"Is that paradoxical? Probably. But it's also true": Saving Diversity Training from Itself through Cultivating a Both-And Mindset

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Abstract
This paper engages the concepts of *individualism* and *collectivism* (I/C) through a critique of their typical polarisation by cross-cultural scholars and organizational consultants. It is argued that the tradition of applying these labels to cultures in *either/or* terms, or ranking cultures by degrees along an I/C spectrum, inhibits accurate and productive intercultural understanding. An alternate conceptualization is proposed, one which recognizes that cultures vary much more by *types* of individualism and collectivism than by degrees – and even then, oft-paradoxical similarities abound. These theoretical arguments are grounded, and directed prescriptively, in a critique of workplace diversity-training (DT) programs. Primary and secondary research is referenced to support a diagnosis that most DT fails in its objectives, especially through oversimplifying cultural differences – and especially by framing them in terms of *either/or* opposites. By way of exemplifying the *both/and* intercultural sensibility that DT should instead seek to cultivate, the author summarizes his frequently-delivered lecture on 'Japanese individualism and Canadian collectivism.' Other possibilities, and challenges, for putting culture's paradoxical realities into pedagogical practice are then discussed.

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I. Introduction

The terms *individualism* and *collectivism* (henceforth in combination, I/C) comprise possibly the most commonly-referenced conceptual pairing in social science. And for a century, these labels have usually been used to describe cultures and countries in starkly contrasting terms. More nuanced reinterpretations of I/C have begun to emerge within disciplines such as psychology (e.g., Brewer and Chen, 2007) and communication studies (e.g., Wang, 2009). However, there remains a pressing need to rethink I/C in organizational/business research and consulting. Such scholars and trainers almost always promote the timeworn polarization of these terms, portraying Asian societies and psychologies as intrinsically group-oriented and Westerners as fundamentally more self-oriented. In fact, it is much more accurate and productive to focus on how such cultures manifest their own varieties of individualism and collectivism. In other words, the differences at stake are much more a matter of type than degree – and not at all a case of opposites.

This paper grounds such theoretical arguments with reference to organizational research into North American 'diversity training' programs, specifically those involving cultural diversity: training employees and managers from different countries, cultures, and ethnicities to work together. The opening section (Section II) discusses the author's ongoing primary, interview-based research into diversity training (henceforth, DT). This discussion is followed, and contextualized, by Section III's review of scholarship on the subject. These two essay sections establish the widespread shortcomings of DT and explain a key reason for this failure: the tendency to oversimplify and overstate cultural differences, including (and often primarily) those involving I/C. Very often, employees undergoing DT either reject the oversimplification, or it ironically *exacerbates* their perception of cross-cultural discrepancies.

Section IV of the essay exemplifies how a more nuanced and accurate conception of I/C can be taught, by summarizing the author's oft-delivered lecture on how Japanese and Canadians manifest different *types* of I/C, rather than one people being *more* individualist or collectivist than the other. This explanation is supported with reference to past and present cross-cultural scholarship, although the argument hinges largely on the author's own conception of 'internalized' (Japanese) and 'externalized' (Western) variants of individualism. Section V concludes the essay with a discussion of how such paradoxical insights, and others, can inform DT to sorely-needed beneficial effect.

II. Diversity Training: Primary and Secondary Research

The present study began in 2014 with small-scale primary research – several semi-structured interviews with workers who have undergone cultural diversity training – in Alberta, Canada. This province's oil-based economic boom has attracted a recent, rapid influx of labour from all over the planet, leading to an increase in DT and other types of 'diversity management' among companies and other organizations. The author's interviews (and more informal conversations with DT trainees) yield mostly neutral to negative reports, for a wide variety of reasons. Many criticisms testify, explicitly or implicitly, to the pressing need for DT to adopt a more nuanced conception of culture and cultural difference.

