Becoming Intercultural
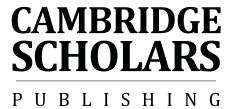
Becoming Intercultural:
Inside and Outside the Classroom

Edited by

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**CAMBRIDGE
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Part III: Becoming Intercultural through Education

FOREWORD

KAREN RISAGER

This book presents a wealth of insights into processes of experiencing interculturality – *becoming intercultural* – mostly, but not only, among international students in higher education, who are learning and using a language that is not their first language, for example during studies abroad. The focus is both on students' language and intercultural learning in the institutional setting at the university, and on students' everyday life with the foreign language and the foreign cultural contexts outside the classroom.

One of the strengths of the book is its occupation with the intricacies of the concept of *interculturality*, as can be seen in the whole of Part I. The abstract concept of interculturality is used here as an umbrella term for a range of theoretical perspectives and traditions covering also terms such as intercultural education, intercultural communication, and intercultural competence. The first chapter traces the relationship between the two first-mentioned traditions, showing their different origins and traditional applications to two quite different fields of practice: the concept of intercultural education tending to relate to general and academic education, mainly addressed at children, young people, and university students, and the concept of intercultural communication tending to relate to training and preparation for professional work abroad, mainly addressed at adults already having a job. The second chapter focuses on the complexities of the concept of intercultural competence, and the third takes a closer look at the general term interculturality, emphasizing that interculturality should be seen as a discursive construction. The authors show how interculturality is constructed and deconstructed in the course of a research project on secondary school teachers, and their chapter adds to the many voices today that advocate for a view of culture (and perhaps indirectly interculturality) that abandons reifications and essentialisations and stress the work of discourse in our categorisations and understandings of the infinite complexity of world life. The fourth chapter addresses the issue of interculturality in national education policies in a range of different countries all around the world. Thus the whole of Part I may be said to

build bridges between sometimes very different paradigms of theoretical and practical thinking in the field of interculturality – an example of interparadigmatic dialogue.

Cultural complexity is almost everywhere, even in villages far away from urban centres. People, food, textiles, mobile phones and radios, commercials, ideas and discourses may have originated in distant places, and together they form local cultural complexity. If interculturality is a way of talking about and relating to cultural complexity, it is ultimately relevant for everybody. Whether you are a psychiatrist or a soldier, whether you are from a majority or a minority, whether you are black or white, whether you are old or young, whether you are rich or poor, whether you are left wing or right wing, whether you live in a centre or a periphery, you are living in a culturally complex world that implicitly or explicitly demands of you that you are, or become, *intercultural*. And the way you become intercultural, may be related to your position in the power structure of society and of the world.

This book makes a choice among all these possibilities: it focuses on (mostly higher education) students in the process of learning and using a foreign language for their further studies. It thus takes its point of departure in a category of young people who tend to be quite mobile, relatively well-educated, and probably coming from families that are comparatively well-off. The students want to get an academic degree, and they are willing to learn a foreign language if this is needed, and to go abroad if this is needed. The book can show how learning to be intercultural may proceed among people who are internationally oriented and motivated, and who will probably be members of the future elite. This is a relevant and interesting point of departure for a field of study that is potentially very much larger and encompasses all social groups and all kinds of institutions and organisations. The book illustrates that even with the group of international students, the development of interculturality is neither automatic nor easy.

In many cases, learning to be intercultural may not involve other languages than your first language. If you are (ethnically) English, you can learn through contact with people from various parts of the world, using only English. But this book emphasizes the importance of languages for the understanding of the world and for offering opportunities of taking new perspectives. The world is multilingual, and student populations at international universities are multilingual. Life at universities can potentially

further students' interculturality – depending on how the university organises cultural and linguistic diversity.

Part II focuses on the question of becoming intercultural outside the classroom. It explores how people do, or do not, become intercultural in a natural untutored way in everyday situations. Chapter 5 considers the possible effects of intercultural learning upon interculturality and second/foreign language acquisition when studying abroad, and chapter 6 discusses the intercultural experience as expressed through metaphor in international students studying abroad to highlight the psychological tension that can characterise intercultural competence. While it may often be assumed that the development of foreign language competence automatically results in the development of intercultural competence, chapter 7 presents an empirical study that shows that this is not always the case. The need for systematic approaches towards intercultural learning will thus become apparent in this part of the book.

Part III deals with how people become intercultural as a consequence of being the language learner under the direction of a teacher. Chapter 8 focuses on the concept of criticality as an element of intercultural competence, and chapter 9 explores self-reflection in response to intercultural experience that may involve (re)construction and (re)negotiation of identity. Chapter 10 shows how learners can learn to take control of their own self-development through intercultural language education. Thus three examples of classroom research will be presented in Part III of the book that illustrate different ways in which intercultural learning may take place in a foreign or second language learning classroom.

