Hoyt, & Ortiz).

Emotional Contagion: "The tendency to automatically mimic and synchronize expressions, vocalizations, postures, and movements with those of another person's and, consequently, to converge emotionally" (Hatfield, Rapson, & Cacioppo).

Emotional Distress: "The distress felt at witnessing the suffering of another person (Batson, Ahmad, & Lishmer).

Ethnocentrism: The experience of one's own culture as central to reality.

Ethnorelativism: The experience of one's own and other cultures as relative to the given context.

Mirror Neuron: A type of brain cell that fires when you perform an action, and when you watch someone perform the same action.

Narrative Empathy: "The sharing of feeling and perspective-taking induced by reading, viewing, hearing, or imagining narratives of another's situation and condition" (Keen).

Perspective-taking: The cognitive capacity to consider the world from another individual's viewpoint" (Galinsky, Maddux, Gilin, & White).

Pro-cultural Attitudes: Attitudes of toleration, respect, openness, and curiosity foundational to acquiring intercultural competence.

Prosocial Attitudes: Attitudes which predispose a learner to engage in prosocial behavior.

Prosocial Behavior: "Voluntary, intentional behavior that results in benefits for another" (Eisenberg & Miller).

Reader Transportation: "a convergent process, where all mental systems and capacities become focused on events occurring in the narrative" (Green & Brock).

Simulation Theory: An explanation of the how humans are able to engage in perspective-taking positing that "peoples' mental states are represented by adopting their perspective: by matching their states with resonant states on one's own" (Gallese & Goldman).

Theory of Mind (ToM): "The ability to attribute mental states to oneself and others" (Premack & Woodruff).

Universal Egoism: The assertion that motivations underlying helping behaviors can be understood as selfish. [In the context of psychological investigation into how affective empathy motivates helping behaviors.]

Appendix B

A Discussion of IC Assessment Instruments

In contrast to attempts to measure attitudes in learners, Hawes and Kealey (1981) have insisted on a behavior skills approach. Rather than focusing exclusively on attitudes, they argue for the necessity of assessing a learner's ability to demonstrate appropriate and effective behavior in intercultural situations. Subsequent research has aimed at the creation of assessment instruments that attempt to measure both learner attitudes and behaviors to various degrees, of which Hammer's (1999) *Intercultural Development Inventory* (IDI) is representative. The IDI attempts to measure attitude and behavioral development towards another culture across the six stages originally outlined in Bennett's (2004) research. The inventory contains 50 items designed to test the six stages outlined in Bennett's (1993) Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS). Similarly, Kelly and Meyers (2011) developed the *Cross-Cultural Adaptability Inventory* (CCAI), also a 50-item instrument that measures four dimensions (emotional resilience, flexibility and openness, perceptional acuity, personal autonomy) in an attempt to assess not only attitudes, but one's ability to adapt to— and readiness to interact with—people from outside one's culture.

Appendix C

Neuroscientific Perspectives on Empathy and Gender

Neuroscience has contributed to understandings of the degree to which empathy relates to gender, which until the twenty-first century was primarily a discussion within the field of psychology. Psychologists Lennon and Eisenberg (1987), have noted that "many studies of gender differences in empathy have been motivated by the desire to test the widely held view that females are more empathic than males, a stereotype that is consistent with both sociological and psychological theory" (p. 195). However, after analyzing new and previously reviewed studies, they concluded that gender differences in empathy varied according to the methodology implemented, which they described as follows:

> For some measures of empathy (e.g., paper-and-pencil self-reports), we found large gender differences; for other measures (e.g., picture/story indices), we found small differences; for still other measures (e.g., facial/gestural and physiological measures), we found no gender differences. (p. 197)

Following up on Lennon and Eisenberg's work, Graham and Ickes (1997) reviewed 10 studies, after which they similarly concluded that gender difference in empathy was only reliably recorded "in situations in which (a) subjects were aware that they are being evaluated on an empathy-relevant dimension, and/or (b) empathy-relevant gender-role expectations or obligations are made salient." (p. 95) This would seem to indicate that where subjects understand empathy to be involved, social factors may influence responses on certain tests. According to these results evidence for a discrepancy in empathic capacity by gender appears elusive.

Here, too, neuroscience has provided new insights into this old debate. Van Honk et al. (2011) administered testosterone to 16 young women to find that it "led to a significant impairment in their cognitive empathy" (p. 3450), suggesting that social intelligence may be negatively affected by testosterone levels. Conversely, administration of oxytocin

(a female-type hormone) to young males has been reported to produce improvements in cognitive empathy (Domes, Heinrichs, Michel, Berger, & Herpertz, 2007). In his book *The Essential Difference: The Truth about the Male and Female Brain* (2009), Baron-Cohen argues that the female brain is predisposed to empathy, summarizing the situation: "the female brain is predominantly hard-wired for empathy. The male brain is predominantly hard-wired for understanding and building systems" (p. 1). The idea of a possible neural basis for gender differences in empathy has been supported by the research of Rueckert and Naybar (2008), who noted differences in right hemisphere activation between men and women when given an empathy task. While far from conclusive, these results provide evidence suggesting that, as with research into mirror neurons, empathy may have a greater neurophysiological basis than previously thought.

Appendix D

Neuroscience Research into Empathy and Oxytocin

Although mirror neurons enjoy considerable attention, neuroscience has contributed to understandings of empathy in other ways. Barraza and Zak (2009) demonstrated significantly elevated levels of oxytocin as part of an empathic response to short video clips of dramatized emotional scenes, and Zak (2014) outlined the utility of character-driven stories in producing oxytocin-synthesizing states of empathic response. This research would appear to indicate a chemical basis for engaging in empathy, namely that empathic responses may be accompanied by some degree of chemical gratification. Ongoing research holds the potential to broaden our understanding of the chemical considerations underscoring empathic processes.

Appendix E

Difficulties in the Development of Empathy Instruments

The development of empathy instruments has been hampered by a lack of agreement among researchers and theoreticians as to the interrelated processes contributing to empathy. Spreng, McKinnon, Mar, & Levine (2009) define the problem thus:

There is little agreement in the literature as to whether they [perspective-taking, emotional distress, etc.] are distinct from empathy as an accurate affective insight into the feelings of another, or are facets of a central process required for empathic responding. Indeed, the current corpus of self-report measures of empathy reflects these differing constructs, resulting in significant heterogeneity among measures. (p. 63)

In designing the *Toronto Empathy Questionnaire* (TEQ) Spreng et al. attempted to address this heterogeneity by examining the areas of consensus found in various empathy measurements. By gathering related items across multiple measurements, they aimed to identify conceptual commonality amongst existing empathy instruments. Although the TEQ is representative of a growing desire to find definitional congruence in both the definition and measurement of empathy, at present, unified definitions and assessment tools remain elusive. Given the complexity of the concept, it is likely that even as researchers struggle to reach a consensus, measurement will likely reflect the particular aims of the research involved, and will employ instruments designed for specific groups.

