CASES IN CRITICAL CROSS-CULTURAL MANAGEMENT

This book is a collection of 16 empirical cases in critical Cross-Cultural Management (CCM). All cases approach culture in CCM beyond national cultures, and all examine power as an integrative part of any cross-cultural situation. The cases also consider diversity in the sense of culturally or historically learned categorizations of difference (such as gender, race, ethnicity, religion and class), and acknowledge how diversity categories might differ across cultures. Furthermore, each case suggests a specific method or concept for improving upon the situation. Out of this approach, novel insights emerge: we can see how culture, power and diversity categories are inseparable, and we can understand exactly how this is the case. The uses and benefits of this book are thus both conceptual and methodological; they emerge at the intersections of Critical CCM and diversity studies. All cases also discuss implications for practitioners and are suitable for teaching.

Mainstream CCM often limits itself to comparative models or cultural dimensions. This approach is widely critiqued for its simplicity but is equally used for the exact same reason. Often, academics teach this approach whilst cautioning students against implementing it, and this might be simply due to a lack of alternatives. Through means of rich empirical cases, this book offers such an alternative.

Considering the intersections of culture, diversity and power enables students, researchers and practitioners alike to see 'more' or 'different' things in the situation, and then to come up with novel approaches and solutions that do justice to the realities of culture and diversity in today's (and the future's) management and organizations. The chapters of this book thus offer concepts and methods to approach cross-cultural situations: the conceptual gain lies in bringing together CCM and (critical) diversity studies in an easily accessible manner. As a methodological contribution, the cases in this book offer the concise tools and methods for implementing an intersectional approach to culture.

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CASES IN CRITICAL CROSS-CULTURAL MANAGEMENT

An Intersectional Approach to Culture

Edited by Jasmin Mahadevan, Henriett Primecz, and Laurence Romani

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

NEW YORK AND LONDON

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PREFACE

This book is a collection of 16 empirical cases in Critical Cross-Cultural Management (CCM). All cases approach culture in CCM beyond national cultures, and all examine power as an integrative part of any cross-cultural situation. The cases also consider diversity in the sense of culturally or historically learned categorizations of difference (such as gender, race, ethnicity, religion and class), and acknowledge how diversity categories might differ across cultures. Furthermore, each case suggests a specific method or concept for improving upon the situation. Out of this approach, novel insights emerge: we can see how culture, power and diversity categories are inseparable, and we can understand exactly how this is the case. The uses and benefits of this book are thus both conceptual and methodological; they emerge at the intersections of Critical CCM and diversity studies. All cases also discuss implications for practitioners and are suitable for teaching.

Unique Contributions of This Book: Culture in Intersection With Power

Models simplify reality, and this both facilitates and limits their applicability. The obvious CCM example for this phenomenon is 'the Hofstedian approach' to culture: widely critiqued for its simplicity, but equally used for the exact same reason. Often, academics teach 'the Hofstedian approach' whilst cautioning students against implementing it, and this might be simply due to a lack of alternatives. By means of rich empirical cases, this book offers such an alternative.

Considering the intersections of culture, diversity and power enables students, researchers and practitioners alike to see 'more' or 'different' things in

the situation and then to come up with novel approaches and solutions that do justice to the realities of culture and diversity in today's (and the future's) management and organizations. The chapters of this book thus offer concepts and methods to approach cross–cultural situations: The conceptual gain lies in bringing together CCM and (critical) diversity studies in an easily accessible manner. As a methodological contribution, the cases in this book offer concise tools and methods for implementing an intersectional approach to culture.

How This Book Came Into Being

We, the three editors of this volume, work within and across differences in academic fields and cultures, but all of us position themselves firmly within a Critical CCM. With this, we refer to the understanding that power and culture are intertwined, as are culture, identity and diversity. We have come to realize that students, researchers and practitioners wishing to actually implement Critical CCM lack the material and tools for doing so. Out of this insight originated the call for contributions to this book. It first took shape during the International Critical Management Studies Conference in Liverpool in 2017, where we convened a track on Critical CCM together. With an open call for chapters and committed authors, our idea to create a book of short, easily accessible and nonetheless 'sharp' empirical cases has materialized in this volume which can be used in undergraduate and graduate teaching and which also offers practical tools for managers in organizations.