A concluding point in the book is that we should try to conceptualise a new component of intercultural competence: knowing how to become. Chapter 10 refers to Michael Byram's model of intercultural communicative competence (1997) that encompasses five components (or, in French, *savoirs*): knowledge (*savoirs*), skills of interpreting and relating (*savoir comprendre*), skills of discovery and interaction (*savoir apprendre/faire*), attitudes (*savoir être*), and critical cultural awareness/political education (*savoir s'engager*). Beside these components, chapter 10 suggests the introduction of a sixth one: knowing how to become (*savoir se transformer*). This component could be about the ability to make conscious decisions concerning value change within your own self. And value change is in this chapter exemplified by a change in the direction of a greater concern for human rights and democracy.

The book throws a bridge from Europe to East Asia. It is a result of research conducted in the international network CULTNET, which originated in Britain and now has members from almost all of Europe and from a number of countries elsewhere, not least in East Asia. The book unites scholars from multilingual and multicultural Europe with scholars from multilingual and multicultural East Asia and neighbouring countries such as New Zealand. At the same time the book unites a vision of interculturality in global society with a practice of interculturality in research. It will be a valuable inspiration for people who are in search of ways of studying cultural complexity and its significance for people's lives.

PREFACE

As people around the world move into the new era of the twenty-first century, they will have increasing opportunities to communicate and interact with others using foreign languages. Whilst this will naturally generate wide-ranging intercultural experience, people may not be alert to it in everyday life and teachers may not know how to address the issues that arise. Thus, the main purpose of this book is to introduce the concept of interculturality, to examine how it can emerge in an unplanned way and to consider ways in which it can be more systematically addressed particularly through immersion in the target culture or through foreign language education.

Most of the contributors to this book are members of CULTNET, an international network of researchers interested in combining and researching foreign language education and intercultural communication in different ways. The CULTNET group, initially set up by Emeritus Professor Michael Byram, has met annually in England in recent years for the purposes of research development. To accommodate members who had relocated to Asia and who wanted to maintain professional and personal links with other members, the first ASIAN CULNET seminar was held at Daito Bunka University in Tokyo, Japan in 2008, which is where the ideas for this book were first conceived.

We warmly acknowledge the contributions of researchers to this book who include Mari Ayano (Seijoh University, Japan), Michael Byram (Durham University, England), Josep Cots (University of Lleida, Catalonia, Spain), Yumiko Furumura (Kyushu University, Japan), Manuela Guilherme (Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal), Yannan Guo (University of Nottingham, England), Prue Holmes (Durham University, England), Stephanie Houghton (University of Kitakyushu, Japan), Enric Llurda (University of Lleida, Catalonia, Spain), Gillian O'Neill (University of Waikato, New Zealand), Lynne Parmenter (Waseda University, Japan), Yau Tsai (Fooyin University, Taiwan) and Etsuko Yamada (Kanda Gaigo University, Japan). The development of this book reflects the shared interest and vision of contributors of what it means to become intercultural, and the role that education and intercultural experience can play in

enhancing the process in systematic ways. It is hoped that this book will help readers understand interculturality and its development, as well as the related effects of intercultural experience.

We would like to express our deepest gratitude to our mentor, Emeritus Professor Michael Byram, not only for setting up CULTNET but also for guiding us both through our doctoral studies with calm clarity of vision, and for connecting us to other researchers in ways that have enriched us personally and professionally. We also want to thank the editorial staff at Cambridge Scholars Publishing for their professionalism and support.

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—Yau Tsai and Stephanie Houghton
31 May 2010

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PART I:

THE DEFINITION OF BEING INTERCULTURAL

CHAPTER ONE

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION
AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION:
TRACING THE RELATIONSHIP

MICHAEL BYRAM AND MANUELA GUILHERME

Concepts and Dichotomies

There are a number of tensions and dichotomies in research and teaching/training in our field of study, not least in the question of what label we give to the field. Phrases include *intercultural communication studies, cross-cultural communication, intercultural language education, cross-cultural business communication* and so on. This is not the place to suggest the definitive label since the field is continually developing as contextual factors change. What we propose here is to focus on historical and contemporary events in the evolution of the field, and in passing, perhaps throw a little more light on labels, origins and relationships among different components of it. For it is the purpose of the present volume to take an eclectic view and explore *intercultural learning*, wherever it takes place.

The dichotomies in the field which are most interesting, and most difficult to overcome, include that between the academy and the workplace. This is at two levels. First there is the dichotomy of *theory* and *practice* which haunts any field of applied studies, be it science and technology or the study of education on the one hand or, on the other, the practice of teaching or managing schools and universities and their curricula. It is interesting to note how the tension between linguistics and its applications has been resolved by the appearance of applied linguistics as a discipline in its own right. Whether this could happen in our field remains to be seen, but in the meantime there are those who research and teach cultures, and others who teach and train people to engage with and live in other cultures. The ensuing tension is evident both among those

who work in education systems and those who are engaged in workplace training. In the former case, the tension might be between the *study of* other cultures and the development of intercultural competence through teaching and learning in the foreign language classroom. In the second case, it might be between academic study of psychology in different cultures, and the use of knowledge about psychological characteristics of people from other countries in business negotiation training.