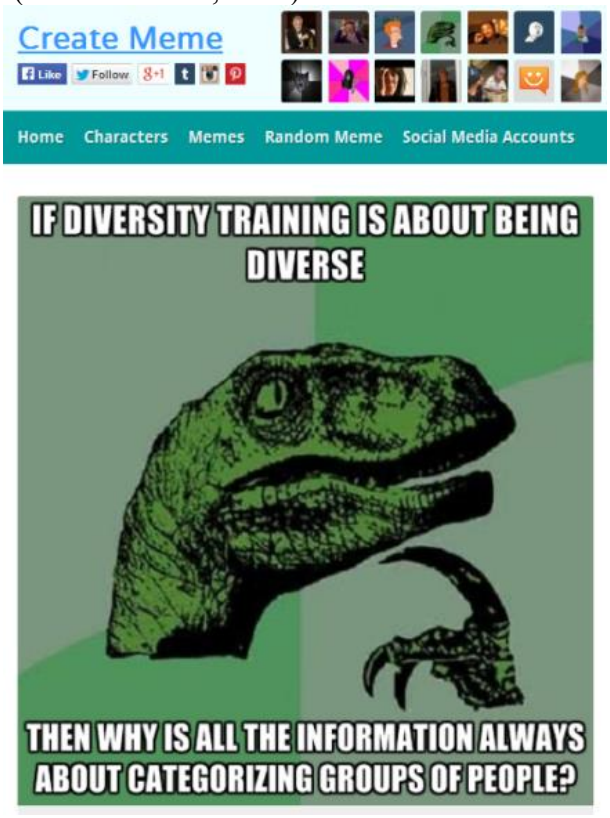
Several respondent complaints state or suggest that diversity trainers compel employees to focus on cross-cultural incompatibilities that previously were barely noticed, or were rightly downplayed or ignored. Ironically, then, training sessions meant to cultivate cultural sensitivity can actually *increase* perceived discrepancies and divisions by managers and among workers:

> "Honestly, hearing over and over again about how differently different cultures think about work-related stuff, it gets you wondering how you're going to be able to work together at all. And, this is after I didn't think there were many big problems to begin with!" (Carl, IT worker)

A separate, also common, complaint is that diversity trainers overstate cultural differences, or that they neglect an equally important emphasis on human universals and/or the salience of individuality:

> "For sure these cultural differences matter, and they're important to learn about. But you've got to somehow teach this information while also emphasizing common values, and personality differences, and so on. Is that a bit paradoxical or something? Probably. But it's true." (Samina, 34, accountant)

These responses are drawn from a small, hence not properly representative, sample of interviewees. However, such gripes about DT are common enough to have earned their own internet meme ("Create Meme," n.d.):



The criticisms articulated by interviewed Alberta workers are also reflected in the scholarly literature on DT, at least in the North American context. Especially since the mid-2000s, a cottage industry of research essays and consultant blogs has developed around calling for fundamental changes to DT, or for abandoning such programs altogether (e.g., Bregman, 2012; Clark, 2011; Dobbin, Kalev, & Kelly, 2007; Kowal, Franklin, & Paradies, 2013; Von Bergen, 2013). The greater gist of these findings is summed up by economist and DT consultant Marc Bendick: "If you ask what is the impact of diversity training today, you have to say 75 percent is junk and will have little impact or no impact or negative impact" (as cited in Vedantam, 2008, p. 2).

Critical commentary on DT offers up a profusion of reasons as to why diversity programs so often fall short. For oft-noted example, a clumsily-handled focus on white or white-male privilege usually results in a defensive backlash from privileged or unprivileged whites, especially when the DT is mandatory, which it usually is (Dobbin, Kalev, & Kelly, 2007; Wilson, 2013). More generally speaking, the design of DT is often given little thought, especially when organizations implement these programs to fulfill or fend off legal obligations. And even when cross-cultural understandings and attitudes do improve, this usually fails to translate into more hiring or promotion of minorities, or higher productivity, or other desired results.

Probably the most widely-cited DT researchers are Frank Dobbin, Alexandra Kalev, and Erin Kelly (e.g., Dobbin & Kalev, 2013; Dobbin, Kalev, & Kelly, 2006; Dobbin, Kalev, & Kelly, 2007; Dobbin & Kelly, 1998; Kalev, 2014). In the largest systematic analysis of DT to date, Dobbin, Kalev, and Kelly (2006, 2007) conducted survey-based and statistical analysis of 829 U.S. firms over 31 years. They mined this data to determine the effectiveness of different 'diversity management' approaches, specifically in relation to the share of women and minorities in management positions. Based on their findings, the authors argue that instead of DT, or DT alone, it's much more effective to focus on mentorship programs and to appoint high-ranking diversity managers and taskforces who are responsible for specific, measurable improvements in diversity (however defined).