Jasmin Mahadevan, Laurence Romani and Henriett Primecz
September 2019

INTRODUCTION

Why Study CCM in Intersection?

*Jasmin Mahadevan, Laurence Romani
and Henriett Primecz*

An African American lawyer from the United States comes to Paris for work purposes. She embraces the culture, learns French and receives positive feedback from the locals for doing so. Yet, as her language fluency improves to a near-native level, and after she has successfully immersed herself into French culture, she notices that French people treat her differently and seem to hold more negative opinions about her in their minds. She switches back to an American accent and, suddenly, things are back to normal. How could being versed in both languages and cultures lead to negative encounters? How can we understand this puzzling cross-cultural experience?

The Limitations of Mainstream CCM

Mainstream cross-cultural management (CCM), with its two main sub-fields of comparative CCM and intercultural interactions (see Mahadevan, 2017), does not provide a satisfying explanation to this case.

Comparative CCM aims to identify objective cultural differences between national and societal macro-cultures. This is done via comparing selected aspects of culture which are assumed to exist in all cultures, so-called cultural dimensions or cultural value orientation. The American lawyer has integrated into French culture—thus, she should not experience cross-cultural difficulties of such kinds.

Alternatively, there are CCM theories and models focusing on how cross-cultural differences are experienced in the micro-context of intercultural inter-actions and communication. These stress the need to change perspective, to learn from experience and to apply skills, to increase language and intercultural competencies or to develop role flexibility. The American lawyer does all of this—thus, she should experience less, not more, difficulties in intercultural interactions and communication.

Both approaches are of limited help in solving this case, because we do not find an answer as to *why* the reality (or its perception) becomes more negative as the American lawyer 'performs better' from the perspective of mainstream CCM. The first reason is that intercultural encounters involve individuals who are diverse not only in terms of culture, as considered by mainstream CCM, but also in terms of other diversity categories (such as ethnicity, gender, race, ability, class, religion/worldview and more). The second reason is that culture and diversity markers result in power effects which then influence intercultural encounters. In this case, we do not know how exactly cross-cultural differences and established notions about race, class and other diversity markers come together in the protagonist's experience. However, we must assume that all of these factors intersect: being black with an American accent seems to be perceived as 'better' than being 'French' black. We therefore need a new framework to analyse and solve this situation.

Understanding Culture

In this book, we understand culture broadly, as "that complex whole" (Tylor, 1871: 1) which involves all aspects of social life and the material world, as well as the technologies with which humans interact. We also consider culture as socialisation, namely as 'any learned and social way of how one is expected to do or perceive things' (our own words). Thus, cultural differences in the sense of this book might also arise, for instance, from interactions between professional, ethnic, religious or organizational groups, or might involve diversity categories such as gender, age, tenure or others.

The Need for an Intersectional Approach to Culture

We suggest that the study of cross-cultural differences will gain from approaching culture in intersection, namely as involving the interrelated facets of culture, power and diversity. If this is done, we can then ask where categorizations of difference come from, how they have emerged, whose interests they serve, and whether, to whom, and how exactly they might be problematic. On a methodological level, this requires a critical reflexivity regarding what constitutes culture and cultural differences, and how to study them in CCM, with ensuing implications for researchers' role and involvement.

When going back to our introductory case, we now can see that, for instance, historically learned notions of race and presently held ideas about French people of colour influence how the (white?) French majority perceives the African American lawyer. The problem is that she is perceived as a specific *type* of French person (involving negative notions of race and class) as soon as she has fully integrated in terms of language and culture, and this is why 'perfect French' is to her disadvantage. For a white person, the story

would have been otherwise, as Jane Kassis-Henderson and Linda Cohen show in Chapter 1 of this book.

Situations involving cultural differences are thus to be studied in intersection. To understand these situations, we need to approach culture as intersecting with power, crystalized into differences and hierarchies around, for example, race and social status.

What Is 'CCM in Intersection'?