The contrast between the academy and the workplace can take a second form. Teachers in education systems, whether at school level or later, have difficulty in understanding trainers in business and industry, and vice versa. There are a number of reasons. They include the different conditions of teaching and training – longer and shorter period of time, contractual conditions, age groups of learners – but also characteristically different views on the place of language learning. This is partly a matter of disciplinary origins: in education systems, the teachers in question are usually linguists with high competence in one or more foreign languages, whereas workplace trainers seem to be more often psychologists or anthropologists. It is also a question of theoretical perspective and practical application. Many linguists will argue that language and culture are inseparable, but psychologists will not. Language teachers work in education systems where learners have and need much time, over several years, for language learning, whereas trainers have seldom more than a few days or weeks to complete their task.

More recently, research on language education and linguistics has progressively focused on intercultural communication and some of these scholars have found the purpose and context of their teaching and research in the workplace. They have also gradually introduced a critical perspective into meaning and power negotiation as well as becoming more concerned about social responsibility matters as related to linguistic and discursive aspects of intercultural communication. Furthermore, a few communication studies departments worldwide, mainly in America and northern Europe, have also focused some of their research on intercultural communication topics and their researchers have been collaborating with private companies, governmental and non-governmental entities and carrying out professional development workshops for them. Amongst the first communication experts to focus their research on Intercultural Communication in the United States was Gudykunst who devoted his life to research on interpersonal communication, namely on anxiety/uncertainty issues (culminating in posthumous Gudykunst 2005), together with

Wiseman who wrote on intercultural communication competence and theory (1995), followed by Ting-Toomey who developed a theory of face-negotiation, with Kurogi (1998), on mindful communication (1999) and on conflict negotiation, with Oetzel (2001; 2006), all of them originally based at California State University, Fullerton, at the Department of Human Communication Studies. Also noteworthy is Kim, an author who, again in the field of communication studies, has given a strong contribution with her theories on interethnic communication (1986) and cross-cultural adaptation (2001). The above mentioned studies brought new energy to the field since, starting from Hofstede's national and regional taxonomy that provided a rather static and stereotyping but widely accepted vision of intercultural communication, they adopted and developed various perspectives from different angles on any communication that is intercultural. More recently, some international and intercultural programmes and departments have also appeared in Europe, notably German and Scandinavian universities (Soederberg and Vara 2003), although most of these are mainly connected to Management, Political Science and Cultural Studies.

There has also been a very evident movement in research in the field, evolving from the concept of being international to the one of being intercultural and thence concentrating more closely on interethnic communication, between different intra-national communities and between individuals in groups, viewed mostly from within a process of globalisation. Institutes, Centres and doctoral programmes on Intercultural Communication, using this terminology, are proliferating all over the world in Departments of Communication, and very recently within Faculties of Humanities and Social Sciences, as well as Departments of International Relations, Schools of Modern Languages and occasionally in Schools of Education. However, Departments of Intercultural Communication, with this name or combining communication and cultural studies, are almost inexistent in higher education institutions, except for the Department of Intercultural Communication and Management and the Department of International Communication and Cultural Studies (with the recently created CBS Center for Negotiation), emerging from the former Faculty of Languages, Culture and Communication at the Copenhagen Business School, as well as the College of Intercultural Communication, at undergraduate level, at Rikkyo University, Tokyo.

These organisational and research developments have occurred in parallel with discussion about the definition(s) of intercultural

competence(es). This term, originally called communication or communicative competence, depending on its origins in communication or linguistics theory, has been grounded on both of these concepts and benefited from the discussion of the controversial notion of *competence*. Coined relatively recently, *intercultural competence* has been the object of various attempts at theorisation, from different disciplines or research fields, from different regions of the world and nations, from different professional or organizational contexts. The expression *intercultural competence* seems to entail quite paradoxical meanings within it. The concept of competence is often used to seize the dynamics of something fluid and unpredictable implied by an intercultural *relation* and *communication* with notions of skills, abilities and capacities, and then to describe and evaluate them. On the other hand, the word *intercultural* expresses the impact of the unexpected, the surprising, the potential rather than the pre-structured, the foreseen or the expectable. The paradoxical composition of this expression has motivated various approaches emphasising the one or the other, depending on situation and circumstances or, more recently, its focus has been widened with attempts to combine its functional, technical, cognitive, critical, civic and ethical dimensions. It has thus become increasingly ambitious and challenging.