Appendix F

The Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE)

1. I feel annoyed when people do not speak standard English.
    ヘンな日本語（非標準日本語）を聞くといらいらする。

2. I don't know a lot of information about important social and political events of racial and ethnic groups other than my own.
    私たちとは人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちの社会的・政治的に重要な出来事についてはあまりよく知らない。

3. I am touched by movies or books about discrimination issues faced by racial or ethnic groups other than my own.
    人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちが直面している差別問題に関する映画を見たり、本を読んだりすると胸が痛む。

4. I know what it feels like to be the only person of a certain race or ethnicity in a group of people.
    集団の中で、自分が他の人とは人種、言語、文化が異なる唯一の人間であるということはどんな感じなのか理解できる。

5. I get impatient when communicating with people from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, regardless of how well they speak English.
    人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちが日本語をどんなに上手に話せるとしても、その人たちと話をしていると違和感がある。

6. I can relate to the frustration that some people feel about having fewer opportunities due to their racial or ethnic backgrounds.
    異なる人種、言語、文化が理由で自分たちは正当に扱われていないと思っている人たちの気持ちを私は理解できる。

7. I am aware of institutional barriers (e.g., restricted opportunities for job promotion) that discriminate against racial or ethnic groups other than my own.
    日本では人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちに対する組織的な差別（地域・学校・職場）があることを私は認識している。

8. I don't understand why people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds enjoy wearing traditional clothing.
    なぜ人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちは伝統的な衣服を着たがるのか理解できない。

9. I seek opportunities to speak with individuals of other racial or ethnic backgrounds about their experiences.
    人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちの体験について、その人たちと話を刷る機会を求めている。

10. I feel irritated when people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds speak their language around me.
私の周りで人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちが自分たちの言語で話をするのは不快である。

11. When I know my friends are treated unfairly because of their racial or ethnic backgrounds, I speak up for them.
友人が人種、言語、文化が異なるという理由で不当に扱われていることが分かったとき、友人を支持する。

12. I share the anger of those who face injustice because of their racial and ethnic backgrounds.
人種、言語、文化が異なるという理由で不当な待遇にある人たちの怒りを同感できる。

13. When I interact with people from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, I show my appreciation of their cultural norms.
人種、言語、文化が異なる人たち付き合うときは、その人たちの習慣を喜んで受け入れる。

14. I feel supportive of people of other racial and ethnic groups, if I think they are being taken advantage of.
人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちが利用されているような場合、その人たちを助けたいと思う。

15. I get disturbed when other people experience misfortunes due to their racial or ethnic backgrounds.
人種、言語、文化が異なるという理由でその人たちが不幸に見舞われるとき、私は平静ではいられなくなる。

16. I rarely think about the impact of a racist or ethnic joke on the feelings of people who are targeted.
人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちの気持ちについての差別的な冗談の悪質さについて考えることはあまりない。

17. I am not likely to participate in events that promote equal rights for people of all racial and ethnic backgrounds.
人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちに私たちと同じ権利を与えるための活動には参加する気はない。

18. I express my concern about discrimination to people from other racial or ethnic groups.
人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちに対する差別に賛同できない意見や考えを持ている。

19. It is easy for me to understand what it would feel like to be a person of another racial or ethnic background other than my own.
人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちの一員であるということはどういう感じなのか容易に理解できる。

20. I can see how other racial or ethnic groups are systematically oppressed in our society.
日本では人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちがどのように意図的に不当に扱われているかを理解することができます。

21. I don't care if people make racist statements against other racial or ethnic groups.
人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちに対する差別的発言については気にならない。

22. When I see people who come from a different racial or ethnic background succeed in the public arena, I share their pride.
人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちが公平な競争において勝利したら、その人たちの喜びに同感する。（孫正義・ケンブリッジ 飛鳥・ローラ）

23. When other people struggle with racial or ethnic oppression, I share their frustration.
人種、言語、文化が異なることで悩みもがいている人の苦しみを分かち合える。

24. I recognize that the media often portrays people based on racial or ethnic stereotypes.
マスコミはしばしば、人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちについて述べる時、その人たちの典型に基づいた判断に従っていることを知っている。

25. I am aware of how society differentially treats racial or ethnic groups other than my own.
日本の社会では人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちはどのような点で日本人と異なる扱いを受けているかを知っている。

26. I share the anger of people who are victims of hate crimes (e.g., intentional violence because of race or ethnicity).
人種、言語、文化を理由に犯罪の標的となった被害者たちの怒りに同感する。（人種・文化等が異なるからいじめや偏見を受ける）

27. I do not understand why people want to keep their indigenous racial or ethnic cultural traditions instead of trying to fit into the mainstream.
なぜ人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちは日本の文化習慣に合わせようとせず、自分たち固有の文化・伝統を保ち続けるのか理解できない。

28. It is difficult for me to put myself in the shoes of someone who is racially and/or ethnically different.
私が人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちと同じ立場になることは想像しにくい。

29. I feel uncomfortable when I am around a significant number of people who are racially/ethnically different than me.
大勢の人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちに囲まれると不安になる。

30. When I hear people make racist jokes, I tell them I am offended even though they are not referring to my racial or ethnic group.
人種に関わる差別的な冗談を聞いたら、冗談を言った当人に、私には関係ないことでも不快に感じたと文句を言う。

31. It is difficult for me to relate to stories in which people talk about racial or ethnic discrimination they experience in their day to day lives.
人種、言語、文化が異なる人たちが日々体験している差別についての話には共感しにくい。

Appendix G

Role-Playing Exercises for Empathic Development

A lack of evidence supporting direct-instruction methods for developing empathy in learners has resulted in investigation into alternate pedagogical strategies. In the field of child psychology, the practice of facilitating perspective-taking through teacher-student conversations and role-playing exercises has been conducted. According to Nussbaum (2010), one important element in child development relates to practicing the ability to understand, to varying degrees, what another person has experienced, as well as discussing how they feel about it. She writes:

> Children who develop a capacity for sympathy or compassion—often through empathetic perspectival experience—understand what their aggression has done to another separate person, for whom they increasingly care. They thus come to feel guilt about their own aggression and real concern for the well-being of the other person. (p. 37)

Nussbaum also introduces the example of Indian educator Rabindranath Tagore, who developed a curriculum involving role-playing in order to facilitate the development of imaginative empathy towards others. According to Nussbaum, in Rabindranath's classes "children were invited to step outside their own point of view and inhabit that of another person. This gave them the freedom to experiment with other intellectual positions and understand them from within" (2010, p. 72).