In many cases this would likely translate into implementing some form of 'affirmative action,' such as hiring or promotion quotas, to help minorities achieve organizational positions of power. Dobbin, Kalev, and Kelly rarely advise such specific practices – perhaps because the present author is misreading them, or perhaps because affirmative action is so contentious (Strauss, 2014; Dobbin & Kelly, 1998). In any case, mentoring programs, diversity task forces, and hiring or promotion quotas aren't going to work for every organization everywhere. This is partly because DT programs operate with various objectives in mind, beyond increasing the proportional representation of minorities (Kalinoski et al., 2013). In many cases, the aim is focused on improving intercultural relations at an interpersonal level, rather than on effecting personnel changes at organization-structural scales. Within such an interactional scope, at least, there remains room for hope that DT can foster global sensitivities in practicable ways that translate into organization-operational improvements.

But this can't happen as things stand, with DT almost always oversimplifying culture, especially by presenting cultural difference in terms of oppositional values, attitudes,

and behaviours – such as Asian societies being collectivist while western societies are individualist. Instead of propounding *either/or* polarization and generalization, intercultural research and training should simultaneously emphasize difference *and* commonality, alongside the salience of personality-based and other contextual factors. In regards to I/C, this 'sensitization' would prepare people, when interacting with others from any culture, to tack in real time, alert to situational contexts, between perceiving them as being individualist *and* as being collectivist – in different ways rather than different degrees. This calls for DT teachers to cultivate within themselves, and then bring forth in trainees, a mindset and ethos that is nuanced and flexible, if not contradiction-friendly. But such attunement to ambiguity goes against the grain of both traditional social science and management theory. Practitioners in these disciplines prefer explanations and recommendations to be more clear-cut – that is, to be *either/or* – if not quantified or ideologically single-minded (Chia, 1995).

However, an aforementioned interviewee observation testifies to the mainstream applicability and accessibility of more ambivalent thinking: "Is that a bit paradoxical or something? Probably. But it's true." (It might also merit mentioning that this observation was articulated by an accountant.) This subtle awareness is the subject of much erudition (e.g., Chen, 2002), but it is apparently also fashionable enough to market on bags and mugs ('Steckemgood,' n.d.):

Many researchers report respondent complaints that DT oversimplifies – in academic terms, it 'essentializes' – culture and cultural difference (Kowal, Franklin, & Paradies, 2013). Intelligent laypeople know, even if instinctively or subconsciously, that such matters are more complex and contextual than an *either/or* framework can account for. However sophisticated, the *both-and* sensibility that DT needs to actuate in trainees often pre-exists on an intuitive ('embodied') level of latency (Chia, 1995; Wilson, 2013). The challenge for DT lies in fashioning pedagogical tools and tactics that can help people apprehend, affirm, and activate such commonsensical albeit tacit wisdom.

III. Cross-Cultural Theory and the Binary-Opposition Paradigm

So why does DT typically focus instead on framing cultural differences in terms of polar opposites? A major reason is that cross-cultural theory in general does this – especially when it's applied to business and management (Chia, 1995). Therefore, this paper now moves beyond DT to engage cross-cultural theory more generally. The

points made against *either/or* conceptualization are then exemplified with a discussion of Japan's 'internalized individualism' (Section IV). The paper concludes with DT recommendations for putting into pedagogical practice the cultivation of a *both-and* intercultural mindset (Section V).