The term *competence* was brought into education through vocational education, where the emphasis on skills and behaviours, rather than content knowledge, was prioritised. However, it has acquired a broader scope, in particular in international guidelines for school and professional education, coming to include "a combination of knowledge, skills, attitudes, values and behaviours" (Council of Europe 2005). This has followed the trend set by other projects, for example the PISA – Programme for International Student Assessment (OECD) and the DeSeCo Project – Definition and Selection of Key Competences (OECD), which singles out the "ability to interact in heterogeneous groups" as one of its three key competences. The DeSeCo Project aimed mainly to define and select "individually based key competences in a lifelong learning perspective" (Rychen and Salganik 2003, 2). While identifying such "key competences", this project also included a "criticism of an overemphasis on knowledge in general education and specialization in vocational education" (Salganik and Stephens 2003, 19). Furthermore, it underlines the need to respect and appreciate the "values, beliefs, cultures, and histories of others", within a sub-category it identifies as "the ability to relate well to others", which focuses on personal relationships, and reports that the need to acknowledge and value diversity had also been mentioned

in the project's country reports (Rychen 2003, 87). In sum, the idea of competence has become ever broader, expanding into the understanding that "the evolution of competence frameworks has the potential to pose questions about the purpose of knowledge and how it contributes to the good of society and the individual" (Fleming 2007, 54).

Similarly, the idea of intercultural competence continues to develop in different directions, either in more abstract or in more specific terms and, if in the latter, attempts to respond to different needs in different contexts and at different stages. On the one hand, some general but brief definitions of intercultural competence, such as "the ability to interact effectively with people from cultures that we recognise as being different from our own" (Guilherme 2000, 297) and "the appropriate and effective management of interaction between people who, to some degree or another, represent different or divergent affective, cognitive, and behavioural orientations to the world" (Spitzberg and Changnon 2009, 7) tend to bring some broader consensus to the field. Spitzberg and Changnon proceed with the descriptions of various contemporary models which they aggregate in a taxonomy of "compositional", "co-orientational", "developmental", "adaptational" and "causal path" models. On the other hand, other descriptions tend to focus on specific context demands or to build some competence lists "that are just that, a lengthy listing of the many competences that are part of intercultural effectiveness" (Pusch 2009, 67). Nevertheless, some would argue, such lists may "provide an excellent starting point for assessing the appropriate characteristics for the specific situation, even though, of course, "no list fits all cultures, all contexts, all conditions" (Bennett 2009, 122). Furthermore, more recently, there are some voices supporting different world-visions that generate other views of intercultural communication. These may be based, for example, on "different dimensions of self" that make it "quite legitimate and "real" in many Asian societies to interact at the level of role and face" (Parmenter2003, 128ff). Another claim made by authors that "have looked to the communitarian theories and practices of indigenous social movements in Latin America" is that "to be truly effective, intercultural communication should move beyond the limits of individualistic and interpersonal concerns" (Portillo and Sinnigen 2009: 260).

Attempts to overcome dichotomies and tensions take place from time to time, through combined conferences or publications (e.g. Feng, Byram and Fleming 2009). Another approach is to attempt to understand different

standpoints according to their historical origins, but hitherto there has been a separation of methods here too.

Approaches to History

Since the field of study is still relatively young, it is not surprising that historical accounts are few. With respect to education systems (let us call this *intercultural education*), the situation has improved tremendously with the publication of two authoritative volumes by Risager (2006 and 2007), based on a single volume Danish original (2003). The situation in workplace-based research and training (let us call this *intercultural communication*) is less developed and limited to a number of articles, usually associated with SIETAR and its publications[1.]

It is interesting to compare one of these, by Hart (1996), with Risager (2007). Hart traces the beginnings of intercultural communication to the 1950s and the work of Edward Hall and others at the American Foreign Service Institute. Risager places the beginnings of intercultural education or "culture pedagogy" in her phrase, in the 1880s, when foreign language teaching began to take its place in schools and universities alongside classical languages. Hart's historiographic method is to draw on Kuhn's notion of paradigm change in scientific disciplines. Risager refers to the discourse analytical approach, tracing changes in scientific discourse over time, and the use of periodisation by decades, although she says the latter is a matter of convenience and does not imply that each decade is a "turning point". To some extent, Hart too uses the decade as a tool for organising an overview, although without consciously referring to this. Perhaps, ultimately, the analysis by discourse and the analysis by paradigm shift are complementary but the work to bring them together in both intercultural education and intercultural communication remains to be done. What we can attempt here is only to look at some examples, and compare and contrast where possible.