CCM is not power-free, and diversity studies are not free of culture. If combined, these two premises bring about an intersectional approach to culture: the realization that power, culture and diversity categories are inseparable, and that we need to investigate whether and how exactly they intersect in universal or culture-specific ways or both.

When speaking of diversity, we refer to those categories of difference which are thought of as relevant for achieving societal or organizational inclusion. In this context, gender, race, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, ability and religion/ worldview are often mentioned, with the argument that these emerged out of struggles against unfair discrimination (Prasad et al., 2006). Yet there is no universal definition as to which diversity categories need to be considered (Klarsfeld et al., 2014). This tells us that the meaning and perceived relevance of 'diversity categories', too, are historically and socially learned, and might thus be culture-specific. For instance, race is a much more prominent diversity category in North America than in Europe, where perceived differences are often explained in terms of ethnicity or culture (Lentin, 2008). In this book, we thus do not understand diversity categories as universally applicable 'realities' but as yet another aspect shaping the power effects in cross-cultural situations.

In a nutshell, we can thus understand 'CCM in intersection' as a diversity-conscious and power-sensitive approach to 'culture' and 'difference' in the contemporary world. With power, we refer to the interrelated aspects of discourse (how people view the world and talk about it, thereby shaping material practices and structures), structure (systems of inequalities), rules of practice (how things are normally done), agency (the power to enable oneself, and to resist and change systems of inequalities) and history. We assume that all of these aspects together shape actual power effects in CCM (see Primecz et al., 2016; Mahadevan, 2017). This also means that CCM in intersection needs to move beyond a merely interpersonal or organizational approach to power, and needs to consider power on historical or geopolitical levels as well.

Diversity, Culture and Identity at the Crossroads

Intersectionality theory, as informing our approach, stems from Black Feminism (Crenshaw, 1989) and has since then influenced (critical) diversity studies. It is

rooted in the insight that there is no 'universal female life experience', as early feminism tended to assume, but that the ways in which black women experience gender differ fundamentally from the ways in which white women experience the same diversity category, as do the structural boundary conditions of those experiences.

As a term, intersectionality was coined by African American lawyer Kimberle Crenshaw (1989). She used the crossroads metaphor to explain how an intersectional approach might change our ideas of who is disadvantaged and exactly why and how. Visualizing discrimination 'at the crossroads', Crenshaw (1989: 149) writes:

> Discrimination . . . may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars traveling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of them.

An intersectional approach thus wishes to understand *how exactly* exclusion and inclusion and advantage and disadvantage are brought about at the crossroads of multiple diversity categories. Thus it is not only useful for specific diversity categories but for understanding how certain boundary conditions and processes of culture, diversity and identity come together in the contemporary managerial and societal world *in general*, and for shedding light onto the ideas, structures and practices underpinning these interrelations. This potential, as exemplified by the cases in this book, has not yet been fully considered by CCM.

For instance, Simon Cedrick Nunka Dikuba and Jasmin Mahadevan (Chapter 2) narrate the cross-cultural life experiences of a German student of Cameroonian descent who identifies as black African. She has experienced race in three national contexts—Germany, Cameroon and Romania—and across all these contexts, race matters, but it matters differently. We can also see how she can influence perceptions of race by cultural versatility and via pursuing a high-status education and occupation; out of this, we can understand how different aspects of power come together (e.g., individual agency, and historically learned hierarchies and ideas about the world), and how diversity categories such as 'race' play out differently in different cultural contexts.

The contribution of this book lies in applying intersectionality theory as a lens to CCM, thereby not only making intersectionality accessible to CCM scholars, students and practitioners, but also extending the CCM body of knowledge. For instance, Momin Rahman and Sébastien Chehaitly (Chapter 3) ask what CCM might learn from the lived realities of LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) Muslim minority individuals in Canada. Through their intersectional approach, the authors show that it is a combination of homophobia, racism and Islamophobia that creates inequalities for LGBT Muslims. Providing alternative angles, the authors also highlight how Islam has a stronger tradition of embracing homosexuality than the West. Furthermore, this case suggests that LGBT Muslim minority individuals employ successful 'bridging' and 'boundary-spanning' strategies, these being key elements of a successful

management across cultures. Thus, this case also highlights the need to consider previously 'invisible' groups for the creation of CCM knowledge.