Role-playing has been variously adapted. In attempting to measure the efficacy of perspective-taking through role-playing on learner empathy, Varkey, Chutka, and Lesnick (2006) had medical students engage in an *aging game*, which simulated the problems faced by elderly patients, such as poor vision and reduced motor control. Reminiscent of product designer and octogenarian impersonator Patricia Moore,[xv] the students attempted to live with the physical limitations of their future care charges, thus gaining insight into practical

difficulties faced by the elderly, such as navigating medical costs, and adjusting to life in a long-term care facility. Following the experiment, students evidenced greater empathy towards patients in old age. The researchers concluded that including a simulation experience like the aging game early in the medical school curriculum was effective in increasing empathy and attitudes towards care of elderly patients.

Medicine is not the only field where the need for increased empathy has been indicated. In the field of social work, the need for empathy in interacting with clients of various racial or ethnic identities has been recognized. Pinderhughes (1979), writes that "empathy, the key ingredient in the helping relationship, neutralizes the client's powerlessness" (p. 312). Given the empathic demands placed on the social worker, who must often find ways of understanding clients in a variety of life situations, educators and theorists are seeking ways to integrate empathic training into social work curricula, such as Gerdes, Segal, Jackson, and Mullins (2011), who assert that "students can learn to use their knowledge, values, and skills, informed by empathy, to take empathic action consciously" (p. 109). Lu, Dane, and Gellman (2005) introduced an experimental project for prospective social workers where they completed a series of empathic exercises, including the mirroring of breathing, posture, and movements. By increasing learner ability to recognize mental and emotional states in others, (constituting low-level perspective-taking) the researchers hypothesized that increased openness to others could be achieved through becoming more attuned to their physical states.

In addition to medicine and social work, child education is another area where empathic instruction and training development is being facilitated, although often to address specific concerns or conditions. One such example is Ascione's (1992) analysis of a one-year program designed to engender humane attitudes towards animals involving both role-playing and perspective-taking, with the course followed by measurement with an empathy instrument. The program was administered to younger learners (first and second graders) as well as to older learners (fourth and fifth graders), with both groups compared to control groups of the same

ages. Interestingly, results found little difference between the experimental and control groups in the first and second grade, but a greater enhancement of humane attitudes towards animals between the two groups in the older children. Furthermore, the positive results were observed in the experimental groups in a follow-up one year after the curriculum (Ascione & Weber, 2015).

A similar initiative is the PEACE curriculum, designed to reduce child aggression through the teaching of empathy skills (Salmon, 2003). In one study of the program students engaged in role-playing behavior, where they practiced skills related to perspective-taking (recognizing posture and other visual cues; assessing the feelings and thoughts of others; imagining oneself in the place of others). In examining the empathy component of the curriculum and through discussions with teachers, Salmon was able to conclude that "as our staff learned more about students, student violence, and what really worked, we found through experience that empathy was critical in the development of positive social behavior" (p. 167). Educational efforts are also ongoing for children with autism, such as Schrandt, Townsend, and Poulson (2009), who attempted to teach empathetic responding through the use of puppets and dolls, which through various vignettes provided opportunities for subjects to practice empathic responses. Over time, the puppets were replaced with human participants, allowing children to gradually refine their ability to respond empathically.

Appendix H

A Discussion of the Empathy-Altruism Debate

The use of instruments designed to measure empathy has demonstrated individual variance with regards to empathic ability. The fact that some individuals score higher in empathy than others has given rise to an interest in the social value of experiencing empathy. One line of the argumentation connects increased empathy with increased incidence of helping behaviors, with such behaviors differentiated into acts that are prosocial and altruistic. Prosocial behavior is defined as "voluntary, intentional behavior that results in benefits for another" (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987, p. 92), while altruism is defined as "behavior motivated by a desire to benefit someone other than oneself for that person's sake" (*Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2016). This distinction, while seemingly small, lies at the nexus of what is known as the *Altruism/Empathy Debate.* This debate centers not on whether empathy results in helping behavior, but rather on the motivation for such behavior. While the outcomes of both behaviors may be the same, altruism implies that the helping acts are performed selflessly, while the term prosocial does not attempt to analyze the motivation of helpers. Therefore, this debate in moral psychology primarily concerns the relationship of affective response (emotional distress and empathic concern) to altruistic behavior. In other words, helping behaviors stimulated by a desire to escape uncomfortable emotional responses (emotional distress) could not be considered altruistic, while some helping behaviors motivated by empathic concern might.

The general argument for the benefits of increased empathy holds wide support. Representative of this view is Howe (2013), who asserts that the empathically endowed are better able to follow the *Golden Rule*,[xvi] where one must engage in a constant process of imagining the consequences of one's actions through the perspective of others. Examples from popular society evidence the powerful effects of empathy, such as *Black Like Me* author John Howard Griffin, who set about to inform a segment of society what it was like to be a minority

in the American South, after he had literally walked in their shoes.[xvii] Examples, such as Griffin's have contributed to the popular belief in the personal and social benefits of increased empathy.

Some research exists supporting this belief. Eisenberg, Zhou, and Koller's (2001) work with Brazilian adolescents contributes to the idea that increased empathy connects with positive social interaction. The researchers found that "adolescents who were high in either sympathy *or* perspective-taking (or both) scored high in prosocial moral reasoning" (p. 518). In discussing the characteristics of disproportionately prosocial individuals, Penner and Orom (2010) point to the presence of high empathic capacity. Individuals who "respond empathically to others' distress, feel a sense of responsibility for others' welfare, and engage in other-oriented moral reasoning associated with prosocial thoughts and feelings" (p. 69).

As mentioned, classifying a helping behavior as prosocial or altruistic relates to the motivation of the actor, and while prosocial individuals may perform helping behavior out of empathic concern for others, psychologists have noted that subjects will also help others when experiencing empathic distress. It has been observed that a subject who experiences reactive empathic emotions when faced with a person in need of help will act in a prosocial manner in order to alleviate emotional discomfort. On this subject Martin Hoffman (2011) asserts:

> The overwhelming evidence, however, is that most people, when they witness someone in distress, feel empathically distressed and motivated to help. Thus empathy has been found repeatedly to correlate positively with helping others in distress, even strangers, and negatively with aggression and manipulative behavior. (p. 231)

Hoffman's assertion that people generally act to help those in need would also seem to support the idea that increased empathetic sensitivity is to be desired in society.