The default theoretical tendency to frame cultural differences in terms of polar opposites has a preeminent exemplar in Geert Hofstede (e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Hofstede, 2001; Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). Hofstede is a godfather figure in cross-cultural theory, and he remains the most oft-cited social scientist in the world of global business (Herdin, 2012). Based on his massive-scale, statistically-modeled surveys of multinational IBM employees undertaken during the 1980s, Hofstede ranks the world's countries along spectrums of binary-opposite values, such as authoritarianism versus egalitarianism ('power distance') and collectivism versus individualism. In the most basic terms, Hofstede defines this dimension thusly (with his son Gert Jan Hofstede):

> Individualism on the one side versus its opposite, collectivism, is the degree to which individuals are integrated into groups. On the individualist side we find societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after her/himself and her/his immediate family. On the collectivist side, we find societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, often extended families (with uncles, aunts and grandparents) which continue protecting them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty. The word collectivism in this sense has no political meaning: it refers to the group, not to the state. Again, the issue addressed by this dimension is an extremely fundamental one, regarding all societies in the world. (Hofstede & Hofstede, n.d., 'Individualism')

No doubt the fact that Hofstede remains the paramount cross-cultural scholar in most management studies (certainly among consultants or in other applied research) has something to do with both his longstanding reputation and the fact that his statistical approach appeals to those who like their answers presented as quantified, unambiguous data.

It is only recently that any traction has been gained by fundamental critiques of Hofstede's methodology, in the sense of targeting his underlying *either/or* conceptual orientation. It is true that soon after he began publishing his studies in the 1980s, other quantitatively-oriented researchers began challenging the *details* of his survey and statistical number-crunching, or argued that he needs different cultural dimensions (e.g., Triandis, Leung, Villareal, & Clack, 1985; Triandis, 1995; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998). Some have pointed out that cultures don't fit neatly into country categories, or argued that cultures change fundamentally over time. But most social scientists and management researchers don't question the basic idea of quantifying culture, or otherwise framing it, according to binary typologies.

However, in recent years this underlying dualism has become targeted by criticism, especially from more qualitatively-oriented researchers of culture, and often from those who are non-western or bi-cultural (Herdin, 2012). Frequently their angle of attack argues that the reification of abstractions such as I/C dualities is a distinctively

western peculiarity, rooted in Greco-Roman logic, Judaeo-Christian absolutism, a science fetish, and even phonetic alphabetics (e.g. Chia, 1995; Wang, 2009):

> The recent critique from Asian scholars is based, *inter alia*, on the discrepancies between the Aristotelian linear *either/or* thinking of the West, and the tradition in East Asia based on a cyclic process which can be described as a *both/and* framework (Chen, 2002) or a Taoist *yin*/*yang* mode of thinking (Lu and Gilmour, 2006; Wang, 2009). (Herdin, 2012, p. 607)

Certainly, Asian commentators frequently echo the belief in Asian collectivism – sometimes proudly, sometimes as a complaint. But much recent Asian scholarship, perhaps especially out of China, seeks to reject or refine this hoary antithesis between East and West. It is often observed that the "[I/C] typology cannot explain self-evaluations by the Chinese, who see themselves both as collectivists and individualists (Zhai, 1998)" (Herdin, 2012, p. 606; see also Hazen & Shi, 2012). Another common rectification of I/C emphasizes that Asian collectivism is more accurately delimited to small-group or in-group collectivism – 'relationalism' – in which one's attachment is to family, workplace, or other institutions one is personally involved with, rather than to broader society or humanity as a whole (e.g., Wang & Liu, 2010). Such arguments arguably imply a 'mirror-opposite' Western collectivism: Liberal ideals of civic responsibility or universalism, such as human rights, mark Western societies as *more* collectivist than many Asian societies, but just on broader scales.

Most of the contemporary surge in critiques of I/C dualism has reflected the global resurgence of interest in China, being written by Chinese scholars and/or about Chinese societies (Herdin, 2012). However, the differences between Asian and Western cultures are no more pronounced than the cultural differences within each region (Saint-Jacques, 2012). Therefore, consideration of Japan sheds a distinctively illustrative light on the deficiencies of an overly binary I/C framework. In this vein, it is fairly common to assert that, for better or worse, contemporary Japanese are not as collectivistic as were previous generations – or even no longer more collectivistic than westerners (e.g., Matsumoto, 2002, cited in Saint-Jacques, 2012). Some push this point further, arguing that the collectivism of Japanese society has *always* been least as much rhetoric as reality (e.g., Befu, 1980; Mouer & Sugimoto, 1986).