Challenging What Seems 'Normal' and Acknowledging Multiple Standpoints

Intersectionality theory also points to the perspectivity of our lived realities, meaning that our lived realities are bound to the 'standpoints' from which we experience them, and that those not sharing these experiences (because their standpoints differ) might not necessarily be able to comprehend them (Collins, 2000). Out of this follows the need to reflect upon taken-for-granted CCM perspectives, concepts and practices, and to suggest alternative angles from which to reconsider them.

For example, religion has emerged as a prominent theme in CCM and international business (Peltonen, forthcoming). However, it is often the religious practices and beliefs of 'non-Western' others, such as Muslim minorities in the West, which are examined,. Shedding light onto this implicit perspectivity of CCM, Anna Laura Hidegh and Henriett Primecz (Chapter 4) investigate the 'seemingly normal' annual corporate Christmas party of a Western multinational in Hungary. They raise the question *why* corporate Christmas is not challenged as a religious and potentially exclusive event in an allegedly secular corporate life. The authors argue that this cultural blindness toward Christmas is a symptom of the power asymmetry inherent in the concept of the secular workplace, which favours atheism and Christianity over alternative beliefs. They also suggest that those practicing alternative beliefs face cultural disadvantages at work.

Sa'ad Ali and David Weir (Chapter 5) examine the concept of *wasta* in Jordanian banking from an inside (emic) perspective: how the concept is perceived by those practicing it. *Wasta* involves ideas of networking and reciprocity and rests upon powerful intermediaries who can provide access to certain networks. In outside (etic) terms, it often is reported negatively, as nepotism. Conversely, this case sheds light on the positive and negative effects of *wasta* solely in emic terms, without putting an external scale of judgement first. Out of this examination emerge, for instance, unexpected connections between concepts from different cultural regions, such as *guanxi* in Greater China and *wasta*, and we can better understand the emic meaning as well as the negative emic consequences of the practice and idea of *wasta*.

Considering Power on Multiple Levels

Personal Interests and Agendas

In CCM situations, the interests and agendas which individuals might pursue often remain hidden. Yet, as a closer examination of individual power positions

and motifs suggests, these interests and agendas are always there. For instance, François Goxe (Chapter 6) highlights how a French consultant 'preparing' a French delegation for doing business in China pursues his own interests when doing so. The author also shows how the picture which the consultant paints of China does not correspond to the experiences of the French delegation while it is there. Out of this case emerge questions of ethics and the need for a more power-sensitive approach to culture in CCM that considers the strategic interests and standpoints of those involved, one that investigates how these individual agendas underpin organizational structures and practices.

Historical and Geopolitical Power Effects

History is intertwined with power because, often, contemporary power relations are rooted in actual historical developments. Furthermore, history has created economic and political disparities between countries which are intertwined with how these historical developments are interpreted—another geopolitical implication of power. For example, Qahraman Kakar and Jasmin Mahadevan (Chapter 7) investigate the operations of a Chinese mining consortium in Pakistan. They show how this cooperation also exemplifies the effects of 19th century European colonialism and imperialism, and U.S. hegemony after World War II. Out of these actual historical developments, the Anglo-American world became the historically learned centre of world business, with English, and not, for example, Mandarin Chinese the lingua franca of the business world. This suggests that some (neo-) colonial relations (e.g., Anglo-American multinational corporations investing in other parts of the world) have become more 'normalized' than others; they are now 'taken for granted' by most and are rarely perceived as problematic. In the given case, the Chinese, not being the 'old' and 'normalized' rulers, are less accepted in their claims to power for simply being 'Chinese', and they themselves also perceive the Pakistani as being 'too influenced' by their former colonizers. As a result, experiences of difference are culturalized—that is, explained and rationalized in terms of national culture—by those involved. Yet the conflict is actually rooted in the historically learned hierarchies of world business. In such a way, an intersectional approach to culture enables us to see how power is part of today's world order and how organizational and individual perspectives on difference often reflect such hierarchies, without those involved being aware of perpetuating these hierarchies.