Taking the other side of the debate, Keen (2007) points out that heightened empathic sensitivity may result in no action *and* negative outcomes for an individual. Indeed, individual empathic responses may be motivated by "a variety of guilty feelings [that] may or may not

impel a perceiver toward altruism or helping—guilty feelings may in fact incline a perceiver toward a feeling of helplessness in the face of others' suffering" (p. 18). Keen is not alone in this assertion. According to Pinker (2011):

> [Emotional distress] can be an unwanted reaction which people may suppress, or an annoyance they may try to escape…. For many years a charity called Save the Children ran magazine ads with a heartbreaking photograph of a destitute child and the caption "You can save Juan Ramos for five cents a day. Or you can turn the page." Most people turn the page. (p. 575)

If Pinker and Keen are to be believed, elevated empathic sensitivity in the form of emotional distress has limited social utility.

Also in disagreement with Hoffman are researchers who question whether any helping behavior can be classified as selfless. This egoist interpretation of empathy maintains that when all potential selfish motivations are considered, much of what may appear to be altruistic behavior is called into question. According to this thinking people both engage in altruistic behavior to escape from the negative consequences of empathizing (e.g., emotional distress in the form of guilt or shame), and alternatively enjoy the positive consequences of helping behavior. Pure altruism, then, is almost nonexistent, as we only act "unselfishly" for selfish reasons (aka *universal egoism*) (*cf.* Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce, & Neuberg, 1997).

A contravening perspective comes from social psychologists, such as Daniel Batson, who argues that egoist assertions err to the extreme. Disagreeing that humans are universally egoistic, Batson has advanced an empathy-altruism thesis that argues for the existence of *selfless altruism* (*cf.* Batson, Fultz, Schoenrade, & Paduano, 1987; Batson & Shaw, 1991; Batson, Klein, Highberger, & Shaw, 1995; Batson, 1997; Batson, 2010). According to this thesis, people act altruistically towards others-in-need for reasons related to a genuine concern for the well-being of others. Defining altruism as "a motivational state with the ultimate goal of increasing another's welfare" (2016, p. 6), Batson offers a counter-argument to the idea that

humans primary motivations (when acting on behalf of others) are out of self-interest. While Batson does not deny that people perform prosocial acts to avoid emotional distress, he argues against a *primarily* "selfish" interpretation of helping behavior.

Batson has attempted to demonstrate the validity of his selfless altruism theory in over three decades of experiments, many of which manipulate the situation of subjects through raising or lowering the degree of empathy felt for an observed target in need. The helping behaviors of subjects placed in states of high empathy, and in situations where selfish explanations of helping behavior are implausible, are used as evidence for the empathy-altruism thesis. In his experiments, Batson makes the assumption that empathy can be manipulated based on two factors: 1) the perceived similarity shared between subjects and targets, and/or 2) the attitudes of the subjects. Accordingly, empathy can be amplified by increasing perceived similarities between subject and target, and through encouraging subjects to enter into deeper empathic states (e.g., by asking the subject to imagine themselves in a situation related to that which is subsequently evidenced by the target).

In attempting to argue against the egoist assertion, Batson also manipulates the subjects' difficulty to avoid helping another perceived to be in need. By giving subjects in the high empathy group an easy option to escape exposure to the distress exhibited by the target (usually involving the target receiving electrical shocks), Batson reasons that subject willingness to engage in helping behavior must be motivated by altruistic concern. This phenomenon has been demonstrated in numerous experiments, as well as in a variety of circumstances (*cf.* Batson 1997; 2009; 2016).

Batson's position, while influential, also faces opposition from those who see egoistic explanations for the seemingly altruistic behaviors evidenced by his subjects (*cf.* Sober & Wilson, 1998; Batson 1997). In particular Cialdini, Brown, Lewis, Luce, and Neuberg (1997), have suggested that Batson's subjects, rather than acting out of empathy-induced altruism, are motivated to help the suffering target out of feelings of unity. They refer to this as

"interpersonal unity, wherein the conception of self and other are not distinct but are merged to some degree" (p. 490). In pairing subjects together with targets whose similarities with them are emphasized, Cialdini et. al argue that rather than empathy, subjects experience a oneness with the target where they are able to connect the target's suffering to themselves. In this way, the motivation for helping the target derives from a desire to help oneself.

Despite opposition, Batson's research has furthered understandings of empathy as a causal factor in eliciting helping behavior. While the precise nature of the motivations underlying helping behavior remains elusive, it is general practice for psychologists, such as Hodges and Myer (2007), to positively correlate empathy—variously measured—with prosocial behavior.

In demonstrating the connection between empathic response (emotional distress, empathic concern), the empathy/altruism debate is relevant to the present research. While the debate regarding the precise motivations underscoring helping behaviors remains unresolved, research strongly supports the conclusion that increasing subject empathy connects with increased incidence of helping behaviors. The previous chapter outlined the importance of cultivating positive attitudes towards individuals and groups that are culturally different to the acquisition of intercultural competence and the development of an ethnorelative worldview. A future section in the chapter will explore the connection between empathic concern, helping behaviors, and the cultivation of attitudes of toleration, respect, and openness towards other cultures.

Appendix I

First Experimental Class Survey Questions

1. Has all your education up until this survey been in Japan?
   学校教育は全て日本で受けられましたか？

2. What is your primary source of news?
   主要なニュース源は何ですか？下から選んでください。
   新聞　　　　テレビ　　　　ラジオ　　　　インタネット　　　　他

   From this source how often do you get news?
   上の選択からどのぐらいの頻度でニュースを視聴しますか？
   毎日　　　週に３-５回　　　週に１-３回　　　週に一回以下

3. What Internet news sites do you use?
   どのニュースサイトを使いますか？

4. On a scale of 1-10 (one being lowest), rank your knowledge of current affairs in Japan?
   あなたは日本の時事について、どのぐらい知識がありますか？１から１０点で
   あらわすと何点ですか？（１が最低)

5. I am interested in domestic news.
   私は日本の国内ニュースに興味がある。

6. I think it is important to discuss domestic news with my friends.
   私は友達と国内ニュースについて話すことが大切と思う。

7. I have heard the words "immigrant," "immigration" and "refugee" in the news recently.
   最近のニュースで移民・移民政策・難民という言葉を聞いたことがある。

8. I have often discussed the topic of immigrants/immigration in Japan.
   私は移民・移民政策についてよく話します。

9. What words do you associate with the word "immigrant"? (e.g., chili pepper = red, spicy, or Lexus = expensive, stylish)
   移民と聞いて、何を連想しますか？
   （例：唐辛子＝赤い・辛い、Lexus＝値段が高い・おしゃれ)