As well as deconstructing collectivism, some of these thinkers work to convey a distinctly Japanese individualism. Matsumoto (2002) declares that "there is no support for the claim that Japanese are less individualistic and more collectivistic than Americans" (p. 41, as cited in Saint-Jacques, 1941). He goes on to theorize contemporary Japan's "individualistic collectivism," which blends traditional group orientation with modern self-reliance. Yamazaki (1994) emphasizes "the universal principle of individuation, which transcends culture" (p. 120). He then proposes the concept of "gentle individualism," which distinguishes Japanese from more 'rugged' Western variants of his "precultural … individuation" (p. 119). Along similar lines, management scholar Aoki (1998) coined "horizontal hierarchy" to capture the paradox that conservative corporate Japan, however authoritarian in many regards, prioritizes 'consensual' individual input into decision-making.

Such writings have influenced the present author's comparative discussions of Japanese and Canadian societies in intercultural-communication university courses and in DT workshops. The pedagogical aim is to capture the involved cross-cultural complexity and conundrums, but all the while keeping content accessible to educated laypeople – college students and organizational employees. This paper's following section encapsulates some such lessons. This illustrates how DT, and intercultural education generally, can avoid oversimplifying I/C without becoming too vague or abstruse. (On the following couple pages, readers will note a rhetorical shift towards comparatively conversational prose.) Students and trainees come away from these sessions on 'Japanese individualism and Canadian collectivism' with sharpened awareness that cultures are at once distinct and alike, and that situation-specific contexts determine which element – difference or similarity – is most interactionally salient in any encounter.

IV. Japan's 'internalized' individualism

Hofstede ranks Japan as being more egalitarian and individualistic than most other Asian cultures, but more hierarchical and collectivistic than any western country. It scores a 54 in 'power distance' (authoritarianism versus egalitarianism) and 46 in 'individualism,' compared with Canada's respective 39 and 80 ("What about Japan?" n.d.; "What about Canada?" n.d.). And indeed, in some basic senses, Japanese culture is obviously more collectivist than Canadian society. However, in equally basic senses Canadians are at least as group-oriented and conformist as the Japanese. For a couple random examples, our neighbourhoods are more cookie-cutter, and our sports fans are more inclined to mob behaviour.

Less superficially speaking: in key respects, and for better or worse, North American societies operate under a more 'nanny state' mentality than Japan does. Much of this involves laws restricting individual behaviour – that is, individual liberty. Canadian bars close too early. And on the walk home, one is not going to grab a beer from the vending machine. Plus, one is definitely not going to enjoy a cigarette at that bar, not to mention at a restaurant after your meal. Another basic respect in which Japanese society is more libertarian – and therefore individualistic – involves free speech. Censorship laws between Canada and Japan vary in type as much as in degree. But in key senses or cases, Japan places less restrictions on offensive discourse and pornography.

Canada's hate speech laws would banish from the roads Japan's notorious *uyoku dantai* buses, criminalizing the xenophobic and neo-imperialist messages festooned along their sides and blaring from their loudspeakers. And it was only in June 2014 that Japan outlawed the possession of child porn – while preserving the legality of manga or anime cartooning every taboo and/or forbidden form of sexuality imaginable, expressly in the name of free speech and artistic freedom. There are many reasons for this Japanese variant of libertarianism. Japan's postwar constitution was written largely by American political idealists exercising the free hand they didn't have at home to create democracy from scratch. As well, the Japanese are self-governing enough that giving them free access to booze, horror porn, and fascist ideology does not lead to social anarchy. Arguably, it wouldn't in Canada either, but that's an argument for another paper.

This fact of Japanese self-governance or self-discipline leads to a second aspect of Japanese individualism – what the present author terms their *internalized* or *aesthetic individualism* (with a nod to Matsumoto's (2002) "individual collectivism" and Yamazaki's (1994) "gentle individualism"). It has been observed that the Japanese exaltation of emotional reserve, psychological and physical discipline (*ganbare*), and dedication to study or other duty, all demand a mastery of self that is intensely self-focused and therefore individualistic, if 'inversely' so – a matter of self-control and self-improvement rather than immediate self-gratification (Miike, 2012; Chen, 2002).