Events such as colonialism or imperialism help us understand present ideas about 'high-status' and 'low-status' countries of origin, and how these views have an impact on the appreciation of people's work. For instance, history has resulted in certain learned categorizations of the world, such as (modern, developed) 'West' and (traditional, underdeveloped) 'non-West'. Helena Fornstedt (Chapter 8) investigates how Swedish consultants talk about the Indian

offshore site with which they collaborate. Again, this case shows that certain cultural images are attached to certain locations, and that these images reflect historically learned ideas of who is part of the 'developed West' and who is not, and also which culture is 'more developed' or 'modern'. This way, we can see how macrostructural boundary conditions, meso-organizational structures and practices, and micro-individual sensemaking come together in portraying Indian IT consultants as less capable and 'modern' than their Swedish counterparts.

Ethnicity and Culture as Interconnected CCM Phenomena

Power positions in cross-cultural interactions touch upon how difference is constructed and when CCM talks about culture, ethnicity is clearly and strongly interconnected. For instance, as Eriksen (2010 [1993]) suggests, the dominant ethnic group or groups in any given society are not assigned an 'ethnicity'—this is reserved only for those who are thought of as marginal or a minority. Likewise, even in multiethnic countries, there are dominant ideas of national belonging, in the sense of an 'imagined nationality' which is always more simplified than the variety of actual 'lived (ethnic) identities' in any given country (Hall, 1990). In other words, CCM literature on national management practices or value orientations is likely to have considered only the ethnic majority or the 'imagined national identity' of a given country, and to have neglected the perspective of ethnic minorities or marginal national identities. This means that what CCM thinks of as 'national' management practices or value orientations are not representative of the whole range of national cultural possibilities. Moreover, what is seen as 'cultural' is actually rooted in ethnicity, or at least in dominant ideas about ethnicity.

Furthermore, as Barth (1969) states, ethnicity is mainly a boundary mechanism: from this perspective, there is no factual or homogeneous content to any ethnicity because as soon as groups of people migrate or come in contact with each other, the content of their 'ethnicity' or 'culture' will change. Thus it is relevant to CCM to study these processes of transference and integration in order to grasp national culture. The question that needs to be asked is *why* second- or third-generation migrants living in a certain country are still perceived as 'ethnically' or 'culturally' different or construct themselves as such, despite having grown up and being socialized in the same society as those perceived as the 'majority' or as fitting the 'national image'?

To this end, Jasmin Mahadevan, Esra Cetinkaya and Dilara Özer narrate the life stories of two 'Turkish' women who migrated to Germany as young adults (Chapter 9). The authors show how the subjects' lived ethnicities differ from each other and from the dominant ethnic image attached to them.

Moving the analysis to the organizational level, Heidrun Knorr (Chapter 10) sheds light onto how ethnic 'Turkish' employees are perceived in a Danish

company. She shows how the majority ('the Danes') take their ethnicity for granted and as the implicit norm of how employees should act and 'be'. This way, they construct employees of Turkish descent as negatively different and simplify what 'Turkish ethnicity' involves.

Chidozie Umeh (Chapter 11) investigates ethnicity in the multiethnic national context of Nigeria. He shows that Nigerian bankers *use* ethnicity—both at the level of ethnic image and lived ethnicity—to position themselves in relation to others, to strengthen loyalties and to achieve certain goals. Out of this follows that no individual is clearly 'ethnic' in certain ways: rather, we tend to have options of how we wish to position ourselves and of how we want to be seen; this varies from context to context and depends on the goals and interests of those involved.

These cases thus highlight how ethnicity is not a factual reality but constructed in certain ways: first, there is the ethnic image that overshadows the multiple realities of lived ethnicity. Second, ethnicity emerges as something malleable, something to be used and played with to serve different purposes and interests. Out of this, we can see that ethnicity, just like (national) culture, is constructed and that this phenomenon is not power-free, because the construction of 'the other' is (always) to the advantage of the one doing the construction.