10. What is your definition of an immigrant? Write your definition in the space provided.
    あなたは移民をどのように定義しますか？回答欄に定義を書いてください。

11. How many immigrants do you think come to Japan each year?
    あなたは毎年何人の移民が来日すると想像しますか？（数字で)

12. How many Japanese emigrate to other countries each year?
    あなたは毎年何人の日本人が他国に移民すると想像しますか？（数字で)

13. Where do you think immigrants to Japan come from? List the top three countries in the space provided.
あなたは来日する移民はどこの国から来ると想像しますか？
（回答欄に１－３位まで書いてください）

14. Have you ever met an immigrant to Japan?
あなたは日本に定住した外国人（移民）に会ったことがありますか？

If yes, where did this person(s) come from?
会ったと答えた場合、その移民はどこの国から来ましたか？

15. What countries/cultures are most compatible with Japan/Japanese culture (people from which countries/cultures would make the best immigrants for Japan)?
どこの国や文化が日本や日本の文化と相性がよいと思いますか？
（どこの国の出身者が移民として望ましい？）

Explain the reason(s) for your answer.
その理由を説明してください。

16. What countries/cultures are the least compatible with Japan (people from which countries/cultures) would make the worst immigrants for Japan)?
どこの国や文化が日本や日本の文化と相性が悪いと思いますか？
（どこの国の出身者が移民として望ましくない？）

Explain the reason(s) for your answer.
その理由を説明してください。

17. In your opinion, what (if any) are the merits of allowing immigrants to come to Japan (What are the positive aspects of immigration)?
あなたの意見では、日本に移民を受け入れる利点は何ですか？
（移民政策の肯定的側面は何？）

18. In your opinion, what (if any) are the demerits of allowing immigrants to come to Japan (What are the negative aspects of immigration)?
あなたの意見では、日本に移民を受け入れるデメリットは何ですか？
（移民政策の否定的側面は何？）

19. In your opinion, what (if any) are the greatest benefits for immigrants who move to Japan?
あなたの意見では日本に移民する人々にとって最大のメリットは何だと思いますか。

20. In your opinion, what (if any) are the greatest challenges faced by immigrants who move to Japan?
あなたの意見では日本に移民する人々にとって最大の困難は何だと思いますか。

21. Japan should increase the number immigrants.
日本が移民を増加するべきである。

Explain the reason(s) for your answer.
その理由を説明してください。

22. Japan needs to accept more immigrants in the future.
将来、日本が移民を増加する必要があります。

Explain the reason(s) for your answer.
その理由を説明してください。

23. What words do you associate with the word "refugee"? (e.g., chili pepper = red, spicy, or Lexus = expensive, stylish)
難民と聞いて、何を連想しますか？
（例：唐辛子＝赤い・辛い、Lexus＝値段が高い・おしゃれ）

24. What is your definition of a refugee? Write your definition in the space provided.
あなたは難民をどのように定義しますか？回答欄に定義を書いてください。

25. On average, how many refugees do you think Japan accepts each year?
あなたは毎年平均で何人の移民が来日すると想像しますか？（数字で）

26. Where do refugees to Japan come from? List the top three countries in the space provided.
あなたは来日する難民はどこの国から来ると想像しますか？
（回答欄に１－３位まで書いてください）

27. Have you ever met a refugee to Japan?
あなたは日本に来た難民に会ったことがありますか？

If yes, where did this person(s) come from?
会ったと答えた場合、その難民はどこの国から来ましたか？

28. In your opinion, what (if any) are the merits of allowing refugees to come to Japan?
あなたの意見では、日本に難民を受け入れる利点は何ですか？

29. In your opinion, what (if any) are the demerits of allowing refugees to come to Japan?
あなたの意見では、日本に難民を受け入れるデメリットは何ですか？

30. In your opinion, what (if any) are the greatest benefits for refugees who move to Japan?
あなたの意見では難民として日本に来る人々にとって最大のメリットは何だと思いますか。

31. In your opinion, what (if any) are the greatest challenges faced by refugees who move to Japan?
あなたの意見では難民として日本に来る人々にとって最大の困難は何だと思いますか。

32. The Japanese government should accept more refugees.
日本政府はもっと難民を受け入れるべきです。

Explain the reason(s) for your answer.
その理由を説明してください。

33. Japan has an obligation to accept more refugees.
日本はもっと難民を受け入れる義務があります。

Explain the reason(s) for your answer.
その理由を説明してください。

Appendix J

Immigrant Narrative Example 1—Koreans in Germany

My husband and I are both from Korea, and we emigrated separately to Germany during the early 70s. At that time, Germany wanted women to work as nurses, and men to work in the mines and as laborers in other jobs. My friends didn't want to go to Germany, but I thought it was a good opportunity to learn more about nursing. At the time, German hospitals were much better than Korean ones.

During the first year, I was too afraid to eat any of the "weird" German food, so I only ate rice I bought through friends and the vegetables I could find that I had eaten in Korea. In the end I got tired of eating only these foods and decided to visit a supermarket. While looking at all the different foods, I noticed a horrible smell. At first I thought that somebody had thrown up, but I couldn't see anything on the floor. In the end I ran away because the smell was too awful. That was the first time I encountered cheese.

Appendix K

Immigrant Narrative Example 2—A "Jamaican" in England

My mother came here and sent for me in 1956 (Jamaica was a British colony until 1962). She was looking for a better life than what she had in the Jamaican countryside. The term immigrant was very negative then. There were color barriers all over the place to stop black people. It was difficult to get a place to live, and when we did it was very poor. My mother spent a lot of time trying to protect me from the racism, so life could be quite isolated and lonely. As a child, I remember coming home from shopping and then suddenly being attacked by a gang of white boys all holding eggs to throw at me. They asked who my parents voted for. Luckily I said Labour and they let me go. I was so relieved. God knows how I would have explained that one to my mother if I had come home covered in raw egg!

Some time ago, the company I was working for had some trouble with a Nigerian woman and the Immigration department. She was deported because her immigration status was not clear, but then she was let back into the U.K because the immigration department had made a mistake. As a result of this my company did checks on all the employees and it turned out that I am not a British citizen despite having lived here for 59 years. I did not know that I was not a British citizen, because I was a former citizen of the British Empire, and I could have applied to become a citizen without problems anytime until the 1990's. However, I did not know that I had to apply, and in the 1990's, the government had changed the rules. When I applied for a passport, they denied my application. I was shocked and very angry.