In 1918, in Britain, a now forgotten report commissioned during the First World War was published with the title "Modern Studies". This was known as the Leathes Report after the chairman of the Committee on the Position of Modern Languages in the Educational System of Great Britain. The suggestion that "modern languages" should become modern studies, and change from the focus on literature and philology to include study of

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[1] A different perspective is offered by anthropologist Dahlén (1997).

the economic, political and social systems of countries was motivated by the conclusion that language studies had not been helpful in either peace or war:

> The war has made this people conscious of its ignorance of foreign countries and their peoples (...) The masses and the classes alike were ignorant to the point of public danger. Ignorance of the mental attitude and aspirations of the German people may not have been the cause of the war; it certainly prevented due preparation and hampered our efforts after the war had begun; it still darkens our counsels. Similar ignorance of France, greater ignorance of Italy, abysmal ignorance of Russia, have impeded the effective prosecution of the war, and will impede friendly and co-operative action after the war is over. (...) In this field Modern Studies are not a mere source of profit, not only a means of obtaining knowledge, nor an instrument of culture; they are a national necessity (Leathes Report 1918, 32)

The report was however shelved and forgotten, despite attention drawn to it at the time in the USA, where a similar debate was taking place about language studies (Olmsted 1921).

A parallel with the beginnings of intercultural communication after the Second World War is striking. Hart (1996) reminds us that the USA was the only major economy left intact, and began to offer assistance to rebuild Europe with the Marshall Plan. This was relatively successful but similar attempts to aid non-western developing countries were less so because:

> Unfortunately, many of their attempts at communication across these cultural boundaries were superficial and sometimes dominated by economic theories of development that cast some doubt upon cross-cultural theories of social change (Dodd 1995, quoted in Hart 1996, 7)

The result of this, as Hart (1996) says was a new development at the Foreign Service Institute and this was, as subsequent history tells us, more effective than the recommendations of the Leathes Report. Those in charge of programmes were not specialists in language pedagogy, but rather anthropologists and specialists in non-verbal communication. Hart quotes Leeds-Hurwitz to summarise this:

> [I]ntercultural communication [study] grew out of the need to apply abstract anthropological concepts to the practical world of foreign service diplomats [at FSI] (Leeds-Hurwitz 1990, quoted in Hart 1996, 7).

At the same time, and as a result of the civil rights and human rights movements and consequently the reinforcement of ethnic pride, research on multicultural education as well as a variety of multicultural education programmes experienced a boom in North America. Bilingual education was already a tradition in the United States since the 19th century and, although at that time it was not considered a political issue, it became a controversial one during the 20th century. During the first half of the century along with the 2nd World War, its almost total extinction due to the need for a stronger image of the young United States nation abroad and to the bad image of the German language that was dominant in bilingual programmes nearly erased bilingual education from the education scene in the United States. In mid-century, after the civil-rights movement, bilingual education programmes came to the fore and raised the question of their purpose, whether assimilation or pluralism (Padilla and Benavides 1992; Walsh 1991). This discussion stood side by side with the development of multicultural education research and programmes having in mind the non-European minorities who had most suffered discrimination and, for that very reason, had kept their linguistic and cultural communities more intact and were, at the same time, the fastest growing groups in the United States, both by birth rate and by immigrant flow, such as the African-American, Latinos and Asians (Banks 1975, 2009; Sleeter 1991). Bilingual and multicultural programmes growth in the United States, as well as later in Europe, have evidenced an increased awareness and recognition of diversity and, therefore, of discrimination, xenophobia and even racism in their societies.

However, it is also important to note the difference between the multicultural and intercultural paradigms that determine the understanding of the essence and nature of such educational programmes and research related to cultural diversity and intercultural communication. Multicultural and intercultural visions of difference are not only defined in different sociological terms, the static and the dialogic, but they have also invaded various cultural, social and political systems and are based on historical roots. We may trace their origins according to a north-south dichotomy (Santos 2007a, 2007b). Historically, the contacts between European sailors and settlers overseas, between the 15th and the 19th centuries, followed different paradigms originating in the cultural systems of colonisers and colonised. By and large, the colonisers interaction types prevailed since they were the most powerful, although the colonised social structures also determined the linguistic and cultural impact of colonisation, e.g. between Africa and Asia. However, European countries had their differences and

particularities in their ways of approaching and dominating the colonised peoples, and there were two general and diverging, north versus south, tendencies in the ways Europe colonised the world. They are obvious not only in the social and political remains in the new post-colonial countries, e.g. North and South America, but also in the philosophical, political and sociological reception of their immigrants in Europe. This was evident in the findings of the INTERACT project whose European participant member-states (Portugal and Spain, Denmark and the United Kingdom) examined European and national political and policy documents and interviewed teachers and policy-makers and could support this hypothesis (www.ces.uc.pt/interact). Nevertheless, the multicultural and intercultural conceptions of cultural difference now coexist in most official documents and scientific research on ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity. While the term *multicultural* was predominant from the 1950s to the 1980s in the Anglophone world, the idea of *being intercultural* has been expanding from the south to the north, both from southern Europe and from the southern hemisphere of the globe, and is now predominant both in official documents and in scientific research to describe cross-cultural exchange.