Intersecting Implications

Ethnicity, like culture, is intertwined with multiple diversity categories. For instance, Elin Hunger, Miguel Morillas, Laurence Romani and Mohammed Mohsen (Chapter 12) examine the labour market integration of high-skilled migrants in Sweden. They show how the idea of how to 'see' and 'prove' integration is underpinned by ideas of 'Swedishness' which are specific to a certain class and ethnic image. This way, a certain class and ethnic group is advantaged over the equally skilled migrants who do not fit this picture.

Intersecting disadvantages not only harm the individuals concerned but also create organizational blind spots. Mounia Utzeri, Béata Nagy and Iuliana Ancuţa Ilie (Chapter 13) highlight this for two automotive companies in Germany and France. Both companies have gender-diversity policies in place; however, via these policies, the companies actually promote one diversity category (gender) over others, such as country of origin. As a result, the companies fail to see, for instance, the alternative strategies by which women managers from other countries of origin (besides France and Germany) resist and navigate a double 'minority image' (gender and nationality). Seeing and considering these strategies would enrich organizational policies and practices aiming at higher acceptance and at the promotion of minority individuals. Thus, this case also shows that it might not be enough to 'study minorities' just to point out how they are disadvantaged, but that we also need to highlight the ways in which minority individuals' knowledge and experiences can be an asset to and a resource for CCM.

Reflexivity in CCM Knowledge Production

This brings about critical questions as to how CCM knowledge is produced in theory and practice. An intersectional approach to culture thus also asks what can be learned beyond what is presently 'known' or considered relevant by the majority or those in power. It is underpinned by the idea that a plurality of perspectives and standpoints is helpful for getting 'the full picture' of any CCM context or situation.

To reach this goal, an intersectional approach to culture invites us to be reflexive regarding how CCM knowledge is produced. For instance, most CCM theories and methods originate from 'the West' or from the countries of the 'Global North' (developed countries, mainly on the Northern hemisphere), with the implicit idea that this knowledge is more relevant than knowledge from the 'non-West' or the 'Global South' (developing countries, mainly on the Southern hemisphere). As Hamid Foroughi (Chapter 14) shows, for a research consortium in the international development sector, these underlying hierarchies even underpin the knowledge that is produced in order to overcome them, in this case: research on how the development of the Global South should be achieved. This happens *despite* individuals and organizations in international development working toward the opposite goal.

Thus, we must assume that the same mechanisms limit the knowledge that is produced in CCM (even if we intend otherwise). To solve this dilemma, Emanuela Girei and Loice Natukunda (Chapter 15) reflect upon the limitations and possibilities of insider–outsider ethnographic research in sub-Saharan Africa. They suggest that we need an intersectional approach to 'who we are' (as researchers or practitioners) in relation to any given CCM field.

This then suggests that researchers and practitioners alike need to pay attention to the processes by which they navigate CCM situations. To this end, Anders Klitmøller (Chapter 16) reflects upon how he, as an academic consultant, contributed to reproducing and legitimizing certain hierarchies which underpinned corporate language policy strategies. Out of this follows the need for a reflexive CCM practice and the requirement to examine our own standpoints-in-action, in order to understand and manage the power effects of how we, too, influence the situation and are influenced by it.

Methodological Contributions: Puzzling With Culture in Context

The starting point of 'doing' an intersectional approach to culture is the insight that CCM requires us to 'puzzle with culture in context'. This means that we should not depart from established notions of 'culture' or 'difference' but should investigate why, how, under which boundary conditions, in whose interests and to what ends they emerge in context. To do so, we need to act as a 'cultural detective' who engages in the process of shuffling the pieces of

the cultural puzzle (Mahadevan, 2017). Some of these pieces might be objective cross-cultural differences (as comparative CCM proposes), some might be rooted in multiple perceptions of cross-cultural differences (as the intercultural interactions perspective proposes), some are historically learned and some are linked to power and diversity.