My employers ordered me to apply for British citizenship which I did through the Immigration department. The application cost £800. I submitted my form along with my school records from elementary school to high school and copies of family doctor's notes from at least 1960 as proof. The immigration department took the £800 but refused my application. I went to a lawyer and paid another £400, but he could not do anything. I was fired by my employer because I did not get citizenship. And because employers now require a British passport I have not been able to

get any good jobs. The immigration department says that I am a Jamaican citizen, even though when I came to Britain I was a British citizen. They told me to apply for citizenship again, but I can't get a job and now the application cost is £1000. I can't pay, and they would probably deny my application again.

Appendix L

List and Description of Flash-fiction Stories

1. *Prisoner of War* (Muna Fadhil): An Iraqi soldier captured during the long Iran/Iraq war is repatriated after a lengthy incarceration, to find his wife deceased and his daughter already a grown woman.

2. *My Brother at the Canadian Border* (Sholeh Wolpé): Iranian medical students stopped at the United States/Canada border are informed, after a lengthy interrogation by Canadian border officials, that they are officially regarded as "white."

3. *The Snake* (Eric Rugara): A Kenyan communal tea drinking is interrupted by a dangerous snake entering the house, to which the father heroically acts to protect the inhabitants.

4. *The Past* (Juan Carlos Botero): A Columbian man wakes to find his wife in tears. Upon hearing his wife confess her infidelity, the man realizes that their relationship was based on falsehoods.

5. *The Young Widow* (Petronius): Set in ancient Rome, a widow, initially determined to die with her deceased husband in order to demonstrate her virtue, decides to desecrate his dead body in order to save the life of her new love.

6. *Honor Killing* (Kim Young-ha): A Korean receptionist at a dermatology clinic commits suicide after all attempts to cure an embarrassing skin rash fail.

7. *Love* (Edgar Omar Avilés): An impoverished Mexican mother resigns herself to an afterlife in hell, after murdering her daughter out of a religious desire to save her young child's soul.

8. *Amerika Street* (Lili Potpara): A Slovenian girl struggles to appreciate the sacrifice made by her father, who borrows money to purchase a bicycle that her friends already own.

9. *Butterfly Forever* (Chen Qiyou): A Taiwanese man watches his fiancé struck dead, as in the rain, she crosses a narrow street to mail a letter to his mother.

10. *The Most Beautiful Girl* (Peter Stamm): A solitary traveler on the Dutch Frisian coast finds the name "Alien" scratched into the sand. He later learns that Alien is the name of the most

beautiful girl on the island, who also happens to be unable to find love.

Appendix M

The Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy—Results

1. I feel annoyed when people do not speak standard Japanese.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	11(58%)	3(16%)	4(21%)	0(0%)	1(5%)
Post-class (#)	10(53%)	5(26%)	2(11%)	0(0%)	2(11%)
Change	-5%	+11%	-11%	0%	+5%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=19

2. I don't know a lot of information about important social and political events of racial and ethnic groups other than my own.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	1(5%)	3(16%)	1(5%)	12(63%)	2(11%)
Post-class (#)	0(0%)	4(21%)	2(11%)	13(68%)	0(0%)
Change	-5%	+5%	+5%	+5%	-11%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=19

3. I am touched by movies or books about discrimination issues faced by racial or ethnic groups other than my own.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	2(11%)	0(0%)	1(5%)	11(58%)	5(26%)
Post-class (#)	2(11%)	0(0%)	1(5%)	9(47%)	7(37%)
Change	0%	0%	0%	-11%	+11%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=19

4. I know what it feels like to be the only person of a certain race or ethnicity in a group of people.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	3(16%)	5(26%)	4(21%)	6(32%)	1(5%)
Post-class (#)	3(16%)	3(16%)	6(32%)	6(32%)	1(5%)
Change	0%	-11%	+11%	0%	0%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=19

5. I get impatient when communicating with people from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, regardless of how well they speak Japanese.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	3(16%)	7(37%)	7(37%)	1(5%)	1(5%)
Post-class (#)	3(17%)	5(28%)	6(33%)	2(11%)	2(11%)
Change	+1%	-9%	-4%	+6%	+6%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=18

6. I can relate to the frustration that some people feel about having fewer opportunities due to their racial or ethnic backgrounds.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	0(0%)	5(26%)	7(37%)	6(32%)	1(5%)
Post-class (#)	2(11%)	5(26%)	5(26%)	6(32%)	1(5%)
Change	+11%	0%	-11%	0%	0%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=19

7. I am aware of institutional barriers (e.g., restricted opportunities for job promotion) that discriminate against racial or ethnic groups other than my own.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	0(0%)	6(32%)	4(16%)	7(37%)	3(16%)
Post-class (#)	2(11%)	2(11%)	6(32%)	6(32%)	3(16%)
Change	+11%	-21%	+16%	-5%	0%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=19

8. I don't understand why people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds enjoy wearing traditional clothing.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	5(26%)	9(47%)	4(21%)	1(5%)	0(0%)
Post-class (#)	7(37%)	7(37%)	3(16%)	1(5%)	1(5%)
Change	+11%	-11%	-5%	0%	+5%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=19

9. I seek opportunities to speak with individuals of other racial or ethnic backgrounds about their experiences.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	0(0%)	1(5%)	5(26%)	7(37%)	6(32%)
Post-class (#)	1(5%)	2(11%)	8(42%)	6(32%)	2(11%)
Change	+5%	+5%	+16%	-5%	-21%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=19

10. I feel irritated when people of different racial or ethnic backgrounds speak their language around me.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	16(84%)	2(11%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	1(5%)
Post-class (#)	13(68%)	2(11%)	2(11%)	0(0%)	2(11%)
Change	-16%	0%	+11%	0%	+5%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=19

11. When I know my friends are treated unfairly because of their racial or ethnic backgrounds, I speak up for them.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	1(5%)	0(0%)	1(5%)	8(42%)	9(47%)
Post-class (#)	2(11%)	0(0%)	1(5%)	3(16%)	13(68%)
Change	+5%	0%	0%	-26%	+21%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=19

12. I share the anger of those who face injustice because of their racial and ethnic backgrounds.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	1(5%)	0(0%)	3(16%)	11(58%)	4(21%)
Post-class (#)	2(11%)	0(0%)	2(11%)	11(58%)	4(21%)
Change	+5%	0%	-5%	0%	0%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=19

13. When I interact with people from other racial or ethnic backgrounds, I show my appreciation of their cultural norms.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	0(0%)	1(5%)	5(26%)	9(47%)	4(21%)
Post-class (#)	0(0%)	2(11%)	6(32%)	8(42%)	3(16%)
Change	0%	+5%	+5%	-5%	-5%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=19

14. I feel supportive of people of other racial and ethnic groups, if I think they are being taken advantage of.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	1(5%)	0(0%)	1(5%)	9(47%)	8(42%)
Post-class (#)	2(11%)	0(0%)	2(11%)	10(53%)	5(26%)
Change	+5%	0%	+5%	+5%	-16%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=19