After this period, this time as a consequence of terrorism, rather than classical warfare and colonisation – the Twin Towers attack in September 2001 – another kind of reaction was stimulated. This time, as Kramsch tells us, new policies to develop language teaching were introduced in a highly focused way: not to engage large numbers of Americans with the role of the USA in the world, as had happened after the Sputnik surprise, but "to create a cadre of language professionals that, with advanced knowledge of the language and the culture, are able to collect and interpret intelligence necessary for US national security" (2005, 556). This time the task was conferred on the Department of Defense, rather than Education, and appears to be developing effectively.

Yet another example is that of Germany in the 1930s, again in response to the effects of war. This is the example often cited to show how foreign language education can become nationalistic, like all other aspects of education. For example in a text for practising reading skills, where an Englishman is supposedly cited, it is clear that German students of English should be reinforced in their national identity and pride:

> We in Great Britain are now intensely jealous about Germany (…) because in the last hundred years, while we have fed on platitudes and vanity, they have had the energy and humility to develop a splendid system of national

education, to toil on science, art and literature, (….) to clamber above us in the scale of civilisation (Lehrbuch der englischen Sprache, 1927).

In the period of Nazi domination, foreign language teaching was misappropriated to reinforce Germanness and denigrate the cultures of others. This explicitly political misuse of education was an extreme example, but it reminds us that any representation of other cultures will carry conscious or unconscious messages about the relationship of *our* culture to *theirs*. As Kedourie says, nationalist theory has a clear purpose:

in nationalist theory (…) the purpose of education is not to transmit knowledge, traditional wisdom (…) its purpose rather is wholly political, to bend the will of the young to the will of the nation. Schools are instruments of state policy, like the army, the police, and the exchequer (Kedourie 1966, 84 – our emphasis).

It is important therefore that teachers and learners should become aware of and able to analyse the relationship between *us* and *them*, as exemplified in the following two cases of materials development.

ICOPROMO – Intercultural Competence for Professional Mobility (European Commission - Leonardo da Vinci Programme)

This 3-year European project (2003-2006) was developed under the auspices of the European Commission, funded by the Leonardo da Vinci Programme (www.ces.uc.pt/icopromo), and involved four academic teams based at the Centre for Social Studies, University of Coimbra (Portugal, coordinator), the Department of English, University of Jáen (Spain), the Language Institute, Johannes Kepler University (Austria) and the Ashcroft International Business School, Anglia Ruskin University (United Kingdom). The latter replaced the University of Göttingen during the last half of the project.

The originality of this project was that it brought together multinational teams from different organisations with diverging approaches to intercultural competence both in theory and in practice. On the one hand, one of the four teams mentioned above (Portugal) is part of a Research Centre in the Social Sciences, although its members had specialised in language education and sociolinguistics, while another team (Spain) comes from a Department of English Philology and specialises in teacher

education. On the other hand, the other two teams (Austria and the United Kingdom) develop their work in language education and intercultural communication in Business Schools. In addition, the project included an active Advisory Group whose members came from different professional settings such as a multinational company (Siemens-VAI, Austria) and two professional training organisations, one for managers in northern European countries (International Management Education, Finland) and the other, at a national level, for local government workers (CEFA, Portugal). Furthermore, previous to the material production stage, the project participants carried out individual interviews with both national and foreign professionals from business companies and governmental and non-governmental organisations with experience in working in multicultural and multilingual teams. The materials produced were then carefully evaluated and assessed by the Advisory Group and where necessary re-written, before being tested with a variety of volunteers in free workshops. The participants in the testing workshops were undergraduate and graduate students majoring in Business, Tourism, Modern Languages, Education, researchers in Intercultural Communication and Education, local workers and trainers working with immigrants. All the process described above generated a complex, sometimes tense, but enriching discussion and collaboration between such a variety of experts and experienced professionals.

During an introductory stage, which lasted for the first year of the project, the four international teams attempted to define intercultural competence by analysing existing models, first proposing their team models and then agreeing on a common project model as shown below. During this period, they also carried out an international needs assessment field study, as mentioned above. The common project model, shown below, involved eight thematic axes – Biography, Ethnography, Diversity Management, Emotional Management, Intercultural Communication, Intercultural Interaction, Intercultural Responsibility and Working in Multicultural Teams. Based on these themes, the teams produced almost one hundred activities aimed at developing intercultural competence in pre-service and in-service professionals for the purpose of work in multicultural teams/groups. These activities were to be implemented with the help of groups of pre-service and in-service professionals, ranging from un-experienced to experienced and even expert target groups. The project design aimed to step beyond individually-based competencies and to focus on the communication and interaction dynamics between team-based individuals. In addition, it intended to explore the grounds between

citizenship education and professional development, that is, what is more often distinguished as, respectively, education and training (Feng, Byram and Fleming 2009).