Moreover, partly in response to social pressure for outward conformity, the Japanese place much greater emphasis than North Americans do on having, as a defining component of self-identity, an artistic, aesthetic, or craft-based hobby, from flower arrangement or karate, to ham radio or jazz-record collection (Reischauer & Jansen, 1977). When it comes to such amateur expertise, broadly comparative demographic statistics between Japan and Canada aren't available. However, with an estimated one million Japanese having studied haiku under a teacher's guidance ("Haiku," 2013, para. 2), Japan boasts one of the world's largest populations of poets per capita. And of course, Japan in general is famed worldwide for its artistic sensibilities – the creation of art being typically if not intrinsically self-oriented.

This internalized or aesthetic individualism definitely differs from western individualism: Westerners are much more concerned with projecting the self outward than we are interested in perfecting it inwardly. Western individualism – which is the definition of individualism most widely disseminated – prioritizes having one's prerogatives and perspective affirmed by others (Miike, 2012). But it is clear upon reflection that neither variant of individualism – externalized or internalized – is more intensely experienced or richly meaningful than the other.

V. Paradox and pedagogy – directions and challenges for future research

Lectures and discussion, couched in plain language and grounded with reference to everyday realities, are effective in themselves at illuminating paradoxes such as 'Japanese individualism' (and Canadian collectivism). But more than conscious, explicit knowledge is involved in the *both-and* intercultural sensibility which DT needs to activate within participant subjects. The transformational aim for trainees is for them to become more naturally adept in their intercultural relations at oscillating, in tune with situational contexts, between recognizing cultural difference, common human nature, and individual personality. This sensitivity is more a habitual attitude than an explicit behavioural code to remember and adhere to. Hence:

> [D]iversity work concerned with changing behaviour cannot focus upon rational thinking alone …. Attending to the enactment of difference in everyday life … demands a more experimental ethic of cultivation than more traditional forms of diversity training might perhaps allow. (Wilson, 2013, pp. 75-76)

Imparting such tacit knowledge should combine the traditional instruction of explicit knowledge with *tacit* learning – if not through real-life interactions then through pedagogical approaches such as role-playing, story-telling, priming activities, etc. (Wilson, 2013; Miron-Spektor, Gino, & Argote, 2011). However, little research has been published on integrating such implicit-knowledge instructional tactics into DT

programs and sessions. Wilson (2013) offers a partial exception to this dearth of information, describing and discussing a few 'prejudice reduction' exercises. One of these activities is common in intercultural-communication classes and workshops, including DT sessions: A list of identity markers is called out – from more obvious distinctions such as ethnicity, gender and age, to less visible categories such as social class, sexual preference, religion, and criminal record. Attendees stand up whenever they self-identify with a listed label. Because of category overlaps, typically each participant will find themselves standing at least once with everybody else. Wilson (2013) states that this "serves to remind people that social space is constantly divided by habits of categorisation that … create 'false antimonies between groups'… at the expense of recognising other commonalities" (p. 78).

But the other DT activities Wilson (2013) describes are less broadly applicable to organizational milieus. These "prejudice reduction" exercises are designed by an international non-profit specializing in conflict-resolution for highly fraught social issues, "including 'gang violence' in Chicago, growing Islamophobia in London, anti-Semitism in Vienna and community work following … riots" (p. 73). The workshop activities often target racism at a habitual and emotional level specifically by having participants tap into and articulate feelings of *shame*. For example, ethnic-minority attendees are afforded cathartic sessions in which they 'vent' about episodes of discrimination they have suffered. In another exercise, an identity category is named repeatedly, and each time, participants say aloud the first thought that comes to mind. Typically, the ensuing list of descriptors forces the utterer to publically confront their own prejudices, which often are heretofore unacknowledged and unexamined.