15. I get disturbed when other people experience misfortunes due to their racial or ethnic backgrounds.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	1(5%)	1(5%)	11(58%)	4(21%)	2(11%)
Post-class (#)	1(5%)	1(5%)	7(37%)	7(37%)	3(16%)
Change	0%	0%	-21%	+16%	+5%

Pre-class n=19, Post-class n=19

16. I rarely think about the impact of a racist or ethnic joke on the feelings of people who are targeted.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	1(6%)	6(33%)	6(33%)	5(28%)	0(0%)
Post-class (#)	1(5%)	6(32%)	6(32%)	6(32%)	0(0%)
Change	0%	-2%	-2%	+4%	0%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

17. I am not likely to participate in events that promote equal rights for people of all racial and ethnic backgrounds.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	4(22%)	9(50%)	4(22%)	1(6%)	0(0%)
Post-class (#)	3(16%)	8(42%)	6(32%)	0(0%)	2(11%)
Change	-6%	-8%	+9%	-6%	+11%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

18. I express my concern about discrimination to people from other racial or ethnic groups.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	1(6%)	3(17%)	6(33%)	6(33%)	2(11%)
Post-class (#)	1(5%)	0(0%)	3(16%)	12(63%)	3(16%)
Change	0%	-17%	-18%	+30%	+5%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

19. It is easy for me to understand what it would feel like to be a person of another racial or ethnic background other than my own.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	2(11%)	4(22%)	7(39%)	3(17%)	2(11%)
Post-class (#)	1(5%)	3(16%)	9(47%)	6(32%)	0(0%)
Change	-6%	-6%	+8%	+15%	-11%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

20. I can see how other racial or ethnic groups are systematically oppressed in our society.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	1(6%)	7(39%)	6(33%)	3(17%)	1(6%)
Post-class (#)	0(0%)	2(11%)	8(42%)	8(42%)	1(5%)
Change	-6%	-28%	+9%	+25%	0%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

21. I don't care if people make racist statements against other racial or ethnic groups.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	6(33%)	11(61%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	1(6%)
Post-class (#)	6(32%)	8(42%)	2(11%)	1(5%)	2(11%)
Change	-2%	-19%	+11%	+5%	+5%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

22. When I see people who come from a different racial or ethnic background succeed in the public arena, I share their pride.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	2(11%)	0(0%)	3(17%)	4(22%)	9(50%)
Post-class (#)	2(11%)	0(0%)	2(11%)	6(32%)	9(47%)
Change	-1%	0%	-6%	+9%	-3%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

23. When other people struggle with racial or ethnic oppression, I share their frustration.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	0(0%)	1(6%)	8(44%)	7(39%)	2(11%)
Post-class (#)	2(11%)	0(0%)	7(37%)	8(42%)	2(11%)
Change	+11%	-6%	-8%	+3%	-1%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

24. I recognize that the media often portrays people based on racial or ethnic stereotypes.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	2(11%)	1(6%)	9(50%)	4(22%)	2(11%)
Post-class (#)	0(0%)	4(21%)	6(32%)	4(21%)	5(26%)
Change	-11%	+15%	-18%	-1%	+15%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

25. I am aware of how society differentially treats racial or ethnic groups other than my own.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	2(11%)	7(39%)	4(22%)	5(28%)	0(0%)
Post-class (#)	0(0%)	7(37%)	3(16%)	7(37%)	2(11%)
Change	-11%	-2%	-6%	+9%	+11%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

26. I share the anger of people who are victims of hate crimes (e.g., intentional violence because of race or ethnicity).

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	1(6%)	1(6%)	2(11%)	8(44%)	6(33%)
Post-class (#)	2(11%)	0(0%)	3(16%)	9(47%)	5(26%)
Change	+5%	-6%	+5%	+3%	-7%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

27. I do not understand why people want to keep their indigenous racial or ethnic cultural traditions instead of trying to fit into the mainstream.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	8(47%)	5(29%)	4(24%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Post-class (#)	2(11%)	10(53%)	4(21%)	2(11%)	1(5%)
Change	-37%	+23%	-2%	+11%	+5%

Pre-class n=17, Post-class n=19

28. It is difficult for me to put myself in the shoes of someone who is racially and/or ethnically different.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	4(22%)	6(33%)	2(11%)	4(22%)	2(11%)
Post-class (#)	2(11%)	2(11%)	11(58%)	1(5%)	3(16%)
Change	-12%	-23%	+47%	-17%	+5%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

29. I feel uncomfortable when I am around a significant number of people who are racially/ethnically different than me.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	1(6%)	2(11%)	5(28%)	7(39%)	3(17%)
Post-class (#)	0(0%)	0(0%)	6(32%)	10(53%)	3(16%)
Change	-6%	-11%	+4%	+14%	-1%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

30. When I hear people make racist jokes, I tell them I am offended even though they are not referring to my racial or ethnic group.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	0(0%)	6(33%)	9(50%)	2(11%)	1(6%)
Post-class (#)	1(5%)	4(21%)	10(53%)	3(16%)	1(5%)
Change	+5%	-12%	+3%	+5%	0%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

31. It is difficult for me to relate to stories in which people talk about racial or ethnic discrimination they experience in their day to day lives.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Pre-class (#)	1(6%)	5(28%)	10(56%)	2(11%)	0(0%)
Post-class (#)	1(5%)	6(32%)	8(42%)	3(16%)	1(5%)
Change	0%	+4%	-13%	+5%	+5%

Pre-class n=18, Post-class n=19

[i] Hirsch cited an experiment [reported in Krauss and Glucksberg (1977)] in which a researcher, dressed as a Boston native and speaking with a local accent, asked a Bostonian for directions. In response to the question "How d'ya get to Central Square?" the subject replied with the minimal required information ["First stop on the subway."]. Assuming the subject to be a fellow Bostonian, the subject was able to respond with minimal explanation, assuming that as a fellow inhabitant of the city, the researcher shared local knowledge. In a second experiment, the researcher adopted the dress and accent of someone not native to Boston to again ask for directions to Central Square. Perceiving the researcher to be from outside the area, the subject provided a far more detailed set of directions.

[ii] Proxemics is the study of the cultural use of space as it relates to behavior, communication, and social interaction. Coined by anthropologist Edward T. Hall in 1963, proxemics has become an important subject in the study of interpersonal communication. Of principal interest to Hall were the differences in the ways that cultures used space in communication, and much of his work was devoted to identifying and explaining these aspects of non-verbal behavior.