The ICOPROMO project also targeted mobility as a key concept defined, both in real and symbolic terms, and as the process of entering new ethnic cultures, either abroad or at home, directly or indirectly, in person or through technology. It aimed to contribute to the process of building up a Europe of knowledge, set out by the European Council in Lisbon in 2000, which establish that Europe should become "the most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based economy in the world" by 2010 but one whose knowledge is heterogeneous, interactive and promotes the validation of different intra- and international representations in the public arena.

Societies are undergoing a transformation, moving towards new forms of politics, social life and economic organisation. Such transformations include tendencies towards increased globalisation and internationalisation, alongside the development of network structures. This process translates into a switch from a static-functional orientation of organisations and institutions toward a more dynamic, procedural orientation. Employees must increasingly cope with inter*cultural* (not necessarily only inter*national*) encounters in their professional contexts. They therefore have to establish *active* communication with their colleagues, especially since virtually all organisations have gradually been promoting horizontal work structures which generate even stronger dynamics between diverse groups, often based in different locations.

The eight thematic axes ranged in their level of generality, and in some cases drew on existing fields of research, e.g. emotional management, while others brought new aspects to the fore, (e.g. "intercultural responsibility"), a new term coined in the project. These eight thematic areas made up the main axes which were deemed most relevant for the development of intercultural competence in the workplace:

- biography
- emotional management
- diversity management
- intercultural interaction
- communicative interaction
- ethnography

- intercultural responsibility
- working in MCTs

The project drew on personal experience and management, such as biographical reflection and emotional mindfulness. It also involved basic ethnographic observation and a meticulous analysis of intercultural interaction. It looked at communication strategies and dared to venture into power and ethical issues. Every thematic area covered all of the aspects mentioned above to greater or lesser extent, despite their focus on one aspect in particular. The project worked on a broader idea of competence and produced a work-in-progress concept of competence that aimed to develop a critical cultural awareness of their own shifting identities, of the communication and interactions taking place as well as of the reciprocal responsibility in developing a professional, if not personal, relationship among the members of multicultural groups/teams.

In sum, the ICOPROMO project intended to promote a dialogue and establish links between research on intercultural communication competence in different academic and national contexts, that is, a research centre, modern language departments in the Humanities and in Business Schools and training centres. The material developers researched theoretical models with different approaches to intercultural competence and produced their own models, which they discussed in order to agree on a common framework. It also sought information from a wide range of professionals from different types of organisations and in the various participant countries. Finally, it had their products tested and evaluated with a varied number of workshop participants. This means that the purpose of this project was to combine different theories of intercultural competence, to respond to different needs and to offer a wide variety of materials showing different perspectives and approaches (Guilherme et al., 2010). Some materials revealed a concern with citizenship and social issues while others discussed more personal themes, and yet others worked on more functional skills. This was the main aim of this project, to find common ground between intercultural communication theories and methodologies developed both in education, namely within foreign language education and citizenship education, and those provided by Management and Communication studies.

The Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters (Council of Europe – Language Division)

The Autobiography of Intercultural Encounters (AIE) is an online document which guides users through an analysis of any intercultural encounter they consider significant for them. It consists of a series of questions in nine different groupings. The questions focus first on description – asking who was involved and where – passing through questions about the user's own reactions to the encounter and those of the others involved, and ending in questions about how the encounter has affected the user, and what changes or actions the user might engage in in the future.

There is a version for children and one for adolescents and older people. It is accompanied by notes for facilitators – be they teachers, social workers or others – who might introduce the AIE to people with whom they work. It can be used in a variety of ways, with suggestions included in the facilitators' notes. Various potential uses both in education systems, in *intercultural education*, and in the workplace, in *intercultural communication*, and the AIE is therefore an instrument which might bridge the gap between the two strands of our field.

The interest of the AIE here is in its historical origins and evolution as a response to socio-political factors. It is an instrument of the Council of Europe produced within the section dealing with language policy and education but drawing on expertise from sections responsible for education for democratic citizenship and education about religions. This constellation of expertise is itself an indication of socio-political factors in contemporary Europe to which the Council of Europe as a whole is responding, symbolised most potently in its producing a White Paper on *intercultural dialogue*. The AIE is however also the outcome of a process reaching back over several decades. That process will be described here briefly as an example of how the field of intercultural education and communication has developed.

We saw earlier how one of the stimulants for intercultural communication training at the American Foreign Service Institute was the need, from the 1950s, for US Americans to be able to *go out* to work successfully in other countries. At about the same time, in Western Europe, it was the phenomenon of people *coming in* to seek work as economic migrants which began to present problems. Germany, France

and other Western European industrialised countries encouraged men – and initially only men, who left their families behind – from poorer countries to come to help develop post-war industrial change. If the workers came from former colonies, as was the case in the UK, then they were likely to have some competence in the host country language, even though it was soon realised that this was not unproblematic. In the case of workers from other countries – Turkish workers in Germany, Portuguese workers in France, Italian workers in Belgium, for example – linguistic competence in the host language could not be assumed. Such workers would often have received minimal education, not including foreign language learning. They needed the linguistic means to live and work in a new environment, and they needed to acquire them quickly. Council of Europe experts addressed this question from the 1960s. They analysed needs; they defined the necessary language to fulfil those needs – the "functions" and "notions" for specific "speech acts" – and they produced "objectives", i.e. descriptions of the necessary language, the minimal or "threshold" level workers and others would need to acquire to function satisfactorily in a new social environment. They also suggested ways of teaching and learning which connected immediately and obviously with everyday communication, and which therefore had strong "face validity". (For a detailed account, see Trim 2007).