Such discomfiting drills and discussions are designed to address intercultural tensions in which there is at least the threat of blatant discrimination, if not violence. Yet Wilson (2013) proffers some cautionary comments. For one thing:

> [W]hilst much work goes into ensuring that participants feel safe in being uncomfortable, the resonances … of discomforting emotions make it very difficult to predict what kind of effects the workshop might have beyond the event. … [I]t might be the case that more needs to be done to investigate the lasting benefits of such workshops, [and] perhaps more also needs to be done to understand the long-term consequences of staging such discomforting exercises. (p. 79)

She also notes that attendees always volunteer for these 'prejudice reduction' workshops; client organizations are not allowed to make employee participation mandatory. Participants therefore recognize beforehand that their biases are problematic, and they have sought out this opportunity for self-improvement. This won't be the case for all DT trainees, especially because most such programs are not voluntary. Wilson (2013) adds an intercultural concern:

> Finally, there are worries about which types of participants may feel alienated: Whilst the atmospherics and emotive nature of the workshops are clearly productive, they are arguably underwritten by a series of cultural norms. Confrontational approaches and the direct communication of negative messages – along with direct eye contact and physical touch – are essential to the workshop programme and yet can be highly offensive or disrespectful to a

> variety of cultures – a problem that is yet to find an effective solution despite being vital to such intercultural work and dialogue. (p. 80)

So, this type of 'embodied-learning' exercise, with its emphasis on intense emotion and even interpersonal contention, likely has limited transferability across various types of DT milieus. Wilson's (2013) activities might need to be modified – 'toned down,' in some manner – for usage in workplaces where intercultural communication is a challenge but not (yet) a zone of outright dysfunction.

However, there is no doubt that some form of non-traditional pedagogy is necessary to cultivate the *both-and* transcultural mindset that must be targeted by DT, whatever its organizational milieu. Indeed, recent research is indicating that attunement to ambiguity and ambivalence can boost overall brainpower – not only involving intercultural relations, but more generally. Reporting experimental results, Miron-Spektor, Gino, and Argote (2011) argue that strategic creativity, "defined as the generation of novel yet useful ideas or solutions to a problem" (p. 230), can be markedly enhanced by the adoption of "paradoxical frames": "*mental templates individuals use to embrace seemingly contradictory statements or dimensions of a task or situation*" (p. 229, italics in original). They explain the process in detail:

> Instead of eliciting 'either/or' thinking, paradoxical frames elicit the type of 'both/and' thinking that can result in the discovery of links between opposing forces and the generation of new frameworks and ideas (Lewis, 2000; Luscher & Lewis, 2008). When adopting a paradoxical frame, one acknowledges the tension between opposing task elements, yet understands that combining opposing task elements tempers the undesirable side effects of each element alone and leads to new solutions that integrate both elements. (p. 230)

The authors describe a number of priming exercises that can prompt this 'strategic-creative' mindset in workers and students. In one experiment, participants complete a Remote Association Task (RAT) (Mednick, 1962), commonly used to measure creativity through word-association tests. Subjects were 'primed' by reading product descriptions that emphasized affordability, quality, or – paradoxically – both. Those reading about the seeming contrariety of low price but high quality went on to score more highly in the RAT tests. In another experiment, some subjects were asked to write down paradoxical statements, whereas other subjects were only given instructions to write 'interesting' statements, before performing the Duncker candle problem (Duncker, 1945), followed by a brief creative-writing exercise. The paradox-primed participants performed better on both tasks. Depending on the reproducibility of such findings, it's feasible that lectures and activities built around cross-cultural paradoxes (such as 'Japanese individualism' and 'Canadian collectivism') could simultaneously improve intercultural savvy alongside other creative capacities.

More study and experimentation are needed to determine what 'tacit learning' exercises can best augment traditional teaching techniques in DT, so as to prepare trainees for the cross-cultural problematics and paradoxes that are an increasingly ubiquitous fact of life – suddenly even in Edmonton, North America's northernmost large city. But it is no stretch to presume that one's critical faculties are sharpened by whatever education and experience enhances willingness to second-guess ingrained presumptions; and to engage and embrace complexity, rather than just trying to

reduce and control it. Indeed, in this age of globalization effective intercultural education – simultaneously illuminating and softening differences in worldviews – makes not just for better thinkers, but more cosmopolitan citizens. But as presently practiced, DT's *either/or* oversimplification often exacerbates ill will between cultures, and is usually at best fruitless. Therefore, however much *both-and* thinking goes against the grain of Western cultural orientations and institutional traditions, thereby making it hard to articulate much less actuate, it is now necessary to start this paradigm shift.

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