[iii] A subcategory of non-verbal communicative investigation similar to proxemics, chronemics refers to the study of the role of time in human interaction, with researchers focusing on the identification of cultural differences in time as it relates to communication. Broadly speaking, two cultural patterns have been identified: monochronic time (time is highly scheduled and segmented into units; tasks are completed one at a time and in order), and polychronic time (time is perceived as fluid with less focus on preciseness; traditions and relationships are prioritized over the completion of tasks).

[iv] Linguistic competence refers to the system of linguistic knowledge that native speakers of a language possess. Introduced by Noam Chomsky, linguistic competence refers to the system of culturally influenced rules that influence a speaker's understanding of what is and is not acceptable when engaged in speech. Chomsky argues that competence, rather than an inventory of facts or set of abilities, exists as an unconscious, intuitive reasoning present in humans, but not in other animals.

[v] For Howell, *unconscious incompetence* referred to a state of ignorance, where the learner is unaware of cultural differences. In the second stage, *conscious incompetence*, the learner begins to recognize differences between how they and members of other groups behave. At this point, differences are largely encountered with negativity. In stage three, *conscious competence*, the learner begins to learn about cultural differences and is increasingly self-aware in dealings with members of other groups. The fourth stage, *unconscious competence*, involves the learner demonstrating the ability to behave appropriately in intercultural situations.

[vi] ToM partially explains how children learn to understand others through facilitating child capacity to learn to recognize visual signals (e.g., body language), to learn to understand possible implications of environmental considerations (e.g., temperature, time of day, etc.), and similar perceptual cues.

[vii] Due to the invasive nature of this research (involving the insertion of electrodes into areas of the brain), studies have not extended to include human experimentation.

[viii] Neuroscience provides further insight into empathic processes by comparatively analyzing neural responses towards members of ingroups with those towards outgroups. Gutsell and Inzlicht (2010) hypothesize that these neural activities, referred to perception-action-coupling, or "the vicarious activation of the neural system for action during the perception of action" (p. 841), only fire when the subject of perceived action (the person or object) is associated with one's ingroup. The researchers tentatively suggest that the findings

provide new perspectives on prejudice against other groups based on brain activity, and that "spontaneous and implicit simulation [empathic processes] of others' action states may be limited to close others and, without active effort, may not be available for outgroups" (p. 841).

[ix] Batson, Chang, Orr, and Rowland (2002), conducted an experiment to investigate if inducing empathy for a stigmatized group (drug addicts) could both improve attitudes *and* prompt the decision to act on behalf of the group. This time, undergraduate students listened to a loan interview involving a convicted heroin addict/dealer, and were subsequently given a chance to recommend allocating funds available to students (Student Senate funds) to support an agency providing assistance to drug addicts. As in the previous example, subjects induced to feel empathy prior to listening reported more positive attitudes towards people addicted to hard drugs. Additionally, subjects in the high empathy group allocated more money to the fictional agency than did subjects in the low empathy group.

[x] Vescio, Sechrist, and Paolucci (2003) designed a study to examine whether perspective-taking improves attitudes towards other groups. Subjects were separated into two groups, in which empathy was induced in one group, while the other was instructed to remain objective. Adding a further element, the researchers provided subjects with two interview segments in which an African American interviewee discussed the difficult experiences resulting from negative stereotyping: one in which the interviewee appearance and behavior served to endorse certain stereotypes, while in the other was stereotype disconforming. Post-experiment results showed that while empathy did not succeed in mediating all effects of stereotyping, subjects who engaged in perspective-taking prior to viewing reported more favorable attitudes compared with subjects who were instructed to remain objective.

[xi] Citing research from Batson (1991), Batson, Chang, Orr, and Rowland (2002), and Schultz (2000), Berenguer (2007) similarly attempted to quantify the effect of perspective-taking on attitudes towards nature. The study divided groups into high and low empathy; however, rather than having subjects view animals in distress, Berenguer had subjects view natural objects (e.g., a bird, a tree) in non-distressed states. Doing so largely precluded the variable of emotional distress present in Shultz's experiment. Despite this difference in research design, Berenguer reported that "the results of the study indicate that participants who showed a high empathy level displayed stronger environmental behaviors and attitudes" (2007, p. 269).

[xii] Social psychologist Geert Hofstede constructed a model for comparing and understanding national cultures through the introduction of six cultural dimensions, summarized below:

Power Distance: The degree to which less powerful members of a society accept the unequal distribution of power.

Uncertainty Avoidance: The degree to which members of a society feel comfortable with uncertainty and ambiguity.

Individualism/Collectivism: A preference for a loose framework characterized by high degrees of personal responsibility, versus a preference for a tightly-knit framework where care for the individual is seen as the responsibility of the group in exchange for loyalty.

Masculinity/Femininity: A preference for achievement, assertiveness and material-defined success, versus a preference for cooperation, modesty, social concern, and interest in ensuring general quality of life.

Long/Short Term Orientation: A preference for maintaining traditions and norms with a general suspicion towards societal change, versus a preference for thrift in a focus on preparing for the future.

Indulgence/Restraint: The degree to which a society allows gratification; a preference for seeking enjoyment in life, versus a preference to suppress gratification through regulation based on social norms.

The establishment of parameters, or extremes, for each dimension allowed Hofstede to

classify and compare cultures in order to calculate national scores and international rankings. Although Hofstede's model has been criticized for its idea of national culture as a systematically causal factor in analyzing behavior (McSweeney, 2002), and for the model's simplified treatment of cultural differences (Signorini, Wiesemes, & Murphy, 2009), Hofstede's six dimensions remain widely used in cultural studies. While equating "culture" with "nation" may be problematic, Hofstede's dimensions provide learners with accessible tools through which to approach the subject of cultural difference.

[xiii] Answers were evaluated based on the Merriam-Webster's Dictionary (2016) definition for immigrant: "a person who comes to a country to live there." Definitions were accepted if they 1) demonstrated an understanding of human movement between countries, and 2) an understanding that the movement was done in order to live in the new country. Definitions containing one of these two conditions were considered partial definitions.

[xiv] The first survey instrument included a set of questions regarding refugees, which was not included in the follow up survey instrument. Otherwise, all questions remained the same.

[xv] Product designer Patricia Moore gained prominence, after she engaged in a multi-year experiment dressed as an octogenarian, in order to understand the practical needs of elderly consumers. She is widely credited for the conception of *universal* product design.

[xvi] The *Golden Rule* is the principle of treating others as one would wish to be treated (also known as the law of reciprocity).

[xvii] Griffin temporarily darkened his skin to look like an African American, after which he travelled for six weeks through the American South during a period of racial segregation (1961). *Black Like Me* is an account of his experiences.