All of this dealt above all with language users' linguistic competence, their ability to carry out speech acts, but it was also recognised that competence in the language itself has to be combined with knowing how to use the language appropriately, drawing both on socio-linguistic knowledge and socio-cultural knowledge, i.e. knowing how to use the appropriate language for a given situation but also knowing about the cultural context in which the situation is embedded (van Ek 1986). The starting point had been in language because the experts involved were language specialists working mainly in education, in contrast to the origins of intercultural communication in the work of anthropologists and psychologists. It was now time, in the 1990s, to turn attention to sociocultural competence but the experts involved were still linguists, albeit with an interest and experience in ethnography.

The socio-political changes which took place in this period are reflected in the titles of the Council of Europe language projects. In the period 1978 to 1981, the project was called "Modern Languages: improving and intensifying language learning as factors making for European understanding and mobility". By the 1990s, after the changes in

Central and Eastern Europe of 1989, the project from 1990 to 1997 was called "Language Learning for European Citizenship". A vision of Europe not just as an economic entity but as a polity where over 800 million citizens might live, was beginning to evolve on many levels. In language teaching terms, such a polity would need greater cooperation among education systems, formal and informal, and greater transparency in working methods and mutual recognition of qualifications. This led to the *Common European Framework of Reference* (CEFR) in which competences of all kinds necessary for social interaction were described, including cultural competences as well is linguistic competence.

The most successful and influential aspect of the CEFR was the description of levels of linguistic competence. An attempt to provide similar descriptions of levels of sociocultural (or intercultural) competence was abandoned. There are simply descriptions of pluricultural (sometimes referred to as "intercultural") competence, based on work commissioned of Byram and Zarate (for more details, see Byram 2009). The question of further work on intercultural competence and in particular any attempt at describing levels of competence was left unresolved at the publication of the CEFR in 2001.

It was unresolved but not forgotten, and the wish of the administrators and experts of the Council of Europe to address the question again was taken up several years later as the significance of intercultural competence in language education became more widely recognised. This impulse was much reinforced by socio-political events of many kinds in Europe, but particularly those related to – or claimed by – groups identifying themselves as representatives of religions, ethnicities, or nations. At European levels, the need for *social inclusion* to overcome or reconcile the demands of marginal groups became a key phrase for various policies, including education policies. The notions of *understanding, co-operation and mobility* had evolved into *European citizenship* and this was to be expressly democratic and inclusive, facilitated by *intercultural dialogue*. The European Union declared 2008 as the year of intercultural dialogue, and the Council of Europe published its *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue* (Council of Europe 2008), with the sub-title "Living Together as Equals in Dignity".

The AIE was under construction from 2004, initially as an extension to the European Language Portfolio (Council of Europe n.d.), but soon as a document which can be used independently. The link with language

learning was gradually dissolved partly because some language teachers reacted by saying that this would demand too much and take attention away from language competence, partly because of the recognition that all teachers – and eventually any facilitator in formal or informal education – could take responsibility, and thirdly because of the need within the Council of Europe as an institution to operationalise the White Paper discourse on social inclusion and dialogue in ways which went beyond the focus on (foreign) language learning.

The AIE is, in short, a product of processes both internal to an institution and evident in societal change. It began within work on language education and, for a time, was seen as a potential instrument for *intercultural education*. As socio-political circumstances changed, the focus shifted to include issues which might be recognised by those involved in *intercultural communication*, but also went further than their concerns with people engaging with other countries and their populations, to include intercultural interaction in any social circumstance, within or among societies or countries. The extension of the circle of expertise also demonstrates this to include experts in education for citizenship, in education about religions and in cross-cultural psychology. The AIE is a product of academic and intergovernmental response to changing social and political times.

Conclusion

The dichotomies and tensions we introduced at the beginning of this chapter are disciplinary, historical, theoretical and practical. Our field of study is evolving quickly, as we have shown in our survey of literature, teaching locations, historiography and our two cases studies of contemporary projects. As Mughan (2009) points out, cross-fertilisation from business and management to foreign language education involves risk-taking by language teachers. Other interactions of an interdisciplinary nature are equally demanding. They require that we see ourselves as others see us, and respond accordingly from our own identities and understandings of our disciplines and purposes. But is that not in itself a description of being intercultural – and therefore the necessary foundation for success?