Studying CCM in intersection thus unravels the meanings and realities of 'culture' and 'difference' from the context itself. When employing this approach, it does not matter whether difference is real or perceived: as social constructivism and sense-making informs us, the consequences of how individuals perceive the social world are *real* in any case. For instance, the ethnic image of the subordinated Turkish women wearing a headscarf, which is projected upon a high-skilled Turkish-German woman seeking employment in Germany, has real implications on the subject's ability to work as a dental assistant (Chapter 9). In this way, an intersectional approach to culture integrates objectivist and interpretive perspectives of mainstream CCM and adds power, diversity and reflexivity as complementary angles from which to approach—and potentially change—the situation.

An intersectional approach to culture also requires us to acknowledge culture as more than selected and immaterial aspects of culture such as values (comparative CCM) or communication (intercultural interactions); namely, as 'that complex whole' (Tylor, 1871: 1). This involves, for instance, phenomenology (how we experience the world via our senses), as episodes in several cases (Chapters 4, 7, 8, 10 and 14) show. Embodiment (how we inhabit our body and how it is perceived) is also an aspect to be considered, as Chapters 1 and 2 suggest, narrating the experiences of two black women experiencing racialization differently across cultures. Furthermore, embodied capitals and habitus (fine social distinctions, such as regarding social class) deserve attention in how we construct differences, as they play a role in how non-Swedish migrants are perceived as suitable or not suitable employees (Chapter 12). Finally, material culture (how humans interact with and perceive objects and technology), and the materiality of places and their heritage, must be part of our investigations—as we can see from the reactions triggered by an international project meeting taking place in a former colonial venue (see Chapter 14). Acknowledging this, the cases in this book thus also root problematic cross-cultural differences in phenomena which are not normally considered by mainstream CCM.

Conclusion: Critical CCM in Practice

Teaching and practicing an intersectional approach to culture requires 'the full picture'; therefore, it must move beyond simplified models or a merely conceptual critique. At the same time, the analysis cannot be overly complicated to be useful in teaching and practice. The chapters in this book combine these requirements: each case not only refines the analysis, but also introduces

potential tools for navigating it. Each case also rests on the insight that CCM is more about a power-sensitive, diversity-conscious, historically aware and reflexive 'puzzling' with culture in context than about having ready-made answers and solutions (as suggested by Mahadevan, 2017). To that extent, the chapters in this volume bring the emerging and increasingly relevant field of Critical CCM (Mahadevan, 2017; Romani et al., 2018; Romani et al., forthcoming) to the next level.

References

1. While LGBT is the common public term for sexual minorities, this is a simplification that ignores some contemporary identities, such as pansexual (people who are erotically attracted to all gender identities and expressions). It also simplifies transgender, which can include a huge variety from people who want to or have physically changed their gender anatomy to those who identify as another gender or as nongendered (non-binary) and adopt a range of clothing, names and pronouns to signal their gender expression and identity.
1. This is a true story, but all names (individuals and cities) have been changed to ensure anonymity.
2. Although the idea of a city being a unit consisting of several towns may not be common in France, it is the norm in China.
1. The mainly male Turkish guest workers (*Gastarbeiter*) were recruited to work in Germany between 1961 and 1973, due to a shortage in low-skilled production workers. It was assumed that they would leave again, but in reality, family often followed, and their descendants remained in Germany.
2. Remark: the standard German language courses do not consider the participants' prior level of education, e.g., whether they have studied any other foreign language previously, or their literacy.
1. The authors of this chapter have received financial support from the Ragnar Söderberg foundation and Jan Wallanders and Tom Hedelius foundation, as well as Tore Browaldhs foundation (Sweden).
1. Alphabetical order; both authors contributed equally to the chapter.
1. Although the manager labelled the initiative a "strategy" (e-mail quote), I use the term "corporate language policy" when describing the making and shaping of the initiative. This is because I view the initiative as an aid for the corporate strategy, rather than the strategy itself.
2. In this case, the category "salaried employee" includes the groupings "white-collar employee" and "colleagues". The category "employee" is more ambiguous. In some instances, it refers to "salaried employees" and in others to all persons employed by DanXY.
3. By using the category: "developing countries", I take the common denominator between "emergent economies", "emerging countries", "new growth markets", "stake countries", "BRIC countries" and "growth regions" to be different from that of developed countries. Therefore, developing and developed countries are an ideal type and nonexplicated categorical division that I use to present the case.
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